



# GENERALL HISTORIE

of France  
written by Iohn de Serres  
vnto the yeare 1598

Continued by Peter Marce  
to the death of King Henry  
the fourth in the year  
1610

And againe continued  
to the Peace concluded at  
Montpellier  
By Guillaume de Lamoignon  
Imprimé par la Veuve de  
Iean de Serres



1610





TO  
**THE RIGHT NOBLE  
 AND MOST WORTHY  
 OF ALL HONOURS, AND  
 ALL TITLES:**

**ROBERT Earle of Salisbury,** | **THOMAS Earle of Suffolke,**  
*Lord High Treasurer of* | *Lord Chamberlaine to His*  
 ENGLAND, &c. | MAJESTIE.



Y most Honoured Lords, Such is the indulgence of many men, especially Paper-wasters, to their owne imperfections; that when they are receiued with Fauour, and sometimes Pitie, they value them to bee iust such things, as the Mercy and Grace of those, to whom they were giuen, hath made them: And so, by the prosperitie of one fault, become confident to commit the second. I am afraid to be found in this Lift: that hauing about me a conscience of trespasse in my first Dedication of this TRANSLATION to your *Honours*, dare yet attempt you with the latter: All that will saue me in the Imputation, is, that I did then dedicate my selfe, with my vtmost abilities: From which, the fraileties that accompany Humanitie, Errors, are not easily separated. Yet, if in this second Edition they appeare lesse, either by my own industry, or the *Printers*, though not all found and weeded; that very study of bettering and hand-someing the *VVORKE*, will (I hope) commend both it and me, to your *L.L.* fauour: which Fauour (next to diuine Grace) I proclaime,

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claime, to haue beene the chearing meane, and inspiring power, enabling me to these, and more, that shortly couet the Light vnder your *Honours* names: At the foot of which two *Pillars* (may they be renowned as those of *Gades*) I haue written my *Terme* or *Bound*. There I wil stay, and contemplate your *Virtue*: which if in others breasts it finde *Court*, and *Reuerence*, in mine it hath *Religion*, and a *Temple*. And *Iustice* hath well provided, that such, who are not equall in *Ceremonie*, may yet be better in *Deuotion*: by how much the study of *Truth* exceeds that of *Shew*.

Your LL. deuoted in all  
duty and service,

EDWARD GRIMSTON.



## AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Gentlemen:



Hope you expect no long *Apologie*, either to recommend this *Work*, or to excuse my owne weakness. This *French History* hath beene a long probationer with you, & it seemeth you haue giuen it a good applause; for I heare, the *Book-sellers* shops are unfurnished. As for my defects, I confesse ingenuously that my *Labors* are unworthy of your reading. But your kind acceptance of my endeavors, haue giuen me courage to continue this presumption, hoping that if I doe not merit thanks for my *Labors*, yet I shall procure pardon for what you shall find amisse. The *Printer* desiring to bring this *History* the third time to the *Presse*, importuned me to continue it to these later times, wherunto I did the more willingly yeeld, being loath that any one should undertake my taske whilest God giueth me health and ability. I haue continued it from the death of the last *French King Henry the fourth*, vnto the last *Peace* concluded in the yere 1622. I haue not found *Iohn de Serres* nor *Peter Mathew* to translate, but haue collected it out of the best *Authors* I could get, which haue written of this *Subiect*: there is nothing of mine owne: I haue related euery thing plainly and truly without any passion, for the which my *Authors* shall be my warrant. I haue contracted some *Articles* in *Treaties* and *Edicts*, in the body of the *History*, but yet haue left the full sense: And

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haue omitted somewhat which was not proper to the History, but more incident to them that treat of points of Diuinity, else the Volume would haue bene immense, chargeable to the Buyer, and no great benefit to the Reader. I will plead no more for my selfe, but onely craue your kinde acceptance of the last Oblation which I sha<sup>ll</sup> offer you, being now almost out-worne with age and continuall toyle for the publicke; yet wishing that I may still liue in your remembrance, hauing spent a great part of my life,

To doe you service.

Edward Grimeston.

# IOHN DE SERRES,

## TOUCHING THE VSE OF THIS

### his Inuentorie.



**A**n *History* is the *Theater* of mans life, whereby all may learne one common lesson, by the goodly examples she represents vnto their eyes, eares, and understandings: Euen so shee inuities all men to view, heare, and to conceiue them well, what language foueuer shee speaks, what subiect shee treats of, what time shee notes, and what persons foueuer shee represents. Thus offering her selfe to all with this excellent vse, shee deserves iustly to bee imbraced, Experience verifying the testimonie which wise Antiquity doth giue her; *That shee is the Mistress of mans Life, the Testimonie of Truth, the Recorder of Iustice, the resplendent Beames of Vertue, the Register of Honour, the Trumpet of Fame, the Examiner of Actions, the Comptroller of all Times, the Rendez-vous, of diuers Events, the Schoole of Good and Euill, and the Sovereigne Iudge of all Aden, and all Exploits.* This praise is common to all Histories: But as in a generall action every one ought to haue a more speciall care of that which concerns his priuate duty: So in the generall History of all Nations, euery man is bound to bee more particularly informed of that which toucheth himselfe, and instructed in the managing of the State, vnder which he is borne: By reason whereof I haue alwaies held the complaint of *Thucydides* (one of the chiefe Architects of a History) very considerable, *That it was a great shame for Grecians to bee Strangers in Greece*; when as (buyling themselves in forreine Histories) they were ignorant of their owne. M<sup>y</sup> wee not in like manner say, *That it is a great shame that Frenchmen should be Strangers in France*? for why should the ignorance of our History bee more excusable in vs, then of theirs in them? Doubtlesse we often seeke for that a farre off, which is neere vnto vs at home. I commend the diligence of our men in searching out of forreine Histories: But if it may be lawfull to speake of this subiect (as one of the common sort) I dare say there is no Nason vnder the cope of Heauen (without flattering my selfe with the loue of my Country) since man was borne, that hath more admirable matters, or more worthy euents in euery kinde, and by consequence a History more memorable, then ours of *France*. Bee it for the forme of *Gouernment*: there was neuer Kingdome nor Common-weale established with goodlier lawes then our Monarchie. It is the true patterne of a perfect Estate, such as the wise Politicians in former times vied to discouffe of in their *Academie*. A soueraigne Commander, with Authority absolutely soueraigne, but fortified with a power so well qualified with the Counterpoise of inferior offices, as we may rightly call the *French Monarchy*, a mixture of all the lawfull governments of a common-weale, by a well gouerned proportion, if the lawes prescribed be well obserued, the which I haue (to that end) planted in the front of this building. Bee it for the *greatnesse and strength of the State*, although I know well that the foure Monarchies which commanded ouer Nations, had larger dominions then the French, yet was there neuer any Empire better vnitied, better grounded, nor of longer continuance, more famous for the beautie and bounty of the soyle, situation of the country, Riches of the people, and excellencie of wits, either in peace or warre. As for the *greatnesse of her Provinces*, what is the French Monarchie, but diuers Kingdomes vnited in one, and sundry Crownes annexed to one? But herein it excells the rest, that although they all in generall hold as it were of the Church, yet ours hath herein a more speciall priuledge, hauing diuerted from Europe that great deluge of Infidels, which threatned all Christendome with shipwrack. To conclude, it yeelds to no Monarchy whatsoeuer, neither needs it any thing but good husbandry. As for *worthy men*, which bee a liuing law, and as it were the soule of an estate, is there any nation whatsoeuer that can shew so many excellent personages, yea and Kings, as *France* may? There is no vanity more vaine, nor more vnworthy of a free minde, making profession of an History, wholly vowed to truth, then flattery. But the most strict Arcopagite that euer was, cannot deny, but our Monarchie may produce as many excellent Kings and Princes, as any other whatsoeuer. The three Races haue made thew in diuers seasons: But the third had the continuance of a more temperate, for the establishing of an Estate. Let iudgment be made by an vnpassionare tryall of their reignes and actions: to set downe Kings beautified with sundry graces, as neceffite required valiant in warre, wise for counsell, resolute in aduersitie, milde to pardon faults, when as forgetfulness was necessary for the good of the State, and the quiet of the Realme.

What shall we say of *great and worthy euents*, such as may chance to Man, being good or euill? Hath any History more rare examples then ours? eyther ordinary in the common suffrance of Prosperity or Aduersitie: or extraordinary in the greatest, and most tragically rare accidents that may be noted in any other Nation: there was neuer State reduced into greater difficulties, both within and without the Realme, and not subuerged: And in these extreme dangers, what valiant resolutions! Truly our History sets downe in diuers reignes, the courage and constance of diuers Kings and people: in shew conquered, in effect Conquerors: in that they neuer despaired of the Common-weale, in the midst of their dispaire:

## The vse of this Inuentorie.

Excellencies  
remarkable in  
the miraculour  
pretensions  
of this Estate,

what losse of Kings to their Subjects, and of Subjects to their Kings, in common calamities? Our Historie is full of examples; and of all things else considerable in the societie of Man, either in warre or peace- which depends vpon their vertues, which gouerne the helmes of this great Baske. But as wee cannot, hide, nor deprive of their due praise, these goodly lights which shine in diuers parts of our History, by the many examples of valour, equity, wilddome, magnanimity, modestie, dexterity, and other excellent vertues of our Kings; so to iudge thereof soundly, wee must flye to the Father of lights, who vnto these great and worthy personages for the building, preservation, or increase of this Monarchie, hath enriched them with great and precious graces, that acknowledging him the author of well of all these vertues, as of the happy successe of things managed by them, wee may learne to yield him homage, for the preservation, continuance, and increase of this great estate.

The negligence of our Kings hath too often brought our royall Diademe into danger, whereof they made themselves vnworthy, making it weak and contemptible in their persons, who (by their basenes and childish gouernment) suffered their seruants to command absolutely. The kingdomes hath bene as it were dismembred by the diuision of royall commands. And by this means brothers diuided by strange and elfe-wild difentions, haue abandoned all to spoyle: and from these home-bred diuisions, haue sprung ciuill warres, amidst the which, the Inferiours (sitting in a troubled water) freed themselves, and opposing against their Soueraigne, became perry Kings. Wee haue seene their rage extend farther, attempting against the Kings person, imprisoning him, forcing him to quit his crowne, and in the end reducing him to that extremity, as to dye desperately, seeing himselfe so oueragiously intreated withall. Wee haue seene Kings prisoners in their enemies hand, and abandoned by their subjects, Kings besieged in their houses. Wee haue seene a perry young man appointed to guide a ship (during the fury of a storme) without Helme, without Mast, without Sailes, and without Oares: beaten without by the tempest, and within by the Saylor: Seized on in his Cabin by mad men, imbrued with the blood of his most trusty seruants murdered before his eyes, yet euen in his bosome. Wee haue seene the Crowne of Kings in their minorities, set to sale by their Tutors, who became murderers, and of Regents, Theemes, making themselves Kings: Wee haue seene a King in his non-age become mad, gouerned by the passions of Men and Women, holding the chiefe degrees in state, which did strue to ruiue it with inbred factions, rages, and popular tumults, by tragical massacres, and furious hostilities. Wee haue seene amidst these combustions, the Stranger not only awaked at this brute, but also armed, entered within the Realme, and lodged within the bowels of the goodliest Prouinces. And (which is more) installed in the Kings authority by the Edict of a lawfull King, seated in the royall throne, hauing the Crowne on his head, with the Scepter and Purse in his hand, and a Daughter of France in his bed, for a pawne of this vniuersal pretension, a Sonne to warrant his possession, with the force and obedience of the Capitall City, and the first Princes of the blood armed with power and counsell to countenance these horrible confusions. Amidst these ruinous disorders of our Countrey, who hath preferred the realme of France, but hea that with one and the same hand, hath made both the law and the King of France?

O my Countrymen! it is to you to whom your History is directed, hauing the chiefe interest in the estate of our Mother, although Strangers are forced to admire it. But what? Our Ancestors haue seene all these things specified here, and represented in particular in the discourse I now offer vnto you. But I beseech you what haue wee seene with our owne eyes, within these thirty and five yeares? haue wee felt lesse misery, or found weaker remedies? What were our troubles, and to what extremity were we brought vnto of late yeares? By the conference of our History, with our Ancestors, ours serues as a Commentary for the well vnderstanding thereof, yet can wee not deny but our age hath seene things farre more extraordinary and miraculous: So as wee rightly may say, *That wee haue liued in a time of Miracles*. Without doubt our posterity will admire in particular the History of our time, as the rarest part of the whole body; wee that haue seene it, should often bely our eares and eyes in reading or hearing it, when she shall appeare in publick to put vs in minde of that whereof wee were eye-witnesses, and therefore witnesses about all exception: But euery thing must be done in order and time. Behold the first part of my designe, which is behouous you to observe: **S H A L L I T** then bee in vaine; and without any fruit? it is not my intention, if the end of euery commendable enterprise bee the vs: Shall wee thinke that the knowledge of our ancient Estate is vnprofitable, and in a time when as wee haue so great need of consolation? Truly in the continuance of our long calamity, wee must needs bee oppressed with a troublefome care. But in feeling the paine, why seeke wee not the remedie? If wee often apply the example to things wee doe euer without Law or against the Law, how much more should it auaile vs being ioynd with Reason? An example rightly represented in the History of our Ancestors, serues vs now as a good guide to comfort vs, whereas as the like misery is common to vs and them. And if it please God to make vs like in condition, what reason haue wee to complaine? At the least wee may therein observe, that not at this time alone France is afflicted, and hath shewed her indiscretion. So likewise by the same reason, it is not now alone that shee hath felt the succours of her Protector, who preserues her, amends her follies, and repairs her defects: without this protecting hand, shee had long since perished. What shall wee then say? truly wee were much too blame to accuse our Fathers, and seeke to excuse our selues of the like or greater errors: our waywardnesse were not pardonable, if our hearts should faint in these difficulties, seeing that wee learne in the same Historie, that our Fathers haue bin deliuered from the like afflictions. It is therefore a speciall vse of this Historie, to cast our eyes vpon the condition of our predecessors, to mollifie our languishings,

The speciall vse  
of this History.

## The vse of this Inuentorie.

guishings, as a necessary symptome of our inciuill warres, which like a continuall feuer hath sucked (euen to the marrow) all the vigour of this Estate, and hath not yet left it.

Wee must accuse our impatience and nicenesse, if we shall complaine to haue bin worse intreated then our fore-fathers, seeing we obtrude in them the like afflictions. Experience layes goodly grounds to reason, this certaine experience ingenders in our hearts hope of future things, without confusion or deceit. Doe we not then reape excellent fruits of this Historie? if by the deliuerance of our Fathers wee conclude and hope for ours, but in such sort, and at such times, as the wise prouidence of God hath appointed; which ordinance, neither Enemies can hinder, nor Friends aduance: and therefore the direction of this truth doth teach vs to faile in this sea, euen one as he ought, according to his degree, expecting a happy harbor by the bounitie and wilddome of him that rules the waues of humane confusions, as the Ioueraigne Iudge, holding in his hands both the hearts of men, and the euent of things. Doe we grieve at our long trouble? Let vs reade the reignes of *John, Charles the first, Charles the sixth, and Charles the seventh*. Doe wee repine at our late losses? let vs reade the reignes of *Philip of Valois*, and wee shall see that the losse of the same city was dearer to him then to vs. As wee may neuer dislembe our losses, so is there a time to losse, and a time to gaine; if in our houses in the countrey or city, all things succeed not as we desire, who can with reason require alwayes the like successe in a State? To conclude, if to flatter the disaite be no means to cure it, or to complaine, without remedie, (seeing that chollier and despair brings no help to the disaite) let vs rather seeke for remedie, then increase the disaite by a bootlesse complaint. If we will for peace abroad, let vs lodge it first in our hearts at home. This inward peace shall be a good warrant for the general; but wee are very sicke, if we thinke by waywardnes and hurie to cure the disaite. If then wee seeke any found cure for our griefs, the Apothecaries shop is open, behold some preparatiues. But what is that in regard of the serious reading of the History it selfe, as necessary at this day for French-men, as necessary doth force vs to seeke for consolation?

I haue endeauored therefore (my countrymen) to trace out some slender obseruations for you in this little worke, grossly such as I could: I see it is not according to the dignitie and greatnes of the subject, (worthy in truth of a good writer) but rather fit for that obscure age, when the most ancient Druides had a maxime, *not to write at all*, or of those which haue left vs these small abridgements, the which wee now vie for want of better: and without doubt, if our History had encouraged such spirits as the Greeke and Latin did, it had bin nothing inferior to any of them, in beauty and profit. This is the only cause why our countrymen haue not read our History, hauing not enjoyed the light of excellent writers, to represent her in her liuely colours, according to her worth. And although our France hath heretofore had cause to complaine in this respect, yet now that fault is partly repaired, by the industry of some that strue to plant and beautifie it.

Amongst such as haue labored in this subject, *De Haillen* in my opinion exceeds all others, and deserves immortal commendations, hauing so happily cleared these growne bushes, and made so plaine a path in this obscure Forrest: if I eale to do my countrey service, and hope by my example to awake the learned to do better, were not my iust excuse, where should I hide me from the blemish of inconsiderate rashnes: especially being in this citie of Paris, not only the capitall City of France (the fertile mother of good wits) but also the Rendez-vous of the greatest miracles in the world. I will therefore speake freely, that in presuming to beautifie this Historie, I haue taken for the only object of my aime, *To secke the truth with the vse thereof*, and to giue you some cause of content. Regard not my tongue, I offer you the simple truth without painting, the which I haue curiously searched for in many good Bookes, which my necessitie abroad here hath giuen me means to obaine, and the desire I haue to serue you, occasion to imploy them, for as I am wholly vowed to the publike, so will I yield an account not only of my idleness, but also of my employments, I haue therefore resolved to undertake a labour that should not bee vnprofitable, in preparing you a way to learne your Historie in the originals, with lesse paine and more profit. I doe therefore call this my endeauour an INVENTORIE, by the direction whereof, you may see the body and euery part at your pleasure. If I may perswade the Reader to conferre this my labour with the writings of others vpon this subject (both old and new) I shall not then need to put in caution, but be of an assured hope to obtaine a testimonie of my fidelitie: and it may be in time, of some diligence, at the least I bring nothing, that hath not bin well purified and applied to the vse. The fruit depends on the blessing of God, by the iudgement of such as shall read mee, I will protest only for that which doth concerne my selfe: I haue vied the Rule, Square, Lead and Compasse, to obstrue proportion both in stile and subject, that in my course I might direct you to the very truth; if it bee with that light and breuitie I pretended, I shall haue cause to thanke God, and to labour in some subject of greater moment, yet I haue done my best endeauour that the learned may supply my defect, in doing better. The course is open, euery one may run it. I leaue the prize to them that shall do best, my intent was only to profit the publike: and therefore I bring not an Abridgement, but an INVENTORIE. I haue searched the very Springs of such as went before me. The first haue not hindered the second: and why should the second take it ill to be followed by others? One kinde of meate may be diuently seasoned to good purpose. A small Dyal marks the houres in like proportion to a great Clock: It is one of my wishes, that this goodlie subject may be set to open view, that the learned may trine to exceed one another, and leaue no excuse for our Frenchmen to be any more strangers in France, making the way ealie and profitable: If in this respect my zeale and integritie may be approued of my Country, why should I repine the employment.

My end and  
purpose in  
this labour.

## The vse of this Inuentorie.

of some houres in so goodly and worthy a worke, as a testimonie (at the least) that I desire to discharge my duty?

The occasion  
of this History.

To conclude, my Countrymen, I must not conceal from you the chiefe cause that induced mee to compile this worke. About fixe and twenty yeares since, I was thrust forth vpon the Theater, (being very young) to represent the History of our miseries: the desire of forraine Nations began this deligne, being curious to vnderstand a particular relation of our Tragedies. By reason whereof I presented this my first worke in Latin, that Strangers might vnderstand it. I held it for an Abhorrie, and esteemed the losse but light, yet was the successe greater then my proiect, for being embraced by the publike beyond desert, it hath so increased, as of one Booke there are made fifteene, and corrected with diuers impressions. And as the child increased, so the Father had meanes to doe him good. GOD suffering mee to liue to be a witness of great accidents, not onely as many of my Country-men, that (see the danger from a safe Port, but imbarked in full Seas amidst these common tempests: for being employed in some and no small affaires (both within and without the realme) I had the Honor to be admitted into Kings and Princes Cabinets, to manage publique causes of Prouinces, and to conferre with the heads of Parties, to learne from their owne mouthes, and from others that had authority and employement vnder them, the Truth of all that passed: so as being able to giue a reason for many things which I had sene, I may likewise giue an account of most that hath passed, by the proceedings and instructions of both parties. I will adde to this opportunitie the priuate deuotion which hath alwayes held my minde inclined to this care, to gather together whatsoever was done, when as necessity of affaires thrust mee into employments: and this my desire succeeded so happily, that both great and small haue fauorably imparted vnto mee whatsoever might benefit concerning this subiect. So as I haue made a iust collection of all the substance, that may serue for the building of a perfect Historie, from the beginning of the troubles to this day. The end of this painfull labour depends of him from whom proceeds the euents of all our prayers. To him therefore I referre my selfe, protesteing onely of that which is in mee. As therefore I aduow my selfe both Debtor of this worke and Author of these Bookes, which wander among men: so I protest the fault shall not be mine, if all turne not to the publike good, where vnto it is appointed, as by the order shall be found most expedient. And expecting an end of this great masse, my intent was onely (as may easily appeare by the Table of the third Race) to set before your eyes (as in one Map) a Summarie of the ancient History, very necessary for the vnitng and resemblance of that which hath happened in our time. But the iudgement of my learned friends, hath made mee to take a new course, that the length of so tedious a payment might not bee troublesome vnto you, in giuing you the whole History vnto this day, fashioned of this meane and bafe stature, whereof I now offer you this first Part, as a Patterne of the whole peece, imbarcking my selfe from the maine land in this tempestuous Sea, which must needs bee fearful vnto mee, both by the feeling of mine owne weaknesse, and the apprehension of diuers iudgements, as the Ebbing and Flowing of the Ocean. I durst not hazard all this small modell at one voyage. Goe forth my first parcell, and seeke thy fortune, learne by the Chapmen, how the Market goes, that by thy successe, I may resolute with lesse danger to Ship the rest, the which in the meane time shall attend (in a safe Harbor) the winde of your fauourable consents.

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## A PLOT OR DESIGNE OF THE WHOLE HISTORIE



My meaning is to represent in this Discourse, what is most remarkable in the History of FRANCE, and (with a simple, faithfull, and lively breuitie) to report all that hath succeeded in the French Monarchy, worthy of memory, to make our Frenchmen see a modell of this great building, reducing it to the first foundation, according to the proportion of the subiect, and the order of times, the certaine light of truth, and by the changes of the greatest and most famous foraine States; to the end, that this our Inuentory may serue the learned for a memorialis, and learners for a direction: The enterprise is not small, although the worke be little, but as it must be valued by the fruit, so the proofe will appeare to such as shall vouchsafe to read what my desire was able to performe. And for a ground of this goodly and excellent History, so worthy of knowledge, wee must set downe in generall termes what shall be handled in the particular throughout the whole Discourse, and lay before our eyes (as in a Table, by the most cleare and soundest proofes that may bee drawne from likelihoods of so obscure antiquitie) the beginning and continuance, with the greatest appearance of Truth, the increase, with the diuers euents and successe of this State such as now it is.

It were to seeke truth in vanity, following the common error, to search for the originall of the French, in the ruines and ashes of Troy, or in the Fennes of Meotides; for in the most ancient Histories of the Trojans, there is no mention of Francus, or Francion, Iones of Hector, who had but one sonne, named Astianax, slaine at three yeares of age in the sacke of Troy. There is also no likelihood to finde the stemme of our French Nation in the fennes of Meotides, where they were first called Sicambres, hauing built a City by imagination named Sicambria: and that they issued from thence in great troops. There is no more proofe that they are come from these marshes, then from the deserts of Affrike. It appeares the Sicambrians were a different people from the French, and that the walls of Sicambria are yet to build. But the new presumption of a certaine writer is yet more admirable, who comes from farre to aduertise the French of their originall, the which hee finds be: and the Moore, and with so great an assurance as hee sets downe name by name the Kings of the house of Sicambria and of France, their race, manners, deeds, aduentures, and that in so good earnest (as reporting a thing but of yesterday, or as being a Counsellor to these supposed Kings) seeming with reason to apprehend such as will not take his word for present payment, vnder the authoritie of certaine old Registers produced by him, wherein he names these Kings one after one, like in presumption to the Castilians, the inuents of the fabulous History of Amadis: or the deniers of the off-springs of the Panim Gods, or of the Romant of the Rose, hauing forged names as their pleasure. Learning therefore all these Diuinations and Fepperies, let vs search (as neere as we may) what is most likely by the traces of truth, vntill it may guide vs to firme land, not plunging our selues any further in the boggs and unknowne deserts of an imagined Antiquity.

What then? doubtlesse wee shall now where finde a more certaine originall of our French Nation then in Germany. This is most apparant; Franconie beares yet the name of the old inhabitants, and the markes of their ancient possessions: the Cities of the one and the other side of the Rhine are full of their Antiquities. We can no way doubt by these markes, but they haue inhabited in these parts, and it is likely they were dispersed betwixt the Rivers of Rhine and Danubius, vnto the Ocean. Whether they had their beginning there, or came from any other part, it auails not to dispute, seeing the search is altogether vnprofitable, for that indeed it is impossible.

The deriuation of the name is very difficult, being wholly unknowne to the first Antiquity: for we read not in any ancient Histories of the name of Frenchmen among the Nations of Germany, yet carefully obserued by the most ancient. But who see not the change of ancient names to new? Alemagne is now called Germany: Helnetia, Suisse: Britaine, England: without seeking vnecessary proofe in so apparant a matter. The French therefore being an ancient people of Germany, haue changed their name with the whole country vpon diuers subiects, but when, how, by whom and wherefore, it cannot be certainly defined, but by coniectures, more easie to be refused then maintained. It appeares onely that France is a German word, which signifyeth Free, and that their ancestors either hauing shaken off the yoke of the Romane seruitude, and recovered their ancient liberty, or remaining free amongst so many neighbors subiect to that great Empire, were called Frenchmen in token of their liberty.

The French are  
come out of  
Germany.

Of the name of  
Frenchmen.

There

## A Plot or Designe

There are learned men which write that France was the name of a Community of divers people, assembled and united together, to preserve their liberties, having taken that name as a mark of their generous resolution, and not of any certain nation: although Tully (a witness above all exception) notes the name of Francos among the nations of Germany, which had offered obedience to the Romans, whilst their common-weale flourished, before the Empire began, which shews that we cannot talk of so obscure Antiquity but doubtfully, so as it is hostile to pronounce Oracles, upon a subject so disputable. Truly to reverse the first memories of their name to the Empire of Valentinian, and the beginning of their liberty to the defeat of the Alans, and to the bounty of this Emperor, having freed them in recompence of so worthy a service: that were to make a leap of above an hundred and thirty years, to confound things, and to be ignorant of the estate of our Ancestors, who at the time of this memorable defeat, did in nothing acknowledge the Romans; But rather for a particular fruit of the victory gotten by them in common with Valentinian, they had possession of a great part of the Gaules, not holding it of any but of their sword, nor doing homage but to their own valor. It were (in briefe) not to have observed the originals of true Histories. Seeing then the ancient habitation of the French was in that part of Germany which lay neerest unto Gaule, who can with reason deny but they are issued from thence, and that in taking Gaule they made it to change both Maister and Name. This is in briefe what may be spoken with most apparancy of truth, concerning the original of our French Nation, if we will not urge more then may well be insisted.

By what means  
and when they  
ruined Gaule.

As for their estate and government, there is great likelihood that it was a great Nation grown warlike by means of defending themselves, and succouring others with their own forces. I add that they were led and commanded by a King, for the most ancient Histories represent them under a royall authority, as I will shew elsewhere. Doubtless they had no means to build this great Monarchy in Gaule without force and order, yet did they not erect it all at one instant, but step into Gaule sundry times, either employed to succour the Romans, or they themselves, seeing their fortune, and good adventures: and as they grew familiar by divers summonings, so they got footing by little and little, untill that having not only expelled the Romans, but all other tributary Lords, they became Masters and possessors of this goodly country: so this Monarchy was built upon the ruins of the Empire, and the end of the one, was the beginning of the other. The Romane Empire had not only seized upon all Gaule as the eye of Europe (having reduced it into the forme of Provinces) but did long enjoy it by their Governors and Lieutenants Generall. This authority and Romane power was in a manner dispersed over the whole world. But as this Empire was framed of divers pieces, and built by iniustice and tyrannie, so God (a just iudge and revenger of iniquities) raised them up great and powerfull enemies from all parts of the world, as it were hired to tear in sunder this Cloake, to dismember this body by piecemeals, and to punish their unwill rigour, by a barbarous cruelty, and their greedy iniustice, by the ravishing extortion of others. The Empire then which had robbed was sacked it selfe, and having taken anothers goods, lost their owne, being scarce able (and that by means of the French) to retain any shew of this great and vast body. The fury of Mahomet invaded Asia, and Affricke, with a part of Europe, like a violent flame, with an incredible swiftnesse. Spaine was seized on by the Vandales, Alans, Sueves and Gothes: Italy by the Vandales, Hunnes, Gothes and Lombards: Gaule wanted not sundry guests, the Gothes seized on that goodly Gaule Narbonnoise, called for the excellency a second Italy: and left their name to this goodly Province, which they enjoyed long, and called it by their name, first Gothia, and after Languedoc, as it were the language of Gothe, although they give other reasons of this name more subtil then true. The Bourgognons seized of the country which they called by their name Bourgongne, and erected a Kingdome which contained the one and the other Bourgongne with the Provinces of Lionnois, Dauphine, Sauoy and Prouence. The Normans, Brittons, and Picts, took every one their ticket, to lodge in Gaule, according to the divers occurrences of affaires which presented themselves in this generall disposition of the Romans Empire, who amidst these confusions did with great difficulty retaine the least portion: knowing not how to oppose themselves against so great and victorious enemies. So the French having likewise in the beginning seized on their quarter, were so favoured by the providence of God, that through their valour they laid the foundation of a new estate, so as having expelled out of Gaule, both the old and new usurpers, in the end they became masters, and built this goodly Monarchy, the which since hath given a law to neighbour Nations, seized the Romane Empire, swept the violence of these cruel & barbarous nations, & (which is the greatest honour of this State) hath maintained the Christian Church in Europe, the which God hath appointed for an habitation amidst the furious confusions of Asia and Affricke, where the deluge of Mahometes blasphemies hath horribly exceeded: wherein the greatnesse and power

## of this Inuentorie.

power of Gaule is to be admired, by the which Iulius Cæsar could first alter the common-weale of Rome, his country into the new forme of an Empire, and after, when as all the most furious nations did flocke together to cast downe this great Maister, Charlemagne with the same force could preserve a great part of the West from that cruell shipwracke which had ruined all the East. And as this spoile was not general at one instant over all Gaule, but by fits like unto a River which takes her course in a new quarter, so the French Monarchy was built by degrees: The French being first employed by the Romanes for their valour in notable occasions. We begin to read of their name with some shew and state, under the Empire of Gallienus, about the year of Christ two hundred and seventy. Posthumus gouverneur of Gaule armed them against his Maister and with the helpe of their forces, and the consent of the Gaules, hee enjoyed Gaule the space of seven years, with the stile of Emperor. It is likely this first abroad caused them to taste the fertile sweetnesse of this goodly and rich country. Thus both the example of Posthumus and the proofe of their owne forces gave them courage to attempt for themselves. We read that under the Emperors Aurelian, Probus, Dioclesian, and Constantius father to Constantine the Great, they have often returned without any other subject then to seek their advantage: so were they often repulsed by the Romans with great losse.

These fruitlesse striuings might well have cooled the heate of their attempts, but not their desire to seek for meanes: but they continued most obstinately their practice in armes, and maintained their reputation even with the Romanes themselves, who were glad to have them for friends, and to employ them in their warres, as Constantine against Licinius a great enemy to the Christians: and Constantius his sonne against the Germanes, and Iulian the Apostata, against the Persians. Truly armed the History of the Church, as S. Hierome in particular (one of the most famous Doctors) speaks of the French as of a very renowned people, who might both hurt and helpe, by their multitudes and the valour of their Armes. The style of this designe, which I have undertaken, doth only note the thing for your understanding, without spending time in longer proofes. This apprenticeship of the French by their many voyages into Gaule, continued a hundred and thirty years, for so much it was from Gallienus to Honorius, under whom they began to set footing into Gaule, upon this occasion. Those of the City of Treues tyred with the tyranny of the Romanes, were infinitely grieved that Lucius their governor a Romane, had by force taken the wife of a notable Citizen. This excess ministred a subject to call the Frenchmen to their aide, who expelled the Romanes, seized quietly on the City with the consent of the inhabitants, and so proceeding in their conquest they possessed their neighbour Countries, and in time became Masters of all that lies beyond the Rivers of Elcaut, and Somme: and in the end having won Paris, and the territories thereabout, they gave their name to the conquered Country. I doe briefly touch what shall be represented in particular in every place, and set downe truly the original of the French in this Realme.

Pharamond laid the first stone in the building of this estate, Clodion followed in this designe, Merovee made it appeare above ground, in a more goodly forme, having purchased credits among the Gaules, both by his valour and the happy successe of his Armes. Clouis (adding the profession of Christ to his Predecessors valour and his owne) did so winne the hearts of the Gaules (who were for the most part Christians) as by their haris he got their voluntary obedience, & the assured possession of these new Conquests. Two Nations united in one by the Conquerors, giving law to the conquered, with so wise & mild a discretion, as they held him worthy of this Alliance & name, and the fruit of this marriage was so happy as the new name of France was generally received in Gaule. Thus this new estate increased daily in the race of Pharamond by divers occurrences during the space of three hundred yeares. But it was much more augmented by the famous race of Pepin. And God the Author of all good order in mankind, giving him to some Charlemagne to prevent the ruine of the Empire, enriched him with singular graces, and confirmed in him that great authority and power of King of France, and Emperor of Rome, which greatnesse God would make profitable to all Christendome. But his race, inheritor of these great honours, did not inherit his valour and happinesse, having scarce continued two hundred thirty and seven yeares: but degenerating from his vertues, they lost both Authority and Crowne, so much augmented and beautified by him and Charles Martel. So this second race, unworthy of the blood and name of their Grand-fathers, was spoiled of their Kingdome by their negligence. But God the Guardian of Monarchies (who changing the persons, would preserve the State) raised up Hugh Capet a wise and modest Prince, arming him with wisdom and dexterity fit for the preservation of his Crowne, accompanying his Armes with Law, and his Royall authority with well-governed Justice. It is to Hugh Capet that the Realme of France stands most indebted for the establishment of these goodly Ordinances, by the which (together with the valour and fidelitie of the French) this great Monarchy hath withstood the stormes



## A Plot or Designe of this Inuentorie.

formes of so many ages, and maintained euen vnto this day, the lawfull heire in the same Race, for the space of one hundred and thirty years. So as gathering the summe of all these years, they reckon from Pharamond to Lewis the 13 that now reignes 1200 years.

The order and  
forme of this  
Inuentorie.

This is the Plot or designe of the whole History of France, the which being thus laid, before mee raise this great building in every part, according to the true measures and iust proportions, let vs make a Diagramme as a liuely figure, which may containe nakedly, and without circumstance, the names of our Kings, according to the order of these three royall Races. To the which we will adde a particular Chronology, which shall be proved by the Discourse of our Inuentory. I have distinguished it into three parts, according to the order of the three royall Races. In the front of every part I note the names of Kings, and the time they have reigned, that as my first entrance you may observe all that is represented in this particular Discourse, wherein the wise Reader (that shall take the paines to conferre this modell with the whole Historie) will iudge that I have omitted no thing that may concerne the subiect of the History, with all principall circumstances, to the end the truth in this short, simple, and wisely weeded, appointed for every day, may serue as well as that which the Learned and eloquent Writers shew forth in open Theatres at Festiual times. To actions carefully described, I adde sometimes my Iudgements, for the vse of the History, examined by the Maximes of State. To actions I say generally aduowed, as for the rest I leave them, remembering that I am a witness and no Iudge, to doe service to such as could not see the Originals. I note in the beginning the Elections, the Births, Lives, Adventures, Intent, Designes, Manners, and Completions of our Kings: the Motiues, Actions, Alterations, Crosses, Issues and Successes of their affaires, both in Warre and Peace: their Enterprises, taking of Cities and Countreies, Battels, Encounter, Victories,ouerthrowes, Aduantages, Disaduantages, and other things remarkable in State: finally I observe their ends in their deaths, as the Catastrophe of their Lives, and closing up of their Reignes. But to make this Discourse more proportionable for the knowledge of our Monarchy, it was necessary to explaine it by that which hath chanced of most import in furaine Estates, especially in the Church and Empire, the most famous Theaters of the world, by reason whereof I have added a most carefull Collation of the one and the other with our Realme. I intreat the wise Reader to weigh with iudgement what I shall report concerning matters most subiect to controll, as those of the Church. I doubt not but that he shall finde that I have contained my selfe within the limits of State, talking nothing of Religion, nor meddling with the diuers humours of this age. I have onely treated of the politique government of Rome, with as much modesty as the subiect would permit. I know likewise that making profession to write a History, no man will wish me either to disguise, or to conceale the truth, the which will warrant it selfe, and free me from reproach, in making knowne to iudicious and modest wits, that I have no other passion but my duty, whereof I can giue no better proofe, then in iustifying my Discourse with the Originall, if there appeare any difficulty. I protest I have onely had a true desire to serue the publique, whose profit is the onely scope of my labours. As for the Computations as they be very necessarie for the well understanding of the History (which is the Register of times) so hath it much troubled me, being altogether neglected by the most ancient Writers, borne in the first obscure ages. I learned which have happily handled this subiect before me finding plainly this notable difficulty, I have held it expedient to make little or no account to observe the dates: which was in my concept (vnder correction be it spoken) to cut the knot asunder in stead of vntwisting it. But it hath made me more carefully to labour in this search, to find out some meanes amidst these extremities. And therefore I have distinguished the most notable changes, not onely from one Race to another, but in the Races themselves, placing the dates in the front of the whole Discourse, as a Roundstone to limit the Lands. Moreover, I have faithfully collected in grosse, the yeares of every Reigne, and haue diuided them as I thought most likely, by the continuance of publike and private actions. It is all I could doe in the most ancient Reignes, being vnable to diuine further, but in those that approach neere to our age, the Reader shall see the writing of things from yeare to yeare by degrees, whereby hee may march plainly in a goodly alight without any confusions. The Diagrammes shall supply the particular defaults of times, which we cannot otherwise distinguish. But let vs first see the whole pattern of our Monarchy without any colour or flourish whatsoeuer.

A

## A GENERALL DIAGRAMME: Which notes onely the names of the Kings of FRANCE, according to the order and succession of the three Races, from Pharamond the first King, vnto Lewis the 13 King of France and of Nauarre (now reigning) in number threescore and foure.

The first Race called Merovingians, in number 23 Kings.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 Pharamond.  | 12 Clouis the second.   |
| 2 Clodion or Cloion the hairy.  | 13 Cloitare the third.  |
| 3 Merouée, Who vpon the foundation laid by his Ancestors of this Monarchy, made the buildings appeare more resplendent and beautiful. | 14 Childeric or Chilperic the third.  |
| 4 Chilperic the first.  | 15 Theodoric or Thierri the first.  |
| 5 Clouis the Great, the first Christian King, and the first of that name.   | 16 Clouis the third.  |
| 6 Childbert the first.  | 17 Childbert the second.  |
| 7 Clotaire the first.   | 18 Dagobert the second.   |
| 8 Cherebert.  | 19 Chilperic or Childeric the fourth.   |
| 9 Chilperic the second.   | 20 Thierri the second.  |
| 10 Clotaire the second.   | 21 Chilperic or Childeric the fifth.  |
| 11 Dagobert the first.  | 22 Charles Martell, Master of the Palace in name, but King in effect: having laid the foundation of the Royall Authoritie to his posteritie, and so reckoned among the Kings the two and twentieth. |

The second Race of Carolingians, or Carlees, or of Charles Martell, or of Charlemagne, in number 13 Kings.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 23 Pepin the short, the sonne of Martell.  | stars, is Crowned King, hee was degraded from the Empire and the Crowne, and in his place  |
| 24 Charlemagne King and Emperour, having drawne the Empire of the West into France.  |  |
| 25 Lewis the gentle, King and Emperour, his sonne, first of that name.   | 30 Eudes or Odo Duke of Angers, named by the Kings Testament (as is said) is called and crowned as the other Regents, and for this cause accounted among the Kings: in the end the Crowne comes to   |
| 26 Charles the first, called the bald, King and Emperour, his sonne.   | 31 Charles the simple, the lawfull King, after 22 yeares, he being forced to renounce it, hee dyes for sorrow in prison, and leaues for his lawfull successor Lewis the 4 his sonne, carried into England by his Mother, yielding to the violence of the victorious League, by the which |
| 27 Lewis the second, called the liping, King and Emperour, his sonne.  | 32 Raffe or Raoul Duke of Burgundy, Prince of the Blood, was called to the Crowne, and so is accounted among the Kings, although he were an vsurper, and he being dead   |
| 28 Lewis the third, and Carloman bastards to Lewis, received by the Estates, against the Inhibition of Lewis by his wil, who had named Eudes for Regent, they gouerne the realm together in the first yeare of the minority of Charles the simple, pupil and lawfull heire to Lewis, & yet being crowned Kings, (although they were but Regents) are accounted among the Kings, & make but one. In the confusion during his Minoritie. | 33 Lewis the 4 called Doutremer, or beyond the Sea, Sonne to Charles the Simple, is restored, and leaues the Crowne to   |
| Lewis the idle, Sonne or Brother to Carloman, takes vpon him to be King, but not being acknowledged by the French, as they were ready to dispossesse him, hee dyes, and is not reckoned for any.   | 34 Lothaire, and he to   |
| 29 Charles the 2 called the grosse, a Prince of the blood of France, and Emperour of Germany, confirmed in the Regency by the States, following the example of these Ba-   | 35 Lewis the 5 his onely son, who died without issue Male, he was the last of this second Race, leauing the Throne empty to Hugh Capet, the stemme and first King of the third Race following  |

The

The third Race called the *Capetingiens* or *Capets*, in number 27 Kings.

- 36 Hugues or Hugh Capet, to whom succeeded
- 37 Robert his sonne, alone of that name, and to Robert
- 38 Henry the first his sonne. And to Henry
- 39 Philip the 1 his sonne. And to him
- 40 Lewis the 6, surnamed the *Grosse*, his sonne: And to Lewis the 6
- 41 Lewis the 7 called the yong, his sonne: And to him
- 42 Philip the 2, surnamed *Augustus*, his sonne: And to Philip the 2
- 43 Lewis the 8 his sonne, father to the King Saint Lewis, the most ordinary marke of his name: And to Lewis the eight
- 44 Lewis the 9, honoured by the name of Saint, for his singular piety and vertue: to whom succeeded
- 45 Philip the third his sonne, surnamed the Hardy: And to him
- 46 Philip the 4, called the *Faire*, his sonne, who was also King of *Nauarre* by his wife *Loane*: And to him succeeded
- 47 Lewis the 10 called *Hutin*, his sonne, also King of *Nauarre* by his Mother: he had one son borne after his death called *Tan entere*, but not numbered among the Kings, for that he dyed in the Cradle: so by the law of State
- 48 Philip the 5 called the Long, sonne to Philip the *Faire*, succeeded his brother Lewis *Hutin*, hee dyed without issue Male: who left the Crowne to
- 49 Charles the 4 called the *Faire*, his brother, who also dying without issue Male, the Crowne came by right of inheritance: to
- 50 Philip of *Valois*, the 6 of that name, first Prince of the blood, and first King of the royal Line of *Valois*: to whom succeeded
- 51 John his sonne, onely of that name, unfortunate: to him succeeded
- 52 Charles the 5, surnamed the wise, who preferred the State, during a horrible combustion: to him succeeded
- 53 Charles the 6 his sonne, called the *Welbelov'd*, and yet too well noted by his long and unhappy reigne, amidst the furies of civil warres bred in his minority, and increased in his frenzie, so as a strange King was crowned King of France, and became Master of the greatest part of the Realme: to Charles the 6 succeeded
- 54 Charles the 7 his sonne, who established the

Realme in expelling the Stranger: and to him succeeded

- 55 Lewis the 11 his sonne, who having incorporated *Bourgogne* and *Pronence* to the Crown, and purged the Leauen of intestine division, left the Realme rich and peaceable, to
- 56 Charles the 8 his sonne: who dying without Males, left the Realme according to the law of State, to
- 57 Lewis the 12, Duke of *Orleanse*, first Prince of the blood, who likewise dyed without issue Male, leaving the Crowne to
- 58 Francis the 1 of that name, first Prince of the blood, Duke of *Angoulême*, and he to
- 59 Henry the 2 his sonne, and Henry to
- 60 Francis the 2 his sonne, who dying without Male, left it to
- 61 Charles the 9 his brother, who dying without issue lawfully begotten, left it to
- 62 Henry the 3 his brother, the last of the royal Race of *Valois*, who being slain by a *scabim*, and dying without issue, by the same right of the fundamentall law of State, left the Realme intangled in diuers confusions, to
- 63 Henry the 4 then King of *Nauarre*, first Prince of the blood, and first King of the royal race of *Bourbon*, a Prince indued with vertues fit to restore a State, but successor so much trouble, wearing a Crowne not all of gold, but intermixt with *Thornes*, wreathed with infinite difficulties, governing a body extremely weakened with a long and dangerous disease, surcharged with *Melancholy* and diuers humours, fed with the fury of the people, bewitched with the practises of strangers, who had crept so farre into the bosome of our miserable Country, as they were ready to dispossesse the lawfull heires, and to inuest a new King, if God, the Gardian and Protector of this Realme, had not opposed a good and speedy remedy, to their force (in shew triumphant) by the valour and clemency of our Henry, encountering his enemies with the one, and by the other reducing his subiects (strangely distracted) to their duties, who no doubt had left a most happy & most flourishing Estate, if the hand of an accursed murderer had not brought him to an untimely end, leaving his estate to his Sonne
- 64 Lewis the thirteenth.

ROM. 3.

There is no power but from God, and all powers in an Estate are ordained of God.



# THE FIRST RACE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE:

## CALLED MEROVINGIENS OF MEROVEE, THE THIRD

King of the French, the most famous  
Founder of the French  
Monarchy.

Dan. 4. 14.

*The Soueraigne Lord rules ouer the Kingdomes of men,  
And giues them to whom he pleaseth.  
He putteth downe and sets vp Kings at his pleasure.*





The year of grace.	Kings	
420	1	<b>P</b> haramond reigned 11 years.
431	2	Clodion the hairy 20 years.
451	3	Merouée the great Architect of this Estate, and in this regard the most famous Stem of this Race, reigned 10 years.
461	4	Chilperic or Childeric the first, the sonne of Merouée, 24 years.
485	5	Clouis the first 30 years, the first Christian King, The four sonnes of Clouis, to whom he divided the whole Realme; that is, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Childeric King of Paris.</li> <li>Cloaire King of Sens.</li> <li>Clodamir King of Orleans.</li> </ul>
514	6	Thieri King of Metz, reigned together 42 years, and Clotaire the 1 reigned alone eight years.
558	7	Cherbert King of Paris, Chilperic King of Sens, Contran King of Orleans.
564	8	Segebert King of Metz, reigned together 25 years.
578	9	Chilperic the second in the end reigned alone eight years.
586	10	Clotaire the second 44 years.
631	11	Dagobert the first, 14 years.
645	12	Clouis the second, 16 years.
661	13	Clotaire the third, 4 years.
666	14	Chilperic the third, 2 years and
668	15	Thieri, 19 years.
693	16	Clouis the third, 4 years.
697	17	Childebert the second 27 years.
718	18	Dagobert the second, 5 years.
733	19	Chilperic the fourth, called Daniel by his first name, 5 years.
738	20	Thieri 20 years.
	21	Chilperic or Childeric the 5 the last of the race of the Merouées, he lived with the title of a King ten years, being degraded from the Kingdom, he dyed a Monke, and left the Crowne to
	22	Charles Martel Maire of the Palace, who (without taking the name of King, but enjoying it in effect,) left the Monarchy hereditary to his posterity, the date of his reigns being set under the name of Chilperic, unto the decesse of Martell.

So this Race hath reigned in France 320 years.

Pharamond

A



420

B

## PHARAMOND THE FIRST KING OF FRANCE.

C



**P**HARAMOND the sonne of *Marcomir*, is held for the first King of France by the consent of all our Writers. He began his Reigne the year of Christ, 420. A date very remarkable to describe the first beginning of the French Monarchy. At that time *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, brethren, (sonnes to *Theodosius* the great) held the Romane Empire, invaded so by strange Nations, as it was not onely dismembred into diuers parts, but euen Rome was spoyled and sackt by *Alaric* King of Goths. Amidst these confusions, the French Monarchy had her beginning vpon the ruines of the Empire.

The fundamētall date of the French Monarchy. In the year of Grace, 420.

The French inuited by them of Treues, for the aboue named occasion, first seized on the City, and from thence extended themselves to the neighbour countries; they name Tongue for their first habitation, which the learned hold to bee the country of Brabant, and about Liege. This conquest was not made at one instant, but augmented by degrees, and the nearest Prouinces were first surprized. The French coming from beyond the Rhine, it seemes they did first seize on that part which then lay nearest vnto them, as the countries betwixt the Rhine, the Elscant and the Meuse, and from thence extended themselves euen to the riuer of Loyre. They hold for certaine, that this happy exploit of the French, was vnder the name and authority of *Pharamond* their King, who departed not from his native country, but sending forth his troope, as a swarme of Bees, he reaped the honour and fruit of the conquest, as the Soueraigne head. Hee is commended to haue established good lawes, to haue framed and inured the French to a ciuill and well gouerned kind of life, and to haue laid the first stone of the foundation of this great Monarchy in *E* Gaule: he reduced into one body, and expounded more plainly, the ancient lawes of the French called *Saliques*: augmented them, and shewed the vie, as well for the gouernment of the estate, as for private persons: and therefore he is called the author of those Lawes, although he receiued them from his Ancestors. He reigned eleuen yeares, leaving *Clodion* his sonne for his successor, with a good taste of his integrity noted in his name: for *Pharamond* or *Pharamond* (according to the common pronunciation) in the old French language (that is to say, in Germane) signifies a true mouth: a vertue in truth worthy of a Prince, and necessary for the conduct of humane society.

Estate of the Empire at the beginning of it.

His policy.

The time of his reigns.

This is all that may be certainly written of the original of the French Monarchy: yet *Gregory of Tours* (a very ancient author) makes no mention of *Pharamond*, and lets downe the beginning of this estate in grosse, as a thing vncertaine. What certainty then may we looke for of more ancient times? We finde in the Romane Histories, some apparent steps to guide vs to the knowledge of our beginning. These goodly Prouinces of Gaule, were courted by all their neighbours: the Romanes vnder colour of conueniency, seized on that which lay nearest vnto them, by means whereof, they sought to become masters of the rest, but they wanted no competitors. The Heluetians (since called *Suisse*) and likewise the Germanes would haue lodged there, if *Caesar* had not withstood them. His successors were encountered with the like difficulties, but in the end they prevailed,

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to

to whom God had determined the possession, that is, to the French, issued double esse out of Germany, and governed by Kings. We read in the lives of the last Emperours, the names of *Melbandus, Richimer, Marcomir, Berthar, Sunno, Pharabert, Theodemir, and Dagobert*: but hereof we cannot with reason beleue all that the Registers of *Hambauld, and Trithemius* doe comment, touching these ancient Kings. Let vs therefore leaue these subtillties which as haue leasure to refuse their wits, and lay before our eyes the light of a more sound and profitable truth: let vs observe the estate of the Church, when as this Monarchy began to appeare, for hereafter the Church shall be her principall gemme, although the French Kings were Infidels in these first beginnings.

The estate of the Church.

*Saint Jerome, Chrysostome, Ambrose, and Augustine*, liued in those times, spectators of B the dissipation of the Empire, when the Church suffered much. *Damasus, Ciriacus, Anastasius, Innocentius, Solimus, and Bonifacius*, Bishops of Rome, liued there one after another (medrenowed for their piety, learning and dexterity) amidst the confusions of the Empire, and even at Rome where the Emperours were seldom seene; so as the absence of the Emperours (troubled to withstand the Barbarians, and the miserable estate of the time, which forced Christians to flee to their Bishop for counsell and comfort to their confused afflictions) laid the foundation of their authority, then small, being tied to their charges, and subiect to the Emperours command: but it grew by degrees, vntill it came to the height of this soueraine and absolute power, so as in the end they haue prescribed lawes to Emperours, Kings, and Christian Princes. A necessary obseruation, both C for the truth and order of this History, to vnderstand rightly both the times and meanes of their rising. In the first age, the Bishops of Rome durst not shew themselves (being persecuted, imprisoned, and martyred by the Emperours.) Since *Constantine* the Great, their authority began: in the dissipation of the Empire, it increased, and this Realme did forsake and augment it. Our first Kings knew them not: their next successors maintained and aduanced them, as *Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemaigne*, to whom they are indebted for the greatest support and increase of their chiefe authority.

#### Fundamentall Rules or Maximes of the State of France.

BEfore we proceed any further in this Treatise, reason & order commands vs to set D down the soueraine Maximes of our Monarchy, as goodly Pillars in the front of this great building: to the end we may not dispute either of the ancient forme of government in the first age of our Ancestors, or of the fundamentall lawes of the estate; It is necessary that our minds (euen in our infancy) be stationed with this common beleefe, being the bond and vision of the naturall obedience we owe vnto our Kings. Without doubt, it is neither true, nor likely that our predecessors (taking possession of this goodly inheritance) made any question of that which had bene concluded amongst them from father to son. The most ancient Histories (whose authority is without controule) testifie, that the French Nation was governed by Kings, and experience (iudged with reason, doth shew that the French cannot be otherwise commanded, then by a Royalty. Whereunto serues this E question amongst the French, touching the forme of government, when as *Cauls* was first possided by them: And to what end should these painted speeches be vttered by our ancient warriors, who made so great profession to do well, as they neglected eloquent words.

This Maxim thus laid, as the ground of the Estate of France, the truth of that which hath passed in ancient times, doth plainly shew, what the forme of this royaltie hath ben: for who doth not see, by the names of the Kings of France, (as they haue commanded in this Realme, amidst so many alterations of the State, in the change of the three Races, where we may note the succession from father to sonne, from brother to brother, and from cousin to the nearest kinsman of the blood Royall) that it was hereditary from all antiquity: This is the Law, the vice whereof is so worthily regarded in all commands, the F force whereof defends the State amidst the strongest confusions, yea sucking babes haue enjoyed it without any dispute or contradiction. At the very name of an infant King, Armies haue marched vnder the command of a woman (otherwise very odious by reason of her vices) and yet so respected (being the Kings mother) as the French haue grown desperate in most perillous battails, returning with bloody victories, thrust forward with this onely resolution, to preferre the estate of their young King, lying in his swaddling clothes. By the force of this law, the French (after the decaie of their lawfull Kings, leaving

The first Maxim.  
The French cannot endure any other government then a Royalty.

The second.  
The Royalty of France is successeive.

The efficacy of a successeive Royalty.

A leaving their wiues with child) hauing reuerenced the wombe of their Queene, expecting her delivery: being a sonne, he was nourished, bred vp, and honored as their King: And if he died in his first infancy, they haue performed his obsequies, with the like respect and reuerence, as to a King in his majority.

To conclude: reason, authority, and experience, doe plainly shew, that a successeive royaltie is better, then that which depends vpon the peoples choice and election: for what is a Royaltie, but the image of a Fathers command: the loue, honor, and obedience which children beare towards their parents, be the effects of the law of nature figured in their hearts. A father commands ouer many children, who although they be planted in diuers parts (as we see in the peopling of great families) yet all returne to the chiefe stocke or stemme: all acknowledge and honor the father, all obey him while he liues, by a more voluntary obedience, for that it is meerly naturall. Behold the patterne of a ciuill government. To apply it to our subiect: it appeares, the first man had this naturall authority, euen as we see it at this day. As mankind multiplied into diuers families, so this multitude had need of a greater government. Man cannot liue alone: a Locustie confists in commandment and obedience. From this fountaine a royaltie springs. Lookie what is done in a family, the like is in a state, by the same force of nature: one commands and is obeyed. There this naturall respect is the bond of lawfull obedience. So here in like sort, whereas the commandment of one giues law to all, for that the law of nature hath power ouer all, it doth authorize this respect in the hearts of subiects, by a voluntary obedience C to their Kings as to their fathers. And as we need not to be taught to honour father and mother; So, who is so vnkind that will make any question to honour the Father vnder whom he is borne. It is that which the original of the first truth doth teach vs, Honour father and mother, not onely to eue vs to them that gaue vs life, but to those that make vs to liue happily in the common society of mankind: that is, to the father in the house, and to the King in the State, as the father of our fathers. Thus Royaltie is the most ancient and best forme of government, when as the King is Father of his people, according to the ordinance of nature, as we shall shew elsewhere at better leisure. I hope this small Digression shall be excused for the necessity of the subiect.

D A Royaltie then is the image of a fathers authority. How can a father then (whom God hath giuen by the course of nature) be chosen by his children? If to liue well according to nature, and by consequence, that which proceeds from nature, be the best, who doubts but a Royaltie (the which God hath giuen vs by the law of State, the soueraine law of society, wherein we are borne) is without doubt better then that which depends on the tumultuous factions of people? Thus much for reason. Now let vs see what Authority sayes, which speaks plainly, and in the goodliest estate of the world, which was the common-weale of *Israel*, wherein God had planted his Church, as his most precious Jewell. Truly, the lawfull Royaltie of the house of *Dauid*, hath bene hereditary and successeive from father to sonne, and from cousin to the nearest kinsman, a patterne E whereby to frame a perfect estate, farre better then the common-weale of *Plato*: who notwithstanding hath respected the blood Royall in the race of Kings, with great prerogative, moued thereunto by the force of nature, to acknowledge the best forme of government in an hereditary succession, whereas one is borne to command, another to obey. I will dilate no more of so rich and ample a subiect, hauing onely quoted that which is necessary for the circumstance of my purpose. But what shall wee say of Experience, the mistress of foolles? What is he, but may thereby feeble the visible proofes of this truth: Doublet those Countries and States, which haue kept this liberty to choose their Kings, doe often feele (to their costs) the tumultuous fruits of their elections, striving with much paine to maintain this priuiledge against the lawes of nature, positing from F nation to nation, with much toyle, and small profit, searching for that as farre off, which they might easily find at home: and for the auoiding of tumults, (which might grow among equall Competitors) they procure vnto themselves infinite troubles, the which they might auoid, in receiuing of him willingly whom God should cause to be borne among them, with a lawfull authority. But some will object, that which we cannot deny to haue bene practised in two Races, That the French had in former time authority to place and displace their Kings: as appeares, as well by the Kings chosen by Parliament, which were borne vpon Targets; as also by the famous examples of *Pepin*, and *Charlemaigne*, leaving

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A Royaltie is the best forme of government.  
How is it appeares by reason.

A successeive Royaltie is the best.

By authority.

By experience.

In old times, as the received of a new King, they vied to say him vpon a Target in a publick audience.

426 *Capes.* Whereunto the answer is true and plaine, that this consent was but the seale of the naturall prerogative due to the Race of our lawfull Kings; and their disallowing, a declaration of their bale sloathfullnesse, unworthy of that naturall prerogative, wherewith they were honored in their birth, and from the which they did degenerate in living ill.

The prerogative of a King is nothing impaired by the peoples consent at his first reception.

And as we see in the succession of Kings, the nearest allyed holds the other by the hand: so in these two alterations, when as necessity forced the French to change their King, (as when the like necessity constrained the children to give their furious father a tutor) we may observe that they have alwaies made choise of men nearest to the blood Royall, preferring vertue before a maske of authority corrupted with vice, the publique good before the private interest of a vicious man, retaining nothing but the name of his noble race. They have preferred (as much as they could) their natural respect to the blood Royall. The Law made the King: that is his birth. But the law of nature, followed by the law of Nations, and the free consent of the people, hath not beene the cause, but the very effect of this naturall authority. So this royall authority is limited and ruled by the foweraigne Law of State: which doth so advance the head above all the members of the body, as they may not be separated. For what is a King without subiects, but a head without members? The Kings prefers his estate, as the head doth the body. But, as the head (from whence life proceeds to the body) lives with the body, so the King (who preserves the estate by his authority) is preferred in the estate, by the consent of his subiects.

In this inseparable union, he doth fortifie his power by theirs, and his command with their voluntary obedience. *Plato* sayes, that *Authority not subiect to controulment, is pernicious to him that commands, and to them that are commanded.* It is a lawfull and profitable restraint for Kings, and the necessary counterpoise of their authority. This law will have every member to hold his place, in the body of a State: And by consequence, that the subiects consent, (who offer their goods and lives to their King) be respected in their degree. This hinders no more the hereditary prerogative of a Royalty, then the diuerse ministry of the members do the foweraigne authority of the head, ouer the whole body.

And as in the beginning, or in the rising, or infancy of an Estate, vertue ministers occasion for the people to choise such as should command ouer them successfully, leaving as it were in sacred guard, in the hands of their best men, what they hold most precious, and so to their successors, who by all reasonable coniecture, must be good and vertuous, being born of good parents: even so in the end, vice makes them to hate such as abuse this prerogative: and in like manner the same vertue makes them to flie to others, whom they hold more worthy to command, in that they are obedient vnto reason. This Maxime then stands firme, that the authority of the States not being incompatible with the foweraignty of a King, the Royalty of France is, and hath alwaies beene merely hereditary, without any exception, nor can it otherwise subsist & stand, all well considered. And who fo thinks or speaks otherwise, imagining popular common-weales in France, he is ignorant of the disposition of the French, and feeds himselfe with a dangerous vanity.

The third. The male only capable of the Crowne, the female excluded in France.

But this law of a succeeding Royalty is limited by a third Maxime: *That the right of the Crowne is tied to the heyres male:* whereas in many nations, for want of males, the foweraigne authority of a royalty falls to the females of the royall Race. And this Law received by the approbation of the subiect people, is happily put in practice. The president is very memorable and remarkable in the Realme of England, whereas *Queene Elizabeth* alone, hath surpassed the happinesse of the greatest Kings her predecessors, ruling a long time with great authority in peace: so as having gotten most famous victories ouer her enemies, she hath erected through peace, the goodliest trophies that euer King of England could haue planted there. So great is the force of the Law in the societie of mankind, the which God will haue inuiolable vnder the gage of faith and publique order. But the Royalty of France is wholly restrained to the males, the fundamentall law of State (being called the Salique Law) not admitting the females. For this foweraigne Law is set downe in these words; *Is the Salique Land, let no portion of the inheritance come to the female: but let the male haue the possession.* That is to say, the males only are, capable of the Crowne of France: the females being wholly excluded, and by consequence their issue, the which can pretend no more interest then their mothers, neither haue they any portion in the reuenues of the Crowne, which cannot be alienated. So as it is giuen them but for terme of life, by assignation of dowry at the Kings good pleasure.

The French were often called Salians, of the River Salin in Franconia: and the French lawes resembled Salique lawes.

This

A This fundamentall Law is called Salique, by excellency, although the Salique lawes containe the rights of priuate men: but amongst them, that which concerns the Maiesty of the Prince, is the principall, and for this cause is knowne by this worthy obseruation. The practice of this fundamentall Law is apparent in the first Race, where the chiefe proofe of Antiquitie must be made in the Daughters of *Childebert*, son to the first *Clovis*. In the Daughters of *Childebert*, sonne to *Clovis* the first: In the Daughters of *Gontran*, sonne of the same *Clovis*, all which are excluded from the Crowne, and in their places the nearest Princes of the blood admitted by the consent of all the French. The second Race hath no examples of this Law in the particular circumstance of women. The third hath very notable ones: *Edward* King of England was excluded by iudgement of the States, from the right he pretended to this Crowne, being son to one of the daughters of France, the onely daughter of *Philip* the faire: *Philip* of Valois was preferred before his Nece daughter to *Lewis* *Hutin*. And of late memory *Francis* the first of that name, Duke of *Angoulême*, before the two daughters of *Lewis* the twelfth, without any contradiction.

428 The fundamentall Law called Salique. The practice thereof. The Author himselfe writes that these kings dyed without issue.

This law was obserued among the French before *Pharamond* was borne: and by vertue of this Law he reigned as Successor to his Ancestors, *Marcomir*, *Sunno*, *Astelobaudes*, and others. And as hee was appointed by the wife providence of God, to be the first Architector of this Monarchy, so was hee endued with singular graces fit for so excellent a worke, in the which the Law should fortifie the valour of this fierce and warlike Nation.

Here the Author would haue a fained supposition to be taken for an undoubted truth.

C Thus *Pharamond* is renowned for his wisdom and iudgment, who did countenance and authorize the Salique Lawes, and that especially which was the chiefe, to take away all future debate from his Successors. And for the better strengthening of his lawes, he assembled his Captaines, whereof the Councillors of our ancient Kings were chosen. They name among the chiefe of them, *Widoast*, *Sabogast*, *Wisogast*, and *Bosogast*: the which our fabulous curiosities doe transforme into some great Orators, without any apprehension of truth. These were good Warriours, and yet wise men and iudicious. But who can beleue that they were great Rhetoricians? So *Pharamond* was not the author, but the beautifier of the Salique lawes, as *Iustinian* of the Ciuill lawes of the Romanes.

To search out the original of the word, neither my style, nor my humor will suffer me to dispute thereof: euerie one hath his iudgement free. But this is my opinion: as words be the images of things, so are they inuented to represent the nature of the thing whereunto they are applied. It appeares, that among the French, the Saliens were those that held the chiefe degrees, and gaue the name to the whole Nation. So as all Frenchmen are oftentimes called Saliens. The Salique Lawes therefore are the French lawes, appointed to rule and gouerne the French. It was the ancient name continued with the most ancient lawes, the which the honor of the Nation, and the reuerence of so sacred a thing, hath forbidden in any sort to alter. So the Salique law hath continued time out of mind, the foweraigne law of State, vnder which the French haue liued: and so haue continued from father to sonne, without any alteration, either in the substance, or the word, majesticall in the hearts and tongues of all French men. What apparence is there then, that *Philip* of Valois hath borrowed the name of *Pharamond* in the inuention of this law, to make it seruise his turne? How much unlikely is it, that so important a law being the ground of the Estate, should be vknowne to the French? What a drowinesse had it been in so wise and circumspect a Nation, to suffer themselves to be abused by a new-come Prince, and by so grosse a policie to draw themselves into apparent combustion, which hung ouer their heads, in preferring the French before the English, who had then so good a portion in France, where he possessed the goodliest and richest Provinces? How vnfounded is this policie, to imagine, that a poore Prince, Earle of Valois, hauing to doe with a rich King of England, who encountered the French mens minds with an intestine force,

Of the word Salique.

What these Saliques were.

F by the golden vertue of his Angels, could haue abused such as were kept in their obedience, by the force of right and reason, for the preservation of the Crowne of France, their Country? Who sees not, but it had beene the ouerthrow of *Philip* of Valois cause, to say that he had forged a Law at his pleasure, to exclude the lawfull heyre and her offspring, from her right? Truly the good cause of *Philip* of Valois made him preuaile against *Edward* King of England, and the ancient reuerence to him, authorized by a continuall vice, and received by the common consent of the French, reiected gold to respect the order of right, for the benefit of the lawfull Heyre.

An auenture, French Author writes, that it is but an obseruation & no law.

B 3

These

431  
Etymology of  
the word Sa-  
liques.

These French laws were called Saliques, of the River Sal which is in Franconia, or East France: It joynes with Mein, and is not yet dried vp. It is neyther new, nor extraordinary for people to deriue their names from Mountains or Riuers: & to shew an example, springing from the same thing, by noting the riuers, The Country where the Citie of Paris is seated (not onely the chiefe of this great Realme, but the Theater of the whole world, if by a happy peace shee may recover her ancient beauty) is called the Isle of France, for the conourse of diuers Riuers, which ioyned with Sein: and to this end, the Ship (the Armes of our chiefe Citie) shewes the conueniency of these goodly Riuers: Who can with reason obiect the apparenny of this likelihood? That as our Ancestors remaining alongst the Riuer of Sal, were called Saliens, so the name hath continued to posterity: the which for the like reason, are called Ripuaires, as made for the commoditie and vse of the dwellers vpon that bank, the which they likewise called Ripuaires, or Ribberons. Truly long time after, *Conrad* of Francony, the Emperour, was called *Salique*, to marke his beginning in that Country by the ancient name. Thus much for the word. But the inuolable Maximes and Principles of the State of France, the consent of all the true and ancient writers, the prescription of so many ages, the generall approbation of all the French Nation, should make vs hold this Salique law for certaine, without seeking for new opinions, not onely weak and vnprofitable, but insupportable in the State, where the old prouerbe must stand for an oracle, *Remoue nos les fons well laid*. Thus hauing briefly set downe the principall lawes of the State of France, I will retorne to the course of my History.

Death of Pharamond.

Thus he reigned, thus he liued, and thus dyed *Pharamond*, the first King of France, leaving for hereditary Successor of his Realme, his sonne *Clodion*, according to the right of Law: and King in effect, by consent of the French. This age was the sincke of Barbarous nations, by whom God would iustly punish the vniust pride of the Romanes. The greatest part came out of Asia, staying first in Germany, and from thence like Caterpillers or Grasshoppers, spread themselves ouer Gaule, Italy and Spaine: that is to say, the Gothes or Getes, Alans, Hunnes, Sueues, and others: and from the North, the Bourguignons, Normans and Lombards. We must know the change of these Nations for the vse of this History. But it sufficeth to touch them briefly in their places, without cloying our chiefe subiect with a cumberfome discourse.

## CLODION, or CLOION the hairy, The second King of France.

The first attempt of Clodion.



**CLODION**, the sonne of *Pharamond*, succeeded his father in the year 431. and reigned one and twenty years. He laboured to follow his fathers course, and to settle himselfe in Gaule: but hauing transported certaine troopes, which made a happy beginning, passing to the Countreys of Cambresie and Tournay, betwix the Riuers of Somme and Escaut, behold a furious multitude of diuers Nations assembled together, Vandales, Alans, Sueues and Bourguignons (ialous to see this great and warlike people follow their steps, in the conquest of a Land not onely set to sale, but abandoned in the disorders

of the Romane Empire) opposed themselves against them. The French not able to withstand so great vnited Forces, retired themselves into their Country of Franconia. To this ialousie was added the practice of *Stillicio*, Lieutenant generall to *Honorius* Emperour of the West, who easily engaged these Nations (seeking for worke) against the French, laboring by all means to crosse them, and to possesse himselfe of Gaule: yet the successe did not fit his designe: for being prevented by *Honorius* his Master, he was slaine, with his sonne *Eucherius*, whom he had appointed absolute heyre of that goodly portion. But the prouidence of God had left it in prey to these great and victorious Nations, being come

A come from diuers parts of the world to diuide the Empire. Thus confusion preuailed by his authoritie, who had most interest in the practices of *Stillicio*, who, in taking Gaule for himselfe) retained still the Romane name, being overthrowne by *Honorius*. The deluge of these barbarous Nations ouerspread all Gaule, which from yeare to yeare was replenished with new guests. The Bourguignons had already seized on a great part, with the title of a kingdom, whereof Arles was the chiefe Citie. The Gothes possessed Gaule Narbonnoise, euen by the Emperours consent, who granted what he could not take from them, with promise to passe no further. So this victorious nation, dispersed in diuers places, as in Italy, Gaule and Spaine, were called by sundry names, *Wisigoths* and *Ostrogoths*, according to the places where they were planted, by their great multitudes, and manner. Such was the disorder of the Romanes, who in their feasons had subdued the whole world by their victorious armes, These tempests and stormes reigned during the Emperies of the two Brethren *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the one commanding in the East, and the other in the West: of *Theodosius* the second, sonne to *Arcadius*, and in the beginning of *Valentinian* the third, a vicious and unhappy Prince. The reigne of *Clodion* fell out in those times not greatly memorable, but to obtruse his resolutions and mainly endeauours, to settle and encrease the conquest of his father, but with no successe. Thus great and heroicall Enterprises, haue often stayes and lets in the beginning, or such difficult crosses, as they seeme quite suppressed.

The efface of the Empire.

C *Atius* a Romane borne, succeeded *Stillicio* for the Emperour, in that which remained in Gaule. He opposed himselfe violently against the French, who at diuers times endeauoured to passe the Rhine, and to retorne into France. *Clodion* fortifying himselfe courageously against this storme, fainted not for all these first difficulties. In the end hee resolved to hazard all vpon this last cast: and to this effect he raised a mighty Army, with an intent to goe in person to the conquest of this goodly Kingdom. But God had resolved to giue it to the French: yet by another hand then that of *Clodion*, for he dyed in this voyage, being on the bankes of Rhine, with an intent to passe in, in the year of Grace 451. leaving *Merovee* heyre of his designe and valour.

Law for wearing long haire.

Hee was called *Le Cheueu*, or hairy, for that he made a law, that none but Kings and their Children, with the Princes of the blood, should weare long haire, in token of command: after the Romane manner, who shaued the heads of their slaues and seruants, and left the periwig onely to the Patriciens, and the head bare. This custome, confirmed by the law of *Clodion*, hath bene long time obserued in France: so as by this marke, *Clodion* myre the sonne of *Clodion* (being slaine in a battell by the Bourguignons) was knowne among the dead: And in token of a degrading or dishonouring, they shaued such as they degraded from the Royall dignitie: as it appears by infinite examples: amongst which our History makes mention of one very memorable, of *Queene Clotilde*, who chose rather to cut off the heads of her young sonnes, then to haue their haire pold or shauen; that is to say, she preferred an honest death before the dishonour of her Children: for in cutting off their haire (the marke of their naturall dignitie) they were deprived of all hope to enioy their degree, and were confined into a base estate, vnworthy of their greatnes, to dye with continually heart-breaking reproch and infamy.

The estate of the Church.

*Genferic* King of the Vandales, at that time seized vpon Africke, and euen when as he beleaged Hippone (which at this day they call Bonne, famous for the fishing of *Corrall*.) *Saint Augustine* dyed the third month of the siege, the fourth year of his Ministry in that Citie, and the 76. of his age, hauing both seen and felt those tragical ruines in the desolate estate of the Church, afflicted then in diuers parts of the world by these Barbarians, *Theodosius* the second, the sonne of *Arcadius*, a good and a wise Prince, did his best endeauor to stop the course of this last shipwracke, but he preuailed not. The insolency of *Valentinian* the third (a Prince extremely vicious) thrust it headlong, and the ill government of his Seruants, (namely of *Bonifacius* Governor of Africke, and of *Atius* Governor of Gaule) called in the Barbarians to the subersion of the Empire: who to be reuenged one of another, (being capitall enemies, for the ialousie of their greatnes,) did what they could to ruine their master.

The estate of the Church.

MEROVEE

## MEROVEE, the third King of France,

Who gave the name and greatest grace to this first Race.



Meroove  
footeing into  
France.

BROVEE, sonne, or the nearest kinsman to *Clodion*, succeeded to the Crowne, as well by vertue of the fundamentall Law of State, as by the free election of the French, in the year 451. He was farre more happy then *Clodion*: for hee not only effected his designe in passing the Rhine, and taking footing in Gaule: but did happily extend the limits of his new kingdom. And the same *Atius* which crossed *Clodion*, made the way easie for *Meroove* vnawares, for the execution of his Enterprize, by this occasion: *Atius* fell in disgrace with *Honorius* his Master, being grieved to see the great successe of the Gothes, Vandales, and other barbarous Nations in the Empire, imputing the fault vnto his Seruants and Officers: Thus growing ialous, hee calls him from his government of Gaule, and sends *Castinus* in his place, who was not onely vnacquainted with the estate of the Gaules, but was also discontented with *Bonifacius* Gouvernor of Africke, with whom he had commandement to ioyne his Forces, to oppose against the common Enemies of the Romanes. During those actions *Honorius* dyed, leaving *Theodosius* in the East, and *Valentinian* in the West, two young Princes of diuers humors.

*Meroove* embracing this occasion with great dexterity, founds the hearts of his neighbours the Gaulois, and findes them disposed to his deuotion. He raiseth an Army, passeth the Rhine, takes Treues at his first approach, and then Argentine (which is now called Strassbourg) with the Countries adioyning to it. Hee extends euen to Cambresie and Tournay: & proceeding further into Gaule, he seized on the best Cities of Champagne, with so great expedition, as no Roman appeared to stop the course of his victory. *Valentinian* aduertised of this successe, called backe *Atius* to quench this fire, sending him into Gaule with an Army against the French: but there was other worke prepared for him, for *Attila* King of the Huns (who named himselfe the scourge of God to chastise the Empire) hauing assembled an incredible number of men in the Deserts of Asia (being five hundred thousand Souldiers) falls downe like a furious deluge, spoyling all the Countries where he passed: and hauing crossed through Poland into Germany, and passed the Rhine, he threatened to invade France, a Country desired by all these Nations for her fertilitie and beauty. *Atius* had no shorter course, nor better meanes to avoid this storme; then to become friends with the French, and with all the other possessors of Gaule, who were threatened by this common storme: so as in stead of warre, hee made a Peace with *Meroove* vpon this extremitee.

*Attila* entred Gaule, and aduanced so farre, that hee besieged Orleans, where *Anian* E liued then, a most famous Bishop, who did greatly comfort the besieged by his piety and wisdom, whilst that the Forces of their confederate Friends assembled by the meanes of *Atius*, Romanes, French, Goths, and Bourguignons. Orleans being at the point to yeeld, *Thierry* King of the Goths arises so happily, as he forceth *Attila* to raise his siege, and to take another course. *Attila* marching away with this vast body of an Army, he was pursued speedily by *Atius* and his Confederates, who ouer-tooke him in the fields of Catalaunias, the which is diuerly taken, eyther for the Country about Chalons, or about Tholouse. A battell was given, and the Combat was furious, but the checke fell vpon the Huns, who lost (as it is constantly written) 180000 fighting men, and the victory remained in common to the Romanes, French, and Goths: but the triumph and honor to *Meroove* and his men, who fought very valiantly. *Thierry* King of the Goths was slaine very happily, to make the way easie for *Meroove*.

It was propounded in councill, to pursue *Attila*, but *Atius* would not yeeld thereto, so as *Attila* saued himselfe, being beaten but not vanquished: for with the same Forces he seized vpon a great part of Pannonia the happy, whence in the end came the name of Hungary, although after the death of *Attila*, who did but lay the euain, and his posterity finished what he had begunne. A question is made what moued *Atius* to leaue *Attila* halfe

The French  
ioyne the Romanes  
and Goths.

Orleans besieged  
by *Attila*.

*Attila* ouer-  
throwne, but  
not quite van-  
quished.

A halfe vanquished. The reliques of his discomfited Army were not small, after so great a losse: so as it seemed best not to force him to despair, seeing there is but one onely help for the vanquished, not to hope for helpe. *Atius* might also haue given this aduice, by reason of his ialousie against the French, who should haue reaped an ouerplus of greatness by the absolute ouerthrow of this Barbarian. But with what intention soeuer hee did it, it succeeded ill for himselfe: for *Valentinian* his master was so discontented with him, as he caused him to be slaine, depriving himselfe of a sufficient and faithfull seruant: and (as one reproched it vnto him) he had cut off his right hand with his left. In the mean time *Meroove* affaires succeeded well in all places: he had wonne much reputation: he was feared of the Romanes, honoured of the Gaules, and respected and beloued of all men. *Thierry* King of the Goths, gaue him place by his death, with whom the Romanes might haue ioyned: and his greatest opposition, was the wisdom and valour of *Atius*, the which did no more checke him.

Thus the providence of God (which meant to vse him for the building of this Monarchy) made way for him euerywhere. He likewise knew how to embrace all these opportunities with such dexterity, that taking hold of all occasions, he entred the Countrey, taking possession of Paris, Sens, Orleans, and the neighbour Prouinces, with the content of the inhabitants: and ioyning these with the rest, hee won the Gaules, with so good vsage, as he was held worthy to command ouer them: and so without any contention, he began to frame the body of an Estate, calling France (by the name of his ancient country) the country of the Gauls, being newly brought vnder his obedience. Hereby we may see, whether it be likely that *Valentinian* gaue the French their liberty, for recompence of this notable seruice: and that from thence they began to be called Frenchmen, that is to say, Franc and free, as some write, not well observing the Romane History, whence these Romane obseruations should with reason be drawne. Such was the valour, wisdom, and happinesse of this great and worthy Prince, who with great reason gaue his name to this first Race, called *Meroingiens*, to aduow him the principall pillar of their feeded estate.

He beganne to reigne in the year 451, and ruled tenne yeares onely, not omitting one houre to doe well. In his time there chanced notable accidents in the Church. As on the one side the Barbarians dismembred the State, so the Hereticks troubled the Church by their monstrous innovations, sprung vp against the truth of the ancient and Catholike doctrine: and their chiefe practices were against the Sonne of God. *Nestorius* diuided the Natures: *Eutiches* did confound them: *Theodosius* the second assembled a general Councell at Ephesus, against *Nestorius* and *Martian* his successor: another at Chalcedon against *Eutiches*. There were likewise Synods at Orange, Valence, Carpentras, Aises, Tours, and elsewhere, for diuers necessities of the Church, the which, order and discipline might remedy. *Cyrillus* and *Theodoret* liued in those times, great personages, and worthy defenders of the truth.

The happy  
reigne of *Atius*  
ended.

The fine of  
the Empire  
and Church.

E

## CHILDERIC, or CHILPERIC THE FIRST,

## The fourth King of France.

In some Copies HILPERIC.



F

HE French and the Gaules being thus vnited, they chose *Childeric* the son of *Meroove* for their King, with great solemnity, being the first assembly of this new people, consisting of two Nations, and installed him, according to their ancient manner (raising him vpon a Target) they caried him about the Assembly. He began to rule in the year 461, and reigned thirty yeares. A Prince noted in diuers examples, both in his life and government: for in the beginning he was vicious and vnfortunate, but being reclaimed by affliction (hauing changed his life) happinesse did accompany him in the end of his dayes. At his comming to the Crowne, hee did greatly abuse his authority, in oppressing of his

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his Subjects with excessive Taxes, ransoming the wives and daughters of the French: who seeing themselves ill treated in their goods and honours, they assemble, and resolve to expell *Chilperic* as unworthy to reign, and to call in *Gillon* a Romane for their King, who gouerned in Gaule for the Romans, and held his seat at Soissons. The hate and contempt of Subjects against their Kings, is a great meanes to blemish their authority. The vices of *Chilperic* bred this discontent in the French, and the scourge was ready to chastise him, though not to ruine him.

*Chilperic expelled for his vices*

*Chilperic* (not able to oppose himselfe against this common consent) gives place, by the counsell of *Guyemans* a man of great account, who promised him to be his faithfull friend in his affliction, and to vse his best endeouours to pacifie the French, being incensed against him, and to cause him to be recalled. To this end he takes a token from *Guyemans* for the more secret treating in his absence. The token was a peece of a gold ring, wherof either of them tooke a moiety. This done, *Chilperic* retires himselfe into Turlinge to King *Bafin* his deare friend and kinsman, expecting better fortune. *Guyemans* proceeds with such dexterity, as creeping into fauour with this new King, and keeping his credit with the French, he makes himselfe fit to effect his purpose, both by the one and the other. The issue answereth the proiect. Having plausible audience with *Gillon*, he aduiseeth him, that to get authoritie among his Subjects, he must inure them to obedience; and therefore he must not forbear to lay publike charges vpon them, else they would contemne him, and in the end, insule ouer him, if in time he did not accustom them to beare the yoke of his new authoritie. According to this aduice, the King (vncacquainted with the humour of the French) impositeth Taxes contrary to custome, and doubles charge vpon charge. The same fire which had inflamed the French against *Chilperic*, incensed them presently against *Gillon*. For (say they) to what end should this new master become a tyrant? Wee can dispossesse him with the like facility that we haue made him. Thus they generally complaine, euery one (according to the credit he hath with the people) cries out that they must preuent this mischiefe. Such as were the motiues and instruments to expell *Chilperic*, are not the last to complaine. *Guyemans* doth secretly aduertise *Gillon*, that the meanes to auoid the danger which *Chilperic* fell into, was to prevent this practice in the breeding, and to put the principall authors thereof to death, as the ring-leaders of rebellion. *Gillon* entertaines this aduice: he puts them to death that were the instruments of *Chilperic*'s disgrace. And so with one stroke giues two strokes. He takes them away that might frustrate his designe, and disposeth the Frenchmens hearts to desire their King.

And thus he makes the way for *Chilperic*'s returne, by a very happy dexterity, and the euent was answerable. *Gillon* (having put these aforesaid to death) became very odious to the French. *Guyemans* abandons *Gillon*, and cunningly embraceth this occasion, in fauour of *Chilperic*. He blames the French for their lightnesse, to haue expelled their naturall Lord, and received a stranger farre more insupportable. Thus he makes them resolute to call home *Chilperic*: who vnderstanding their desire, and seeing the peece of gold (the token of his returne) sent by his faithfull friend, returns confidently into France: he is received by the French, and by their aduise *Gillon* to resigne him the place, and to retire himselfe to Soissons. Such was the first part of *Chilperic*'s life. The last was of another temper: for being taught by himselfe, he was so addicted to doe good, as he got the good will of the French, of whom he was beloved, honoured, and obeyed all the rest of his life. So as to good minds capable of reason, affliction serues as a chastisement, and not for a ruine: for an instruction, and not a destruction. He did fight happily against *Adaire* King of the Saxons, subdued the Germans, and wonne a great country along the Rhine. He added to this State the Country of Aniot, hauing forced the Citie of Angiers: and to make his happinesse absolute, he had one sonne, who augmented and assured his Realme. They onely obserue one notable error committed after his returne, in taking *Bafin* to wife, being the wife of *Bafin* King of Turlinge, who had courteously entertained him in his distresse, violating the sacred lawes of Hospitality, suffering himselfe to be abused with the loue of a woman, accounted a witch: for they say, this woman (who had forsaken her husband for him) made him to see a vision the first night of their unlawfull marriage, the which did represent the state of the succeeding Kingdome, by Lyons, Unicorns, Leopards, the which appeared first in this vision: then by Beares and Wolves: and lastly, by Cats, Dogs, and other small beasts, the which did reare one another

*Chilperic called home, chastised by affliction.*

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After in funder. You must pardon these fables of antiquary, (bred as it seemes long after) by the which she would represent the estate of these three Races, according to their diuers occurrences. *Chilperic* having lived thus, and reigned thirty yeares, he left *Clouis* his son for successor, and heyre of one of the goodliest and beautifullest pillars of the French Monarchy: as shall appeare by the following discourse.

*His success was Rayne - first of the line of Clovis - he had 3 children - 2 daughters - and 1 son - The long - Raigne - of Clovis - was the first of the line of the French Monarchy - The first of the line of the French Monarchy - was the first of the line of the French Monarchy -*

## CLOVIS THE FIRST,

## The fift King of France.

And the first Christian King.



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*LOVIS*, succeeding his father *Chilperic*, was installed in the Royaltie, by the French, according to their ancient custome, borne vpon a Targer in open assembly. He began to reigne the yeare 483, and reigned thirty yeares. He had scarce attained to the age of fifteene yeares, when as he mounted to the royall throne. A young man of great hope, borne for the feeding of this Monarchy. His fore-fathers had laid the foundation, but he did build vpon those goodly beginnings with so great valour, wisdom, and good fortune, as he was to be held for one of the greatest Architects of this Estate, hauing had the honor to be the first King of France that receiued the Christian religion, the greatest beauty of this Crowne: and a priuiledge so carefully planted by his Successors, as they haue purchased the title of most Christian, as a marke of their chiefest greatness. The progresse of the History will shew both his vertues and vices. But at this entry, his mind being guided to so great a woike (whereunto the wise providence of Almighty God had appointed him) forthwith it selfe the first five yeares of his reigne (being the time of his apprenticeship) before he vnderooke any thing, the which he did manage so discreetly, embracing all occasions that were offered, as in the end he thought himselfe able to subdue all Gaule, if God had not raised the ambitious course of his unlimited desires, to let great men vnderstand, that he preserues a Soueraigne prerogative ouer all their enterprises.

We haue said before, that in the disposition of the Empire, the Gauls had many vsurpers, Bourguignons, Goths, and Frenchmen: the Romans had the least part, for hardly they could keepe Soissons, Compeigne, Senlis, and other small towne thereabouts. The Bourguignons enjoyed a great Country, the two Bourgondies, the Duchy and the Euidome, Saxon, Lyonnois, Forets, Beauuolais, Dauphine, and Prouince; Arles being the Metropolitan City of the Realme. The Goths possessed all Gaule Narbonnoise, to the which they gaue the name, and all Guyenne with the appurtenances. The French had the best part, from the Rhine vnto Louie, embracing all the rich Provinces of the low Countries vnto the Ocean, the Countiees of Hainault, Cambresie, Picardy, Normandy, the Ile of France, Maine, Aniot, Touraine, Vandomois, the Province of Orleans, Beaulieu, Hurepols, Gastoins, Sologne, Berry; and the neighbour Countiees, although these great and large territories had particular Lords: amongst the which the King was acknowledged for Soueraigne; such was the estate of Gaule, when as *Clouis* vnderooke the helme of this French Monarchy.

To become absolute Master of this goodly Country which was set so late to the mightiest, he begins with the weakest, the nearest, and him with whom he had the most apparent reason of quarrell; which was the Romane, who held nothing of this great name, but the shew and pride, in a weaknes altogether contemptible. *Clouis* turned to that *Gyts* of whom we haue spoken, commanded at Soissons for the Romanes. *Clouis* had an extraordinary quarrell against him, hauing sought to vsurpe his estate; irreconcilable quarrels amongst Princes. Having so goodly a shew to demand reason for so notable a wrong, he desires him: They assemble their Forces. *Clouis* calls to his aid *Agastius* the Count of Cambray, and *Charis* of Atypens: the first assists him, the other exhorteth him, frowns to keepe the Rakes, and to bee a looker on, and then to reigne with the stronger.

*Agastius*

*Clouis agrees to the Monarchy of all Gaule.*

The first rooting out of the Romanes.



500

*Siagrius* is overcome in battell. In this overthrow he leaves his estate to *Clovis*, and flies A to *Alaric* King of the Goths, being at Tholouse. *Clovis* not content with *Siagrius* goods, demands his person of *Alaric*, and obtains it. *Siagrius* is sent vnto him, his hands and feet bound. Having him in his power, he makes him taste the griefe of his misery, reproching him that he had basely lost his government, and deferred capital punishment, and so he cuts off his head; and afterwards he suppresseth *Chararic*, and *Ragnachaire*, vpon diuers occasions. Having seized vpon all that belonged to the Romane name, he turned his resolutions against the Bourguignons and the Goths: but with an industry fitting so politike a head, seeking some colour of iustice, he makes a league of peace with the two Nations, to pick a cause of quarrell, hauing some controuerfie with their Kings for some B tide in shew lawfull. The issue is answerable to his designe, for he knew so well how to obseure times, watch for occurrences, and creepe so cunningly into their affaires, as in the end he dispossesthem both.

In the house of Bourgondy there were four brethren, *Gondebault*, *Gondegesil*, *Chilperic* and *Gothemar*, the children of *Gondioch*. The ialousie of their portions thrusts them into choler, and the fury of courtoisnesse polluted the hands of *Gondebault* the elder with the parricide of his younger brother *Chilperic*, and of his wife, but God preferred *Clotilde* from the cruelty of this man, being the daughter of this *Chilperic*, to be the meanes of this murderers misery. She was exceeding faire. This quality bred a desire in *Clovis*, but especially to get footing in Bourgondy, and some interest to deale with the affaires of C that estate: for which reason *Gondebault* would by no meanes like of that alliance; yet not daring to shew the true cause, he made the pretext of his refusal to be the diuersity of Religion, which could not agree with these vnequall marriages. *Clovis* prevented it with great policy; for hauing promised *Clotilde* that she should haue libertie of conscience, he removes the let wherewith *Gondebault* did crosse him: so as the marriage was concluded. And although *Clovis* were a Pagan by profession, yet was he no enemy to the Christians, sitting himselfe to the humour of the Gaulois, who generally followed the Christian religion. He suffered his wife likewise to baptise her children: and she a wife Princeesse insinuating with her husband, desired nothing more then to winne him vnto God, the which chanced in this sort. *Clovis* did succour the Sicambriens his allies, (which be the D inhabitants of Gueldres and Iuliers) against the Germanes. Being in the battell, he found himselfe engaged in the middle of his enemies troopes, and in great danger of his life. He then makes a vow vnto God, that if he would give him the victory, hee would presently submit himselfe to the Christian Church, and be baptised. God heard him. He obtains the victory; and being returned, he resolves to performe his vow. His wife *Clotilde* infinitely glad of this holy resolution, sends for Saint *Remy* Bishop of Rheims, (a man of great piety and eloquence) to instruct him in the true doctrine, wherein he was very ignorant, as a man that had made profession of Armes all his life, borne and bred in superstition, and neuer had discurfed of Christian religion, but like a Souldier. It was necessary he should be instructed by a discreet man, that in leaving the vanity of the Pagans, he E were not infected with the errors of the Arrians, which then were dispersed in diuers places. And even his owne sister *Lantide* was infected therewith.

The preaching of Saint *Remy* had great efficacy with *Clovis*; and the example of *Clovis* with all his men of warre. In this action, these goodly sayings are worthy to be noted: *Render thy necke to the yoke in mildnesse*, (saith Saint *Remy* to *Clovis*) *worship that which thou hast burnt, and burne that which thou hast worshipped*. And he answered, *I worship the true God, which is the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, the Creator of heauen and earth*. So, being baptised, he exhorts his men to the same beleefe. They cry all ioyntly, *We leave our mortalld goods, and are ready to follow the immortal*. So *Clovis* was baptised at Rheims by Saint *Remy*, with great solemnity, and with him three thousand of his Souldiers, to the F incredible ioy of the Gaulois, greatly affected to Christian religion: hoping by this conuerfion to haue better vltage in time to come.

This act is very remarkable, hauing consecrated our Kings to Christian religion, the which hath preferred this Realme vnto this day from most horrible confusions. *Ammianus* saith, that a Doue brought a viall full of oyle in her bill; at that instant, with the which our Kings are anointed when they are installed. But *Gregory* of Tours, a more ancient Author, writes onely, that *Clovis* was baptised. They likewise hold, that *Clovis* did at that time

*Clovis* becomes  
a Christian.

## The fifth King of FRANCE.

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A time change the Royall armes, and that for three Toades, or as the learned say, three diademes guules, in a field argent, he took the flowers de-lis without number. Many monuments of our Kings in the first and second Race, iustifie this change of Armes, made by *Clovis*, as we see them in the most ancient Temple. Without dilating any more thereof, *Charles* the sixth, in the Scutcheon of France, reduced the flowers de-lis to three.

This publike profession of Christianity wonne the hearts of all the Gauls vnto *Clovis*; and did perfect the vnion betwix them and the French, making their yoke easie, and them tractable. Her fortified his command with this bond of Religion, and layd a foundation for the absolute greatnesse of this Monarchy, which euen then beganne to B take place throughout all Gaul. Thus Gaul (with more solemnity then vnder *Mero-see*) was called France, by the common consent of all Nations: the Gaulois were no more grieued to serue the French, being victors; hauing willingly suffered themselves to be conquered, and hauing one faith and one law, they could not but wish the good of their common country: so much may religion preuaile to vnite mens hearts in a common weale. In this beginning *Clovis* shewed an excellent fruit of his baptism, exceeding all his conquests. By his last victory he had subdued the Germans, and to accomodate them to obedience, had imposed great and rigorous burthens. But now he doth relieue them: sends home their hostages, and moderates their yoke, shewing thereby that he is growne milder. This humanity was approued as a second victory, and more honorable then the C profit. Truly it is as great a victory, in a great Prince to conquer by clemency, as it is a profitable policy to winne mens hearts by reason. The conquerour that pardons, beautifies his triumph, adding to their conquered bodies their hearts, admiring his vertue no lesse victorious then his forces.

Religion the  
only true  
bond of affe-  
ctions.

Gaul called  
France.

Humanity  
victorious.

*Clovis* was ill affected to the Visigoths, who held a great and large Country in Gaul, obscuring the French Monarchy, the which he desired to settle: but he must find some honest pretext to make warre. Although in effect the right of conuenience was his greatest interest, as it is often the most lawfull title of Princes: yet he seeks a quarrell against *Alaric* King of the Visigoths, vpon the alliance he had made with him, the which (he D sayes) had beene broken, for that the banished men and malefactors of France, had found a free and assured refuge in his dominions: whereunto he added a complaint of their bounds, in the diuision whereof he would resolutely haue the aduantage. But to giue a better colour to this quarrell of State, he ioynes religion: For (saith he to his people) *to what end should these Arrians haue so good a part among the Christians?* Yet before he would come to open force, he talks of a friendly conference.

The two Kings appoint a day and a place for an interview; to parlee of their affaires. But this meeting increased their hatred: for being both vpon the place, some confident seruants to *Clovis*, gaue him notice that *Alaric* had layd an ambush to surprize him in their parlee. *Clovis* was much moued herewith, and resolves to make warre against *Alaric*: he raiseth an army, and being ready to march towards Guyenne, behold a new occa- E sion, which makes him turne his forces towards Bourgonne.

We haue shewed, how that *Gondebault* King of Bourgonne, slew his brother *Chilperic*, father to *Clotilde*, vpon the first diuision of their portions after their fathers death. He had two brethren remaining, *Gondemar* and *Gondegesil*, of whom he desired infinitely to be freed, hauing too many brethren, and too little land, according to his insatiable desire. Their debate was for Prouence and Dauphine, which they demanded for their portions. *Gondebault* enioyed the chiefe Cities, except Vienne, which the brethren held. *Clovis* his army overcomes that of *Gondebault*, marching victoriously through the Countries of Venaifon, where the battell was fought. *Gondebault* saues himselfe with great difficulty in Auignon, and is presently besieged by *Clovis*, who yet grants him an honorable composition, and labours to reconcile him with his brethren: which done, hee F returns into France, and *Gondemar* and *Gondegesil* retire into Vienne, dreaming of nothing lesse then to haue their elder brother for an enemy. But Vienne must be the pitfall of their misery, to swallow them both vp, one after another: for behold, *Gondebault* is with a strong Army at the gates of Vienne: and his brethren are reduced to that extremity, as hauing no meanes to defend themselves, nor to get reliefe from their friends, the City is easily taken, and eury man seeks to saue himselfe as he can. *Gondemar* flies into a Tower, where he is besieged, assailed, and burnt, with all his troope. *Gondegesil* is taken aliu

Warres in  
Bourgonne,  
and why.

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aliue after this tragick feare : but being alone, he slips away, and flics to *Clovis*, whom he A found in armes ready to march vpon this new accident.

*Clovis* takes new aduice. The ancient hatred he bare to *Gondebauld*: (who had croffed him in his marriage) the iniustice, and more then barbarous cruelty: the complaint of this poore Prince his allie, who cast himselfe into his armes, had much power to perswade him to the voyage of Bourgongne. But that which made him resolute, was for that *Gondebauld* prepared to succour *Alaric*, against whom *Clovis* did now march with his Forces. Thus the iust iudgement of God provided a scourge for this murderer, who addes rashnesse and infencly to his first disorders. *Clovis* enters with an army into Bourgongne. Feare doth not onely surpris the Country, but also the peoples iust hatred of B this tyrant, being infamous with so many parricides : so as in few dayes the principall Cities yeeld vnto *Clovis*, and the rest are ready to submit themselves into his hands, as to their deliuerer.

*Clovis* conquers in Bourgongne.

*Gondebauld* pursued by God and men, faints : being insolent in prosperity, and daunted in aduersity. All things conspired to his ruine. But as God doth not alwayes take sinners at the bound, hee stayed the blow by means of *Cletilde*, who grieuing to see her house decay, to the ouerthrow of the citie of Bourgongne, makes sute to her husband, for her vncl and his country, and preuailes so with him, through her intercession, as hee perswades him to passe no further, but to leave the rest to her vncl *Gondebauld*, with a reasonable peace, whereof the drew the Articles. Thus *Clovis* dismisseth his army, hauing C only provided for the guard of Vienn, Mafcon, Chalou, and other townes taken from *Gondebauld*, and he giues the charge of them to *Gondegesil*.

A treacherous attempt of *Gondebauld*.

This is all that *Gondebauld* could hope for in so great a danger : but hee would needs perish : when as he sees himselfe without any enemy by *Clovis* departure, he marcheth so secretly with his Forces, as in one night he surprised Vienn, by the Conduit heads, guided by him that had them in charge, being cast out of the City, with the scumme of vnprofitable people. Vienn must be the Sepulchre of *Gondegesil*, as it was of *Gondemar* : for in this vnexpected surpris, as he and the Bishop fought means to saue themselves in the Temple of Saint *Mory*, amazement giues an easie entrie vnto *Gondebauld*, who being master thereof, doth massacre both *Gondegesil*, his brother, and the Bishop, without any respect. D

A iust punishment of the murderer *Gondebauld*.

*Clovis* moued with this treacherous attempt, returnes with his armie, and besieged *Gondebauld*, who vnable to resist, escapes by night, and saues himselfe in Italy with *Thierri* King of the Ostrogoths, his friend and confederate. There being tormented in conscience, without all hope of reliefe, he falls into horrible despair, and dies, hatefull euen to those that had receiued him : leauing a notable example to all men, that man is the cause of his owne misery; that he deceiueth himselfe, when as ouer-ruled by his owne passions, he thinks to mocke God freely, who sleeps not, when as men are most secure in their wickednesse. But after a long patience, God payes both the principall and the interest, and he that seeks another mans goods, doth often lose his owne : the halfe being better then E the whole, for to liue quietly with content. This was the end of *Gondebauld*, and the beginning of the title which the Kings of France pretended to Bourgongne. The States of Prouence, Dauphine, and Sauoy, were dependances on this Crowne. *Clovis* retaining Dauphine, and the countries adioyning vnto Bourgongne, he left Sauoy, and Prouence to *Sigismund*, and *Gondemar*, the children of *Gondebauld*, ioyning equity and mildnesse to his iust victory.

The first winning of Bourgongne, Dauphine, and Prouence.

Hauing thus settled the affaires of Bourgongne, he marcheth presently with his victorious army into Languedoc, against *Alaric* King of the Visigoths, who held not onely that goodly Prouince, but all the Country from the Pirenaean mountaines, euen to the bankes of Rone and Loire, as we haue said. *Clovis* hauing assembled his Army at Tours, F marcheth into Poitou, where *Alaric* attends him with his Forces, meaning to fight with him at his entrie.

*Alaric* slain by the hand of *Clovis*.

The battell is giuen, and much blood shed on either side, but the absolute victory remains to *Clovis* : as the bodies, the field, and the head of *Alaric*, whom he slew with his owne hand : an accident very remarkable, that one Prince should kill another in the fury of the fight. This happened in the yeare of our Lord 509. The fruit of this notable victory was so great, as all yeilded to *Clovis* where he marched. Those of Angouleme

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*Alaric* made shew of resistance : but a great part of the wall being false (as it were miraculously) not onely the City yeilded, but all the country (being terrified) offered their voluntary obedience vnto *Clovis* : as if God (holding him by the hand) had put him into the possession of all that Prouince, as the lawfull heire. Auvergne makes some shew to resist, but in the end it yeelds, with all the townes of the Prouince. In this general resolt against the Visigoths, *Almaric*, the sonne of *Alaric*, gathers a new head in the countie of his obedienc, with wonderfull speed. *Clovis* seeks him out, and finds him neare to Bourdeaux. The battell is fought, and the slaughter great on either side : the one army fights to honour, and the other for life and goods. But *Clovis* remains conqueror, who in dereliction of his enemy, calls the place the Arrien field : which name continues vnto this day. *Almaric* flies to *Thierri* his confederate, King of the Ostrogoths in Italy, with an intent to returne speedily to be reuenged of *Clovis*. All the Country remains peaceable to *Clovis* : yea Tholouse the capitall City of the Goths kingdom. And thus he returnes, leauing a part of his army in garison in the townes of his new conquest, vnder his sonnes command : and in his Standard (as a trophie) he caried for a deuice, *Pestis, quidi, vici*, he came, and law, and ouercame, like vnto *Cesar*. This great conquest gotten with incredible celerity, and admirable successe, is a worthy prooffe of Gods prouidence, who disposed of States according to his wife and iust pleasure, pulling downe one, and raising vp another.

C Thus *Clovis* hauing expelled the remainder of the Romanes, seized on the Bourgongnons estate, and of the Visigoths : remaining in a manner absolute Lord of the Gaules, vnder the title of the Realme of France. He desired much to liue at Tours (as indeed it is the goodly garden of France) but seeking to giue a perfect forme to this new estate, (as one head hath but one body) he chooseth Paris for his capitall Citie, being seated in the Ile of France, and the true mansion of Kings, as well for the fertile beauty of the country thereabouts, as for the concourse of Riuer, which bring infinite commodities from all parts, by the channell of the Riuer of Seine, into the which all the rest fall, as the common store-house of all commodities. Thus Paris from small beginnings (as may be noted by the low buildings and narrow streets of the Ile, being the first plot) is growne to a wonderful greatness, being the head City of all the Realme.

D The estate of *Clovis* force, published all ouer, with a great renowne of his valour, moued *Anastasijs* Emperour of the East, to desire his friendship: although he had more reason to be his enemy, hauing dispossessed him of his ancient inheritance. Thus the Empire declined, flattering his most dangerous enemies, against whom hee should oppose himselfe. Hee salutes him with a very honorable Ambassage, sends him a Senators robe, the priuiledge of a Patrician and Citizen of Rome, and the dignity of a Consul: in signe of the honour his successors should haue, to be Emperours, and to preserve the reliques of the Empire from a general shipwracke. *Clovis* entertained *Anastasijs* Ambassadors with honour and bounty, desirous to overcome them with courtesie, as well as by E the valour of his victorious armes.

The Emperour sends Ambassadors to *Clovis*.

The violent course of *Clovis* victories seemed vnresistable : but behold an vnexpected enemy, not onely staies him suddenly, but takes from him the greatest part of his new conquests, defeats his army, and draws him into danger neuer to performe any thing worthily. The Nation of the Gothes was then very great, being dispersed in diuers parts : in Gaule, Italy, and Spaine, so as one people issued from the same beginning (as we haue said) was distinguished by diuers names, to marke the places of their severall abodes. The Visigoths or rather Westgoths, were they that dwelt in the West, that is to say, in Gaule, west to Italy : the Ostrogoths or Eastgoths possessed Italy, by consequence East to Gaule. These Eastgoths had done great and notable exploits in Italy, taken and sackt F Rome, and hauing seized on the goodliest countries of Italy, had there established a kingdom vnder their name, the which was ruined by the Lombards, and the Lombards by the French, as we shall see in the continuance of this History.

These Gothes (named Getae by the Greekes) an ancient people of Asia, scattered themselves first along the Riuer of Danubie, entering the Country neare to Constantinople, as well on the maine land, as in the Taurique Cherfonef, neare to this quarter. And so extending their limits, did possesse Valachie and Hungary, and in the end Scandia, and the Country which lies neare the Riuer of Vistula, in the Country of Sweden towards the Balticque

*Clovis* being conqueror is conquered.



510

Baltique Sea: where they made their last retreat, after many losses, received in diuers A places, seeking of their fortunes. The Realme of Gothland carries their name even vnto this day. I thought good by the way to note the estate of the Goths, being fit for this Subject.

Thus the successe of the French forces, and the alliance so carefully sought by the Emperor (a capitall enemy to the Gothike name) did easily moue *Thierri* King of the East Goths, to succour his kinsman *Atharick*, a Prince spoiled of his possessions: whose example did sollicit all the Goths to prevent the danger, which did threaten them very neare. So as from Italy, Sicily, Sclauonia, and Dalmatia by his owne means, and the credit of his friends, he gathers together fourescore thousand fighting men, the which he giues to *Thiba* to lead against *Clouis*; and he himselfe remaines in Italy, to make head against the Emperours designs, lest hee should cause some division in fauour of *Clouis* his confederate. The Gothike army enters by Piedmont, takes *Grace* and *Antibou*; and in short time all Prouence obeyes him.

A great losse both of Prouinces and men.

The people of Languedoc (louing their old masters, and not able to endure the insoleney of a new yeeld easily to the stronger. Prouence remaines thus to the East Goths; and Languedoc returns to the Wisigoths: *Clouis* being brought asleepe with the imagination of a generall triumph, awakes at this brute: hee armes his marchers speedily against the enemy: he is beaten, and loseth 30000 men at this encounter: wherby it appeared, that he held not victories at his girdle, nor they proceeded not from his valour. *Clouis* who vanquished euerywhere, finding himselfe beaten, and not able presently to make head against a victorious enemy, returns into France, rather made then transported with furious choller, tossing in his braines how to bee reuenged of so notable a disgrace. The Gothes giue him leave to runne and take cold: being contented to haue recovered their owne. After this he attempted no more against them, and the greatest part of Bourgongne returned to the children of *Gondebaud*. But in the end, both Prouence and Bourgongne shall be incorporated to the Crowne, by diuers accidents, the which we will note in diuers places.

Clouis cruel practices to become great.

*Clouis* suruived five yeares after all these losses, remaining commonly at Paris, hauing no heroic mind to attempt any great conquests, yet of a cruell disposition, which made him die with desire of other mens goods: He employed all his wits to put his kinsmen to death, hauing some Signiorities included within the compasse of his great monarchy, with an imagination to leaue his children a great estate vnitied. In this designe he puts to death *Chararic*, to haue *Amiens*; *Ragnachaire*, to become master of *Cambray*; & *Sigebert*, to haue no companion at *Metz*, although he were acknowledged in all these places for Soueraign. This rauishing of other mens goods was vncurable: but his tragickall proceedings to haue it, was more detestable. I tremble to represent the horror of these execrable crimes: you may read them in the original of *Gregory* of *Tours*. The truth of the History requires they should be registred, but reason would haue the memory of so dangerous examples buried in obliuion. I desire to be dispensed withall, if I discoure not of these monstrous enormities. A modest tragedy goares not the scaffold with the blood of *Iphigenia*, being content to report by a messenger, that she was slaine by her fathers command, drawing a curtain to hide the blood. But if any one will vige me with the debt which a History doth owe, I will say that *Clouis* caused *Chararic* to be slaine, hauing seized on him and his sonne, and condemned them to a Monastery. As they were cutting off their haire the son seeing his father weep bitterly, he said: *These greene branches will grow againe*, (meaning the haire they cut off) *for the stocke is not dead: but God will suffer him to perish that causeth them to be cut off*. *Clouis* aduerted of this free speech: *They complain for the losse of their haire*, (sayes he) *let their heads be cut off*. And so they were put to death. To get *Ragnachaire* (who had faithfully serued him both against *Siagrim*, and in all his other enterprises) he corrupted some of his domestick seruants, with promise of great rewards, in token whereof he sent them bracelets of latten guilt. These traytors bring him *Ragnachaire* and his brother with their hands and feet bound; who beholding them: *Outcasts* (saith he) *of our Race, unworthy of the blood of Merouce, are you not ashamed to suffer themselves to bee thus bound? you are unworthy to liue: repay the dishonour you haue done to our blood with your bloods*: and so he stricke either of them with a Battle-Axe which he held in his hand, and flew them both, in the presence of his Captaines and Councell. But when as the tray-

Horrible murders committed by Clouis.

tors

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A tors demanded their reward, and complained of his bracelets: *Auant Traytors* (saith he) *Is it not enough that I suffer you to liue? I loue the treason, but I hate traytors*. But the last exceeds the rest: He perswades the sonne of *Sigebert* to kill his father. This infamous parricide murders him and returns to *Clouis*, to put him in possession of his treasures, whom he had thus massacred; who being in the chamber and bending downe into a Chest, to draw forth bags full of gold, he caused his braines to be beaten out, and being the stronger, seized on *Metz*, making a good shew to the people, as ignorant of this murder.

Thus *Clouis* liued, thus he reigned, and thus he dyed in the yeare of our Lord 514: of the age of forty five, the thirtieth yeare of his reigne, in the flower of his enterprises in the Citie of Paris: a Prince whom we must put in balance, to counterpoise his vertues with his vices; valiant, politicke, cold, wise, temperate, diligent in execution, of admirable authoritie, and endued with excellent politicke vertues fit for an Estate. Contrariwise, he was extremely couetous, ambitious, wilfull, cruell, bloody, infinitely giuen to the world, immortalizing his good hap in this mortall life, by his many enterprises, the which he feared not to execute with the losse of other mens goods and liues. We must not wonder if we reade of confusions in the following reignes: wherein wee shall first see blood for blood, and the robber robbed, spoiled, dispossessed, according to the truth of *Oracles*: *Woe to thee that robbest, for thou shalt be robbed: that killest, for thou shalt be killed: the same measure thou measurest shall be measured to thee againe*.

The death of Clouis. His vertues and vices.

The same of the Church.

C Under his reigne the Romane Empire vanished quite in the West. Spaine, Gaule, Italy and Germany, were seized on by strange nations, retaining no markes of the Romane name. The East had yet some shewes of the Empire, wherof Constantinople was the seat. *Leo*, *Zeno*, *Anastasi* Emperours liued in those daies, with many enemies, shame and losse. The Pope of Rome thrust himselfe forward amidst their confusions and ruines, recovering that which the Emperours had lost. *Leo*, *Hilary*, *Simplicius*, *Felix*, *Gelasius*, liued in those time, learned men. The Councell was held againe at Chalcedon, against *Entiches* and *Discors*.

The same of the Church.

## D The sixt Reigne vnder the foure sonnes of CLOVIS:

Childbert,  
Clotaire,  
Clodomir,  
Thierri:

Who reigned together forty and two yeares, as Kings of France, yet with a particular title vnder this generall: but in the end Clotaire remained King alone; and therefore their reignes are distinguished.

E To this coniunction of foure brethren some giue the sixt degree in the number of Kings, and Childbert as the eldest, beares the title.

## CHILDEBERT, the sixt King of France,



Rule alone in a great vnitied Kingdome, was *Clouis* his doingsigne, but he fees his resolutions frustrate: for this vaste body, compounded of many peeces, is scarce vnitied, but it is diuoyed againe, yea in his life time: and the rest is diuided into foure parts to his children, according to the lawes of nature, but to the visible preiudice of the Estate, incompatible of so many masters, as the following discourse will shew. A lesson both for great and small, and a notable president of the vanity of humane enterprises: where the end is not alwaies answerable to the beginning. They take great paines to settle a firme estate, which shall be, soone dismembered, either by law or force, and that shall be dispersed suddenly, which was gathered together too hastily.

C

Let

Let every one consider, what he leaues to his Children, for the which there is no war. A rantable caution, but a good title. These foure Sonnes diuide the Realme into foure Kingdomes. *Childebert* was King of Paris, and vnder this realme was comprehended the Princes of Poitou, Maine, Tournaie, Champaigne, Anjou, Guyenne and Auvergne. *Cloaire* King of Soissons: and the dependances of this realme were Vermandois, Picardy, Flaunders and Normandy. *Clodomyr* King of Orleans: and the estates of this Realme were all the Duchy of Orleans, Bourgongne, Lionois, Dauphine, and Prouence. *Thierry* was King of Metz: and to his realme were subiect, the country of Loraine, and all the countries from Rheims vnto the Rhine, and beyond it all Germany, which was the ancient patrimony of the Kings of France. He was receiued in this royall portion with his brethren, although he were a bastard, the which hath bene likewise practised by others in the first Race. And as euery one of these foure Kings called himselfe King of France, so they also added the name of their principall City where they held their Court. Thus they called them by special title, Kings of the City where they had their residence. And in truth euery one caried himselfe as King in the countries vnder his obedience, notacknowledging the elder, but by mouth onely.

Horrible confusion among brethren.

As the plurality of Masters is a plague in an estate, so is it miraculous that the realme had not bene ruined by so many Kings: especially amidst such monstrous confusions, which then reigned, full of trecheries, cruelties, and parricides. I tremble to enter into this labyrinth, the which I will but passe ouer, measuring the Readers sorrow by my griefe in writing and reading these tragical confusions. But let vs obserue things by order. After these foure brethren had peaceably made their diuisions, and taken lawes of their owne accord (in the yeere 515, according to the most approued calculation), they marry their sister *Cloilde* to *Almaric*, sonne to *Alaric*, King of the Visigoths, who had recovered a good part of Languedoc, the which *Cleuis* had taken from his father, and by this marriage they yeld vnto him the City of Toulouse. But this alliance was the cause of great diuisions, and ruine. Ambition and Couetousnesse (good Counsellors of State) made euery one to conceiue as great a Kingdom for himselfe as that of his father, perfwading them to attempt any thing to be great. Bourgongne was quietly returned into the possession of *Gondebaunt* his children, *Sigismund* had the name of King, as the elder, and *Gondemar* a portion.

*Clodomyr* King of Orleans, as nearest neighbour, casts his eyes vpon this goodly country, although he had no caule of pretension, but onely conueniency. Yet he finds a colour to beginne this quarrell. The rights pretended by his mother *Cloilde*, issued from the House of Bourgongne, and the zeale of Iustice, to chastise *Sigismund*, for that hee had slaine his eldest sonne, to please his second wife and her Children. He enters into Bourgongne with a mighty army, seizeth on *Sigismund*, his wife and Children, brings them to Orleans, and there casts them all into a well. Thus God punished the cruelty of *Sigismund*, an vnkinde father, by a cruell and disloyall hand. *Clodomyr* presumed, that hee had conquered all, having slaine the King of Bourgongne. But the Bourgongnons, incensed with this cruelty, confirme *Gondemar* in his brothers seat, and leaue an army to defend him against *Clodomyr*.

The armies ioyne, *Clodomyr* putt vp with this first successe, promised vnto himselfe a second triumph, who thrusting himselfe rashly into his enemies troopes, is slaine with a Lance, and is knowne by his long haire, the marke of Kings, and Princes of the blood, as we haue said. The Bourgongnons cut off his head, search it on the top of a Lance, and make shew thereof to the French, in desition: who retire themselves after the death of their General. But *Childebert* and *Cloaire* his brethren, returne into Bourgongne with a strong army, and force *Gondemar* to flee into Spaine, leauing them free possession of the realme, the which was their proiect, rather then the reuenge of this brothers death. Bourgongne was diuided among the brethren, as a common prey: all the realme of Bourgongne is therein comprehended. *Thierry* King of Metz had his part, but the poore Children of *Clodomyr* are not only excluded, but two of them are barbarously slaine by the cruell commandement of their vnnatural Vncles: and they say that *Cleuis* slew one of them with his own hands, in the presence of *Childebert*: the other was thrust into a Monastery. This confusion was followed by two others: *Thierry* King Metz, making war against them of Turinge, called his brother *Cloaire* to his aide, being repulsed at the first by the force of that

Cruelty of brothers.

A that nation; but assisted by his brother, he preuailes, and the vanquished stand at the mercy of the conquering brethren: but behold they fall to quarrell for the spoile.

520

Thus the end of a forraign war was the beginning of a ciuill diffention betwixt them. They leaue Forces, with intent to ruine one another. *Childebert* ioynes with his brother *Thierry*, against *Cloaire*. Such was the good government of these brethren, as desire and ambition did counsell them. They are in armies, ready to murder one another. As their armies stood in field ready to ioyne, behold a goodly cleare day ouercast suddenly with such darknesse, that all breaks out into lightning, thunder and violent stormes, so as the armies were forced to leaue the place, and by this aduertisement (as it were from heauen,) these Kings, assembled to shed blood, change their minds, and turne their furious hatred into brotherly concord. Thus God (the protector of this Estate) hath watched ouer it, to preferue it, euen when as they fought to ruine it, and that men hastened to their owne destructions. But from thence the vnited brethren passe into Languedoc, against *Almaric* King of the Visigoths, their brother in law. The cause of their quarrell came from their sister *Cloilde*, married to this Gothe, as we haue said: so as the, which should be the vniing of their loues, was the cause of their bloody diffention. She was a Christian, and he an Arrian. This difference in religion was cause of the ill vllage she receiued from her husband, and his subiecs. These brethren, incensed by the complaint and calling of their sister, enter into *Almarics* Country with their Forces: who hauing no means to resist, seekes to saue himselfe: but he is taken and brought before his brethren in law, by whose commandement he was slaine.

Warre betwixt the brethren.

An admirable reconciliation.

Thus *Childebert* and *Thierry*, hauing spoiled the treasure, and wasted the Country of their confederates, return into France, accompanied with their sister; but she died by the way, inioying little the fruit of her vnkind impatience, although shadowed with the cloake of inconsiderate zeale. *Thierry* dies soone after, leauing *Theodebert* his Son, heire both of his Realme, and of his turbulent and ambitious humor. A part of Bourgongne was giuen him with the title of a King, the which he left to his Son, and as a chiefe legacie, the harred he did beare to his Brother *Cloaire* King of Soissons. As soone as he sees himselfe King by the deceale of his father, he takes part with his Vncle *Childebert* King of Paris, against *Cloaire* his other Vncle, but by chance they were reconciled. *Theodebert* impatient of rest, seeking where to employ his Forces, finds that the Danes (a people of the North,) did scoure along the Sea coast, to the great hinderance of the French Merchants: he marcheth against them, being resolute to fight with them. These Forces were better employed then against his brother: so the successe was more happy, for hee chased away the Danes, hauing defeated a great number, and purged the Ocean from pyrates. This exploit wonne him great reputation in all places, so as hee is sought vnto by the Ostrogoths in Italy, being pressed by *Belisarius* Lieutenant General for the Emperour *Iustinian*, and a very great capitaine, who had recovered Sicily, Naples, and Pouille from them, and in the end the City of Rome, which he fortified. As the Goths estate declined daily in Italy, *Theodebert* their King reiected, and *Vitiger* chosen in his place, *Theodebert* comes into Italy, putt vp with his victory: he takes footing, and makes head against *Belisarius*: but forced with sickness, he retires to his owne house, leauing three chiefe Capitaines for the guard of the places conquered. In his absence the Goths are defeated, and *Vitiger* slaine. *Totila* succeeds him, who (hauing taken and sackt Rome) did forsooke the Goths estate in Italy, as he became fearefull to the Romanes.

A good and happy warre.

But the chance turned against him: his army was defeated, and himselfe slaine: and to increase the mischiefe, those great Capitaine left by *Theodebert* were slaine one after another, so as the Goths being chased out of Italy, by *Narses*, all *Theodeberts* great hopes vanished: yet he laboured to attempt some great enterprise against the Emperour *Iustinian*, and drew much people to it: but hauing made this goodly shew, and put himselfe and his friends to great expences, he was forced to returne out of Italy, without effecting of any thing: leauing a goodly example to Princes, not to attempt lightly an vnecessary war, lest they buy losse and shame at too high a rate. In the end *Theodebert* (who thought to haue vanquished the mightiest enemies,) was slaine by a wild Bull, going a hunting: and his great enterprises were interred with him in the same graue, hauing hunted after vanity, and found death at the end of his immortal designs.

*Theodebert* left *Theobald* heire of the great estates of Austrasia, Bourgongne, and Turinge,

549

Austria is  
now called  
Lorraine.

ringes, the which he did not long enjoy, dying without children, and almost without any memory that he had lived: but onely that he had by will, left his Vncle *Clotaire* heire of all his goods, whereby there sprung vp a new warre. *Childebert* endured this testament impatiently, as well for that he was excluded, as also for that his brother was made more mighty by his Nephewes estate: so couetousnesse and enuie giue him aduice to crosse him. *Clotaire* had one bastard sonne called *Granus*, a sufficient man, but very wicked and audacious, who (for his insolencies) was in disgrace with his father. *Childebert* resolves to oppose this sonne against the father, and to vie him in the execution of his malicious intent. Thus abusing the absence of *Clotaire*, (who was busied in warre against the Saxons), hee goes to field with a great Armie, supposing to haue to doe but with young men and irresolute: and the more to amaze them, he gaue it out that *Clotaire* was dead. This report was coloured with such cunning (as men doe often beleue that which they feare) that these yong Princes (seeing themselves ouer-charged with great Forces) yeeld to a preiudicial peace with their Vncle. This heart-burning seemed to extend further, when as death surpriseth *Childebert*, who dies the yeere 549, without any children, and leaves his enemy *Clotaire* for Successor, being vnable to carry his Realme with him.

A horrible punishment of a rebellious Son.

*Clotaire* returns out of Saxony, being offended with his bastard. Hee pursues him into Britany, whither he was fled, and by a wonderful accident (guided by the Iustice of God, the reuenger of the sonnes rebellion against the Father,) *Clotaire* findes his son with his wife in a peasants house, where (transported with fury) heburnes them aliue, (yet not extinguishing the memory of his rebellion) to terrifie rebellious children by so memorable a president. Thus there passed forty five yeeres in the barbarous & vnhappy reignes of these foure soueraigne Masters, children to the great *Clouis*: in the which there is nothing memorable, but the remembrance of Gods iust judgement against those that suffer themselves to be transported by their passions: for all these vicious reignes were vnhappy, passed with much paine, and ended with much misery: represented to the perpetuall infamy of the vnkinde cruelties of their Kings.

## CLOTAIRE THE FIRST, The seventh King of France.



*CLOTAIRE* remained sole King of France by the death of his brethren: for their children were dead, and *Childebert* the eldest died without issue. Behold the fruit of so great paines, after their diuisions, to erect great Monarchies. *Clotaire* reigned five yeeres alone: he had by two wines, five sonnes and one daughter, that is, *Cherebert*, *Chilperic*, *Sigebert*, *Gontran*, *Gautier*, and *Clofude*: not reckoning *Granus*, whom he had by a Concubine. His reignes was short and wretched. He fought to extort the thirds of all Ecclesiastical livings for his priuate affaires: but the Clergie opposed themselves against him, so as his threats prevailed not. In the beginning he subdued the Saxons, subjects to the French: but the Turingiens being vp in armes, and hee about to suppress them, the Saxons ioyne with them, to withstand him with their common Forces. Yet these mutinous nations (seeing themselves encountered by too strong a party) craue pardon, and promise him obedience. *Clotaire* refusing to accept it, forceth them to make defence: the which they performed so desperately, as they defeated the French: and *Clotaire* with great difficulty, saved himselfe.

It is an indication for a Prince to thrust his subjects into despair.

An example for Princes, not to thrust their subjects into despair: but to imbrace all occasions wisely, that may purchase a willing obedience, and not to seek it by extremities. After this defeat, he returns into France, and being at Compiegne, he desires to go abunting. Being old and decayed, hee heats himselfe, falls into a quotidian, and dies, the yeere 567. Hee was much grieved in his sicknesse, hauing liued too too ill: but he protested, that he hoped in the mercies of God. As our histories report.

Before that he ruled as King alone, he erected the little Realme of Yvetot, vpon this occasion.

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An occasion. On good Friday he slew *Gautier* of Yvetot his seruant, in the Chappell whereas he heard seruice. They report the cause diuersly. The greatest part hold, that the King had rauished his wife, lodging in his house, so as he that was beaten suffered the punishment. Pope *Eugenius* displeased with this infamous murder, condemned him to repaire the fault vpon paine of Excommunication. *Clotaire* for satisfaction ordaines that from thenceforth the Lords of Yvetot should be free from all homage, seruice, and obedience due to the King, for the land of Yvetot in the Country of Normandy. And so this small Signiory hath continued long with the title and prerogative of a Realme, vntill that this title of a Realme was changed into a Principality, the which the House of *Bellay* doth now enjoy.

This was the life and reigne of *Clotaire* the first of that name, vicious and vnforgotten, followed with a confused and horrible tragedy in his children; whom we must marke do finally in the front of this tumultuous reigne, thereby to walke more safely in the blinde maze of these obscure governments.

*Clotaire* the first of that name had foure Sonnes:

*Cherebert* King of France, *Chilperic* King of Soissons,  
*Gontran* King of Orleans or Bourgondy, *Sigebert* King of Metz, or Austrasia.  
All which reigned together fifteen yeeres; but in this eighth Reigne they giue the Rucke and Name of King to *Cherebert*, as to the eldest, although each of them called himselfe King of France, and commanded absolutely over the Countreies vnder their obedience.

## CHEREBERT, the eighth King of France.



The strange government of the foure Sonnes of *Clouis* we haue already seene; let vs now view the rest of this table in the children of *Clotaire*, who furnishing his brethren and their children, obtained the Realme alone, but presently to be diuided into foure parts. Of five sonnes lawfully begotten, foure suruiued him: *Cherebert* the eldest, *Chilperic*, *Sigebert*, and *Gontran*. His body was scarce interred, when as the fire of diuision kindled among the brethren, about the diuiding of the Realme. *Chilperic* a crafty and proud man findes meanes to seize on his fathers treasure, and labours to become master of the City of Paris.

But not able to effect it, he was forced by his brethren (supported by the chiefe Noblemen of the Court) to come to a diuision, euery one according to his order. *Cherebert*, as the eldest of the house of France, hath Paris for his part. *Gontran*, Orleans, and Bourgogne. *Chilperic*, Soissons; *Sigebert*, Metz, or Austrasia: euery portion with his dependancies. After this diuision of parts, their wills were so diuided, as it is strange the Realme had not bene vtterly ruined amidst the horrible confusions, in so feeble beginnings.

Diuisiō of portions excludes a diuision of hearts.

Prouence, by consent of the brethren, was giuen to *Gontran* King of Orleans, and Bourgogne. But notwithstanding this accord, *Sigebert*, King of one part of Bourgogne, and of Austrasia, contends for it with his brother, and lowes diuision among the Prouenfalls, doubtfull to whom they should yeeld obedience in this contention. It had bene wonne and lost by *Clouis*, (as we haue shewed) but soone after the death of *Clouis* *Thierry* the Ostrogoth (who had wonne it) lost it againe, through the inclination of the Prouenfalls, who willingly came to the ancient obedience of the Crowne of France. And the Emperour *Iustin* the second, liking it better in the Frenchmens hands, their in the Ostrogoths, leaues them that which he cannot take from them. In this respect, he added his consent by his deed onely. After the death of *Cherebert*, his brethren contend for his spoile, with irreconcilable hatred. *Gontran* was the most temperate and tractable, desiring that this discord for parts, might be determined by the French Clergie, as iudges competent, and without passion. But his aduice was not allowed. *Chilperic* and *Sigebert* ambitious

Horrible contentions between brethren.

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ambitious and turbulent men, would cary it by force, yet was it agreed by common consent, that none of them should enter Paris before this Question were decided touching their portions. But there fell out other accidents vpon this Theater, whereas cunning, malice, impudency, and fury, haue caused both men and women to play a long and tragick Scene, being the authors and enders of these miseries. I tremble at those confusions, whereas *Bruneault* and *Fredogonde* two renowned women in our France, for their notable wickednes, shall appeare in diuers Scenes of this Tragedy. *Bruneault* was daughter to *Amthagilde* King of Visigoths, the wife of *Sigebert* King of Metz, or of Austrasia. *Fredogonde* first was concubine, and after wife to *Chilperic* King of Soissons. By the policies and impudency of these furious heads, it cannot be spoken how much misery France B suffered during their reignes. But let vs view every thing in order, if any order may be found in the most horrible Chaos of infernall confusions.

One brother makes warre against another.

*Sigebert* was much troubled in his territories of Germany, to defend them against the Huns. *Chilperic* embracing this occasion against his brother, enters his Country, with a great Army, and takes from him the Citie of Rheims. This surpris awakes *Sigebert*: and for that he would not lose the principall, to keepe the accessory, hee leaues Germany, and speeds into France, wonderfully grieved with the wrong he had received from his brother: pursuing his reuenge with such vehemency, that he takes Soissons the capital City of his Realme, with his sonne *Theodebert*, forcing him to retire with *Fredogonde* to Tournay, being assailed of his cowardly designe. Thus *Sigebert* comes a conquerour to Paris, C where he is receiued by common consent: and so all the Cities belonging vnto *Cherebert* yeld him obedience. But as he thought himselfe a peaceable King, mounted to the top of his desires, hauing nothing to crosse him, but wallowing in his delights, behold, two yong Souldiers (suborned by *Fredogonde*) came to his Court, enter freely into the hall, and approach to neare him, and with such opportunitee, as either of them slabs him with his dagger, and he falls downe dead in the place. These murderers were suddenly torne in peeces, so as they could not be knowne, nor declare by whose commandment they had committed this murder; yet was it generally thought that this was the practice of *Fredogonde*, to free her husband, and to make the way more easie for her affaires by the death of this brother who crossed her most. In truth, the death of *Sigebert* changed the countenance of the Court: euery one runnes after *Chilpericks* fortune, who was receiued King of France, D in the place of his elder Brother, and hee entertaines all those with fauour that offer him seruice.

## CHILPERIC THE FIRST,

### The ninth King of France.



Thus *Chilperic* beganne to reigne in the yeare 578: and reigned fourteene yeares at Paris and Soissons, while that *Childbert* the sonne of *Sigebert* reigned in Austrasia, and *Gontran* at Orleans and Bourgogne. He found *Bruneault* the widow of *Sigebert* at Paris, a woman of a subtle and audacious spirit: so as fearing lest she should animate his sonne against him, he confined her to Rouan, whither he likewise sent his sonne *Merovee*, to take possession of the City: but in stead of taking the Citie, he was surprisid by the beauty of *Bruneault*, who could so cunningly gaine the loue of the Inhabitants, that the Bishop himselfe allowed of this marriage although shee were his Aunt. *Chilperic* moved with fame of this loue which proceeded vnto marriage, came to Rouan, and according to the Ecclesiasticall Discipline degraded and banished this Bishop: and by his absolute authority puts *Merovee* into a Cloyster. But hee stayed not long there; for after the departure of *Chilperic*, a certaine friend of his who was called *Basson* drew him forth being set on by *Fredogonde*, hauing brought with him three hundred men (too small a number

A to fight, and too many to fly.) And so it hapned to *Merovee*, for being pursued and taken by his father *Chilperic*, he was slaine by his commandement. And last *Audouere* his mother (a vertuous Princeesse) and *Clouis* her other son, should seek means of reuenge, to retiect his wife; and exalteth *Clouis* his other sonne to be secretly slaine, being brother germane to *Merovee*. These disorders could not be done without the complaint of the Nobility against *Fredogonde*, who held not yet the degree of a wife with *Chilperic*, although she had free access both to his Court and bed, from the which she had disposed his lawful wife. *Chilperic* (to pacifie these complaints) pretends some reasons for this diuorce: and disguising the murders cunningly, he takes *Galsinde* to wife, the daughter of *Athanagilde* King of Spain. But the impatience of *Fredogonde* doth soone dissolve the bonds of this ballfull respect, thrusting *Chilperic* into such a fury against this second wife, as he strangles her, and maries *Fredogonde* publicly: who possessed her husband so absolutely, as he commanded imperiously, vnder the cloake of his authoritie.

He opposeth his subsidies.

From these domestick crimes, insolvency rageth against the poore people, by taxes, impositions, and insupportable exactions: and report imputes all to the deuires of the same workman. Complaints found out in all places: but absolute authority had so prevailed, as they could find no remedy: the people being weak, and such as they might haue had means to countenance the ancient French liberty; were either terrified, or enhanced by this *Proserpine*. But *Chilperic* must beare the punishment of his execrable wickednesse, by the malice of her who had made him an instrument to massacre brother, children, and wife, and to consume by degrees his poore subsidies. Whilest that *Chilperic* loved her exceedingly, she affected a Nobleman in Court called *Landry de la Tour* (who by her fauour had obtained two of the greatest offices of the Crowne, that is, of Duke of France, and Maire of the Palace) to whom she most vildly afforded the best place in the Kings-bed. This villanous and detestable loue, was cunningly cloaked with the deuires of this tempter: who hauing a sonne by *Chilperic*, a new gage of loue, she purchased daily more credit with him. But this was a short comfort for *Chilperic*, for four months after the birth of this sonne, whom he named *Clouis*, he was vnhappy slaine by her and *Landry*, when he least expected death: this was the occasion. One morning as *Chilperic* D (ready to goe to hunting) came booted into his wives chamber to salute her, hee found her combing of her head, with her haire ouer her face: drawing neare vnto her without speaking, hee toucheth her in iest with his riding wand on the hinder part of the head: she supposing it to be her adulterer *Landry*, accustomed to come secretly vnto her at all houres, saith vnto him; In my iudgement *Landry*, a good Knight should alwayes strike before, and not behind. The King vnderstanding by halfe a word, more then he desired to know, departs amazed, takes horse and goes a hunting, not with any intent to kill the beast, but deuiuing how he might be freed of *Fredogonde* and *Landry*. But hee had to doe with a woman of too subtle and wily a spirit, who hauing passed her apprenticeship in so many other murders, could soone resolute to depriue her husband of his life, to saue her owne. Without any further delay she sends for *Landry*, reports to him the history, concludes with him to kill the King her husband in his coming from hunting, and findes ministers to execute this designe: the which succeeded as they had plotted against *Chilperic*, suffering in the end (by the same hand which he had caused to shed so much blood) the horrible paine of his miserable massacres: for as hee came melanchollicke from the chase, accompanied onely with one Page, he was suddenly set vpon by these murderers, who slew him with his Page, so commodiously, as they returne vnderfired to the troope, as if they had neuer dreamt thereon.

The punishment of these crimes.

The King is found dead, euery one cries out, euery one runnes vp and downe, and those first of all that had done the deed. But it was giuen out that the murderers were fled into Loraine, from whence assuredly they were come by *Childberts* command. The Court is filled with teares, especially *Fredogondes* chamber, who continued in passions with her *Landry*, and could not be comforted: the one calling for her good husband, the other for his good master: but the quick sighted held them for Crocodiles teares. Thus liued, and thus died *Chilperic*, hated and deserted euen then, and of the posterity, for prooffe that a wicked life will haue a wicked end: and that God ruines the wicked by themselves, euen when they promise vnto themselves all impunity. They adde impiety to his execrable wickednesse: for he denied the truth of the three Persons in one Deity, and the

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The father with his son by the practice of a woman.

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Impiety the  
spring of guilt.

incarnation of the Sonne of God, wherein consists the hope of our saluation. But ad-  
miffed by the French Church, he protested to leave his error. A monstrous reigne  
vnder a monstrous King: where Potestates may see, that misery is the true reward of him  
and that horrible crimes are punished with extraordinary pains even in this life. This tra-  
gical end of *Chilperic*, a wicked and vnfortunate Prince, hapned in the year of our  
Lord, 588.

## CLOTAIRE THE SECOND,

## The tenth King of France.

A memorable Reigne in confusion.

Efficacy of the  
law of State.

He beginning, middest, and end of this reigne is remarkable, be-  
ing apparent, that God is the true guardian of this Realme,  
without whom it must needs haue perished in these strange  
confusions. *Clotaire* a young child of foure months, gouerned  
by his mother a most wicked woman, being come to years,  
he findes himselfe incumberd with many wars, yea ciuill wars  
against his owne kinsmen and blood. Who will not then con-  
fesse the illue of his reigne (being peaceable and well gover-  
ned) to be a singular testimony of the prouidence of God to-  
wards this Estate. This young child, the sonne of bad parents,

was notwithstanding receiued for lawfull King by the French, by vertue of the fun-  
damentall Law, which had appointed this Realme to be hereditary: Whereby is shewed  
how farre the election of our Kings extend euén in this first Race.  
But to conceiue well the diuers accidents of this reigne, we must remember, that  
*Clotaire* the first had foure sons, *Chilperic* King of Paris, who is reckoned the right King  
of France, and died without children: *Sigebert* King of Metz, slaine by *Fredegonde*, and  
*Gontran* King of Orleans, who furnished all his brethren, a good and a wise Prince, and  
gouerned with children. *Sigebert* King of Metz left for heyre *Childebert* his sonne, with his  
wife *Brunehault*, a subtle and a wicked woman. This ground being laid, I will returne to  
the course of my History.

*Gontran* King of Orleans, vncle by the father to this young King, was his nearest and  
most assured kinsman, so as by a generall consent of the French, he was called to be Re-  
gent of the King and Realme. And now they talked of an assembly: *Fredegonde* (saying  
the light and liberty of publique assemblies, fearing not onely to be reiected from the go-  
uernment, but to be accused for the murder of her husband) prevents the States from  
the calling of *Gontran*, the first Prince of the blood, and the Kings vncle, as they shoulde  
haue done, if leifure had suffered them to assemble, and to speake in an vnited body, with  
publike authority. Thus he gaires time, beseeching the chiefe of the Councell, to pro-  
uide for the Conuocation of the Estates; and in the meane time to giue order that *Gon-  
tran* may come to Paris, both to informe of the execrable murder, and also to take vpon  
him the charge of her sonne, and the gouernment of the Commonweale. This discourse  
was farre from her thoughts, but she supposed to make an euasion by this goodly shew.  
And in the meane time she practised to kill *Gontran*. She did write vnto him in all humili-  
ty, holding him as a father to the king her son, and the support of her widowhood. *Gontran*  
foreseeing the policy of *Fredegonde*, provided so wisely, that being arriued at Paris, hee  
was receiued by a generall consent Regent of the Realme. He made no shew of discon-  
tent to *Fredegonde*, who notwithstanding (hauing a guilty conscience) packs vp her bag-  
gage being ready to flye vpon the least shew that *Gontran* would call her into question.  
But it was not his meaning: his onely proiect was to bring vp his young nephew, and to  
preferre him with his Realme, wherein he was borne, supposing this milde manner of  
proceeding to be the best, both for the King and the Realme.

Thus without any alteration, he wisely diffembles all the actions of *Fredegonde*, he re-  
specks her as the Kings mother, and employes her in the education of her sonne. And  
knowing

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A knowledgeable King, he makes a progresse throughout the Realme, leading with him  
this young infant, with the mother, receiuing in all places the oath of fidelity and obe-  
dience. Being returned to Paris, he giues him in guard to the mother, and applyed him-  
selfe wholly to the gouernment of the Realme. As the affaires were managed with this  
good order, two great difficulties crosse *Gontran* almost at one instant: for *Childebert*  
King of Metz (zealous of his vncles authority) requires to be associated in the Regency,  
the which he pretended to appertaine vnto him, with the same right it did to *Gontran* and  
*Fredegonde*: for the punishing of whom he complained much, both of the foulness of  
the fact, which should not remaine unpunished, and of *Gontran*'s sufferance, which was too  
palpable. For the which *Gontran* provided, Ropping *Childebert*'s entrance into Paris, and  
causing *Fredegonde* to retire her selfe quietly to Rouen, by reason of the peoples hatred,  
returned by *Childebert*'s complaint. And for that he would not seeme to haue altogether  
neglected the punishing of *Chilperic*'s murder, he caused information to be made against  
a Chamberlaine of the Kings, called *Cherulphe*, who being found guilty, he caused him to  
be slaine in the Temple, whither he was fled. And so proceeded no farther in this search,  
left *Fredegonde* should be found too farre engaged. Besides this crosse, there happened  
a second, for one named *Gondebauld*, hauing termed himselfe a long time to be the sonne  
of the great *Clotaire*, and kept in a Cloyster: in the end he escaped, and was openly main-  
tained by *Childebert*, who sought but a colour of trouble and inuocation. He is followed  
by a part of the Nobility and Clergy, and seizeth on many good townes in Guienne.  
And hauing written his Letters to all the Prouinces, he carries himselfe for lawfull heyre of  
the Realme, with better right (saide he) then this young child, the Son of a strumpet: And  
by consequence a doubtfull heyre to the Crowne.

That which was most feared in this new accident, was the spirit and force of  
*Childebert*: but *Gontran* prevented it with iudgement. For seeing himselfe old, and with-  
out children, and knowing his Nephewes humour, he doth institute him his heyre, and by  
that means makes him to abandon *Gondebauld*, by this supposed King left by *Childebert*,  
was loone abandoned by all the rest, and by them was deliuered into the hands of *Gontran*,  
who presently put him to death. And hauing assembled the Clergy of the Realme, he  
caused the Bishops to be condemned, who had so rashly followed the frenzie of this bold  
Impostor. *Gontran* hauing with such dexterity prevented these dangerous difficulties, and  
performed those good offices to the King his Nephew, in his infancy, he retires himselfe  
to Chaalons, where loone after he died without children, leaving his estate to *Childebert*,  
and the Realme of his poore pupill (who had scarce attained the age of ten years) to  
the mercy of the waues and tempests of all sorts of miseries incident vnto States.

*Gontran* was no looner dead, but the ambitious desire of *Childebert*, grown great by the  
new Estates of Orleans and Bourgongne, inflamed him against young *Clotaire*, conceiuing  
an assured victory in his over-weening braine, imagining soone to suppress a young child  
and a woman ill beloued. But the God of victories had otherwise disposed: for *Childebert*  
hauing brought a mighty army to field, and entered into the heart of France: behold *Fre-  
degonde* (armed with more manly courage and wisedome) encounters him with an  
other army, being fortified more by her exhortations, and the presence of the young King,  
(whom she shewed openly to the French) then by the number of men of wage. The  
battell was giuen, and the imagined Conqueror was vanquished by a child and a woman,  
being surprised with so happy a celerity by *Fredegonde*, as he could hardly beleue thee  
had bene parted from Paris, when as he sees his whole Army defeated. He lost in this  
conflict 20000. men, his honour, and his life: for hauing recovered his Country with  
much adoe; he died of melancholy, leaving a memorable example to Princes, neuer to  
attempt a warre to take from another without iust cause.

He left two Sonnes, *Theodebert* and *Thierry*. The first had for his portion the Realme of  
Austrasia: the second had Bourgongne. *Brunehault* his mother furnished him, and kept  
Metz with the eldest: the presently stirred vp these two Princes (ouer whom she had great  
authority as their grandmother) to pursue *Clotaire*, for the shame and death of their fa-  
ther. Behold suddenly an Army of Austrasians and Bourgignons marcheth into France,  
led by these two young Princes. *Clotaire* accustomed to these sports, opposeth himselfe in  
person, and gets the victory, with such successe, (as they say) the course of the riuier of Au-  
rance (where the battell was fought) was layed by the dead bodies of the conquered. *Fre-  
degonde*

A King in his  
cradle a com-  
queroi;Tragical pre-  
dicts of new  
women.



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Fredegunde dies  
with her vi-  
droy.

degonde leapt for ioy of this second triumph, by reason of *Bruneault*, who was her chief object: but her ioy was presently converted into her owne funeral, for she died soone after: to teach reuenging spirits, that their hatreds which they would haue perpetual, are mortall, and at the least wise end with their deaths.

Thus *Fredegunde* died in her bed, and was interred neare to *Chilperis*, whom she had caused to be slaine: so as in this peaceable death we may consider the patience of God, which doth often attend those it referres to his last iudgement. But *Bruneault* (who thought her selfe a conqueresse, by the death of *Fredegunde* her capital enemy) incenseth *Theodebert* and *Thierri* her grand-children anew against *Clotaire*. They raise another army, vnder the conduct of *Bersald*, not willing any more to hazard their persons, being taught by the successe of two great defeats. *Bersald* is slaine in this battell, and yet the victory remaines to his men, with great losse to the French: so as it seemed the war would grow more violent betwixt these Princes, who now began to see a part of their reuenge against their cousin *Clotaire*. But the malice of *Bruneault*, who had banded the cousins, must now diuide the brethren.

This old bitch, euen in the fury of war, found still means to follow her beastly lust, and then had she got a yong courtier called *Protade*, for a stallion: who she entertained in view and knowledge of the whole Court, and aduanced him beyond duty or desert. The dislike of this vnchaste conuerfation (offensive to the whole world) doth in the end force *Theodebert* to find a means to withdraw his mother from the view of the multitude, who were eie-witnesses of the filthinesse of this shamelesse old woman, and of the ignominy of his house. He supposed to send her away with policy: perswading her she should doe best to retire her selfe to some monastery, there to lead a godly life, and to seek for rest befitting her age. This admonition caused her to leave the Court and state of *Theodebert*, but not to change her mind. She retires then from Metz, & comes into Bourgogne to her other son, full of choller: and finding *Thierri* ill affected against his brother, he presently kindles the vnfortunate fire of dissention betwixt them, which consumed them both, and finally her selfe. That posterities may note in this tragedy, the examples of Gods iust iudgment, who punisheth one sin by another, and the sinner by his owne sin.

This lewd woman perswades *Thierri*, that *Theodebert* was a bastard, the sonne of a gardiner, and that he had lawfull cause to make war against him, as an usurper of that which belonged vnto him by right. *Thierri* being exceeding couetous, embraceth this occasion, prepares an army against *Theodebert*, and employes this *Protade* in the principall charge, who was a kindler of warre in the spirit of this yong Prince. The chiefe Noblemen of Bourgogne infinitely grieved with these disorders, not daring directly to charge *Bruneault*, they let vpon her minion, and kill him. By this means they draw *Thierri* to an accord with his brother *Theodebert*: and so either of them sends back his troops. Thus this fire seemed to be wholly quenched, the which kindled soone after in another place, and by the practices of the same work-woman. *Thierri* had remained long vnmarried, entertaining change of women, by the counsel of this bitch, who daily provided him store of such stuffe: but solicited by the continual perswasions and prayers of his Councell, he takes to wife *Membergue*, the daughter of *Dataric*, King of Spaine, louing her with that honest affection that a man ought to loue his wife. *Bruneault* is jealous of this lawfull ioue, fearing to be dispossessed of her authority and credit, if a lawfull wife possessed her husbands heart, she workes by her charmes, reducing *Thierri* to that extremity, that he was not able to accompany with his wife; and for a bait to his adultery, she furniseth other women (whom he might freely vse) so as she loathed him of this poore Princesse, causing him to send her home to her father *Dataric*, as vnable to beare children: who infinitely grieved with this disgrace done him in the person of his daughter, resolues to reuenge. He complains of this injury, both to *Clotaire* and *Theodebert*, whom he knew to be enemies to *Thierri*, and all together resolue to make war against him.

*Bruneault* seeing this great storme ready to fall vpon *Thierri*, she perswades him to compound with his brother *Theodebert*, at what price soeuer, whose humor she knew well. This accord was sold to *Theodebert* by *Thierri* at a deare rate: (for he had the Countreies of Champagne, Touraigne, Arrois, and many other places) but it cost himselfe much dearer: for by this composition, all the army was disperfed, and euery one retired home. *Thierri* (who by the aduice of his mother, stood vpon his guard) surpriseth his brother *Theodebert*,

*Bruneault* incen-  
sith one  
brother against  
the other.

The husband  
against the  
wife.

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The brother  
kills the big-  
gotten.

*A* *debert*, with such aduantage, that not onely he recouers all that he had giuen him, but by the counsell of this *Proserpine*, he embrewes his hands in his blood, murdering him most barbarously. *Theodebert* had but one onely daughter, whom *Thierri* would take to wife, to haue some honest pretext to seize vpon all his Estates. But *Bruneault* (who desired greatly to see him murther, but not to haue a companion in this absolute authority) diuides him from this marriage, inferring (to couer her hidden intent) that it was not lawfull to marry his neece. *Thierri* blinded with passion (who by a iust iudgement of God, sought to dye by payson of this viper, by whose meanes he had done so much mischief) replies, that the daughter of *Theodebert* was none of his Niece, seeing that *Theodebert* was not his

brother, being begotten by another father: reproaching *Bruneault*, that he knew no more then she had taught him. And that vpon this occasion she had encouraged him to kill him. And as they grew to hot words, hee threatened to kill her. *Bruneault* (seeing her selfe taken by the nose, and measured by the same measure she had measured to others) resolues to prevent *Thierri*, and to murther him. She therefore gives him a morrell point with a languishing payson, which caused him to be consumed of a bloody fluxe: that as hee had spilt the blood of others, so he might die in blood; and that the same wretched countessell which had bene the Sepulchre of his brother, should likewise be his owne: for a memorable example to posterity, that God suffereth nothing unpunished, and doth often punish the wicked by themselves, and by their owne practices. Such was the tragical end of the troublesome life of *Thierri*. But what shall become of *Bruneault*? The iustice of God goes slowly; but he recompenceth the slownesse with the grieuousnesse of the punishment. Let vs then heare the continuance of our History. *Bruneault* makes a good countenance after the death of *Thierri*. She makes him a stately Funerall like a Countrey, and of foure bastard Sonnes which *Thierri* had left, she chooseth him that pleases her best, to infall him King in his fathers place: and in the mean time she continues the government of the Realme, and calls her selfe *Regent*. To conclude, she doth promise vnto her selfe, in all her courses farre better successe then *Fredegunde*; presuming that she exceeded her iudgement and experience, no man remaining to controule her actions: but her discourses were vaine imaginations, and her foolish hopes the snare of her owne ruine.

*D* Nobility of Bourgogne (infinitely grieved with the horrible wickednesse of this woman, resolute not to endure the new tyranny which she practised) had recourse vnto *Clotaire*, as to their true and lawfull Lord. *Bruneault* plies the resolute: she prepares to warre, sends diuers Ambassadors into Germany: the chiefe was *Varnare* Maire of the Palace of Austrasia, a man of great authority both at home and with strangers.

Having sent him for succours to some Princes of Germany, these growes zealous of him without cause, and sends a trustie seruant of hers named *Albon*, to finde meanes to kill him. *Albon* having read those deadly Letters, teares them: but vnwares he lets fall the pieces of this Letter, the which are gathered vp and carried to *Varnare*: who vpon this new accident takes a new aduice. He resolues to crosse the practices of this

*E* murtheresse (so well knowne and hatefull to all men) who likewise would make away her best seruants, who had bene too faithfull vnto her, in the execution of her wicked designs. *Varnare* doth treat so politically in Germany, as he with-drawes their hearts and Forces from *Bruneault*, and wins them vnto *Clotaire*. This counter-battery thus made, he returns into Bourgogne. His returne bred an vnexpected change, for see, who had alwayes deceived, was deceived, and in the end fell into the snare which she had made for another. *Varnare* did not seeme to know what he had designed: whereby he had meanes to countermeine all *Bruneaults* policies, with so wise a dissimulation, by his great authority, as he gaires all the chiefe men for *Clotaire*: deliuiers into his hands the children aforesaid, pretended to be heires, and by this meanes giues him an easie victory over *F* *Bruneaults* troops: who yielding vnto *Clotaire*, deliuer vp this wicked woman, the cause of all their miseries. So at length the Wolfe is taken vnwares. *Clotaire* a victory was receiued by common consent of the Austrasians and Bourguignons, and by these meanes (being absolute master of that great inheritance of *Clouis* his grand-father) beganne his reigne by a worthy act of memorabile Iustice. Having in his power the chiefe motiue of all these mischiefs, he caused *Bruneaults* proceesse to be made by the greatest personages he could chooseth in all his dominions: that in so notable an Assembly the sentence might be irrefutable. By their censures *Bruneault* was found culpable.

She her selfe  
kills her sonne.

The  
brother  
kills the  
biggotten.

The  
brother  
kills the  
biggotten.

The  
brother  
kills the  
biggotten.

631

Brunehaut due  
to a horrible  
death.

of infinite and horrible crimes, and was condemned to dye, by a terrible and extraordinary punishment: for she was tyed to the taile of a wyld Mare, and drawne through a stony and rough Country, so as (being torne into diuers peeces) she died at diuers times most iustly, as she had cruelly caused many others to die. A notable example, to shew, that the greatest cannot auoid the soueraigne iustice of God, who punisheth in this world when it pleaseth him: and when he spareth them, it is a signe that he reserueth the punishment to his last iudgement. Thus died *Brunehaut*, onely commended in Historiques to haue built many temples, and giuen great reuenues for the maintenance thereof, whilst that she wallowed in her pleasures. Saint *Gregory* hath set downe certaine Letters of his to *Brunehaut*, wherein he commends her highly for her piety and singular wisdom.

*Clotaire* seeing himselfe King of so great a Monarchy, after a long and horrible confusion of intestine wars, employed all his care to pacifie the Realme, leaving notable examples to Princes, to cure the wounds of an Estate, after ciuill wars, by mildnesse. He doth publickly proclaime pardon of all iniuries both generall and particular, to abolish the memory to come, making his example a law of perpetual forgetfulness. This moderation, more victorious then any great and seuerie chastisement, won him the loue and obedience of his subiects, and confirmed a true and so counterfeited concord amongst the subiects themselves. He gouerned them after their owne humours, vsing his authority with mildnesse. And for that they had liued in the Court of Kings from whom they received aduancements and honours, the which they could not doe by their annuall offices, (as then the governments were) he erected perpetual Magistrates, with such authority, as it might well be termed the true pattern of a Royalty.

He then augmented the great authority of the Maires of the Palace, who controuled Kings, and in the end vsurped the Royalty, whereas before they were but controulers of the Kings house, and not of the Realme. A notable president for Princes, in the setting of an Estate, not so to communicate their authority to their seruants, whom they desire to gratifie, as they may haue means to become masters. *Clotaire* layed the first stone in the change, which shall happen to his posterity. He had one onely sonne, whose name was *Dagobert*. It was his greatest care to haue him well instructed, committing him to *Arnoul* Bishop of Metz, a learned man, and of a good life, and likewise to *Sadragefile* gouernour. But *Dagobert* discovered euen then his bad disposition, intreating his gouernour *Sadragefile* vnworthily. Wherewith *Clotaire* the King was wonderfully moued against his sonne, who shewed afterwards that this was but a preparative to that he would attempt against his owne father, forcing him in his life time to giue him the Realme of Austrasia for his portion. This kind of rebellion was the fruit of *Clotaire*s too great lenity: as also of priuie quarrels, which bred great disorders in the Court.

Thus we see, there is nothing absolutely perfect in this world. *Clotaire* dies in the year of Christ, 631. having gouerned 44. years, from his cradle, and passed happily through many perillous difficulties. A happy and a wise Prince. But as humane things are subiect vnto change, so we may say, that the French Monarchy reuiued and died in him. And at his death sprung vp the soueraigne authority of the Maires of the Palace, the which grew to that greatnesse, as they dispossest this Race of the Crowne. It was *Clotaire*s intent to gratifie his subiects, and to ease the succeeding Kings: but in effect it was a means to haue many Kings, and to make the lawfull contemptible, setting the seruant in the Masters place. In truth as it is most dangerous in an Estate to giue too much authority to a seruant, so is it most certaine, that the sloathfulness and disloyaltie of these last Kings, was a ladder whereby our Maires mounted to this greatnesse, to their ruines. The which succeeded by degrees, vnder the respect of the Kings name, for from that time of *Clotaire*, vnto the last King of this Race, are 120. years. *Pepin* grandfather to that *Pepin* who was the first King of the second Race, was Maire of the Palace, and began first to deale absolutely in the government of the Realme.

The lenity of *Clotaire* is also noted by another error: for he tooke so great liberty to doe what he list without order, as his subiects would doe the like. And by this contempt of the law, the King grew contemptible, being not well obeyed in his age, the which bred great quarrels betwixt great and small, who shewed no great respect neither to King nor iustice. In this estate died *Clotaire*, leaving *Dagobert* for his successor, the year 632.

DAGOBERT.

Mildnesse a  
good remedy  
to cure a decay  
ed Estate.The greatnesse  
of the seruants  
is a blemish to  
the master.Too great fa-  
uour hurtfull  
to an Estate.

632

## DAGOBERT THE FIRST, The eleuenth King of France.



B

C

D

E

**D**AGOBERT the first of that name, tooke possession of this great Monarchy, without any controuersie. Some write, that he had a brother called *Arbert*, to whom hee gaue for his portion all the Country on this side Loire: but dying without children, it returned to him againe. At his comming to the Crowne, he found great difficulties among his subiects, being bred vp without Iustice, vnder the long liberty of ciuill Warres, and the lenity of *Clotaire*: for the which he provided wisely, reducing Iustice, fortifying it by his authority, with so good a moderation, as no man was offended at his too great seuerity, neither durst any man attempt against the lawes, seeing both the reine & the rod in the hands of their lawfull Prince. Thus he purchased the commendation of a good & wise King, and peace to his people, by their obedience to iustice. To this good order he added profession to loue holy things: and the better to confirme this opinion in his subiects minds, he built & enriched many Temples, especially that of S. Denis, the which since hath bene the sepulchre of our Kings.

There were great numbers of Lewes in France, the which were hurtfull to the Realme: he banished them by a perpetuall Edict, out of the territories that were vnder his obedience. But this zeale of religion, was polluted with the foule blot of Adultery, which made him infamous both to subiects and strangers. *Amond* Bishop of Paris admonished him of his fault: but *Dagobert* impatient thereof, banished him. *Pepin* his Maire continued to in this reprehension, that although *Dagobert* were moued, and threatned to banish him, yet in the end he yielded to reason, by the vertuous constancy of *Pepin*: and having dismissed many of his lewd followers, he calls home *Amond*. An example of Princes and seruants: for the one to continue firme in their duties, for the other to yeeld to reason. *Dagobert* subdued the Gascons that were reuolted: brought the Brittons to obedience, suppressed the Sclauons, settled the Realme of Austrasia, and gaue seasonable succours to the King of Spaine against the Sarazins. This is the summe of his armes led by *Pepin*, whilst that he liued at his pleasure, in his chamber, amongst his women, or in his Monastery at his deuotion. He had two Sons, *Sigebert* and *Clovis*. Having assembled the Estates in great solemnity, he declared, that he had ordained *Sigebert* to be King of Austrasia, & *Clovis* King of France, preferring the younger before the elder without any controuersie. Hee gaue them likewise gouernours, by reason of their yong yeares. And so he died in the year of grace 645. having reigned 14. years without any trouble. A Prince to be numbred amongst the most worthy, but for this blemish of incontinency. Thus vpon the facility of *Clotaire*, the voluptuousnesse of *Dagobert* layed another dangerous stone in the foundation of a new Royalty, the which vnadvisedly they built for their seruants, to their Childrens cost.

The younger  
brother preferred  
before  
the elder.

## CLOVIS THE SECOND, The twelfth King of France. The first of the idle Kings.



F

**N**OW we take the declining of the hill, to seeke the last of these Kings, who neath in the valley, who had nothing royall but the Race, the name, and the habiliments, having resigned their Maiesty, authority, and power to the hands of their Maires. It shall bee sufficient to shew some names, the dates of their reignes, and the continuance of their time, till a more vigorous Royalty come to take their time.

Here after in this first Race, you shall see our Kings but once a year, the first day of May, in their Chariots deckt with flowers, and Greene, and drawen by foure oxen, who

The masters  
of these idle  
Kings.

D 2

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so hath occasion to treat with them, let him seeke them in their chambers, amidst their A delights. Let him take of any matters of State, he shall be sent to the Maire, who deals with all that concerns the State : hee opens packets, and makes answers without any counsell but his owne. Hee heares the complaints of subiects, and giues audience to Ambassadors of foraigne Princes. He ordereth all as it pleaseth him. He giues, reuokes, dischargeth, contracts, ordaines, makes Edicts, and difanulls them. To conclude, he frees his Master from all trouble, to impose it on himselfe. But we shall see to what end hee labours thus, and why he hath taken vpon him the authority and purse of his master. Let vs now speake something of our *Clouis*.

*Clouis* then remains in France, a peaceable King ; and *Sigebert* his elder brother retires B himselfe to his Realme of Austrasia, according to *Dagobert* their fathers decree. This accord was embraced by two brethren of a good and mild disposition, and was maintained wisely by their mother *Nantilde*, and their Tutors. A notable example of rare loue betwixt two brethren, especially in great diuisions, and the ieaiousie of mothers, who doe often support one child against another.

*Clouis* had married a Gentlewoman of Saxony, named *Baudour*, a woman of a good and holy life, & much giuen to deuotion, as the Abbey of Shelles, Saint Baudour, with other Foundations doe witnesse. Whilest that the busied her selfe in her deuotion, and to build Monasteries, *Clouis* laboured to confound his minde, drowning it in the flood of his voluptuousnesse : Yet they obserue one thing in him, which shewes that hee was not wholly C deprived of iudgement: the which happened in a time of a great dearth: To releue the poore people, he suffered them to take the siluer, wherewith the Temple of Saint Denis had been couered by *Dagobert*. Doubtlesse, the care of the poore, is a worke worthy of a great Prince. Bountie is better then sacrifice : and Christian soules be the true stones of a spirituall Temple, where God dwels, as in his proper mansion. So as to nourish and support the poore, the precious members of the Church, is to build a goodly Temple.

*Sigebert* King of Austrasia (having no children, nor hope of any) was so solicited by *Grimoald* Maire of his palace, as he adopted his sonne *Childeric*, and soone after he himselfe had a sonne, and died, leauing him heire general of all his Realme. But *Grimoald*, vnder colour of this adoption, desirous to establish his sonne in the possession of *Sigeberts* D estate, takes his yong son, and sends him to be brought vp in a Monastery of Scotland. In effect, he had seized on all the Realme, if *Ercombault*, Maire of the palace of France, had not valiantly opposed himselfe against this his cruell vsurpation, having defeated & taken both him and his son, and punished them both by a solemne sentence at Paris. A notable example for many considerations : but especially a singular prooffe, that God is the Protector of Orphelins, and a iudge of the vsurpers of anothers right. *Clouis* had three sons by *Baudour*, *Cloataire*, *Childeric*, and *Thierry*. All three shall be Kings successively ; but *Childeric* was presently King of Austrasia, left without any lawfull heire, after the death of the sonne of *Sigebert*. He reigned sixteene yeares, and died in the yeare 662. having left his Realme in great peace, without any enemy. E

## CLOTAIRE THE THIRD,

## The thirteenth King of France.



*CLOTAIRE*, the eldest Son of *Clouis*, was King of France, first vnder the government of *Erich*, and then of *Ebrain* Maire of the Palace : a wicked F and cruell man, who shall minister occasion to talke of his life, in the succession of these latter Kings. Vnder his reigne, he made great exactions vpon all the people, who (as he said) liued too plentifully, and forgot themselves by the enioying of too happy a peace. *Cloataire* reigned foure yeares, and died without name, and without children, in the yeare 666. of whom we may say as of the rest that succeeded him : That they haue left nothing memorable, but that they left not memory.

CHILDERIC,

A

## CHILDERIC, OR CHILPERIC, THE SECOND,

666

## The fourteenth King of France.



B

*HILDERIC* the second Son of *Clouis* was already in possession of the Realme of Austrasia : but a greater drawes him into France, where hee finds important difficulties, for *Ebrain* doubting (if *Childeric* should reigne) he would take from him the dignity of Maire, and giue it vnto *Wfald* Maire of Austrasia, who was his trusty seruant; perswades *Thierry*, the yonger Son of France, to seize vpon the Realme, and causeth him to be crowned King. But *Childeric* comes with a strong Army, being fauoured by the French, who hated *Ebrain*, (and in respect of him *Thierry*) & were well affected to the elder : so as he seizeth vpon *Thierry* and *Ebrain*. He did only shauel *Thierry* and put him into the Monastery of Saint Denis : and he sent *Ebrain* to Luson in Bourgogne. Too small a punishment for so foule a fact : nay rather, a perpetuall prison, and insupportable torments had beene more meet for his ambitious spirit.

C

*Childeric* then was receiued of all the French, to whom soone after hee made a bad recompence : for he grew so proud and cruell, as there appeared in all places signes of his tyranny and cruelty. One amongst the rest cost him deere : for hauing caused a Gentleman called *Bodille* to be whipped, hee gaue him a iust occasion to seeke his ruine. The French, wearied with his insolencies, take this barbarous act very disdainfully : so as *Bodille* had an easie meanes for reuenge vpon *Childeric*, although hee were a King: hee resolves to kill him, and want no friends to accompany him in this execution. The match is made to surpris him hunting, at their best advantage. *Childeric* being there, he is enuironed by *Bodille* and his Companions, who increase still : and he being ill attended by his followers, is slaine by *Bodille* : who followed by his confederates, goes presently to a neere Castle, whereas *Blitilde* the Queene remained great with childe, being entred, hee D slew her with her child, leauing a memorable example to Princes, neuer to thrust their subiects into despair ; nor to abuse their authority to the dishonour and contempt of their Nobility, which is their right arme.

Thus died *Childeric*, hauing reigned but two yeares. Leauing an odious memory to his posterity, to haue begun well, and ended ill : cleane contrary to *Childeric* the first, his Predecessor, who began ill and ended well.

E

## THIERRI THE FIRST,

## The fifteenth King of France.



F

*THE* French, not able to liue without a King, and desiring none, but one of the blood royall, (*Childeric* being thus slaine) poste to Saint Denis, draw forth *Thierry*, and establish him in the Realme, from the which they had deposed him, for his elder brother : and make *Landregesil* the Sonne of *Archembauld* Maire of the Palace, with whom they were displeased, during his Mairalty. A notable example, both of the peoples consent governed by reason, and the efficacy of the Royall law, the which is the soule of an Estate, and the ground of a lawfull Empire.

The Realme was very peacefull in this beginning, when as *Ebrain* (perswaded by some discontented Noblemen) leaues his Cloister, and raiseth an army, in the beginning but small, but it so increased, by the Kings contempt & his Maiores, as hee remoueth a Victory, with an incredible celerity. *Ebrain* seizeth on the Kings person, and treateth him with all reverence



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reuerence, and respect, and protests to require nothing, but to be held his most faithfull A  
 seruant, as he had beene in his first reigne. *Landregisil* was then absent: who seeing the  
 King taken, and all the fauour of the French turned to *Ebrin*, being victor, he willingly  
 giues eare vnto him, and vpon his faith & promise of good vñage, puts himselfe into his  
 hands, by whom he is treacherously and cruelly slaine, *Ebrin* hauing begun this course,  
 continues his cruelty, to satisfie his reuenging mind, vntill that he after that he had mur-  
 dered many good men, contrary to his oath, amongst the rest, *Leger* Bishop of Autun,  
 hauing admonished him of his duty, and *Martin* Maire of the Palace of Austrasia, to  
 whom he had giuen his faith with a solemne oath) in the end thrust himselfe vnadvisedly  
 into the hands of *Ermanfroy*, a French gentleman, his capital enemy, who slew him when B  
 he least feared it, hauing now an imagination to be mounted to the top of his greatnesse,  
 and to taste the sweet liquor of his insatiabie reuenge.

A notable obseruation for treacherous & reuenging spirits, who are then vanquished  
 when they think to be Conquerours. *Thierry* a King in shew, is a spectator of these Tra-  
 gedies, as of a game at tables, of his diuers Maires, which play at leuel coile, vntill that *Pe-  
 pin* gets it, and enioyes it only, with the foueraign gouernment of the French Monarchy.

*Pepin* during the confusions of these reignes had been in Austrasia, and purchased great  
 credit with all men: so as he was held worthy of this great charge, the which he gouerned  
 with so great wisdom and valor, as hauing fetled France in a peacefull Estate, he had pur-  
 chased more credit, and authority among the French, then the King himselfe. In the end C  
*Thierry* dies, in the year 693, hauing reigned nineteene yeares, leaving *Clevis* and *Childe-  
 bari*, his children, for a witnessse, that he had liued: but in effect *Pepin*, and his, for the true  
 heires of the Realme.

## CLOVIS THE THIRD.

## The sixteenth King of France.

B<sup>E</sup>ing the eldest sonne of *Thierry*, he reigned foure yeares, and dies without name, and D  
 without children: to whom succeeds his brother.

## CHILDEBERT THE SECOND,

## The seuenteenth King of France.

V<sup>V</sup>Ho reigned seuentee yeares, and dies in the year 718, hauing left two Sonnes,  
*Dagobert* and *Clotaire*, of like humour to himselfe.

## DAGOBERT THE SECOND,

## The eighteenth King of France.



H<sup>E</sup> reigned foure yeares, and left two Children, *Chilperic* and *Thi-  
 erri*, with no better memory then the rest. So there passed fortie  
 and foure yeares, during which time *Pepin* had good meanes to  
 fortifie his authority, the which was in effect absolute, by the neg-  
 ligence, or rather idleness of these Kings, who made a necessary F  
 way to new delignes, by their voluntary sufferance to inroach vpon  
 their authority. *Pepin* well acquainted with the humour of the  
 French, (naturally bent to loue their Princes) did not openly de-  
 spise his masters: but excused their weak dispositions, not capable of much paine, re-  
 presenting the heavy burthen of a great Estate, and that the honor to gouerne it, is a trou-  
 ble which costs deare. He fetled an impression in the Frenchmens minds, that those only  
 were worthy to be Kings, that knew how to gouerne.

So

719

A<sup>A</sup> So without any insinuating speech, the ordinary seruices he did to the Realme, maintai-  
 ning it in peace, his great profession to loue Religion, Iustice, and the people (whose ease  
 he was wonderfully carefull of), did recommend him to all men: and the good turnes hee  
 did to all persons by reason of his charge, did daily purchase him many friends and ser-  
 uants. Doubtlesse, as it is great policy to be a good man, so is there no small dexterity in  
 the taking of Cities and Countreys by the hearts of men. Thus *Pepin* laid the foundation,  
 and his successors finished the perfect building of a new gouernment.

A lesson for our Kings, to haue a care how they referre the charge of affaires to their  
 seruants, and to whom they trust, and how. This example doth verifie, that they were bet-  
 ter to be more careful, and to take more paines, then to disturne themselves of this great  
 authority, which makes them not only eminent aboue all men, but carries (as it were) a  
 type of the Maiesty of God in the gouernment of the world, whereof they must yeeld him  
 an account, and not lose that by base cowardinesse, which they should maintaine by ver-  
 tue. But let vs returne to *Pepin*, he made great show to loue Religion, and vpon this cause  
 he makes warre against *Rabod* Duke of Frise a *Ragan*, whom he conquered and forced to  
 receiue the Christian Religion with all his souldiers. He restored *Lambert* Bishop of Vtrecht  
 to his dignity, being expelled by *Ebrin*, and confined into a Monastery: finally, he infi-  
 nitely fauoured all that tended to the seruice of God: and one of his chiefest cares was to  
 aduance them that had charge ouer the Church, whose loues he had so purchased by this  
 good vñage, as they soone required him, causing the people to loue him, with whom such  
 as rule their consciences haue great authority.

This was a point of state, as much as of deuotion. He also made proofe of his valour in  
 diuers foies, reducing the people of Germany on eyther side the Rhine, to the obedience  
 of the French, who beganne to mutine, and forsooke the beauty of the Realme of Au-  
 strasia. He was carefull to maintaine iustice, and to embrace the people, no way oppressing  
 them with any new impositions: In the meane time, he was not careless of himselfe and  
 his children. He commanded absolutely, being armed with the authority of his Soue-  
 raigne; neyther was there any appeale from him vnto the King.

He had two sonnes by *Plectrude*, *Dragon*, and *Grimbold*: he gaue Champagne to *Dra-  
 gon*, and after his death he caused his sonne to succeed him with the title of a Duke: In the  
 beginning he gaue the Offices of great Master, and General of the Treasurers to *Nordbert*  
 his deare friend: but after his death he inuested his owne sonne *Grimbold* in those places.  
 But as the vanity of man transports it selfe beyond the limits of respect, it changed in the  
 end, that *Pepin* forgot himselfe in his prosperity: for not satisfied with *Plectrude* his law-  
 full wife, he fell in loue with a Gentlewoman named *Alpaide*, by whom he had one bastard,  
 (which shall be very famous in the course of this History, vnder the name of *Charles Martel*)  
 and as the mischief encreased he puts away *Plectrude*, and maries *Alpaide*. *Lambert*  
 Bishop of Vtrecht admonished him of this fault: but he suffered *Alpaide* to cause him to be  
 slaine by her brother *Dodon*, who soone after felt the punishment of this blood, for being  
 E strucke with a disease of wormes, nor able to endure his owne stench, hee cast himselfe  
 headlong into the riuer of Meuze. *Grimbold* the sonne of *Pepin* following his fathers ex-  
 ample, abandoned himselfe to strange women, disdainig his wife. But this adultery was  
 deare to them both: for *Grimbold*, too familiar with one named *Rangare*, sonne in law to  
*Rabod* Duke of Frise, was slaine with him, by a iust iudgement of God, hauing taught him  
 so filthy a trade, to abandon himselfe to stumps, and to reiect his wife. *Pepin* was so per-  
 plexed for the death of his sonne, as he died for griefe and choller against *Rabod* the author  
 of this murder. Thus both he and his sonne reaped the fruits of their adultery.

Vpon his death-bed he ordained *Charles* (his bastard) to succeed him in the gouern-  
 ment of the Realme: but *Plectrude* embracing this occasion, vpon the death of her hus-  
 band, and well supported by her kinsfolkes, caused *Charles* to be taken and put in prison at  
 Cologne, and aduanced *Thybauld* the sonne of *Dragon*, her owne sonne and *Pepin*'s, to the  
 gouernment, although in effect the vnder his name gouerned all the affaires of State. This  
 gouernment of a woman, (which is visually imperious and without reason) offended this  
 most reuolte among the French: so as weary to be commanded by a distaffe (*Dagobert*  
 dying during these alterations) they tooke a Prince of the blood called *Daniel* forth of a  
 Cloister, who had beene a Monke the greatest part of his youth. Him they crowne King  
 vnder the name of *Chilperic* the second, to haue a royall name to countenance his actions:

*Charles Martel*  
 bastard to *Pe-  
 pin*.

and

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and they giue him a Nobleman of France called *Rainfroy*, to be his Maire : who hauing A leauied an army, defeated *Thibault*, and his grandmother *Plectrude* with small fight. But when as *Rainfroy* thought himselfe void of all his enemies, he finds a strong Competitor : for *Charles Martel* being freed from prison, could politickly embrace the occasion, and get authority by the perplexity of *Plectrude*, to whom hee offers himselfe with all his meanes. The decree of *Pepin* did import much : but the dexterity and valour of *Charles* could be no more concealed, then a goodly light in darkness. He entertaines such as were affected to *Plectrude*, and her sonne, in such sort as (seeing themselves abandoned) they receive him for Maire, according to the will of *Pepin*, whose image *Charles* did carry in his forehead, and his memory liued yet in the hearts of the French.

*Charles* being received and installed Maire of France, first assured himselfe of the childre of King *Dagobert*, causing them to be gently brought vp in a Monastery, and afterwards (not pursuing his reuenges as *Ebwin* had done) he made a publicke declaration, that his only intention was to free the Realme from the confusions which were so visible to all men, and restore it to the ancient dignity. Heither would he attempt any thing but by the consent and aduice of the French. And indeed he beganne to manage the Affaires to the great content of all men. He established an old Prince of the blood, named *Clotaire*, with a Councell of State, vnder whose name and authority he gouerned as Maire and chiefe of the Councell, and therefore some writers reckon this *Clotaire* amongst the Kings of France, although he were no King. *Rainfroy* with his *Chilperic* (having himselfe too weak for such an enemy) had recourse to *Rabod* Duke of *Buris*, a capital enemy to the House of *Pepin*, with whose aide he leauies an Army, encounters *Charles*, and ouerthrowes him at the first charge. But *Charles* nothing amazed at this check, rallies his Forces, and knowing that the Enemy put vp with this victory, marched in disorder, he charged their confused troops with such aduantage, as hee decimates them quite, neare vnto Cambrai: so as *Chilperic* and *Rainfroy* could hardly escape with a small traine. And so *Charles* proceeds with his victory: for being aduertised that *Plectrude* was at Cologne, where he is received by the inhabitants, and hauing *Plectrude* and her sonne *Thibault* in his power, he inflicts no other punishment, but inioines them to liue in quiet, and to attempt nothing without his liking. A worthy reuenge of a generous mind to pardon the vanquished. *Eudon* succours him; but being vanquished by *Charles*, he submits himselfe with the pretended *Chilperic*, to his discretion: and so did *Rainfroy*, relying vpon the Conquerors faith: *Charles* vseth the victory modestly, pardons *Rainfroy*, and giues him the government of Aniou, and suffers *Eudon* to enjoy his liuing, vnder the obedience of the Crowne. And to settle the Realme in good order, he degrades *Chilperic*, being aduanced against law, and causeth the eldest sonne of *Dagobert* to be chosen King, named *Chilperic*, as the true and lawfull heyre. So he reigned vnder the government of his Maire.

## CHILPERIC THE THIRD,

*The nineteenth King of France.*

Prince of no valor, simple and voluptuous. In his time the Sueses, Saxons, and Baurians (disdaining to liue vnder a simple and effeminate King) sought to withdraw themselves from the French obedience: but *Charles* reduced them to the yoke, reaping repentance for their rebellion. *Plectrude* was weary of ease: who abusing the mildnesse of *Charles*, retires to Vlmes, with her daughter *Sena-childe*, the lawfull child of *Pepin*, and seeks to draw the people of Danuby into rebellion against *Charles*: who hauing intelligence of her practices, postes thither with a running camp, pacifies the Germanes, and puns her in prison, but we reade not how he disposed of her, nor of her sonne *Thibault*. Thus he confirmed his authority in all places. In the meane time *Chilperic* dies, hauing reigned five yeares, and in his place his Brother was crowned King.

THIRTE

A

## THIERRI THE SECOND,

*The 20. King of France.*

He reigned ten yeares, and dying, left his sonne *Childeric*, the last King of this first Race of *Merovingiens*. This is all that is memorable in these two reignes; whilst that the second Race prepares to come in place; and to take possession of the Crowne and Scepter of the French Monarchy.

*Charles Martel*, from Maire of the Palace, is chosen Duke or Prince of the French. He layes the foundations of a new reigne for his posterity; and in this respect is numbered among the Kings for the two and twentieth.

Now our discourse must be of that great *Charles*, surnamed *Martel*, by reason of the force both of his body and mind: shewing briefly according to our style, what means he had to aduance his Race to the Royall Throne.

As things succeeded in this manner: *Charles Martel*, who knew what force an interest purchased by good order hath in an Estate, enioynes his friends priuately (which were many) how much it did import (considering the apparent weaknesse of the King, and the necessity of the Realme) to haue one Commander, whom all the rest might obey: for when the King speaks not, euery one (holding himselfe as great as his companion) will play the King, and so by consequence many mischiefs grow daily, a multitude of matters being a ruine to an Estate. That the authority of a Maire was not great enough to that effect: and although it might be extended vpon necessity, yet was it not conuenient: seeing that which concerns the good and quiet of all, ought to be approved by all, and settled by a free and generall consent. Hauing thus disposed the minds of such as might rule in matters of great import, he makes a conuocation, which he calls a Parliament, in the which it is concluded, That seeing *Charles Martel* had by many proofes shewed himselfe worthy of a great command, hauing well vsed his authority of Maire, and that vrgent necessity required a speedy and conuenient remedy: therefore the absolute government should be deliuered into his hands. And to the end his authority should bee knowne, and obeyed with more respect, hereafter he should be called Prince, or Duke of Frenchmen. This decree did greatly countenance the authority of *Charles Martel*, being confirmed by such an Assembly, and by so affectionate a consent: but his vertues made him to be held most worthy of so honourable a charge: occasion made proofe of his vertue, and the success was a foretelling that the Realme was appointed to his posterity. Soone after there fell out this notable occasion.

We haue made mention of *Eudon*, the pretended Duke of Guienne. *Martel* hauing vanquished him, suffered him to enjoy his liuing, vnder the obedience of the Crowne. This accord pleased not *Eudon*, who not able to be reuenged of *Martel*, practised such meanes as ambition and couetousnesse did prescribe him. The Sarazins (a Turkish nation) had passed out of Asia into Africke and Spaine, and had possessed those goodly and great Provinces vnder the command of their King *Abderamen*. *Eudon* solicites them to come into France, and promisseth a free passage. The Sarazins willingly embrace the offer of so easie an entry, and resolute to people France with a great Colony of their nation. They enter Guienne with an army of four hundred thousand fighting men. A fearful number at this day, but plainly set downe by the common consent of all writers. *Charles Martel* seeing this great storme ready to fall vpon France, resolves first to take away the cause of their coming, and as *Eudon*s discontent had drawne them in, so he labours to be reconciled vnto him.

He concludes a peace with *Eudon*, taught by the horrible spoyle of Guienne, what it is to set such men to worke. In the end he disposeth all things to stop the violence of so ravishing an enemy, assembling all the Forces he could, to make a body able to encounter them: but he armed himselfe chiefly with resolution and courage, fit instruments in necessity, vnder the providence of the God of armes and victories. The Sarazin was already aduanced as far as Tournay, within view of Tours, neare to the Riuier Loire, where *Martel* refol-

Multiplicity  
of matters is  
a ruine to an  
Estate.

The Sarazins  
invade France  
with 400000.  
men.

730

730

The Sarazin  
trulls in the  
multitude of  
his men.

resolved to attend him, as well to ingage him in a country far from retreat, and to make A  
Endon and his men more resolute, in whose Country it was to be tryed, as also to haue  
France ready in case of necessity. *Abderamen* trusting in the multitude of his souldiers  
both of horse & foot, resolves to compasse in the French: and to this end had dispersed his  
bataillions, euery one a part, making shew of a great Army, appointing his horse ming-  
led with Camels, and furnished with sundry new kinds of Armes, so ioyne the bataill-  
ions one to another. The order and countenance of this army was fearful to men, neuer  
wonted to behold such an huge inundation of strangers.

Martel encoun-  
raged his  
men.

*Martel* (who fought more with courage and valour in a good cause, then with numbers) B  
hauing assembled the body of his army, he confirms their resolutions before the com-  
bat, wishing them to haue no hope but in God, and in themselves, shewing that they had  
their enemies before, and the river of Loire behind, that hee had commanded them of  
Tours not to open the gates; but to the Conqueror, and had appointed troops of horse  
vpon the wings of his army, to kill such as fled, as enemies. To conclude, they had no  
other France, but where they were, in the which they must either conquer or die. *Endon*  
with his Guennois made their army apart, not far from *Martel*, and with his consent.

The batells being aranged, and euery Commander hauing perswaded his men to doe  
their best endeouours, the Sarazin giues the charge, supposing to compasse in the French  
easily, as with a net: but of all sides he findes men couragious in their defence. The en-  
counter was great, and the combat furious. In the heat of the conflict *Endon* disbands, and  
violently chargeth the Sarazins campe, being full of women, children, and baggage, and  
with a small guard, he forceth the defences, and enters it, cuts in pieces, and kills all he en-  
counters, without difference of age or sex. The Barbarian not accustomed to the reali-  
tie of the French, who encountered his sundry Bataillions in grosse, as they presented  
themselves, turning after the manner of their discipline, seeing many of his men slaine,  
and for a second mischiefe, hearing the cries and shriekings of women, and children, mas-  
sacred in the Campe, began to be amazed, and to wauer. *Martel* (discouering their counte-  
nance, and that their bataillions grew thin) cries out mainly to his souldiers: Courage my  
friends: God hath set vp his banner, he fights for vs, let vs charge these miscreants. The  
Souldiers (incouraged at this voice, and at the visible successe of their Armes) cry victory, D  
victory. The Sarazin not knowing which way to turne him, being charged on all sides,  
breakes his bataillions, abandons his ranks, and casts away his Armes. All are dispersed,  
the multitude oppresseth them. Hereupon *Martel* and *Endon* ioyne together, after the  
spoile of the campe: vpon this disorder they charge valiantly through these dismembred  
troops, as into a thicke haruest, without any resistance: all ouerflowes with blood, they are  
weary with killing. The remainder which fled is small, the prisoners lesse: all die by the  
sword, or are beaten downe with battle-axes: the vigorous French (inraged with the  
sight of these vanquished Barbarians, seeking to dispossesse them, their wiues & children,  
of their habitations) made them the subiects of their choller. King *Abderamen* is found  
dead in a heap of carcases, not wounded, but smothered by the multitude that fled. His  
E  
sloes assure, there were slaine vpon the place 375000. men, and of the French 1500.  
among the which were many of the Nobility and men of account. Thus God did ouer-  
throw the greater number by the lesse, and by his force the multitude was an incumber to  
the enemy. But about all, this delucrance was remarkable, for that God not onely freed  
France from the slavery of Infidels, but also the rest of Europe, the which this deluge had  
almost ouerflowed, as it had done Asia and Africke already. So thanks were giuen vnto  
God, in all Christian kingdomes, & the name of *Martel* generally renowned, as a chiefe in-  
strument of the singular deliuerance of all Christendome. After this defeat, he diuided the  
spoiles amongst the Souldiers, and the better to reward the Nobility, he remitted them  
the tenths and tithes for certaine yeares, with the consent of the Clergy, to whom he F  
promised satisfaction.

A memorable  
defeat of *Abde-  
ramen*, and his  
death.The battell of  
Tours.

This memorable defeat was a scale of the new dignity granted vnto *Martel* by the fa-  
uour of the French, confirmed by his owne valour, or rather by the bounty of God, the  
essentiall cause of his happy successe. This battell was called the battell of Tours: it hap-  
pened in the yeare 730. but the end of this war was the beginning of another, and almost  
from the same spring, and by the same current. We haue shewed *Endon* deces at the  
battell of Tours. For this great seruice he expected some notable recompence: But  
Martel

37

733

A famous war  
in Languedoc.

A *Martel* excusing himselfe, that he could not alienate the reuenues of the Crowne, nor  
doe any thing to the preiudice of his Master, left *Endon* no more advanced then before  
the warres, and very ill satisfied: but he died soone after, leauing *Hunault* and *Ieffrey* his  
children, heyres of his discontent.

After their fathers decease, they seeke all possible meanes to trouble the quiet of France.  
Their chiefe strength was in Guienne: they had likewise some in Prouence, through the  
faour of *Maurice*, Gouvernour of the Country, and Earle of Marcellis; but especially in  
Languedoc, whence they were issued, as I haue said, being descended from the Visigoths,  
whose memory with their names liues still throughout all that Prouince, although they all  
depend vpon the Crowne of France. Thus they assemble all the people they can, either  
by friends or credit, and fortifie good townes against the French, attending to make war  
with all violence. But finding all these meanes too feeble for so great a proiect, they pro-  
ceed farther. The Sarazins remaining in Spaine, were much grieved at so great a losse of  
their men, being a generall dishonour to all their nation: They are easily drawne into this  
League, to be reuenged of the French: and the better to fortifie their party, they ioyne  
with the Vandales, Ostrogoths, and Alans, which remained yet in Spaine, not friends  
amongst themselves, yet common enemies to the French.

King *Athin* led the Sarazins troopes: *Hunault* and *Ieffrey* brethren commanded  
those that were assembled in the Prouinces on this side Loire. Besides their Forces,  
they had intelligence within Lions, and the best Cities of Bourgongne, assuring them-  
selves to seize vpon Dauphine, as well for the nearnesse of Languedoc, (where they had  
a great partie) as also by meanes of *Maurice* the Prouençal, and the credit they had  
with the principall of the Country.

Thus they make a great party to vndermine and ruine the State of France, and  
did manage their practices with such secrecie, as their Army was sooner in field then  
*Martel* could haue intelligence of their preparations. The body of this army assem-  
bled in Languedoc, passed the Rofne, entred into Dauphine, and goes through it  
with such celerity and ease, as the Cities of Pierrelate, Saint Pol, Montmar, Liwon,  
Valence, Romans; and other townes bordering vpon the Rofne (hauing yielded as  
the first brute) they surpris the City of Lions, by meanes of their intelligence. Vienn  
alone held firme for the Kings seruice, in this deluge of Goths and Sarazins. They  
D  
passed from Lions by Sauoy, and the Countreies on either side of the mount Iura; and  
in the end seized on many of the best Cities of Bourgongne, Chalon, Malcon, Dijon,  
and Auxerre, by meanes of their intelligences and the generall amazement. *Martel*  
slept not in this confusion: but to prevent this vnexpected storme, he assures the Ci-  
ties, and leaues men with all expedition. The Towne of Sens (through the resolute  
counsel of their Bishop *Orso*) fillies forth so fitly vpon the Sarazin Army, as (hauing  
slaine a great number) they force them to raise the siege with shame. Other townes by  
their example grow resolute, vnder the assurance of their Commanders, whom they  
B  
find careful of their preservation. Thus this army halfe victorious (feareing a second skir-  
mish of Tours, by the walghty blowes of *Martel*, loth to ingage themselves farther in  
France) retires into the Countreies of their allies, leauing garisons in the townes they had  
pursued: One part passeth into Languedoc, and lodgeth in friend townes: another  
seizeth on Auignon (then a City of Prouence) by the meanes of *Maurice* gouernor of the  
Country: Arles holds firme for the kings seruice. Amidst these confusions and the re-  
uerber of *Maurice*, *Hunault* and *Ieffrey* returne into their Country of Guienne, to prevent  
the designs of *Martel*, and to retaine their townes in obedience. Hauing thus disposed  
of their affaires, they send ioyntly into Spaine for new Forces, whilst that *Martel* labors  
to seise that which they had disordered in many places. And in truth they had provided  
F  
work for him, the which he presented in this sort.

The fidelity of  
the Visigoths.The courage of  
a Bishop.New attempts  
of the Langued.

He finds *Childbert* presently in Prouence with a meane army, as well to assure the  
townes that stood firme, as to keepe the enemy at a bay, and to croise their designs: He  
himselfe remains in Bourgongne with a great army, to reuocate such townes as were  
held by the enemy. Both work according to their projects, but not with like successe.  
*Childbert* besiegeth Auignon, but with much rayle, losse of time, and small hope of suc-  
cesse: so at length is shamefully forced to raise the siege: but then comes *Martel* with his  
army, hauing recovered the Cities of Bourgongne, Lions, and the rest of Dauphine with  
the

74<sup>r</sup>A new army of  
Sarazins in  
France.

the like facility as they had beene lost : punishing the rebels in all places. Being encamped A before Auignon, he so presteth the siege, as in few dayes he takes the towne, and cuts the Sarazins in pieces : yet their King *Athin* saved himselfe in Languedoc, by the river of Roine, and retired to Narbonne to his other troopes. *Martel* (having relieved the City of Arles with a new garison) passeth into Languedoc, and besiegeth Narbonne, being then a very strong City, and of great importance for the whole Province. And as this siege grew long, behold a new army of Sarazins comes out of Spaine, vnder the conduct of *Amore*, another petty Sarazin King. *Martel* fearing lest they of Guienne should come, and those within the City issue forth, and all being vnited make one body of an army, he resolues to fight with them apart, vsing this stratagem which succeeded happily. He leaues B a part of his army before the City, with the same countenance as if it had beene whole, rising without sound of Drumme or Trumpet: and surpriseth this new army of Sarazins, with such celerity, as he defeats them.

Languedoc  
severely pun-  
ished by *Martel*.

*Athin* frustrate of hope of any succours, saues himselfe by Sea, with a small troop, and abandons Narbonne, and the whole Country, to the mercy of *Charles Martel* then a conqueror. This was the end of that perillous warre bred by *Hannault* and *Ieffroy* the sonnes of *Eudon*: and the fruit of all these broyles in Languedoc, was that they brought those Cities which had followed them, to extremity, whom *Martel* punished severely for their rashnesse and rebellion. The Historics name Narbonne, Nismes, Beziers and Agde, the which he caused to be sackt and burnt. It is likely that the ancient walles of Nismes were C then pulled downe, whereof we now see the ruines of an admirable greatnesse: vndoubted signes of the ancient beaury and wealth of that goodly City : the which in the time of the Romane Empire, being free in Gaule Narbonnoise, did enioy the priuiledges of Italy, hauing had the honour to furnish Rome with an Emperour.

*Hannault* and *Ieffroy* (being authors of this warre) remained yet unpunished. *Martel* was diuierged by the warre he made against the Friscons, whom he vanquished and forced to become Christians : and to that end he sends them Doctors. A pardonable zeale in a warrior : for in truth mens soules cannot be wonne by the sword, nor religion forced, but must be planted in the heart by reason. The punishment of these turbulent men, was reserved vnto *Pepin*, who knew well how to effect it as we shall see. At this time King *Thi-* D *erry* died, having reigned five and twenty years in conceit : and left *Childeric* his sonne, not heyre of the Realme, but of his idleness, to make the last releafe of the Crowne, and consign it into a better hand.

## CHILDERIC THE FOURTH,

## The 21. King of France.

And the last of the first Race.



was King in these nine years, five vnder the authority of *Charles Martel*, and foure vnder *Pepin*, who did possessed him, made him a Monke, and seated himselfe in his place, as we shall see in order.

But let vs obserue what remains of *Martel*. The care and toyle of great affairs, with his old age, hauing sore broken him, he resolues to dispose of things in time, & to leaue a peace to his children. He had a sons, *Caroleman*, *Pepin*, *Giles*, & *Griffon*, all of diuers humors. *Caroleman* & *Giles* more modest, and of a milder spirit: *Pepin* and

*Griffon*, more rough & ambitious. While he liued, he greatly honored the Kings person, neither did he in open shew meddle with that maine point of Royalty: but in effect, diuiding his authority to his children with the title of gouernments. He purchased them an interest by his vertue, and infinite the possession of the Realme. To his eldest sonne *Caroleman* he left Austrasia, to *Pepin* (whom he knew to be of a more quicke and hardy spirit) France, as the body of the Estate. And seeing *Giles* visit for Armes, and giuen to detest on, he made him Archibishop of Rouan. To bridle the turbulent spirit of *Griffon*, and to take from him all occasion of debate, he would not giue him any certaine portion, but the good

The disposed  
on children,  
and death of  
*Martel*.74<sup>r</sup>

A good will of his elder brethren: being taught by the experience of former reignes, that many commanding brethren are dangerous to an Estate : shewing himselfe more wise and happy therein then *Cleus*.

Thus *Charles Martel* (having liued fifty five yeares) dyed in the yeare of Grace 741. hauing commanded absolutely in France twenty and five yeares, as Maire or Prince of the French, vnder the reignes of *Chilperic*, *Thierry*, and *Childeric*. One of the worthiest men that euer liued, either in this Monarchy, or in any foraigne Estate. He was religious, wise, iust, valiant, modest in prosperity, resolute in aduersity, temperate in authority, not passionate nor reuengefull, diligent and fortunate. By these excellent vertues he did quietly B purchase this great degree, whereby his posterity hath mounted to the royall throne, although he had but the paine to get it, and the honour to perserue the Realme from shipwracke in the weaknesse of these kings, and the stormes of many confusions. His children (according to the diuersity of their humours) had diuers euents. *Caroleman* wanted no valour, but having accompanied his brother *Pepin* in diuers exploits, in the end he resignes him all his authority, becomes a Monke, and dies so at Vienne. *Giles* full of ambitious heart, not pleased with the wise resolution of his father, did all he could to crosse his brother *Pepin*, although he had giuen him a sufficient portion in Normandy. Transported with this spleene, he stirs vp the Saxons, Bauarians, and those of Guienne, against him at diuers times. In the end (being suppressed in all places) he vndertakes a voyage into Italy, C to attempt something against his brother : but he was slaine by the way, by a gentleman of Bourgongne, as a man of no valour nor quality. This fire was thus quenched, and *Giles* died vnworthily, leauing this lesson to posterity, That ambition hastens ruine, and contrariwise, that the one halfe is better then the whole.

Forerunnings or preparatives to the reigne of *Pepin*.

*Pepin*, seeing himselfe alone in great authority, vnderpropr by the merits of his grandfather, resolued so to behaue himselfe, as his owne defects should not onely con firme this reputation left him by inheritance, but also perswade the French that he was worthy of a greater command, and by their free consents, hold him capable of the Crowne. He knew the humour of the French, who loue and honour their King with an especial de- D uotion, and cannot be induced to doe otherwise, but by great and urgent reasons: He manageth this designe with such dexterity, as he effects it, and the meanes (which the prouidence of God did minister vnto him) did as it were guide him by the hand, for to him we must attribute the principall cause of this notable change. The Sarazins infinitely grieved with these two defeats, prepare another army : *Ieffroy* was also of this party, and it seemed this third league did threaten France with a greater storme. *Pepin* remembering that his father had beene surpris'd, sends forth his spies, and being speedily aduertised of their designe, he assembles all the Forces he could, with an incredible celerity : finding himselfe first in Armes, he enters into Guienne, and seizeth on the passages of the Pyrenean mountaines. *Ieffroy* being thus surpris'd, lets a good face on it, promising obedience E to *Pepin* : and is a mediator for the Sarazins, vndertaking that they should renounce their interest, and neuer enter more into France. *Pepin* obtaining his desire (being glad to haue preuented this storme, and forced so redoubted enemies to receiue a law from him), applied himselfe to the peoples humour, He dismisseth his army, buying himselfe in repairing of the Churches which the Sarazins had ruined, to ease the Citizens that were appoy- led, and in giuing them meanes to recouer themselves : to establish iustice, so vnburthen the subiects of publike charges, and to let the French vnderstand that he was as fit for peace as war. The Church of Rome was then in great reputation, and the Popes did once ly busie themselves with the seruice of God, and to maintaine Princes in concord, the which purchased them great credit, for the respect Christian people bare to religion. *Zachary* held then the Pontificall seat, and had the Lombards for a subiect of continual feare, being his irreconcilable enemies, against whom he could not haue more assuredly speedily help then in France, & by *Pepin*'s meanes, who held the soveraigne authority. *Martel* had already avoided a dangerous warre through the amity he had with *Luithprand* King of the Lombards, after whose death *Rachise* Duke of Friol, chosen in his place, threatens the Pope openly: for all the Lombards faire shewes, & large protestations of friendship, were but foretellings of his vnfaithfulness. Wherefore *Zachary* entertained *Pepin* carefully, which helped him much to compass his desire. And although his ambitious humour made him

Estate of the  
Church.

*Pepin* means  
to make him-  
self king.

sometimes to speake too peremptorily of his victories and ordinary defects, yet could he A containe himselfe in greatest occasions: and behaved himselfe in such fort, as hee seemed not to aspire vnto the crown, but that necessity and the common consent of all the French did (as it were) force him thereunto. The most remarkable thing in all the course of this History, is the order he held to compass a designe of so great importance.

As he discoursed covertly of his intention, & openly of the vrgent necessity to provide speedily for the estate of the Realme: he had feed men to preach forth his praises, and the disgraces of *Childeric*, being as visible in the one, as remarkable in the other: reason giuing due praise to vertue, and dishonour to vice. In the one they see a simple stupidity, in the other a staid gravity; in the one a brutish fury, and in the other a moderate and temperate B spirit; in the one a beastly carelesnesse, in the other an active diligence; in the one a dissolute intemperancy, and in the other a well grounded continency. So as in the one was all good, and in the other all bad; in the one all pleased, in the other all displeased; and their actions were the table of their contrary dispositions. *Childeric* loued no man, neither did any many loue him: *Pepin* loued all, and was beloued of all, tying all vnto him by all occasions and good offices, and all to his masters losse. The common people loue *Pepin* entirely, as the protector of their liberty: and hated *Childeric* as one that regarded not the common good, in respect of his foolish and beastly voluptuousnesse: being neither willing nor able to doe well.

So the one being contemned and hated, was held vnworthy to reigne, the other praised C and beloued, was esteemed most worthy to be a King. The friends of *Pepin* failed not to proclaim his merits in all places, and the people embraced it with all content. But there were many difficulties in the execution of this generall desire: Religion (much respected by the French) the naturall reuerence and deuotion they bare to their Kings, and the remembrance of the merits of old *Clouis*, were strong lets to stay the violent desires of the most affectionate. But *Pepin* could well prevent all this by an admirable and happy dexterity: To the remembrance of *Clouis* vertues, he opposeth the memory of horrible disgraces and infamies, wherewith his posterity had beene polluted: and withall, the carelesnesse of these later Kings, noting all in rancke from father to sonne. And contrariwise, he did represent vnto them, the liuely remembrance of the great merits of *Pepin* his grand- D father, of *Martel* his father, and his owne, and from experience past, hee concludes of the future hope. As for the reuerence of the French to their Kings, he shewed that it was vowed to true Kings, and not to Kings in imagination, painted and disguised: and that the oath of alleageance tied them to a religious King, being valiant, iust, mercifull, ypright, diligent, practised in affaires, fit to withstand his enemies, to punish the wicked, to defend the good, and to protect the Christian law, according to the expresse words of the solemne oath which the French giue their King at his coronation. Why should they then be bound to a vicious King, negligent, and carelesse of himselfe and his Subiects, vnder the colour of a Crowne and Scepter? To conclude, the contract was limited, and the French were bound to obey that King, that was a lawfull King, who (being endued with royall E vertues) performed the office of a true King. These reasons were plaine, and easily receiued of all men, finding this change to be very necessary for the common good: neither was there any one but expected some profit in his owne particular, and sought to purchase the fauour of *Pepin*.

But yet there remained a scruple of Religion, for the dispensing of their oath. This article must be decided at Rome, where *Pepin* (assuring himselfe of his good friends, who were necessarily vnto him) hoped for a good end, seeing the principall was determined by the consent of the French. He therefore sends *Bruchard* Bishop of Bourges, and *Pobed* his Chaplaine vnto Rome, (men pleasing to all, and faithfull to himselfe) to represent the care of France, and the generall desire of the French, to Pope *Zachary*. The Pope (duly informed of the weaknesse of *Childeric*, being hated and contemned of all men, without any support, and of the generall resolution of the French to rectifie *Pepin*, burthensly inuoyed with hope, to draw great helpe from him against the Lombards, his capital enemies) dispensed the French from their oath of obedience to *Childeric*, and to all his Race.

*Now shall that Race be dispossessed, and this decree shall be the last act of the Merouingians Tragedy.*

THE



## THE SECOND RACE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE:

CALLED  
CAROLOVIN'GIENS:

eyther of CHARLES MARTEL,  
or of CHARLEMAGNE,  
the chiefe Pillars of this Race.

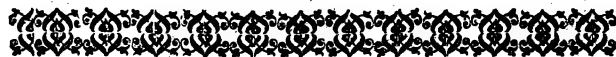
Oracles to iudge rightly of the estate of this second Race.

God is Iudge, he puls downe one, and sets up another. Man walkes as a shadow: hee strins in vaine: he gathers goods, and knowes not who shall enioy them. O Lord, what is man, that thou shouldest be mindfull of him? or the some of man, that thou so regardest him? Man is like vnto nothing: his daies are like a shadow that vanisheth, the somes of men are as nothing: and great men are but as a lye. If they were all together put in ballance, they would be found more light then runnity. It is be not withstanding, that preferueth Kings.

CHARLES MARTEL, the Stem of this second Race,  
is numbred among the Kings the 22. King of FRANCE.

D 3

A par-



## A Particular Chronologie of the second Race,

From the year 741. unto the year 988.

Years of Grace.	Number of Kings.	
741	22	<i>Charles Martel</i> , the stem of this second Race, is numbred among the Kings, the 22. for he reigned in effect during the life of the Idle Kings, and so was buried among the Kings. After the Royall gouernment of 25. yeares, he left it to his sonne
750	23	<i>Pepin the brieft, or short</i> , who was crowned King, <i>Chilperic 4</i> being degraded in the year 750. and left the Crowne peaceable to his sonne
814	24	<i>Charlemagne</i> , great in name and in effect, who remaining absolute Monarch of the Realme of <i>France &amp; Austrasia</i> , with all the dependances Northward: he added to this great masse, all <i>Italy</i> , and the greatest part of <i>Spain</i> , and so possessing the territories of the Empire in the West, he was receiued and installed Emperor of the West, having reigned 40 yeares
840	25	<i>Lewis</i> his sonne, surnamed the <i>Gentle</i> , succeeded him, and reigned King and Emperour, 27. yeares, and to him succeeded
878	26	<i>Charles</i> the 2. called the <i>Bald</i> , King and Emperour, who reigned 33. yeares: and to <i>Charles</i> the 2. succeeded
879	27	<i>Lewis</i> the 2. his sonne, called the <i>Stuttering</i> , King and Emperour, who reigned but a yeare and six moneths: At his death he left his wife with child, who being borne, was acknowledged for lawfull King, and called <i>Charles the Simple</i> : his minority lasted 22. yeares. Many Tutors, and many confusions. These Regents are crowned Kings, and (acknowledged by that name) doe hold the ranke among Kings, and so wee must diuide these 22. yeares, to euery Regent according to his reigne.
881	28	<i>Lewis</i> the 3. and <i>Carlois</i> , bastard of <i>Lewis</i> the <i>Stuttering</i> , reigned as Regents five yeares.
889	29	<i>Charles</i> the 3. a Prince of the blood, called the <i>Grasse</i> , as Regent, he reigne 7. yeares, being both King and Emperour: he was put from them both.
896	30	<i>Ende</i> or <i>Odon</i> sonne to <i>Robt. Duke of Amou</i> , as Regent he reigned 10. yeares. In the confusion of these last <i>Masters</i> , the Royall authority being greatly weakened, many Countreies freed themselves from the obedience of the French Monarchy: So fell out

### THE ECLIPSE OF THE EMPIRE,

*Robt* in Germany and Italy. The body of the Empire remained in Germany, being afterwards gouerned by an Emperour, chosen by the Princes Electors. And Italy was dismembered into diuers Principallities, unto diuers Potentates. In the end, after this minority of 22. yeares

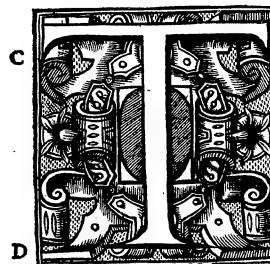
899	31	<i>Charles</i> the 4. called the <i>Simple</i> , sonne to <i>Lewis</i> the <i>Stuttering</i> , was crowned as lawfull King and reigned 25. yeares. But <i>Raoul of Bourgoigne</i> , A Prince of the blood, was called by the league, to put downe King <i>Charles</i> , called the <i>Simple</i> : being imprisoned by them, and forced to renounce the Crowne. <i>Charles</i> dying with griefe, <i>Raoul</i> reigned 13. yeares; but in the end was expelled from this usurpation.
936	33	<i>Lewis</i> the 4. called <i>d'Outremur</i> , or beyond the <i>Sea</i> , sonne to <i>Charles</i> the <i>Simple</i> , being called out of England, (whether his mother had caried him to preferre him from the League) was acknowledged King, and reigned 29. yeares.
954	34	<i>Luthaire</i> his sonne succeeded him, who reigned 33. yeares.
986	35	<i>Lewis</i> the 5. sonne to <i>Luthaire</i> , reigned about two yeares, and dying without issue, interred with him the Race of <i>Charles Martel</i> , as his Ancestors had of long time obliuiscd his vertues, and that of the valliant <i>Charlemagne</i> , vnfortunate in their successors.

Thus the second Race called *Carlovingiens*, having reigned 230. yeares, ended in *Lewis* the 5. and gaue place to the third Race, which reignes at this day.



## B PEPIN THE SHORT, THE 23. KING OF FRANCE:

And first of the second Race.



THE French thus freed by the Popes dispensation, from their oath of obedience, assemble the Generall Estates: and to auoyd confusion in the Realme, apparently growne by the negligence of their Kings, they concluded to reiect *Chilperic*, and to choose *Pepin*: the one vnworthy to reigne, by reason of his vices, and the other most worthy to bee King, for his Royall vertues.

And to the end, the fundamentall Law of State should not bee directly infringed in this new Election, they bring *Pepin* from the race of great *Clouis*, of whom they said, he should be acknowledged for the next heire, seeing that (vertue and his race being duly weighed) he approached nearest to him in ver-

tyue. *Pepin* himselfe would not assit at this Assembly: that the offer of this dignity (being made without his apparent seeking it) might bee the more honorable. Being called to heare the Generall conclusion of the Parliament, and the common desire of all the French, he presents himselfe, being pleasing to all men, in more then an ordinary sort: little of body, but shewing in his countenance the greatnesse of his spirit: amiable by his mild and modest behauiour, and admirable for his graue pleasing Maiesty.

The Assembly lets him vnderstand by *Boniface* Archbishop of Mayence or Mentz, that the French (in regard of his vertues, and their future hope) had by a free and Generall consent, chosen him King of France. And for execution of the said Decree, he was instantly (in the presence of them all) installed King, the Royall Crowne was set vpon his head by the said Archbishop, and then hee was raised vpon a target, and caried about the Assembly, after the ancient ceremony of the French. And by vertue of the same decree, *Chilperic* was chalenged as vnworthy of the Crowne, degraded, shauen, and confined into a Monastery, there to passe the remainder of his daies. This notable change hapned in the year 750. in the City of Soissons, but with so resolute a consent of all the French nation, as there appeared not any one that made shew to dislike thereof. A most assured testimony, that God had so determined, (having referred to himselfe the soueraigne authority ouer Kings,) to place and displace, gird and vngird, raise and cast downe, according to his good pleasure, alwaies iust, and alwaies wise. To him wee must ascribe the principall and soueraigne cause of all changes: For God is the gouernour, as he is the Creator: It being a necessary consequence, that he gouerns that which he hath created, & by his prouidence watcheth especially ouer mankind, for whom he hath made the world. If we shall otherwise seeke the nearest causes of this alteration, we may iustly say, that vice dispossessed *Chilperic*, and vertue set *Pepin* in possession of the Crowne: Ioue & the reuerence of subiects, being the support of publike authority: hate and contempt the ruine thereof. To the end that Princes by so worthy an example, may learne to banish vice,

*Pepin* chosen King by the Parliament, and *Chilperic* reiected.

Soueraigne cause of this change.



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which (making them hatefull and contemptible) thrusts them from their Thrones, to plant vertue, which (causing them to be respected and honored) makes them to reigne ouer nations.

The estate of this second race.

Now we begin a new gouernment, vnder new Kings, and in a new race. In the beginning we shall see two great Princes, vnder whom good order shall make an alteration of affaires, with an abundance of all blessings, both spirituall and temporall. Iustice, wisdom, policy, armes, valour, large limits of territories, abundance of peace, and the excellent knowledge of learning, to raise this estate to the greatest happinesse that euer it enjoyed, and scarce any other kingdome whatsoeuer, let foraine nations say what they please. But the happinesse of these two Kings shall not be hereditary in their posterity, who beginning soone to degenerate, shall decline by degrees, vntill that vice depriving them of the Crowne, vertue shall giue it to another, who shall shew himselfe a more lawfull successor, and righter heyre to *Charlemagne*, hauing a better part in his vertues. This second Race shall enioy the kingdome 237. yeares, beginning to reigne in the yeare 750. and ending in the yeare 987. hauing begun by vertue, and ended by vice. A goodly lesson for Potentates: that bounty, wisdom, and valour, are no hereditary possessions to be left vnto their children, but they are the gifts of God, the author of all good, and their soueraigne Prince, to whom they owe homage for their greatnesse, as to him of whom depends absolutely all the Kingdomes of the earth, and whose providence is the infallible rule of the changes which we see incident to mankind, the which the ignorant without reason, attribute to blinde Fortune.

Instruction for great men.

*Pepin* striues to win their loues by good deeds.

*Pepin* seeing himselfe seated in the Throne of the French Monarchy, by the honourable fauour of the French: he resolues to satisfie their hopes by the effects of his actions: and begins to confirme in their minds the true and firme bond of obedience, the which is vnitied with these two strings, loue, and the peoples respect to their superiors. Nothing being more naturall, then to loue him from whom we receiue, or hope for good, and to respect him whom we hold sufficient to make vs to liue peaceably, and in quiet, especially when he hath power and command in the common-weale, without the which the particular cannot subsist.

An assembly of the generall Estates.

The Saxons rebell and are subdued.

Thus *Pepin* assembles the generall Estates, meaning to lay a good foundation in time for the affaires of the Realme, by the aduice of such as had called him: and according to his fathers stile, he names this Assembly a Parliament, whereunto he calls the Clergy, the Nobility, the Iudges of the Land, and the common people: that with one consent they might resolue what was necessary for the whole Estate, consisting of these goodly parts. During these alterations, the Saxons (as farthest from their Master) had shaken off the yoke of the French obedience: and by their example and practices, had drawne other people of Germany (subiect to this Crowne) to the like revolt. *Pepin* armes presently, and goes with such expedition, as he ouerthrewes them at the passage of the riuer of *Vistula*: but the Popes distresse giues him presently a new cause to employ his Forces: for *Zachary* being dead, *Stephen* the second (a Romane borne) succeeds both in place and troubles: being forced to defend himselfe against the Lombards, the capital enemies of the Romane Sea. *Astolpho* was then their King, who made great preparatiues against this new Pope, although he made no shew of open hatred. *Stephen* well informed of the Lombards humour and intent, resolues, not to attend the stroke, but to fortifie himselfe in time, and seeking first to *Constantine* Emperour of the East, without any successe, he entreats *Pepin* to succour him: from whom hauing received a fauourable answer, the better to obtaine the remedy hee expected, hee resolues to goe into France: where being honourably entertained by *Pepin*, he doth againe crowne him King of France, in *Saint Denis* Church, in a great and solemne Assembly, and makes miserable *Childeric* a Monke, assigning him the Cloister for a perpetual prison, and a Friars frocke for an ignominious punishment, without any hope of returne. Then hee employed all his wits to perswade *Pepin* to vndertake the voyage of Italy against the Lombards, and drew him easily therunto. But *Astolpho* (fearing the Pope) employed *Caroleman* (the brother of *Pepin*) to diuert him from this enterprise. This *Caroleman* was a Monke, and in great reputation of piety, but he could not dissuade *Pepin* from this designe: yet would hee not attempt any thing rashly, but first try mildnesse before force. He therefore sends his Ambassadors to the Lombard, to summon him to yeeld *Raenna*, & at the towns

*Pepin* provides for the affaires of Italy.

A wife proceeding of *Pepin* in vnderstanding a warre.

of

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A of the fixe Gouvernours to the Pope. *Astolpho* vlteth great temperance in his answers, to shew the reverence he bare to the Church of Rome, and to *Pepins* intercession: but he resolved neuer to yeeld any thing. *Pepin* finding the Lombards euasions, and policie (who sought but to auoide this storme) assembles a Parliament: and laies before them both duty and necessity to succour the Pope. To this end he resolues to leauy an Army against the Lombard. Winter being spent in these treatises, and in the preparations for warre: in the Spring he enters Italy with a strong and mighty army, which marcheth victoriously in all places, taking townes, and spoyling the Country of *Astolpho*, and then he went to besiege *Paui*, the chiefe Citie of Lombardy. *Astolpho* foreseeing his ruine, flies to humble intricacies both to the Pope and *Pepin*. The Pope lulled asleepe with the Lombards fayre promises, not greatly louing the French, but by constraint, suffers himselfe first to be abused, and then he perswades *Pepin* to returne backe into France.

*Astolpho* breaks his faith & besiegeth Rome.

*Astolpho* promised to yeeld vp both *Raenna*, and all that he detained from the Church, the which he could not performe in so great a desolation of his country, being furcharged with such an enemy. *Stephen* was well satisfied with this promise, forgetting the Lombards humor, so well knowne vnto him. *Pepin* glad to see the Pope satisfied (hauing no other object but to giue him satisfaction) returns presently into France to his owne affaires: But he had scarce passed the Alpes, when as *Astolpho* assembles all his subiects (being mad with rage for their great losses, and infinitely incensed against the Pope, who had drawne in the French) and enters the territories of the Church in hostile manner, sacks and spoiles all with a furious cruelty, and suddenly besiegeth Rome, where the Pope was resident. *Stephen* amazed at this vnexpected violence, sends backe to *Pepin*, implores his aide, laments his credulity, and detests the treachery of the Lombards: he beseecheth him to make haste, if he will preferre his old age from the cruell hand of this dissolay, and the whole Church from a horrible desolation, exceeding that of the Vandals and Ostrogoths.

The Lombard besiegeth Rome, and is forced to receiue, and to sue for a peace.

*Pepin* moued with the Popes entreaties, and the apparent danger, assembles his Forces, with a wonderfull celerity: and although *Constantine* by a most affectionate message laboured to diuert him, yet he brings backe his Army into Italy. The fruit of his returne was both sudden & great: for *Astolpho* at the brutt thereof raiseth the siege from before Rome, and retires to *Paui* the chiefe City of his Realme. *Pepin* besiegeth him, and forceth him to accept of such conditions of peace as he would prescribe, viz. That *Astolpho* should presently deliuer up all that he held of the Church, and giue hostages: and *Pepin* should remaine in Italy at the Lombards charge, vntill he had performed all things. *Astolpho* sends in forty hostages, yeelds *Raenna*, with the Cities of the fixe Gouvernours, and those he held in *Komagnia*: but when there remained no more to deliuer vp, but the Cities of *Ferrara* and *Paenza*, the Lombard did cunningly delay the full accomplishment of his promise, to find some meanes to send backe so rude an officer as the French, lying vpon his Country in garrison, and spoiling it: and so to deceiue both the Pope and *Pepin*. But behold a strange accident befalls him. Being hunting, chasing more after his fantasies then the beast, his horse casts him downe a rocke, and breaks his necke.

Of an ill life, and unhappie end.

Thus the subtil Lombard thinking to deceiue, was deceiued: hee ended his subtilty with his life, and the warre (begun by him without reason) by a iust death. The Pope recouers his places, and *Pepin* returns into France, taking nothing in Italy, but leaving the Realme of Lombardy in the same estate hee found it, without any alteration. This Kingdome ended not with *Astolpho*, for *Didier* Duke of *Herruria* his peer kinsman, seizeth presently thereon, by means of his intelligences: but *Zacharys* brother to *Astolpho* (who was lately become a Monke) leaues his frocke to enioy his fathers Kingdome: yet for that he was the weaker with this iustitie, the Pope compounds this contumelious in fauor of *Didier*, who remained King of Lombardy, vpon condition that the Cities of *Ferrara* and *Paenza* should be yeilded to the Church.

Of the way that he took to be crowned by a Parliament.

But lets returne to *Pepin*: his absence, with two yeares continuall warres, had broken the usuall custome to call a Parliament, and bred many disorders within the Realme: so as being returned into France, hee presently called a solemne Parliament, wherein he established lawes according to the inconueniences that were to bee redrest: as good Lawes do commonly proceed from bad manners. In this Assembly he gaue audience to the Ambassadors of the Emperour *Constantine*, who demanded a confirmation of the amity and alliance which the Emperour had with the House of France, and receiues the new homage

*Pepin* confirms his authoritie by a Parliament.

of

754

He makes a-  
raigne warre to  
avoid a civill

of *Tassillon* Duke of *Bauaria*. So referring all matters of importance to the judgement of A the Estates, honouring them that had honoured him, he doubled his subjects devotion, and made good lawes within his Realme. But knowing the humour of the French, impatient of rest, he found how difficult it was to retaine long in peace, without some foreign employment: and necessity presents him two occasions, one in *Guienne*, and the other in *Saxony*, Countries subject to the Crowne of France, but both impatient of the French command. The Saxons beganne first: with whom *Tassillon* Duke of *Bauaria*, (who as we said did homage to the King) joyne, contrary to his oath. This war seemed to be of some difficulty, drawing to it all the other Germanes subject to this Crowne. But *Pepin* prevented it with such speed, as having suppressed the Saxons, he forced them to a new obedience, charging them to bring him yearly three hundred good horses for an homage, that they should vndergoe the censure of the Estates, and to be enemies to the enemies of the King and Realme.

Having thus pacified *Saxony*, he makes a general assembly at *Worms*, to settle the affairs of *Austrasia*: from thence he marcheth with his victorious army, against *Ieffroy* Duke of *Guienne*, according to the resolution of the Estates, being leauied for that occasion. We haue said, that *Eudon*, father to *Ieffroy*, was much troubled and annoyed France, and left his children heires of his discontent: but *Martel* withdrawne by some new difficulties, could not finish that which he had begun. *Ieffroy* remains sole Duke of *Guienne*, by the death of his brother he growes daily more insolent, bandies all his subjects of *Guien* openly against C France, and afflicts the Clergy infinitely in their liues and liuinges. *Pepin* begins with admonitions and threats: but *Ieffroy* growes more obstinate in cōtemning his Kings command, so as they must come to open force, and *Ieffroy* must pay the interest of his long delays. *Pepin* enters *Guienne* with an army, and *Ieffroy* seeing his resolution, sends his deputies to avoid this storme, beseeching him with all humilitie to pardon what was past, promising obedience. *Pepin* (having commanded him to make restitution to the Clergy) returns into France and dismisseth his army, supposing *Guienne* to be quiet. *Ieffroy* seeking his owne ruine by his furious rashnes, goes to field with such Forces as he could leaue among his subjects; and hauing passed *Loire*, he enters *Bourgonne* in hostile manner, hoping to surpris *Chalons*. The King held then a Parliament at *Orleans*, when this intelligence D came vnto him, he sends them presently to *Neuers*: assembleth his Forces and marcheth against *Ieffroy*, who suddenly repaeth the *Ruier*, and with great marches recouers *Bordeaux*, as the City of his greatest safety, being as much confused in his defence, as he was rash in his attempt. *Pepin* pursues him, and in his passage all the Townes of *Guienne* yeeld without any difficulty, as to him whom they acknowledge for their lawfull King. *Ieffroy* forsaken of all men, pursued criminally by his Prince, is slaine by one of his household ser- uants, and is interred like a beast, in a marshy neare to *Bordeaux*. In detestation of his memory, the place is called the Tombe of *Caipha* vnto this day. Thus was the vniust and rash rebellion of *Ieffroy* punished: and by his death the warre dyed in *Guienne*: and the wise valour of *Pepin* was so much more commended, for that his iust pursuit was accom- E nished with patience and mildnesse. But *Pepin* was mortall the toyle of so great warres, and the care of publick affayres, had much broken him, so as his old age might be more profitably employed in the maintenance of Iustice and peace, then in warre, the burthen whereof he might without danger lay vpon his eldest sonne *Charles*, a wife and a valiant young Prince, of whose modesty and obedience he was well assured.

Thus resolving to passe the rest of his dayes in quiet, but not idly, he retires to *Paris*; but soone after he was surprisid with a sicknesse, whereof he dyed, and so went to heauen there to finde rest which he could not enioy on earth: it was in the year 768, and 18 of his reigne. By his Wife *Berthe* with the great foote, he left two sonnes, *Charles* and *Carloman*: recommending them to the Estates, to giue them portions at their pleasures. F So great was the assurance of this good Prince in the loue of his Subjects, whom as hee had made the most assured guard of his Person and State, so at his death he left his Children to their faithfull discretion. Hee had seauen daughters: *Berthe* the wife of *Attilan* Earle of *Mans*, mother to great *Roland*: *Hiltrude* wife to *Rene* Earle of *Genes*, mother to that renowned *Oliver*: *Robarde*, *Adeline*, *Idubergue*, *Ode*, and *Alix*. He had the happinesse to enioy his owne Father, vntill he came to the age of man: the like good hap continued in his children: & for the perfecting of his happinesse, he had a sonne, one of the greatest

Warre in *Gu-  
enne*.

*Ieffroy* pitifully  
slaine, in terred  
like a beast.  
A foolish life,  
a fishy end.

*Pepin* resignes  
the Crowne to  
*Charles*.

*Pepin* leaues his  
children to the  
discretion of  
the Estates.

*Pepin's* children.

A greatest and most excellent Princes that euer wore Crowne. Thus *Pepin* the first of that Race, mounted the royall Throne of France: thus he reigned, thus he liued, and thus he died, leauing to his posterity a happy taste of his name. A religious Prince, wife, moderate, valiant, louing his subjects, and beloued of them, happy in father, in children, and in his gouernment, an excellent patterne for excellent Princes, who by his example hold it for a resolute maxime, That the strongest fortresse for a Prince is the loue of his subjects, and the iurest bond of their authority, a respect gotten and preferred by vertue.

Estate of the Empire and of the Church.

B Vt before we enter the reigne of *Charlemagne*, we must briefly represent the Estate of the Romane Empire, the which was happily vnitd to the French Monarchy, and of the Church of Rome, by reason whereof there happened great and notable exploits vnder his reigne. The Empire of Rome had nothing remaining in the West, as we haue shewed. The Empire in Gaule was possessed by the French, with the best part of Germany: and since the beginning of their Monarchy, vnto the time we now describe, it hath bene greatly enlarged, not onely in compass of territories, and obedience of people, but also in reputation of ciuility, mildnesse, iustice, wisdom, and valour, as well by the happy successe of their victorious armies, as by the modest vfrage of their victories, towards such as they subdued. Spaine was apportioned to diuers nations: Vandales, Goths, Sarazins, pel mel, some here, some there. Italy was in miserable estate. Rome (sometimes the head of the world) was C then the sincke of all confusion, the Rendezuous of all furious Nations, as if they had vnder- taken the ruine thereof by taske, hauing sackt it three times: for vnder the Empire of *Honorius*, in the year of Grace 414. the Goths, by their King *Alaric*, tooke it after two yeares siege, and sackt it, without demanteling thereof. Forty five yeares after, vnder the Empire of *Martian*, in the year 459. the Vandales vnder the conduct of *Gensericke* their King, take it againe, sacke it, spoile it, and disgrace it, leading the widow of the Emperor *Valentinian* the third, basely in triumph. In the time of *Iustinian* the Emperor, the Goths vnder the command of *Totila*, hauing vndermined it with a long siege, tooke it, sackt it, and demantled it. Thus Rome was no more Rome, but a horrible confusion, after so many ruines, retaining nothing of her ancient beauty, but only the traces of her old D buildings, and the punishment of her tyranny, hauing endured that which she had caused other Cities to suffer.

Behold Italy wasted, infinitely tormented by sundry enemies, who had vnjustly afflicted all the Nations of the earth. The Goths had first seized thereon, and enioyed it long, but as vnder the Empire of *Iustinian* in the year of Christ 552. they were expelled by the valour of *Narses*, an excellent Captaine, who defeated their army, slew their King *Totila*, and repossessed Rome: soone after, the Lombards coming out of Germany, lodged in their place, as if they had played at leuell coile, being drawne thither by *Narses* himselfe, being discontented with the ill vfrage he had receiued from *Iustinian* his master. The Lombards held Italy about two hundred yeares, vntill that *Charlemagne* expelled them. At E the same time the sixe Gouernors for the Empire of Rome, held *Rauenna* and some other Cities depending, (thus was the greatnesse of the Romane Empire restrained) but with such couetousnesse and insolvency, as it tired them no lesse then forraigne foes. That gouernment of sixe ended by the Lombards, and the Lombards by the French (as the sequell will shew) who purchased credit euerywhere by comparing of the barbarous and confused inuasions of these warlike Nations, they adding to the valour and good successe of their armes, iustice, piety, temperance and clemency: this reputation of vertue winning them as many hearts, as their swords did Cities.

During these confused and obscure times, there passed about foure hundred years, from the first sacke of Rome, vntill that *Charlemagne*, (expelling the Lombards) became absolute master of Italy, and was made Emperour at Rome. All this passed vnder the Emperors of *Constantinople*, from *Acadius*, of *Valentinian* the third, *Martian*, *Leo* the second, *Zeno*, *Justin*, the first, *Iustinian* the first, *Iustin* the second, *Tiberius*, *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heraclius*, *Constantin* the second, *Iustinian* the second, *Philippicus*, *Artimius*, *Leo* the third, *Constantin* the third, *Leo* the fourth, *Irrenus*, *Nicephorus*, vnder whom by a publicke and solemne contract, the distinction of the Easterne and Westerne Empires was made good.

The command of the West is left as it were in guard with *Charlemagne*, and the French nation.

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His death.  
His manner.

The Empire in  
the West.  
In Gaule.

In Spaine.  
In Italy.

Italy desolate  
by the Gothes.

The which are  
expelled by the  
French.



769

Estate of the East.

The beginning of Mahomet's Religion.

nation. But the East was in a bad plight, although the name and fear of the Empire were A yet at Constantinople: for besides the dissipation of the State, (to increase their misery) a new sect sprung up, forged by Mahomet an Arabian borne, vnder a colour of liberty, by the mixture of sundry doctrines, and after a mould of carnall felicity. With this charme he corrupted infinite numbers of people, and created a new Kingdom in the East, from whence he utterly expelled the Romane name, with all the dignity of the Empire. This was in the time of the Emperour Heraclius, in the year of grace 623, an infamous date, to note the beginning of Mahomet's blasphemies. He began in Arabia, having wonne credit with the Sarazins, who were Arabian souldiers, desperate aduenturers, and discontented with the Romans: and by the first beginning of his new doctrine, he got so great B reputation, as hee assembled an infinite number of men, armed with an incredible celeritie, vnder the ensigne of libertie. So as hee marched as a Conquerour in all places, hauing not onely subdued (by the force of these tumultuous troopes) Arabia (where he was borne) but also Persia, Palestina, Iudea, Egypt, and Africke, and then ranging ouer Asia the Lesse, he came to the gates of Constantinople, in lesse then thirtie years.

But the providence of God, caring for the preferuation of his Church, opposed the French Monarchie, against the violent rage of Mahomet, which else had ouerflowne all Europe, into the which hee had already made a breach by Spaine: had gotten a great Country, and was ready to invade France, if Charles Martel had not stoppe his course at C Tours, as we haue said. During these confusions in the Empire, the Bishop of Rome grew great by these ruines. The Goths and Vandales were more enemies to the State, then to religion: for although for the most part they were Arrians, yet did they aduow themselves Christians, and held the common signe of Christianity, so as in the taking and sacking of the City of Rome, the Bishop was somewhat respected, and in his fauour the people built vpon the foundation of the ruined houses: and many of the Country finding more safety at Rome, then in other Cities of Italy, retired themselves thither, and peopled the City. So by this occasion new Rome (the seat of the Popes iurisdiction succeeding the Emperors) hath bene built within old Rome, amidst the Palaces, Walks, Basiliques, Colosses, Amphitheaters, and other ancient buildings.

But aboute all, the credit and authority of the Bishop of Rome (by these new occurrents) crept in by degrees, vntill he aduanced himselfe aboute the Emperours, Kings, and Princes of Christendome: yet he of Constantinople held himselfe the superior, being in the proper seat of the Empire, and in the light of the Imperiall Court. Thus they fall to debate, and the cause of their dissentions was the preeminence of their Seas, and the authority of the vniuersall Bishop. This contention bred infinite confusions in the church, and in an vnseasonable time, which intited men to sacke and spoile. So as Saint Gregory Bishop of Rome (a man of singular piety and learning) hauing courageously opposed himselfe against Iohn Bishop of Constantinople, who affected this title of vniuersall Bishop, and desecting to vnreasonable and vnseasonable ambition, cries, *Oh times, oh B manners! the whole world is set on fire with Warre. Christians are euerywhere massacred by Idolaters, Cities and Temples razed by Barbarians, and yet the pastors of the Church (as it were treading vnder foot the common calamity of Gods people) dare vsurpe names of vanity, and braue it with those prophane titles.*

The reader (curious to vnderstand the Estates of those times, and to note the degrees and authority of this vniuersall Bishop, established in the Church) may read the Epistles of this good Father, great in name, and in effect, without troubling my selfe to set them downe in particular whose intention was to fiew. That who so taketh vpon him the authority and title of vniuersall Bishop in the Church, and to haue any Soueraigne preeminence, presumes aboute Iesus Christ, the only head of the sacred body of the Church, F and by consequence he doth affirme that hee is the forerunner of Antichrist. And yee after these graue and serious admonitions of Saint Gregory, the great, within ten years after, Boniface the third obtained from Phocas the Emperour the title of vniuersall Bishop, with authority ouer the vniuersall Church, as Plaina the Pope Secretary doth report.

To this quarrell for the supremacy, was added the controuersie for Images, which caused infinite confusions: the Emperours and Bishops were banded one against another, and

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Images at the first a politique institution.

A and by their dissentions the people were stirred vp to seditious reuolts, the which after many Tragical events, were a meane to ruine the Empire in the East. It was a popular custome to erect Images to those whom they would honour, as hauing deserved well of the Common-weale. Christians desiring to honour the memory of holy men, began to set vp Images euen for them also, following this custome to Rome, and did erect them in Temples, as places consecrated to deuotion. Some Bishops fauoured this new deuice in the Church, and others did impugn it. *Epiphanius* did erect a picture in peeces, and *Serenus* did beate downe an Image, the one in the East, the other in the West. The Christians borne and bred in this ancient doctrine of the Apostles, *My children beware of Images*, maintained in the Catholike Church, by succession from father to sonne, could not digest this inuention: no more could the Emperours.

Hence grew the dissention, the greater part of the Bishops holding the contrary, That it was a part of the seruice of God, and to abound to retain mens souls in deuotion with reverence. This contention grew in the time of the Emperour *Philippus* called *Dardanes*, who by an Edict caused them to be throwne downe, in the year of grace 713, the which continued to 732. vnder *Constantine* the second, called *Copronymus*, an enemy to Images, who commanded them to be cast downe, contrary to the liking of his mother *Irene*, who not onely maintained them with violence, but also caused them to be confirmed by a Councell held at Nicea a City in Bithinia, seeing that at Constantinople (where she had made the Conuocation of this Ecclesiasticall Assembly) the people were resolute to withstand them. Hence grew an execrable Tragedie in the Imperiall Court, *Irene* seeing her sonne resolute against her defence of Images, was so transported, as (hauing seized on him in his chamber) she caused his eyes to be put out, so as dying with griefe, she flung the Empire. Through this bad gouernment, confusion so increased in the East, as in the end necessity made the way for *Charlemagne*, to take vpon him the dignity and title of the Emperour of the West, and to preserve the Provinces in those parts from the disorders of the Greeke Emperours, as wee may see in the continuance of this History.

I am bound to obserue these so notable occurrents, in those times, as belonging to the subject of my History, to represent truly both the Estate of the Empire & the Church, when as *Charlemagne* vnderooke the gouernment of the Empire, and vniited it happily to the French Monarchy. The wise reader may verifie more plainly in the Originalls, (from whence I haue drawne this Inuentory) what I haue briefly set downe here touching the occurrents of those ages, wherein the Oracle of holy antiquity was verified by the end of these strange Tragedies. *The truth is left by contending.* The first simplicity of the Catholike Church, being rich in her poeury by the abundance of truth, continued since the golden age of the Apostles, and their Disciples, was changed into rich and stately pompe: the Crownes of Martyrdome wherewith the first Bishops of Rome had bene honored, into a triple Crowne, which not onely hath and doth giue lawes to Emperours, Kings and Princes of the earth, but doth tread them vnder foot, dispossessed them of their estates, and declares them incapable of rule when they obey him nor: and for a mark of this foueraigne authority, hee makes them to kisse his feet, in token of the homage of deuotion, and spiritall reuerence, as hauing power ouer our soules, to iudge of all men, and all things foueraignly, and not to be iudged by any, as the circumstances of our History will shew in diuers places.

This was the Estate both of the Empire and of the Church vnto the death of Pepin the Short, the first King of the second Race, in the year 750. or thereabouts.

CHARLES

## CHARLES the Great, or CHARLEMAGNE.

## The 24. King of France.

From the year 768. unto the year 814.



Pepin children divide the Realme.

**P**EPIN's Estates of France assemble after the death of Pepin; and by their consents and advice, Charles and Caroloman, his sons, divide the Realme betwixt them by equal portions: Charles was crowned at Wormes, Caroloman at Soissons: Writers agree not in the declaration of their portions, for that by the death of Caroloman, the whole Realme came to Charles, three years after the death of their Father: Brothers of diuers humours, who in the end had ruined each other by this equality of power, which proues often an vnjust and a dangerous ballance in an Estate: But Gods will was to preferre to great a Monarchie in Europe, to be a harbour for his Church, by choosing a great Prince, to vnit in him alone the power which is dismembred by the command of many Masters.

Charles the patron of a great King. His manners.

Charles was endued with singular gifts, both of body and minde, whereunto (by the wife care of his father Pepin) was added (as a scale) the instructions of a virtuous conuerfation, learning, and armes. For the ground of all vertues, he was carefully instructed in Religion, the which hee loued and honoured with great reuerence all his life time; and likewise the Churches and Pastours: Charity, temperance, equiry, care of Iustice, and of order to releue the people, to keepe his faith both to friend and foe, and to vica victory modestly, were the notable effects of this excellent knowledge, as remarkable in him, as in any Prince that euer liued. Hee loued learning by nature, and learned men, Paul of Pisa instructed him in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and Aymen in Philosophy and the Mathematickes. Hee called these humane sciences his pastimes, and the companions of his sword, and sometimes did recreate himselfe therein. Hee tooke a delight in poetry, as some of his writings doe witnesse: but especially in Histories, wherein hee was exceeding well read.

His studies.

His armes.

The vniuersities of Paris and Pisa, (built or enriched by him) witnesse the loue and honor he bare to learning. In armes he had his father Pepin for his chiefe schoolemaster, and experience doth testifie how much he profited. Before his father left him, hee had great commands, and discharged them with such reputation, as the continuance of his armes, when he was King, shew plainly, that there was neuer a souldier that carried sword with more valour, nor great Captaine that commanded with more obedience, nor performed any thing with greater fortune, nor vied his victories with more mildnesse, and iudgement; neither did euer King or Prince reigne with more authority, nor was more reuerently obeyed then our Charlemagne, wel deferring the name of great for his vertues. He was of a lively disposition, quick, active, and vehement; but modesty and wilddome did season this viuacity, and vehemency, with so good a grace, as if the one could not be without the other: and this moderation of diuers humours, made him as admirable for his Iudgement, as venerable in his countenance and person.

The success of his reign.

There appeared in him a graue sweet Maistey, in a goodly personage, great, strong, and patient of labour, a quick spirit, cleere, and sound, both in apprehension, memory, and iudgement: resolution neuer failed him in difficulties, nor reply in discourses: terrible to some, amiable to others, according to the cause, persons and occurrences: Vertues which purchased him so great credit, as he was beloued, respected, and feared of all men: with such obedience, as the effects of his reigne doe shew: for hauing receiued a great Kingdom from his father, he enlarged it with a wonderfull successe, God hauing raised vp these three great Princes, one after another, Charles Martel, Pepin, and this great Charles, to preferue the Christian name in a great Monarchy, amidst the deluge of barbarous nations and the ruine of the Empire. I haue quoted these his singular vertues in the beginning, to giue a taste to the obseruation of his great and admirable actions, where

**A** where there wants nothing but order, to relate them fitly in so great a diuersity, the which hath ministred occasion to the obscure writers of those times, to be too briefe, or too tedious, and oft-times to report matters very vnlkely, for the greatnesse of things which they haue handled in a fabulous manner: and indeed the euents are almost incredible, and more miraculous then ordinary. Doubtlesse I could gather out of the most confident Authors, and that according to the order of times, as euery thing hath changed, and answerable to the greatnesse of the subiect, that which cannot well be represented without some direction.

All the deeds of Charlemagne must be referred to that which he hath done either whilest he was King alone of France, or when he was Emperour, and had vnitied the Empire to his Royalty. And in those times, there is first to bee obserued what he did in the life of Caroloman in Guienne, and after his death in Italy, Spaine and Saxony, where hee had great matters to decide. This is the designe of our relation.

The deeds of Charlemagne in the life of his brother Caroloman.

**C**ARLOMAN was infinitely iealous of his brothers greatnesse, whom with griefe hee did see beloued, honoured, and obeyed of all the French, for his singular vertues, both of body and minde. This iealousie (too ordinary a Counsellor to Princes) made him to seeke all meanes to countermine and ouerthrow the affaires of Charlemagne, who had his eyes fixed vpon Italy, as the goodly and most beautifull Theatre of his valour, the true subiect to maintaine his authority and power amongst Christians: and Caroloman did all hee could to crosse his designs. And this was the estate of Rome and Italy.

Presently after the decease of Pepin, the Church of Rome fell into great confusions, by the practices of Didier King of Lombardie, a sworne and capital enemy, hauing corrupted some of the Clergie: hee caused Constantine brother to Toton Duke of Nepezo (his vassall and trusty friend) to bee chosen Pope, with such violence, as hee made Philippius (being already Canonically chosen) to bee degraded. This better party, seeing themselves contemned by the Lombard, assemble together, and by one common consent choose Stephen the third, a Sicilian, for Pope: who resolves to call in the King of France, and to oppose him against his enemies designs.

Charles solicited by the Pope, sends twelue Prelates speedily to Rome, to fortifie their party, against the other: meaning at greater need to apply a greater remedy. The matter succeeded according to their desire that had intreated him; for the Councell being assembled at Lateran, they confirme Stephen lawfully chosen, and depose Constantine raised by disorder and violence. But Didier would not bee controlled with this repulse, and seeing that force had not succeeded, hee resolves to try policie, and to undermine Stephen with a good shew. Hee sends to congratulate his election, purgeth himselfe of the Anti-pope Constantine degraded: accuseth both him and his brother of ambition, protesting to liue with him in amity: and for prooffe of this his good meaning, hee desires him to bee pleased with his repair to Rome, there to conferre with him in priuate. The Pope (who neuer flies to the French but in necessity) was easily perswaded by Didier: who came to Rome, conferres with the Pope, and makes great protestations of his obedience. But this good shew continued not long.

There was a gouernor at Rome for the Emperour, called Paul Ephialte. Didier corrupted this Grecian: and as the execution of Iustice was in his hands, hee makes vse of him so cunningly, as in the presence of Pope Stephen, hee causeth him to seize vpon two of his chiefe Secretaries, Christopher, and Sergius, (accused by him of supposed crimes) and to hang them infamously. Their greatest offence, was to haue fauoured the French. This presumption proceeded farther, for hee caused all the principall Citizens to be banished, whom hee noted to be of the French faction: that hauing taken away all others, he might be master of Rome in despite of the Pope. Stephen discouraging the Lombards practice, to his preiudice, flies to Charlemagne, beseeching him to prepare an armie against him.

Troubles at Rome.

The Lombards dissimulation.

The Lombards presumption hanging the Pope Secretaries.

force that did ruine him by his apparent mildnesse, *Charlemagne* was fully resolved: but *Adier* had provided a remedy in France, by the means of *Carolan*, to stoppe *Charles* his passage into Italy, making worke for him in Guienne, where there grew a perillous war vpon this occasion.

Rebellion in  
Guienne by  
*Hunault*.

We haue said before, that although the Country of Guienne depended of the Crown of France, yet were there many tumults through the practices of some Noblemen of the Country, who stirred vp the people (being murtherous of themselves) to rebellion. The cause of these reuolts was the abuse of the Kings bounty, who suffered such people as they had conquered, to enjoy their priuiledges, and liberties, intreating them with all fauour. *Endon* began first vnder *Mariel*: *Jeffroy*, and *Hunault* his children, and heires of his discontent, had continued it vnder *Pepin*: *Jeffroy* being dead, *Hunault* succeeds him with the like hatred, the which *Carolan* entertained to imploy him against his brother *Charles*: And as ieaousie, and ambition thrust him on to attempt against him, so did hee make his profit of the covetous ambition of *Hunault*, feeding him with the hope of the Siegneurie of Guienne, seeing his humour was to be a Duke, supposing to haue credit enough with the people, if he were fauoured by one of the Kings of France against the other. Guienne was a part of *Charles* his portion: *Hunault* layes the foundation of his designe, to with-draw himselfe wholly from the Crown of France, and to make open war against *Charlemagne*, in praesiding the people of Guienne, to be declared Duke by their consent, according to the right which he pretended. The countenance of *Carolan* could doe much, but the wisdom and courage of *Charlemagne* prevailed more, for being aduertised of *Hunault* his practices, and of his brothers secret designs, hee armed with such speed; as hee surprised the townes of Poitiers, Xaintes, and Angouleme: and by that means all the Country adioyning. *Hunault* (who made his account without *Charles*) finding himselfe preuented, fled to a Nobleman of the Country named *Loup*, whom hee not onely held to bee very firme to his faction, but also his trusty and affectionate friend.

Infraction  
how Princes  
should carry  
themselves in  
small wars.

*Charlemagne* sends presently to *Loup*: hee summons him to deliuer *Hunault* into his hands, as guilty of high treason: and in the meane time hee builds a Fort in the midst of the Country, whereas the riuers of Dordone and Lisle doe ioyne, the which hee called *Fronfac*, as it were the front of the Sarazins, whom he had cause to feare, if these designs had succeeded. Thus getting *Hunault* with all his family, he doth punish him as a rebell: he pardoned *Loup*, and all that had obeyed him: and so ends a dangerous warre without blowes: but he grants life and liberty to *Hunault*, and the enioying of all his goods: leaving a memorable example to Princes, how they ought to cary themselves in ciuill wars, preventing a mischief by wisdom and diligence, and not to thrust their vanquished subiects into despair by rigour. *Carolan* seeing his practices against his brother to succeed ill, vnder takes a voyage to Rome, with an intent to cause some alteration there: yet with a shew of deuotion. His Mother *Berthe* (who likewise went this voyage) was honorably received in her journey by *Didier* King of the Lombards, treating a marriage betwixt her sonne *Charlemagne* and *Theodora*, Sister, or Daughter to this *Didier*, one of the greatest enemies of her sonnes good fortune. Yet *Charlemagne* to please his Mother, received this wife, but soon after he put her away, as unfit for his humors and affaires: and so that which seemed a cause of loue, bred greater hate betwixt these two Princes. *Carolan* hauing effected nothing at Rome, but onely made shew of his foolish and malicious ieaousie, too apparent in this his fained deuotion, returns into France, and there dies some after, in the yeare of our Lord 770.

*Carolan* dies  
and leaves  
*Charlemagne*  
King alone.

Now is *Charlemagne* alone by his brothers decease: who quietly takes possession of his Estates, and retaineth such of his seruants as hee knew to haue beene most trusty to his brother, during their common ieaousies, expecting the like faithfulness, hauing entertained them when there was least hope.

*The deeds of Charlemagne King of France alone, untill he was Emperour.*

*CHARLEMAGNE* hauing put away his wife *Theodora* for suspect of incontinency, he married with *Hildegard* or *Iddegard*, daughter to the Duke of Sueue his vassall, by whom he had *Charles*, *Pepin*, *Lewis*, and three daughters, *Rotrude*, *Berthe*, and *Gisle*, the nurcery

A nurcery of his Noble family. *Carolan* ieaousie died not with him, but survived in *Berthe* his wife: who (impatient of her condition) thrust head-long with a spirit of reuenge against her brother in law *Charles* retires with her two sonnes to *Didier* King of Lombardy, as to the most bitter and irreconcilable enemy of *Charlemagne*. *Didier* entertaines her kindly with her children, hoping to effect his designe: but this was the leuaine of his own ruine. His practice, together with the widowes, was to procure the Pope (*Stephen* being dead, and *Adrian* a Romane Gentleman succeeding him) to confirme, and crowne the sonnes of *Carolan* for Kings of France. The Lombard had two strings to his bow, meaning both to put the Pope in disgrace with *Charlemagne* (the easier to suppress him being destitute of French succors, whereon he chiefly relied) and likewise to set France on fire, by the setting vp of new Lords. *Didier* beseecheth the Pope to grant this confirmation, to the children of *Carolan* for his sake. But *Adrian* (well acquainted with the Lombards humour) was so resolute in denying his request, as they fell to open hatred. *Didier* discontented with this repulse, armes and enters the six gouernments, with all his Forces, being a Seigneury vnder the Popes iurisdiction, spoiles the Country, and besiegeth Rauenna, the chiefe City of the Exarchie. The Pope sends his Nuncio vnto him, to expostulate the cause of this so sudden warre against his subiects, desiring him to yield what he had taken, and not to proceed in this hostile manner, without any reasonable cause, vpon paine of excommunication.

By his owne  
practices.

C At that instant there fell out a great occasion to increase the hatred betwixt *Charles* and *Didier*, for that *Hunault* (who had beene vanquished in Guienne) retired himselfe to *Didier*, and is not onely courteously received: but honoured with the charge of Generall of the Army, the which he had leauied against the Pope. *Didier* suffred himselfe to be so abused with the persuasions of *Hunault*, touching the means to attempt against the Estate of *Charlemagne*, that holding Italy vndoubtedly his own, he plotted a war, and assured himselfe of a certaine victory in France. Thus pride and wickednesse hastens his ruine. The Pope hauing no other defence but his excommunication, not defensible against *Didiers* Forces, flies againe to *Charlemagne*, as to his sacred Ancor or last hope, intreating aide from him in his necessity. *Charlemagne* had great reason to arme against *Didier*, who had alwaies crossed his affaires: fed his brothers ieaousies, received his widow and children, laboured to haue them chosen Kings of France, to trouble or ruine his Estate: entertained his rebellious subiects, and with them practised to make war against him.

*Charlemagne*  
poseth him-  
selfe against  
the Lombard.

The sute and summons of the Romane Church, was a great motiue to induce him to arme, against him who professed himselfe an open enemy to Christian religion, whereof the Kings of France had alwaies shewed themselves protectors and gardiens. But not to attempt any thing rashly, he first sends his Ambassadors to the Pope, to assure him of his good will, the which should not be wanting in his necessity: but he thought it best to try mildnesse, before he vsed force against the Lombard. He therefore sends his Ambassadors to *Didier*, & doth summon him to restore what he had taken from the Pope, and to suffer him to liue in peace. *Didier* (who relied much vpon his policy,) giues good words to the Ambassadors, promising to performe all that *Charles* demanded: but in effect hee would haue the Pope accept of conditions of peace from him, and that the children of *Carolan* should be declared Kings of France. These demands were found very reasonable on either side: the treaty is broken, the French Ambassadors returne, and *Didier* renews the war more violently then before, against the Church: and hauing spoiled all the territory of Rauenna, he takes Faenza, Ferrara, Comachia, Campagna, & Romandiola, townes of the six gouernments. *Charlemagne* Ambassadors informe their Master, that the war with the Lombard is ineuitable, and finde all things at their returne ready to invade Italy: for *Charlemagne* being forced to suppress the rebellious Saxons, who (impatient of the French yoke) revolted daily, had leauied a goodly Army, the which was ready to be imployed against the Lombard.

He makes war  
by the advice  
of the Estates

But *Charles* would not attempt any thing in a matter of so great consequence without aduice of his Estates. Yet loath to lose time, he causeth his army to march, and makes his Rendezvous at Geneva (a towne vnder his obedience vpon the way to Italy) and hauing diuided his army into two, hee seizeth vpon the passages of Mont Cenis and Saint Bernard, which are the two entrees from France to Italy. The Estates hauing found the causes of warre against *Didier* King of Lombardy to be iust, *Charlemagne* causeth his Army

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The Lombard  
wife defeat  
by Charles.

army to aduance with all speed, and ioynes neere vnto Verceil. *Didier* attends him there, A and giues him battell: but at the first encounter, he is vanquished by *Charlemagne*. The Lombard hauing rallied and fortified his troopes, receiues a new defeat, and so great a one, as he is enforced to suffer his enemy to be master of the field. An infallible entrance to his ruine. Thus hauing tumultuously trusted vp what he could, he sends his sonne *Adalgis* to Verona, with the widow and children of *Caroloman*, casting himselfe into *Paia*, the which he had carefully fortified, as the dungeon and forresse of his last fortune.

*Charlemagne* pursues him at his heeles, besiegeth him with all his Forces in *Paia*, and resolues to haue it at what price soeuer. And to shew his resolution, he sends for his wife and children into France, to the end the Italians (who were doubtfull) might know his minde, and without attending any new occurrences, resolues to obey the victor. Hauing coopt vp *Didier* in *Paia*, and seized vpon all the approaches, he resolues to take Verona, which they held the strongest place of all the Lombards estate. So leauing his vncle *Bernard* to continue the siege at *Paia*, he marcheth with part of his army to Verona.

His resolution was successfull in the beginning, and this checke given to *Didier* (but vs as it were in prison) gaue a great alteration to the affaires of either party, amidst these people of diuers humours. The Spoletins, the Reatins, those of Ancona, of Perno, and of Ossino (as it were in sight one of another) yeeld to *Charlemagne*, and detest the wretched state of *Didier*, as a worthy reward of his trecherous iniultice, and violence. The Venetians (being neutrals and spectators of this tragedy, who neuer had dealt in any C fort with *Didier*) offer amity and succors to *Charlemagne*, who was desirous they should keepe the Sea quiet, lest the Emperour should be an actor in this quarrell for *Didier*.

*Charlemagne* stayed not long at Verona, before the City began to yeeld: *Berthe* the widow of *Caroloman*, being the chiefe instrument to draw them to composition, his Forces being (as she said) very fearefull. *Adalgis* the sonne of *Didier* finding himselfe vnable to resist so resolute a consent of the Citizens, nor to releue his fathers misery, flies secretly to the Emperour of Constantinople. Thus Verona yeeldes to *Charlemagne* by composition, who receiues both *Berthe* and the inhabitants to mercy, to whom hee performs his promise: he inflicts no other punishment vpon *Berthe* and her children, but a gentle admonition of their vnciuill rashnesse, and inioynes them to returne into France, D there to do better, & to liue more honorably. This was about Easter, which drew *Charles* to Rome, where he remained onely eight daies, to visit the holy places, and to conferre with Pope *Adrian*. They write wonders of the great entertainment the Pope gaue him, and of the shewes of amity of *Charlemagne*. He confirmed all that his father *Pepin* had giuen vnto the Pope, and greatly augmented it. The Pope made *Charles* a Patriarch of Rome, a degree to mount vnto the Empire: from thence *Charles* came to *Paia* the which being for the space of ten moneths pressed without by warre, and within by pestilence and famine, in the end yeelds by composition: and *Didier* (who had hated *Charles* without cause, and attempted warre rashly) falls into his hands, who shewes himselfe wife and modest, both to vndertake a war, and to vfe the victory. E

Thus *Charlemagne* hauing wisely vnderaken a iust war, and ended it happily, he ruined the Kingdom of the Lombards, carying *Didier* prisoner to Lions, or to Legee, for writers speake diuersly of the place of his imprisonment. This was in the year of our Lord 776. A notable date to represent the tragical end of so great a Kingdom, the which continued in Italy onely two hundred and foure years, vnder Princes of diuers humors. But iniustice, tyranny, and pride, prouoked the wrath of God against them, so as thinking to take from another, they lost their owne: to vsurpe the liberties of others, they fell into an ingominous slavery, and their subtilty was the cause of their owne misery.

A mirror for Princes and great States, neuer to attempt an vniult and vancessary war, to vsurpe another mans right, and neuer to thinke to preuaile ouer a good cause by craft and policie. *Charlemagne* vfed his victorie with great moderation towards the conquered nation, to the great content of all the Italians, who held it a great gaine to haue lost their old Master, and to be rightly free, being subiect to so wise a Lord: for he left them their ancient liberties, and to particular Princes (such as were vassals to *Didier*) their Seigneuries: to *Arasise*, sonne in law to *Didier*, he left the Marquise of Beneuent. He placeth French Gouvernours, in conquered Lombardy, meaning to haue them intreated with the like mildnesse, as the ancient patrimony receiued from his Predecessors. During

Verona taken  
by Charles.Charles entered  
at Rome.Paia taken &  
Didier in it.The Kingdom  
of the Lombards  
ruined.

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A memorable  
war in Ger-  
many.The causes of  
this warre.The difference  
between the  
warre which  
Charles made,  
and ours this  
day.He following the  
Saxons with  
persecution, he  
declined from a  
Christian.

A ring the siege of *Paia* a Councell was held at Rome by Pope *Adrian*, in fauor of *Charlemagne*, to giue him honours anfwable to his merits of the Church; and namely the right to giue all Benefices throughout all Christendome, was said to belong vnto him: *Charlemagne* being returned into France, *Adalgis* (the son of *Didier*) sought to disquiet Italy, ayded by the Emperour *Constantine*, and the practices of *Rogand* to whom *Charlemagne* had giuen *Frank*, who revolted from his obedience: but all these rebellions were soone suppressed, by the faithfull care of the French gouernours, whom *Charlemagne* had left in the Country newly conquered: and *Rogand* being taken, suffered the paines of his trecherous rashnesse, being beheaded by the Kings commandement. Thus Italy re-

B maining quiet to him and his (as conquered by a iust war) it shall be hereafter incorporate to the French Monarchy in this second Race, being giuen in partage to the children of France, whilest that the good government of our Kings maintaines the dignity of the Crowne. But the end of this war, was the beginning of another in Germany, whereof the Saxons were the chiefe, drawing vnto them (according to diuersity of occasions) other people of Germany their neighbours. This war continued thirty three years, not all successfull, but at diuers brunts and seasons: the Saxons hauing still a desire to crosse *Charlemagne* in his designe, especially being buised in many other affaires of great consequence. I will briefly relate this war of Saxony, reporting with one breath, what hath bene feuerally dispersed in the whole History, without confusion of times or matter, following a style fit for this History. In those times Germany was subiect to the Crowne of France, although it had particular Estates, vassals to our Kings, whatsoeuer the Germans say, who confesse but a part thereof.

The Saxons were subiect to our Crowne, as appears by that aboue written, and namely vnder *Martel* and *Pepin* his sonne. The motives of this warre were diuers, the impatience of a people desiring their ancient liberty, not able to beare anothers command, and (as the Germans say) the hatred and ialousie of a mighty neighbour, threatening them with seruitude, and a controuersie of the limits of their Lands: but the greatest and most important cause of these warres, was the diuersity of Religion, for that the Saxons would obstinately hold the Pagan superstition, which they had receiued from their Ancestors; D and *Charlemagne* urged them to forsake their Paganisme, and to make open profession of the Christian faith: moued with zeale to the generall aduancement of the truth, and the priuate duty of a Prince to his subiects, to prouide for their soules health. A thing very worthy of obseruation. *Belial* did then fight against Christ; Pagan superstition against Christian verity. But alas, by whom, and wherefore are these vacuill warres at this day? Christians fight against Christians, the most sacred signe of Christianity appears on either side in Christian and French armies: Christians blood is spilt by Christians, through a blind fury, and want of vnderstanding in the fundamentall accord of the sauing truth. These are not onely different, but contrary warres to those of *Charlemagne*: and our iraged tumults are begun, and nourished without reason, both against the good of the Estate

E and Church. Vpon this controuersie of Religion, the Saxons made warre eight times against *Charlemagne*: especially when they found him buised elsewhere, watching their opportunity, either to crosse him in his designe, or to frustrate his attempts. At such time as he was in Italy they paid the wyld Colts, not onely in reiecting the French command, but also making open war against those Cities of Germany which obeyed *Charlemagne*: they had taken Eresbourg from the Crowne of France, euen vpon his returne, and besieged *Sigisbourg*, robbing and spoiling all the Country about. *Charlemagne* assembling a Parliament at Wormes, leaues a great Army, to charge the Saxons in diuers places. This Councell succeeded happily: for hauing vanquished the Saxons twice in one moneth in a pitched field, he reduced them to their ancient obedience, vning his

F story with much modesty and wisdom, desiring rather to shew them the power of his authority, then the rigour of his force. The chiefe among them was *Widichind*, and as Religion was the chiefe motiue of these ordinary rebellions, so *Charlemagne* seeking the establishment of Christian Religion in Saxony with great zeale, happily effected it: hauing vanquished this *Widichind*, by reason and humanity, & brought him to the knowledge of the truth, by his graue and wise conuersation, whom he persecuted without any violence, to leaue the Pagan superstition, which force of Armes could not effect in him, nor in the Saxons: for *Saxons soules are not gained by force of Armes, but by reason*. By this means

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meanes of this *Widichind*, the greatest part of the Saxons were drawne to the knowledge A of the true God, and the obedience of the French Monarchy: the most obstinate were forced either to obey, or to abandon the country: as indeed great numbers of the Saxons retired themselves into diuers strange Countries.

Care of Religion most worthy of Princes.

Thus the war of Saxony ended (being both long and dangerous) and those which were conquered by the truth, were the true conquerors, in knowing the true God. *Charlemagne* hauing caused the Saxons to leave their false opinions, was careful to haue them instructed in the truth: to this end he appointed holy and learned men in all places, and gaue meanes to maintaine them: as the Germane Historiours report: more particularly. It sufficeth me (in declaring this briefly) to shew his piety, compatible with his valour and B happinesse, and for a president to Princes, to make Religion the soueraine end of their Armes and authoritics. This *Widichind* was a great personage both in wisdom, valour, and authority, and by consequence very notable in the order of our subiect. From him are descended very famous Races: the two *Hermies*, the one called *Oisfleur* or the *Fowler*, and the other of Bamberg; and the two *Osbis*, all Emperours: and likewise the Dukes of Saxony, the Marquess of Misnia: the Dukes of Sauoy, and also the most famous Race of *Hugh Capet*, is drawne from this spring, by the common consent of learned writers, the which ought to be well obserued in the continuance of this History.

The off-spring of *Widichind*.

From this war of Saxony sprung many other in the Northerne parts, whereof I will inserre, hauing discoursed briefly of the war of Spaine, both for that it chanced during that of Saxony, as also (being very memorable) for the ouerthrow of the Sarazins, who threatened Christendome like a Deluge. Histories differ much touching this warre, but I will report what is most likely, by the consent of most approved writers, whereof the studious Reader may iudge by conference: I being but a faithfull reporter.

Warre in Spaine.

The motive of this Spanish war, was more vpon pleasure then necessity; but the zeale of Religion gaue a colour and shew of necessity, for the heroical desire of *Charlemagne*, seeking to enlarge the limits of the French Monarchy by Armes. So this warre of Spaine was more painfull, more dangerous, and of lesse successe then that of Italy, whereunto necessity and duty had drawne *Charlemagne*: but his wife proceeding in the action, did warrant him from all blame. The occasion which made him bend his Forces against the Sarazins in Spaine, was the assurance of his good fortune, the quiet peace of his Realme, the meanes to employ his souldiers, the Spaniards hate against the Sarazins, and the general feare of all Christians, lest these Caterpillers should creepe farther into Europe.

Estate of Spaine.

This was the estate of Spaine: the Sarazins had conquered a great part thereof, and were diuided into diuers commands, vnder the title of Kingdomes: yet these diuers Kings resolved to oppose their vnited Forces against *Charles* their common enemy: foreseeing then the tempest, they seeked to prevent it, and to crosse the designs of *Charlemagne*, which being discovered, they caused King *Idnabala*, a Sarazin, to inuade into his friendship, being a man full of subtil mildnesse. This stratagem prevailed more then all their Forces. *Charlemagne* was thrust forwards by *Alphonso*, sumamed the Chaste, King of Nauarre, and by the Asturiens and Galliciens, (Christian people of Spaine) to vndertake this war, being easie, profitable, and honourable, and by consequence most worthy the valiant happines of *Charlemagne*. Moreouer, this *Idnabala* (making a shew of friendship) labored to hasten him to the execution of this Enterprise, from the which he knew well he should not diuert him: but in effect it was to betray him, by the discouering of his intentions: flatter his desire to get the more credit by pleasing him.

Warre against the Sarazins of Spaine.

*Charlemagne* then well affected of himselfe, and perswaded by others, calls a Parliament at Noyon, and there concludes a war against the Sarazins of Spaine. The army he employed in that action was great, both for the number of men, and valour of great warriors, being the choice of the most worthy Captains in Christendome. Amongst the which, they number *Milon* Earle of Angers, *Rowland* the son of *Milon* & *Berthe* sister to *Charlemagne*, *Renald* of Montauban, the four sons of *Aymon*, *Oger* the Dane, *Oliver* Earle of Genoue, *Brabin*, *Arnold* of Belland, and others: the great valour of which persons hath bene fabulously reported by the writers of those obscure times, with a thousand ridiculous tales, vnrworthy the valour of those heroic spirits: proofs of the ignorance of that age, being barren of learned wits. They say, that *Charlemagne*, to make this voyage more honorable in shew, did then institute the order of the twelue Peers of France. Being entred into Spaine, hee

Institution of the twelue Peers.

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The treachery of *Idnabala* the Sarazin.

A he found no Sarazin Forces in field, but their Cities well fortified, hauing resolved to make a defence, rather then an offensive war. The most renowned Sarazin Kings were *Aigoland*, *Bellingan*, *Denises*, *Marfile*, and *Idnabala*, which be the subiect of our fabulous tales: but the last, as I haue said, made shew of friendship with *Charlemagne*, and open hatred against the other Sarazin Kings: with whom notwithstanding he had most strict correspondency to betray *Charles*. The first City he attempted, was *Pampelune*, in the kingdom of Nauarre, the which he took by force, but with much paine, losse, and danger. Hauing sacked it, and slaine all the Sarazins he found, *Saragoce* yeelds to him by composition, with many other small townes, terrified by the example of *Pampelune*. This beginning encouraged him to march on, relying on his wonted fortune: but as he passed through the Prouinces of Spaine, like a victorious Prince without any difficulty, hauing giuen a part of his army to leade to *Milon* of Angiers his brother in law, it chanced neare vnto Bayonne, that *Aigoland* a Sarazin King, (hauing in this common despair, thrust an army to field, encountered *Milon* with his troops, little dreading any enemy) took him at such an aduantage, as he defeated him. The losse was very great, for they report it was of forty thousand men: where *Milon* was slaine for a confirmation of the Sarazins victory. *Charlemagne* was far off, and not able by any diligence to prevent the losse: he pacifies this amazement, lest it should daunt the whole army. He hastens thither, and gathers together the reliques of these discomfited troops, keeping the conquered Cities, and such as were friends in their obedience. But after this follows a second accident. *Aigoland* putt vp with the pride of this victory, passeth into Gascoine, and besiegeth Agen, to diuert *Charlemagne* from his pursuit, and to draw him home to defend his owne Country.

*Pampelune* taken.

The Sarazins victory.

The Sarazins enter into Gascoine.

So as *Charlemagne* fearing lest his absence, and the Sarazins late victory, should alter the minds of them of Guienne, being then subiects of small assurance, he returns into France. *Aigoland* hauing continued some moneths at the siege of Agen, and prevailed little, but in ouer-running the country, the which he did freely (without any great resistance) even vnto Xaintonge: the countrymen being retired into the townes, expected the returne of *Charlemagne* their King. *Aigoland*s army was great and proud with the remembrance of their late victory: so as *Charlemagne* returning with his troops from Spaine well tired, D he maintained his countries more through his authority, then by present force, yet he fortified the courage of his subiects with his presence, and bridled the Sarazin, who could not be ignorant with whom he had to deale, nor where he was, being enuioured with enemies on all sides, and in an enemies Country. The Sarazin seeming to incline to a peace, gaue *Charlemagne* to vnderstand, that he had first inuaded, and that his passage into France was onely to draw him out of Spaine, and to leaue to the Sarazins their conquered countries free, and therefore the treaty of an accord was easie, seeing there was no question, but to yeeld euery man his owne, and to suffer him to enioy it quietly, the world being wide enough for them all. But to the end this treaty might take effect, after many messages on either part, they resolved to parlee. So vpon *Charlemagne*s faith, *Aigoland* comes to the campe. *Charlemagne* either moued with zeale of Religion, or making it the colour of his actions, he gaue the Sarazin to vnderstand, that hee should haue his friendship, if he would leaue his Pagan superstition, be baptized, and make open profession of Christianity. The Sarazin, although he had a goodly army, yet not willing to hazard any thing, content with this reuenge of *Charlemagne*, desired nothing more then to returne quietly into Spaine. Being now in *Charlemagne*s campe, to maintaine his reputation, he makes no shew of feare, but talking to his own aduantage (as if no force but only reason should moue him) he enters into a serious cunning & discourse with *Charlemagne*, shewing, That vnecessary wars were the ruine of mankind, and that he was grieved to see so much blood spilt: That he had not begun, but followed, being vrged by necessity

*Charlemagne* and *Aigoland* parlee.

Conditions proposed by *Aigoland*.

Accepted by *Charlemagne*.

F to defend himselfe against the Forces of *Charlemagne*: That he was not yet so abiect, nor his Forces so weak, as to refuse the battell, but for that it were an infinite losse to hazard so many men, he desired to make triall of the right by some troops, and he that vanquished should haue the right and true Religion on his side; protesting to yeeld to that Religion which should appeare the best by that triall. The condition was accepted by *Charlemagne*: the proofe of this priuate combat was made: and the Christian troope vanquished the Sarazin.

This *Aigoland* protests openly to be a Christian, but in heart he had no such meaning, and



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and takes this occasion to breake the treaty. He finds *Charlemagne*, at table, well accompanied with his chiefe followers, (for then was the custome of our Kings not to eat alone) and sees twelue poore men ill apperled sitting by vpon the ground, neare to the table of the Noblemen. He demanded what those poore miserable creatures were which did feed apart. One answered, they were the messengers of God. He then said, their God was of small account, seeing his messengers were so miserable and contemptible: and thereupon takes occasion to retire himselfe, hauing lost no labour by this treaty, but qualified the force of *Charlemagne*, viewed his traine, and made shew of his courage and dexterity, euen without an Ambassador. *Charlemagne* on the other side was resolute to haue his reuenge for so notable a losse of men, and so bold an affront of the Sarazin, so as with all speed he raiseth an army of an hundred and thirty thousand men. A notable number for this Realme, and so (fraught with choller and indignation) hee returns into Spaine. His entry was prosperous: for at the first encounter he defeated *Agolands* army neare to Pampelune, and for a scale of his victory he caried away the head of his enemy *Agoland*, slaine by the hand of *Arnold* of Belange, a noble and valiant Knight: but the sequell was not answerable to the beginning: for notwithstanding the ouerthrow of these Sarazin troops, all the rest in Spaine were not vanquished, where there were more Kings and more men of war, who had great correspondency with *Amurathe* King of Babylon, which was their nursery and store-houfe. *Marfile* and *Bellingand* brethren, were the chiefe of the remainder of the Sarazin army, wherein there was a great Babylonian Giant, called *Ferragut*, of an exceeding greatnesse, who was slaine by *Rowland*, Nephew to *Charlemagne*: and this act is famous in our Histories, and is sung by our Romanes with a great fabulous shew. After the death of their brother, they gather together the reliques of their defeated troops: they make shew of resolute men, and vow to sell this victory dearly to *Charlemagne*, being fauoured by many good townes within the country. *Charlemagne* stayes suddenly, and pursues not this victory. But God referres to himselfe a soueraine power ouer mens designes, yea ouer the greatest, and in matters of greatest consequence: to the end that all may learne to aske counsell and successe from him. It was his will that the French Forces should not possesse Spaine, the which he allotted as a portion for another nation.

A treaty of peace with the Sarazins which they accept.

Thus *Charles*, who should haue bene all fire after his victory, tempered his heat, which caused *Idnabala* the Sarazin (hauing free access into his Campe) to make some motion of peace. He was a good Secretary of his companions minds, what they soeuer he made to speake of himselfe. *Charlemagne* (considering by late experience, that the successe of armes was variable, and that this war was to his lubricous losse, employing both liues and goods for the purchase of an vncertaine victory, and seeing himselfe charged with infinite great affaires in his Estates, to the preferuation whereof reason did summon him, rather then to seeke for new) he seems not vnwilling to hearken to the motion of *Idnabala*, who told him plainly, that he found the Sarazins affaires to be so desperate, as they would gladly embrace his friendship, at what rate soeuer. The Sarazins answer (reioycing at this new accord) was soone made. The Treaty being begunne, the fundamentall Article of Religion was propounded, the which *Charlemagne* makes shew to maintaine with great vehemencie: but the Sarazins being obstinate, *Charles* is content to grant them peace paying some great summes of money, as a token they had bene vanquished.

The treason of Ganelon.

Treachery of the Sarazins.

He sends a Nobleman of his Court named *Ganes*, to treat with them: (the people haue since called him *Ganelon*, as an odious name) who (being corrupted by *Marfile* and *Bellingand*) promitteth them meanes to send *Charlemagne* into France, and to make him receive a notable disgrace. They agree to make a composition, being in shew very honourable for *Charles*: to whom they promise to pay (as an homage and an acknowledgement of the peace he should grant them) what summes he should appoint, and so should retire with his army into France, leaving such troops in Spaine as he pleased, to maintaine the conditions agreed vpon. *Ganes* discovered vnto them the necessity of his returne, and *Charlemagne*'s great desire to leaue the smallest Forces he could in Spaine. The composition made, *Charlemagne* departs with his army, attending a better opportunity to end what he had begun, leaving *Rowland* onely with twenty thousand men, for the execution of this Treaty. But to make his passage the more easie, hee commands him

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Rowland defeated at Roncevaux.

A him to lodge in a place of aduantage, in the Pyrenean mountaines, called Roncevaux. The French army passed, marching towards France, under the conduct of *Charlemagne*, who dreamt not of the affront he receiued by this meanes.

Whilest the French army removed, *Marfile* and *Bellingand* slept not, but gathering together all the Forces they could, they lodge their troops secretly in the hollow caues of the Mountaines, being places inaccessible and vknowne but to them of the Country. They had intelligence from *Ganes* what Forces *Charlemagne* had left in Spaine, vnder the command of *Rowland*, to whom the authority of his Vncle, and the credit of the people of Spaine in the chiefe towne, was of more esteeme then his twenty thousand men. B though they were the chiefe of all the army, *Rowland* had no feare of any enemy, when as returning to his garison, he is suddenly charged by the Sarazins, far more in number then the French. Seeing himselfe thus assailed and compass in, they defend themselves valiantly against these miscreants: but still fresh troops issue forth on all sides, in so great numbers, as in the end the French (tired with so long and painful a combat) are oppressed by the great multitude of Sarazins.

*Rowland* performed both the duty of a good Captaine, in so extreame a danger, (gathering together the pieces of his shipwracke) and of a resolute Souldier, in fighting valiantly, for hauing beat down a great number in the presse, in the end he slew *Marfile* with his owne hand. But *Bellingand* holding this victory absolutely by his owne, pursues the French, so as *Rowland* (not able to stand) retires himselfe apart, where he dies for thirst, through the long and painfull combat he had endured: and altogether tyred, he strives to break his good sword *Durandall* but his strength failing him, he dies; and with him *Oliuer*, and *Oger* the Dane, *Renold* of Montauban, *Arnaut* of Belange, and other great personages, whose names remaine in fabuloustales: and the fame of their singular vertues, not onely in the Originals of true Histories, but the honor of their heroicall deeds, is ingrauen in the common beliefes of all Frenchmen.

Rowland dyes for thirst.

*Charlemagne* aduertised of this unexpected and strange losse, returns suddenly, and takes reuenge vpon the Sarazins, killing an infinite number vpon the places, he caught the traitor *Ganelon* to be drawne in pieces with foure horses. (found to haue bene the D author of this miserable defeat) and transported with a iust disdain for this preiudicial affront, he resolved to passe farther into Spaine for his reuenge. But the great affaires of other Estates, called him into France, and so the war of Spaine ended, with small successe, hauing troubled *Charlemagne* at diuers times, for the space of fourteene yeares. But God had appointed the limits of his designes, as he referres to himselfe a Soueraine power ouer all mens enterprises, yea of the greatest.

Charlemagne takes reuenge of this treacherous defeat.

End of the Spanish war.

*Charles* made a Tombe for his Nephew *Rowland*, and honored the memory of these worthy warriors, (dying in the bed of honor) with monuments. I haue reported this in one discourse, to represent as in a table, what hath chanced most memorable, the which can hardly be gathered without some direction in the confusion of so long and obscure E reports, wherewith this History of *Charlemagne* is fraught. At his returne from Spaine, necessity bred diuers wars, to exercise the valour and diligence of *Charlemagne*, both in Italy and Germany, God fauouring him in all places. Italy (during these troubles of Spaine) had rebelled by *Adalgise* the Duke of Beneuents meanes, to repossesse the Race of *Didier*, but it was soone suppressed by *Charlemagne*, to the cost of the Lombardes, bels: but in the end behold another war in Germany.

The like occasion bred a war in Bauaria, for that King *Tasillon* some in law to *Didier* King of Lombardy (pressed by his wife, being wonderfull discontented with *Charlemagne*) shakes off the yoke; and flies to armes, but *Charles* surpriseth him with such celerity, as *Tasillon* was forced to sue for peace. *Charlemagne* grants it, imposing the yoke of the French Monarchy, but *Tasillon* not able to containe himselfe, raiseth a new war in another place, as when we stop one breach, it opens by another vent. He stirs up the Huns and Auars, (a neighbour people of Austrasia, one of the Estates of our Monarchy) against *Charlemagne*, who suppressed them with such happy successe, as *Tasillon* vanquished by *Charlemagne*, and found guilty of rebellion and treason, was condemned to lose his Estate according to the Salique Law: and so the Kingdom of Bauaria ended, the which was wholly incorporate to the Crowne of France.

The Huns and Auars (of whose names ioyned together, the word of Hungary hath bene

Bauaria incorporated to the Crowne for rebellion.



been deriued, and the Hungarians be issued from these united nations) were likewise pu- A  
nished by *Charlemagne*, and brought under the yoke of the French Monarchy. They had  
begun a war in disquieting the Country of Austrasia: *Charlemagne* opposed his Forces,  
but at diuers times: so as the warre continued eight yeares, and the successe was, that all  
their country obeyed him: and the Danes, the Sorabes, the Abrodites, the Westphalians, (all  
vnited in this warre of Hungary) were likewise brought vnder the same obedience of  
*Charlemagne*. The limits of the Northern Region called Austrasia were so extended, as  
it was distinguished into two kingdoms, noted in the German tongue, to shew that the  
Originall of our Ancestors is out of Germany, and that our ancient Kings haue com- B  
manded there: seeing their possession is manifested, and that they haue not onely giuen a  
Germane name to the country that is beyond the Rhine, but also to that on this side. I  
am not ignorant how much this discourse is diuersified with sundry probabilities, euery  
one preferring what likes him best. But, not transforming of coniectures into Oracles  
(as without doubt the plainest is the best) behold a true diuision of the Seignories which  
*Charlemagne* had in Germany, as the traces of names yeeld an assured testimony. The  
Realme of Austrasia, which ioynes vpon France, was called *Westreich*, that is to say, the  
Realme of the West: and that which is towards Danubie, *Ostreich*, that is, the kingdom  
of the East, whence the name of Austrich is properly deriued, being then of a greater  
command then at this day, for it contained Hungary, Valachia, Bohemia, Transilvania,  
Denmarke, and Poland. Then was our Monarchy great: but all these nations haue either  
returned to their first beginnings, or were seized on by new Lords. It was very needfull  
to shew the Estate, that we might observe the declining thereof, with the motives and  
seasons of these diuers changes. Thus the French Monarchy grew great by the happy  
valour of *Charlemagne*, and his children grew Image and knowledge by the wise care of  
their father, who framed them to affaires, meaning first to make them succeed him in his  
vertues, and then after in his Dominions: But man purpoſeth, and God disposeth. France,  
Italy, Germany, Spaine, and Hungary, made the Romane Empire in the West. *Charles*  
being master of these goodly Prouinces, was in effect Emperour thereof. There wanted  
nothing but the solemne declaration of this dignity, to haue the title as he enjoyed the  
thing, and to be authentically inuested by a free and publicke declaration of his possession. D  
The prouidence of God, who gaue him the thing, procured him the title by this means.  
*Leo* was then Pope of Rome, against whom was raised a strange sedition, by *Silaster* and  
*Campul*, men of great credit in the Court of Rome. Vpon a solemne day of Procession  
they seize vpon *Leo*, before Saint Laurence Church, they strip him of his pontificall  
robes, cast him to the ground, tread him vnder their feet, bruise his face with their fists,  
and hauing drawne him ignominiously through the dirt, they cast him into prison, but  
he stayed not there, being freed by a groomme of his chamber called *Albin*: and hauing re-  
couered Saint Peters Church, he entreated *Vingise* Duke of Spoletto, to deliuer him from  
this miserable captivity. *Vingise* failed him not: he came to Rome, and carried him to  
Spoletto. Being arrived there, he presently went into France to *Charlemagne*, whom he E  
found full of troubles: yet *Charles* neglected all other affaires to assist *Leo* in his necessity.  
So as he came to Rome with a goodly army, to succour the Pope: where he did speedily  
pacifie the confusions wherewith Rome was afflicted, punishing *Leo's* enemies according  
to Law. They demanded audience, the which *Charles* granted them, assembling the  
Clergy and people, to heare, and decide this scandalous controuersie. But when as he de-  
manded their opinions, the Prelates told him plainly, that the Church of Rome could  
not be iudged by any other then by its selfe, and that the Pope ought not to undergoe the  
censure of any man liuing, and that he himselfe ought to be iudge in his owne cause.  
*Charlemagne* willingly leaues the iudgement feat: and then Pope *Leo* mounted vp  
his throne, where (after he had protested by oath to be innocent of those crimes, where-  
with his enemies had charged him) he absoules himselfe, and condemnes his enemies ac-  
cording to his Canon, *The pope is iudge of all men, and all things, and not to be iudged by  
any.* *Charlemagne* being drawne to Rome vpon this occasion, finds all disposed to declare  
him Emperour of the West, seeing that with the price of his blood (opposing himselfe  
against the furies and incurſions of barbarous nations) he had valiantly gotten possession  
of the Empire.

The

The beginning of the Empire of *Charlemagne*,

*Acknowledged and installed Emperour, by a free consens of the  
Romane people, in the yeare of Grace 800.*

The Pope by this possession (acknowledging *Charles* for true Emperour) crownes  
him Emperour of Rome, with a full consent of all the Romane people, which as-  
isted at his Coronation, crying with one generall voice, *Happinesse, long life, and victory*  
to *Charles Augustus, crowned the great and peaceable Emperour of the Romanes, alwayes hap-  
py and victorious.* This was in the yeare 800. on Christmas day, the thirtieth yeare of the  
reigne of *Charles*, Italy hauing suffered a horrible confusion during the space of thirty  
three yeares, without Emperour, without Lawes, and without order.

The seat of the Romane Empire, since *Constantine* the Great, remained at Constanti-  
nople, a City of Thrace, situate in a conuenient place for the guard of the Eastern Pro-  
uinces, all the West being full of new guests, who hauing expelled the Romanes, the name,  
authority, and force of the Empire remained in the East, where the State was in a strange  
confusion, the mother being banded against her sonne, and the people within themselves.

*Constantine* sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour, being gouerned from his infancie  
(with the Empire) by his mother *Irene*: being come to the age of twenty yeares, he took  
vpon him the government. There was then a great diuision in the East, continued from  
father to sonne for 80. yeares touching Images. The Bishops would needs bring them  
into the Christian Church. The Emperours (with the greatest part of the people) oppos-  
ed themselves. This contention had her beginning vnder *Philip Bardanes*, (as wee haue  
said) continued vnder *Leo Isaurus*, and from him to his sonne *Constantine*, surnamed *Cop-  
ronimus*: and of *Leo* the fourth sonne to the said *Constantine*. This disquieted all the  
East with infinite scandals.

The same fire continued in the minority of *Constantine*, gouerned by his mother: a  
woman of a violent spirit, who hauing undertaken the protection of Images, held a Coun-  
cill of many Bishops for the defence thereof: but the people growing into a muriny, ex-  
pelled them from Constantinople by force, where their Assembly was held. But this woman  
(reluctant to proceed) assembled the same Councell at Nicea, a City of Bithinia, honou-  
red to haue harboured the first generall Councell vnder *Constantine* the Great, the first of  
that name: where it was decreed, that the Images of Saints should be planted in Christian  
Churches for deuotion. *Charlemagne* did not allow of this decree, and either himselfe,  
or some other by his command, did write a small Treatise against this Councell: the  
which we see at this day with this title, *A Treatise of Charlemagne, touching Images,  
against the Greeke Synode.*

This cunning woman had made choice of the City of Nicea, that the name of this an-  
cient first Councell might honour this new introduction with the pretext of antiquity,  
for there are some that confound the first Councell of Nicea with the second, and *Con-  
stantine* the fourth with the first. *Constantine* continued in the hereditary hatred of his  
father and grand-father against Images, so as being of age and in absolute possession  
of the Estate, he disannulled all these new decrees, and caused the Images to be beaten downe  
in all places: yet he made all shewes of respect vnto his mother, yeelding vnto her a  
good part of his authority and command. This respect was the cause of a horrible Tra-  
gedy: for this woman transported for two causes (both by reason of her new opinion,  
and for despite that she had not the whole government in her selfe) grows so vnkind  
as she resolues to dispossesse her sonne of the Empire, and to seize on it her selfe. Thus  
F the authority her sonne had left her, and the free access she had vnto his person, made  
way to the execution of her designe: for hauing corrupted such as had the chiefe forces  
at their command, and wonne them with her Iouanes treasure, she seized on him, put out  
his eyes, sends him into exile (where soone after he died for griefe) and took possession  
of the Empire. These vnaturall and tragick furies, were practised in the East, whilst  
that *Charlemagne* by his great valour built an Empire in the West. *Irene* in her Iouanes life  
would haue married him with the eldest daughter of *Charlemagne*: but this accident cros-  
sed that designe.

*Charlemagne  
crowned  
Emperour*

*Theological  
death of Con-  
stantine*

G

After

The occasion  
why *Charle-  
magne* was pro-  
claimed Em-  
perour.

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After the death of *Constantine* he sent to *Charlemagne*, to excuse her selfe of the murder, disavowing it, and laying the blame vpon such as had done it without her command. And to win the good liking of *Charles*, she caused him to be dealt withall touching marriage (for at that time *Fefrude* was dead) with promise to consent that he should be declared Emperour of the West, and to resigne vnto him the power of the East. But *Charlemagne* would not accept thereof: the Nobility and people of the Greeke Empire did so hate her, as hauing suffered her the space of three years, in the end they refused to dispossesse her.

Irene banished.

Diuidion of the empire.

In this publike detestation of this woman, the murthereffe of her owne child, *Nicephorus* a great Nobleman of Greece, assisted by the greatest in the Court, and with the consent of the people, seizeth on the Empire, in taking of *Irene*: whom he onely banished, to giue her meanes to liue better then she had done. He afterwards treats and compounds with *Charlemagne*, that the Empire of the East continuing vnder his command, that of the West should remaine to *Charlemagne*.

By this transacion of *Nicephorus*, and the consent of the Greekes, the possession of the Empire was ratified and confirmed to *Charlemagne*, and then began the diuidion of the two Empires, East and West. That of the West began with *Charlemagne*, and continued in his Race whilst his vertues did protect it: afterwards it was transported to the Princes of Germany, who likewise acknowledged the Germane stem of *Charlemagne*, borne at Wormes, crowned at Spire, and interred at Aix, all Cities of Germany: and the truth sheweth, that as the Original, so the first command of the French was wholly in Germany. Hitherto we haue represented, briefly as we could (considering the greatnesse and richnesse of the subiect) what *Charles* did whilst hee was King of France onely: now we must relate with the like style, what hath happened worthy of memory vnder his Empire.

*His deeds while he was Emperour.*

War in Italy.

In Saxony.

At Venice, where Charlemagne had the repulse.

Charles diuides his possessions to his children.

An order for their lawes.

*CHARLES* liued fifteene years, after he had vnitd the Romane Empire to the French Monarchy. *Grimoald* Duke of Beneuent fought to disturbe Italy for the Lombard: but *Charles* preuented it in time, by the meanes of *Pepin* his son; a worthy and valiant Prince. *Grimoald* was thus vanquished, yet entreated with all mildnesse, so as being restored to his Estate, he became afterwards an affectionate and obedient seruant to *Charlemagne*, who was a wife Conquerour, both in his happy valour, and the wise vsing of his victorie. About the same time the war in Saxony was rentued, being alwaies prone to rebellion: with the war against the Huns, Bohemians, Sclauonians: and the second against the Sarazins. The which I haue briefly reported in their proper places: here I note them onely to shew the course of things according to the order of times, the goodly light of truth.

He had likewise a great and dangerous warre against the Venetians, wherein he employed his son *Pepin*. *Obeliers* and *Becur*, great personages, were the chiefe Commanders for the Venetians. The Emperour and his Frenchmen receiued a great checke by the Venetians, who had this onely fruit of their victory, that (among all the people of Italy subdued by *Charlemagne*) they alone were not vanquished, but had happily made head against great *Charlemagne*. They did greatly encrease their name and reputation, but nothing enlarged their territories by this conquest, glad to haue defended themselves against so noble and valiant an enemy. By reason of this Venetian war, *Charles* stayed sometime in Italy, to assure his Estate. He would haue the Country conquered from the Lombards, to be called Lombardy, with a new name, to moderate their seruile condition, by the continuance of their name, in the ruine of their Estate.

Seeing himselfe old and broken, his children great, wife, and obedient, he refused to giue them portions, and to assigne to euery one his Estate. To *Pepin* he gaue Italy, to *Charles* Germany and the neighbour countries, keeping *Lewis* his eldest son neare about him, whom he appointed for the Empire and Realme of France: He fought to reduce all his Estates vnder one law, making choice of the Romane, both for the dignity of the Empire, and being more ciuill: but the French loth to alter any thing of their customary lawes, he suffered them as they desired: and those which had longer serued the Romanes, and loued best the Romane lawes, he gaue them libertie. So as Gaule Narbonnoise (which

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A (which comprehends Dauphine, Languedoc and Proquence) doe vse the written law, (as the ancient Prouince of the Romanes) and the rest of France obserue their customary lawes.

Denmarke (a dependance of the Realme of Germany and part of *Charles* his portion, as we haue said) was reuolted from the obedience of the French. *Charles* by his fathers command, prepares to subdue them: but God had otherwise decreed, for hereupon he dies, to the great griefe of his father, and of all the French, who loued the lovely qualities of this Prince, the true heyre of his father name and vertues. *Charlemagne* mourned for his youngest son, when as suddenly newes came of the vntimely death of *Pepin* his second sonne, King of Italy, a Prince of admirable hope, a true patterne of his fathers greatnesse. Thus man purpoeth, and God disposeth: thus the sonnes die before the father: thus the greatest cannot free themselves from the comon calamity of mankind: thus great Kings and great Kingdomes haue their periods. *Charlemagne* lost his children, and the Realme her best support: for these two Princes caried with them the fathers valour, leaving *Lewis* his brother with large territories and few vertues, to gouerne so great an Estate. After the death of these two great Princes, many enemies did rise against *Charles* seeming (as it were) deprived of his two armes, the Sarazins in Spaine, the Sclauons, and the Normans, in the Northerne regions: but he vanquished them all, and brought them to obedience, old and broken as he was. We haue shewed how that *Nicephorus* had beene made Emperour by the death of *Irene*. In chanced, that as he fought against the Bulgarians (a people which had possessed a part of Thrace, neare vnto Constantinople) he was slaine in the conflict.

He had one son named *Stanrat*, who by reason should succcede him: but *Michel* his brother in law seizeth on this poore young man, and makes him away, and hauing corrupted the chiefe men with gifts, he viurpes the Empire: and lest that *Charlemagne* should crosse his designs, he seeks to insinuate with him, not onely ratifying what *Nicephorus* had done for the diuidion of the Empire, but by a new contract doth acknowledge him Emperour of the West. Thusthe affaires of our *Charles* were daily confirmed, but his mind (toiled with these new losses, and the painfull difficulties he had suffered throughout the whole course of his life) required nothing but rest. All his life time he held the Church in great reuerence, and had employed his authority to beautifie it, and bountifully bestowed his treasure to enrich it: but this great plenty in so happy a peace, made the Churchmen to liue loosely. *Charles* well instructed in religion (knowing how much it did import, to haue doctrine and good manners to shine in them that should instruct others:) he doth call five Councils in diuers places of his dominions, for the government of the Church. At Mentz, at Rheims, at Tours, at Chaacons, and at Arles: and by the aduice of these Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, he sets downe orders for the reformation of the Church, in a Booke intituled *Capitula Caroli Magni*, which they read at this day, for a venerable prooffe of the pietie of this great Prince. A worthy precedent for Princes, which seeke true honour by vertue, whereof the care of pietie is the chiefe foundation.

He held likewise a great Councell in the City of Franckford, (These are the very words of the History) of the Bishops of France, Germanie, and Italy, the which he himselfe would honour with his presence, where by a generall consent, *The false Synode of the Greekes* (I quote the very words of the Originall) vntuly called the *seventh*, was condemned and rejected by all the Bishops, who subscribed to the condemnation. But there fell out a new accident, which drew *Charles* again to armes. *Alphonso* King of Nauarre, stirred the Chaste, by reason of his singular temperance, did carefully aduertise him, that there was now meanes vnto subdue the Sarazins in Spaine. *Charlemagne* (who desired infinitely to finish this worke, so oft attempted without any great successe) giues care to this aduice, leaves an Army, & marcheth into Spaine, relying on the Spaniards fauor, being Christians. *Alphonso* meant plainly, but so did not the chiefe of his Court, nor associates, who feared his Forces no lesse then the Sarazins, & euen the most confident seruants of *Alphonso* doubted to be dispossessed of their governments by a new Master. So they crosse *Alphonso* in countermanding of *Charles*: but the lots were cast, his Armie is in field, & he resolute to passe on. He enters into Spaine, where he finds so many difficulties, as he returns into France: and so concludes all his enterprises, embracing againe the care

The Danish reuolt.

Charles loses two of his best sonnes.

Rebellion against Charle.

The Empire confirmed to Charles.

Charles his care to rule the Church.

A good instruction for Princes to loose pietie.

New warres in Spaine crost by secret practices.

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A happy conclusion of Charlemagnes life.

Learn O ye Princes,

He misketh his Will.

Medice.

The true praise of Charlemagne, and

Win vices.

of Religion, and of the Church, as a subiect fit for the remainder of his dayes. He was threecore and eight yeares old when he left the wars: so he spent three whole yeares in his study, reading the Bible, and the bookes of Saint *Augustine*, whom he loved above all the Doctors of the Church. He resided at Paris, to haue conference with the learned: where he had erected a goodly Vniuersity, furnished with learned men, such as that time could afford, and enriched with goodly priuiledges. He had an extraordinary care to haue the seruice of the Church supplied, as a Nurcery of the holy Ministry. Thence grew so many Colledges of Chanoins, with such sufficient reuenues.

Thus *Charles* spent three yeares happily in the onely care of his soule, leauing a goodly example to Princes, to moderate their greatnesse with piety, their enioying of temporall goods, with the hope of eternall, and to thinke of their departure out of this life in time. Thus foretelling his death (whereunto he prepared himselfe by this exercise) he made his will, leauing *Lewis* his son sole heyre of his great Kingdome, and bequeathes to the Church great treasure, as more at large is contained in his Will, set downe in the History. His Testament was the messenger of his death, for soone after he fell sicke, and continued so but eight dayes: dying happily vnto the Lord, in the year of Grace 814. of his age 71. and of his reigne the 47. including 15. yeares of his Empire. He was interred at *Aix la Chapelle*, where he was borne, and his memory honored with a goodly Epitaph, set downe in the History.

He was one of the greatest Princes that euer liued. His vertue is the patterne of Princes, C his good hap the subiect of their wishes. The greatnesse of his Monarchy is admirable, for he quietly enioyed all France, Germany, the greatest part of Hungary, all Italy, and a part of Spaine. But his vertues were greater then his Monarchy: his clemency, wilddome, and valour: his learning (yea in the holy Scripture) his vigilancy, magnanimity, and singular force, be the Theater of his immortal praises. And yet his vertues were not without some blemish (as the greatest are not commonly without some notable vice) for he was giuen to women, adding concubines to his lawful wiues, by whom he had bastards. I haue noted elsewhere the number of his wiues and children. *Lewis* the weakest of them all, remained alone the sole heyre of this great Monarchy of France, and the Romane Empire, but not of his noble vertues. We are now come to the top of this great building, D we shall see it decline: and therein note the admirable prouidence of God, who amidst the confusions of this Estate, hath alwaies preferred the Maiesty of this Crowne.

## LEVVIS THE GENTLE,

## The fine and twentieth King,

And Emperour of the West.



As the vertues of *Charlemagne* had raised this Estate to an admirable greatnesse, so the small valour, or rather the vices of his posterity, caused the declining, and (if God had not prevented) had bene the ruine thereof. His intent was onely to change the Race vnworthy to reigne, but not the Realme, the which he hath preferred vnto this day by his prouidence, in the bosome of one Country, and in it his Church: for the which hee maintains both the Estates where it remains, and the whole world, which cannot subsist, but in regard of it.

Thus the French Monarchy being come to the height of her greatnesse, the law imposed vpon all humane things, would haue it decline, that of her pieces other Estates might be built. Not long after the death of *Charlemagne*, it began to decline. The foolish lenity of *Lewis* his son, was the beginning, the which was continued by the disordered confusions of his successors, who (in spite of one another) hastned the ruine of their house, making the way by their vices and misfortune. This is the substance of all the Kings remaining in this second Race: the which we cannot represent, but in noting faithfully the order of those confused times, during the which this Barke hath bene in a manner guided

The declining of this Race.

815

A ded without a Pilot, and without helme, by the wisedome of God, who hath miraculously preferred it, amidst so many tempests. And therefore without any tedious discourse, being intricate enough of it selfe, I will labour to shew (as in a table) both the continuance of this Race, and the diuers motives of euents to bring *Hugh Capet* vpon the stage, and carefully to shew the estate of his posterity, as the chiefe end of my designe.

*Lewis* was surnamed the Meeke, or Gentle, as well for his deuotion (whereunto he was more giuen, then to gouerne his Estate) as also for his great facility: which was the cause of many mileries both to himselfe and his subiects. He began to reigne the year 815, and ruled 26. yeares Emperour of the West, and King of France. His father had not greatly B enioyed him in affaires, obseruing his disposition, and had married him with *Irmenegarde* the daughter of *Ingram* Duke of Angers, an officer of the Crowne of France, hauing giuen him the Duchy of Guienne for his maintenance. By this wife *Lewis* had three sons *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*, who acted strange tragedies against their father.

To his second wife he married *Judith* the daughter of *Guelphe* Duke of Sueue, by whom he had *Charles*, surnamed the Bald, who succeeded him in the Crowne of France. *Bernard* the son of *Pepin*, was King of Italy, as *Charlemagne* had decreed. *Lewis* (more fit to be a Monke then a King) was so giuen to deuotion, and of so soft a spirit, as he made his authority contemptible, both within and without the Realme. This disposition (vnfit for a great command) made the Nations subiect to the Crowne, to fall from their obedience, the Saxons, Normans, Danes, and Brittons: and although *Lewis* did his best to prevent it, yet could he not preuaile, but made himselfe wholly contemptible, in attempting that which he could not effect, and (after his vaine struing) compounding of great controuersies with vnreasonable conditions. *Bernard* a young man, and ambitious, was persuaded by the Bishops of Orleans and Milan, to attempt against his Vncle *Lewis*, and to seize vpon the Realme of France which belonged not vnto him. So his ambition cost him deare, and that suddenly: for being in field to goe into France against his vncle, with an imaginary fauour of the French, to be proclaimed King, it fell out contrary; for both he and all his Councillers were taken by *Lewis* his subiects.

*Lewis* wonderfully moued with the presumption of this springall (as we oft see milde D natures fall into extremities of choller when they are moued) hauing both his Nephew and his Councillors in his power: he spoiles him of his Realme of Italy, declares him and his vnworthy, confines him to a perpetual prison, and puts out his eyes: the like he doth to all the Bishops and Noblemen he could get: and after some few dayes patience, he chops off their heads. This act was held very strange, proceeding from *Lewis*, and committed against such persons: it began to breed a generall dislike, the which was aggravated by a domestical dissention: all which together caused a horrible Tragedy.

*Lewis* had indiscreetly giuen portions to his children, making them companions of his regall authority. After the deceale of *Bernard*, he gaue Italy to *Lothaire*, and did associate him in the Empire; to *Pepin* he gaue Aquitaine; to *Lewis* Bavaria; and would haue E them all beare the name of Kings. *Lewis* good to all, was too good to his second wife *Judith*, an ambitious woman: who hauing one son by him, called *Charles*, had no other care but to make this son great, to the preiudice of the rest: not foreseeing that they were of power, and could not patiently endure the ialousies of a mother in law, nor the words of an old man, being too much affected to one of his children against the rest, at the suggestion of a mother in law: an ordinary leuaine of bitter dissention in families of the second bed.

Moreover, this imperious Germane, abusing the facility of her good husband, played the Emperesse and Queene ouer all, to the discontent of the greatch, who had no fauour with *Lewis*, but by the fauour of his wife: they did hate and contemne him, as being unworthy to reigne, suffering himselfe so slavishly to be gouerned by a woman. This was the general motive of their discontent: but there were many other particularities, which grew dayly vpon diuers and sundry occasions. The Bishops were most of all incensed against *Lewis*, by reason of the death of those men of the Church, whom he had so cruelly caused to be slaine with *Bernard*. So *Lothaire*, *Pepin*, and *Lewis*, (by the aduice of these malecontents) resolved to seize vpon their Father, Mother, and young Brother, to dispossesse them of all authority, and then to gouerne the State after their owne appetites, wherein they must vse force and a publicke consent. *Lothaire* (as ring-leader of this designe)

Bald facility.

A furious cruelty.

Lewis his indiscreetness, of his children, and his wife.

Tragicall rebellion of children.

829

designe) leaues a great army, and calls a Nationall Councell of the French Church at Lyons, supposing sooner to suppress *Lewis* by this means, then by a Parliament. *Lewis* appears: he receiues all complaints against himselfe, and yeelds to the censure of the Prelates, which was to retire himselfe into a Monastery, there to attend his deuotion, and to resigne the Empire and the Realme to his children. This was put in execution. *Lewis* was conueied to Soissons, to the Monastery of Saint *Medard*: his wife and son were confined to other places, and the whole government committed to *Lothaire* and his brethren. Thus *Lewis*, so much addicted to Church-men, as he purchased the name of deuout, was illintreated by them, and receiued a poore recompence for his so humble submission. The name of a Councell, (venerable of it selfe) did at the first retaine men, supposing that this Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction did not extend but to admonition: but seeing this tragical attempt of the children against the father, there was no good man but stood amazed at this presumption, and pitied their poore King, being brought to such calamity. But all power remained in the hands of the rebellious children, and the greatest of the Church were guilty of this outrage, seeking to maintaine their decree. Thus this poore Prince (to the generall griefe of his subjects) continued in prison five yeares: for he entered in the yeare 829, and came forth in the yeare 834. But this deliuey was the beginning of a new confusion. For *Lothaire* hauing bene forced to yeeld vnto his father, goes to field, takes him prisoner againe, and leads him to the Couent at Soissons, where he stayed not long, for the French did bandy openly against *Lothaire*, and his brethren did abandon him, so as he was forced to yeeld vnto his father, and to craue pardon. This miserable King, thus led for a long time, giues portions to his children. To *Lothaire* he leaues the Realme of Austrasia, from the riuer of Meuse vnto Hungary, with the title of Emperour; to *Lewis*, Bauaria; and to *Charles*, France; *Pepin* enioyed Guienne without contradiction.

*Lewis* (not content with Bauaria) quarrels againe with his father, and (to force him to giue him a better portion) he leaues an army and passeth the Rhine. The miserable father, although tired with so many indignities, yet transported with choller against his son, goes to field with an army: but age and griefe deprived him of meanes to chastise him: for he fell deadly sicke, which made him leaue this world, to finde rest in heauen. D This was in the yeare of Grace, 840. of his age sixty foure, and of his Empire the twenty seauenth. He left three sons, *Lothaire* and *Lewis* of the first bed, and *Charles* of the second, these two first children did much afflicte the father and themselves, and all were plunged in bloody diffentions, the which, order doth now command vs to represent particularly.

*The Estate of Lewis his children, presently after his death.*

*LOTHAIRE* as the eldest, and Emperour by his fathers testament, would prescribe Lawes to his brethren, and force them to a new diuision. As he had exceeded against his father in taking him twice prisoner, and stripping him before he went to bed, so he sought to frustrate his will, as made against the right of the elder and the Imperiall dignity, the Realme of France belonging to the eldest, and the goodliest territories of the Empire to the Emperour. Thus he quarrelled with *Charles* King of France, and with *Lewis*, who had his part in the inheritances of the Empire, in Bauaria the dependances of the Realme of Bourgondy, (that is to say, Prouence and Dauphine) and in Italy. This was the leuaine of these tragical diffentions amongst the brethren (as *Nitard* a writer of approved credit, learned, and a Prince, (for he was sonne to *Angilbert*, the son of *Berthe*, daughter to *Charlemagne*, and employed to compound these quarrels) doth particularly describe.) Behold the direction to a longer discourse, whereof I owe but an abridgment, noted with the principall circumstances. *Lothaire* then armed with authority, force, F licie, policy, and boldnesse, thinks to giue his brethren their portions: and there were great presumptions he should preuaile, ioyning his force with the intelligences he had in the dominions of *Charles* and *Lewis*.

This common interest to defend themselves against a common enemy, made them to ioyne together, resolute for their generall preservation. *Lothaire* seeks by secret treaties to diuide them, but not able to make any breach in their vnion, he prepares force and policie. *Lewis* was in Bauaria, of whom he kept good guard that he should not passe the

Abuse in the Clergy.

*Lewis* imprisoned by his Children.

He is forced to giue them portions.

He dies.

Diffentions among the brethren, and the cause.

879

859

A the Rhine, to ioyne with his brother: he likewise leaues an army to surpris *Charles* in France. This preparation of warre did awake the vnited brethren, who assembe their Forces, and ioyne notwithstanding all *Lothaires* oppositions. *Lothaires* Army was at Auxerre, meaning to passe into the heart of France. The vnited brethren (hauing assembled their forces neere vnto Paris, Saint Denis and Saint Germaine) approach, to haue a better meanes either to treat with him, or to encounter him. First with great humility, they offer to performe what should bee held reasonable, beseeching him to remember the condition of brethren, the holy peace of the Church, and the quiet of Gods people: suffering them to inioy what their father had bequeathed, or else they would diuide B France equally, and he should choose what part hee pleased. *Lothaire* refusing nothing flatly, fed them with delays, expecting Forces out of Guienne, led by *Pepin*, and in the meane time he diuided the Cities by his practices, meaning to assaile his brethren both within and without, and to surpris them by authority and force, as he had done hitherto fore his poore father, presuming of the like meanes.

But the subtilly was taken in his owne snare, for as *Lothaire* (finding himselfe the stronger) refused these conditions of peace, saying openly this, his brethren would neuer be wife vntill he had corrected them: behold the Armies lying neere to Fontenay (after these vaine parles, of peace) *Lewis* and *Charles* charge *Lothaires* Army (already a Conquerour in conceit) with such aduantage, as hee was not onely put to rout, but also overthrowed with a notable slaughter, noted vnto this day, by the place where the battell was fought, the which for this occasion is called *Chaplay*, and the straight is called by the victors name, the valley of *Charles*, to continue the memory of so bloody a victory; where euen the conquerours had cause to weepe, hauing shed their owne blood, although forced to fight.

It is not now that France begins to be indiscreet, banding against it selfe, and digging in her owne bowels, by these domestike and vnciuill diffentions. *Lothaire* after this defeat changed his humor with his estate, for hardly could he retire with his shame to saue his dominions. He enioyed the titulary maske of the Empire with Austrasia, yet very much curtailed and diuided to his three sonnes, *Lewis*, *Charles*, and *Lothaire*. Of these D great inheritances, there remains nothing cleere but Lorraine, of the name of *Lothaire*. And so the great discourses of him whom the whole earth could not satisfie, without raking from father, and brethren, were buried in a Cloister: for *Lothaire* (hauing remorse of conscience for attempting against his father and brethren, and to beare rule) lost the honor he had fought with such eagernes, and (to suffer the paines he had inflicted vpon his father) hee professeth himselfe a Monke in the Abbie of Pluuiers, and dies a Monke in the yeare 855, taking on him the frocke, and being shauen, as the ciuill death of a King or Prince of the blood Royall, according to the French opinion, which continues vnto this day, for note of the greatest paine they could suffer that were borne in this authority, to be shauen and made Monkes, and to change the crowne of France into a Monkes E crowne, dead to the world.

This was the Catastrophe and end of this turbulent Prince, by the iust iudgement of God, published then in the greatest assemblies, and made knowne vnto vs by open and publike writings, for a notable testimony and witnesse to all men, That whosoer disobeyes father and mother, deceiues his brethren, troubles the peace of the Church and State, in breaking the sacred lawes of God and Nature, he dismembers himselfe by peccemeale, losing his goods, honour, and quiet, for assured gages of the horrible torments which attend him in the euerslasting prisons, appointed to tame the vntamed, and to make them suffer the infinite paines of their infinit wickednesse.

*Charles* and *Lewis* were well satisfied to haue preuented their brothers designs, without any further pursuit of their victory. They seek to confirme true concord by the settling of their Estates. Hauing stayed sometime vpon the place where the battell was fought; buried the dead; released prisoners, and proclaimed a generall pardon to all that would follow their armes: they call the Bishops, to take their aduice vpon occurrences, who being solemnly assembled they exhorte them vnto concord, laying plainly before them the iust iudgement of God against their brother *Lothaire*, lest they should draw the people againe into these extremities by their diffentions. The brethren (beseeching their good aduice) part good friends: but when as *Lothaire* sought to renew the quarrell, they met

*Lothaire* thinking to surpris his brethren, is surprised and defeated.

*Lothaire* dies a Monke.

An accord betwixt *Charles* and *Lewis*.

826

met againe: yet this striving was in vaine: they assemble in the City of Strasbourg A (then belonging to this Crowne) and there make a solemne alliance for them and their subjects, to live together in peace and concord. The forme is double, one in the Romane tongue, the other in Dutch, that is to say, in the Germane. As for the Romane, it seemes to be that of Languedoc and Prouence, by the language; although there be some words which are not at this day in vfe with vs, as the reader (curious of this antiquity) may see in their proper places, excusing my style which suffers me not to dilate any further, but only to note what may be found in the originals, touching this subiect.

This alliance made, they come to the diuiding of their parts: and to this end they appoint twelue deputies, (whereof *Nitard* sayes he was one) who without respect of fertility B or quantity, regard that onely which was most conuenient, for the needfull and commodity of their States. I know this partition is diuersly set downe by many: and who sees not in fo obscure antiquity, that it is impossible to make a true designation, seeing that in small successions there is so great diuersity? But in all this variety of opinions, it remains for certain, that *Charles* the onely sonne of the second bed, (who had bene so much persecuted by the children of the first wife,) remained sole King of France: that the territories of the Empire were much decayed, nothing remaining in effect, but the name of those which lie on this side the Rhine, especially in the dependances of the Realme of Bourgongne, as Dauphine and Prouence. Dauphine doth yet cary the ancient name of the Empire, in respect of the riuer of Roisne which doth separate it from Viuzretz, a Country opposite, called by an expresse name the Realme, as also for this cause *Charles* was called by expresse words in the designation of his portion, King of France, it confines at the one end with Lionnois, at the other with Vzege, which extends frō Pont Saint Elpirt, to Ville-neuve of Aignion, along the Roisne, all the said limits (being of his portion) bee called by a particular name the Realme, vnto this day, especially in their leafes, which retainne more plainly the traces of the ancient tongue.

An obseruation which I ought vnto my Country, for the which I keepe a rank in the Theater whereon I meane to represent the Estate of our goodly Prouinces of Gaule Nar- bonnoise, in old time honored with the name of a second Italy, and at this day so grossly vnkowne to strangers, as in the Theater of the world they leaue a blank for it, like to the deserts of Africke, although it yeelds not to any Prouince of this great and goodly Kingdome whereof it is one of the chiefe parts, and worthiest members. So Dauphine and Prouence were left to *Lewis* in his partage, for the commodity of Italy, the which was given him, notwithstanding the pretensions of *Bernards* children.

But *Lewis* enioyed not long these great possessions, for the which hee had so much troubled his poore father, his miserable subjects and himselfe: for hee died soone after, without any issue male, leaving one onely daughter called *Hermingrade*, heire of all his great Estates.

Behold the last rebellious sonne of the father, and one of his scourges, dead without any great memory, the which was likewise extinguished in his daughter and in the diuers changes happened in these Estates. Thus the children impatient to see their poore father lue, died after many fruitlesse toiles, the one in a Monastery, the other without heire to cary his name, although the imagination of a famous Race, and of an extraordinary reigne, had made them forget the holy lawes of Nature against their father. *Charles* and *Lewis* had made profession of more then brotherly loue, as their familiarities carefully obserued by *Nitard*, in eating, lying, and playing together, doe testifie, leaving to the wife reader to iudge, how vncertaine the loue of brethren is, when as couetousnesse and ambition creeps into their counsels. *Charles* married his Neece *Hermingrade*, daughter to his brother *Lewis*, to *Boson* Earle of Ardennes, brother to his wife *Richilde*. His colour was to match his Neece with a Prince of a good house, and of more vertue, and thereby to bind *Boson* vnto him, but his intent was other, as we shall hereafter see, *Boson* rooke possession of the Countries belonging to his wife as her dowry, and calls himselfe King of Arles. A point very remarkable, to vnfold many difficulties that shall follow in the foresaid Countries, and especially in Prouence, where many changes haue happened, the which we will endeavour to represent in their proper places. This was the Estate of the heires of great *Charlemagne*, but his posterity did worke: where the most famous memory of our Kings shall be noted by their vices, either of body or minde,

The portions  
of *Charles* and  
*Lewis*.

*Lewis* dies.

*Hermingrade*  
daughter to *Lewis*  
was married to  
*Boson* King of  
Arles.

847

A minde, one being called the Stuttering, another the Bald, the Simple, the Cruell, the Barren, with other noyes of disgrace, to shew as it were, in a goodly table, that all the greatnes of this world, is but meere vanity.

## CHARLES surnamed the Bald, Sonne to L E V V I S the Gentle,

### The 26. King, and Emperour.



*CHARLES* called the Bald, King of France, began to reigne in the years 841. and reigned thirty yeares. He caused himselfe to be proclaimed Emperour after the death of *Lewis*, who suruiued *Lothaire*, without contradiction. The greatest part of his reigne passed in the confusions before mentioned; or in the hatred and dissensions of brethren, or in combusions, and open warre. But why should I encrease mine owne trouble and the readers griefe with the report of these particularities, vnworthy of brethren, and worthy of eternal forgetfulness?

A reigne of small fame, but only to note the confusion from whence sprang the first occasion of the fall of this Race: a King of small merit, hauing performed nothing praiseworthy, for in that wherein he desired to win the reputation of doing well, he did exceeding ill. His greatest ambition was to seeme a good vncle to the only daughter of his brother *Lewis*, with whom he had made so strict a league of loue. Hee married her to *Boson*, as I haue said: but the euents shew that he married her with an intent to gouerne her inheritance at his pleasure. Being proclaimed Emperour, he leauies a great and mighty Army, and goes in person into Italy. His pretext was to suppress the Dukes of Spolterum and Beneuent, who sought to free themselves from the subiection of the Empire, and to become Souereignes: but his intent was to seize vpon the strong places in Italy, and so by consequence, of that which belonged to his Neece *Hermingrade*. But *Boson* her husband discovering her vnles intent, preuented him, ioyning with the Dukes, and fortifying the Cities of Italy with all expedition, as his wifes inheritance: & then he aduertised *Charles* entring into the Country, that it was needlesse for him to passe any farther, and to put Italy to vnnecessary charges, seeing that he himselfe could guard it sufficiently, and the foresaid Dukes did submit themselves to reason. But being easie to iudge that *Charles* hauing an army in field, and a resolute designe, would not retire without constraint, *Boson* makes factions in France, in the heart of his Estate, to diuert him. An easie matter, both for their discontent against him, and the misery of that age, nourished in the liberty of vacuill warres. This occasion drew *Charles* from this vnusd designe, for at the first brute of rebellion, he turnes head towards France, but there chanced more to him then he expected, for he not onely left his Necesses patrimony, but his owne life in Italy, with a notable instruction, not to lose this life for the desire of another mans goods: Thus died *Charles* the Bald at Mantua, the year 879 leaving the Realme to his sonne *Lewis*, the which he fought to augment with anothers right.

A confused and  
unhappy reign.

*Charles* seeks  
to deuiue his  
Neece.

*Charles* dis-  
tracted from the  
war of Italy.

Where he dies.

F

This last full of blunders  
879 CE died  
847

## LEVVIS the Second, called the Stuttering,

## The 27. King, and Emperour.



**L**ewis reigned only two yeares, and succeeded his father likewise in the Empire, but not without opposition, for the Princes of Italy fought to be Soderaignes, and the Germanes (bearing impatiently the forepassed confusions) desired to restore the beaury of the Imperiall dignity, being greatly decayed in Italy, by such as held the lands of the Empire. They spared not the Pope himselfe, who by little and little, vsurped the Imperiall rights in Italy. These complaints being made to *Lewis* the Emperour, *John* the third Pope of Rome came into France to redresse that which concerned the

Sea of Rome. He was courteously receiued by the King, stayed in France a whole yeare, and there held a Councell at Troies in Campagne.

The reigne of *Lewis* was very short. The Pope was scarce gone, but he was lodged in the bed of death. He had no lawfull children but two bastards, *Lewis* and *Caroleman* both men growne, whereof the one was already married to the daughter of *Boson* King of Arles. His wife was with child. In the doubtfullnesse of the fruit which should be borne, he must provide a Regent to gouerne the Realme, if it were a sonne. And although *Lewis* loued his two bastards dearly, yet would he not haue them Regents, but made choise of *Eudes* or *Odon* Duke (that is to say, gouernour) of Angers, the sonne of *Robert* of the race of *Wichind* of Saxony (of whom we haue before made mention) to be Regent of the Realme, and experience taught, that his iudgement was good. Thus *Lewis* died, hauing left nothing memorable but a sonne: wherein I obserue three notable thing, *The efficacy of the Law of State*, preferring the right of the lawfull heire nor yet borne: *The minority of a King*, subiect to many confusions & miseries: and the liberty of *great men* in the weaknesse of a young Prince, who shew boldly in a troubled streame. In this reigne happened the Eclipse of the Empire. The first checke giuen to this second Race, was by a league, which dying in shew, made the King to die in effect, and in the end caried away the Crowne, burying both the King and all his Race in one tombe. This History is very obscure, by reason of the Regents which are numbred among the Kings, during the minority of the lawfull heire: and therefore good directions are needfull in so confused a labyrinth of diuers reignes. Behold therefore the simple and plaine truth.

*Lewis* the Stuttering being dead, the Parliament assembled to resolue for the gouernment of the Realme, vntill that God should send the Queene a happy deliuey: and if it were a sonne, appoint who should be Gouernour to the King and Regent of the Realme vntill he came to the age of gouernment. There was no Prince that made any question to the Infants title that was to be borne: or that sought to take the aduantage of the time to aduance himselfe vnder colour of proximity of blood: but it was concluded by common consent, they should carefully preferre the Queenes wombe, vntill her deliuey. The Kings will was plaine, for he called *Eudes* (as we haue said) to be Gouernour to his child vnborne, and Regent of the Realme: but *Lewis* and *Caroleman*, bastards of France, had so laboured for voyces, as they preuailed against this Testamentary decree, and were chosen Regents by the Estates, who for confirmation of this authority, decreed they should be crowned, yet with a profitable exception for the pupils interest, the lawfull heire of the Crowne.

A dangerous proceeding, making seruants taste the sweetnesse of Souereign command, which made the way to horrible confusion, and multiplying the authority of many masters, did greatly preiudice the lawfull heire, the which may not (without extreme danger) be imparted but to one only. The Queene was happily deliuered of a sonne, the which was saluted King, and was called *Charles*, of whom we shall speake hereafter. The day of his birth was the 12. of December, in the yeare 881: But wee must now passe two and twenty yeares full of troubles, before our pupil come to age, so to march safely in so obscure a labyrinth, we must distinctly note the diuers parcels of this interregne.

The

*Lewis* leaves his wife with child.

The Estates honour the Queenes wombe.

Regents crowned as Kings.

A dangerous course.

*Charles* borne after his fathers death.

## The Minoritie of CHARLES, called the Simple,

*The which continued 22. yeares vnder 4. Regents whom they call Kings.*

**L**ewis and *Caroleman*, Brothers, the Bastards of *Lewis* the Stuttering, choosen by the States, reigned two yeares or thereabouts, to whom they adde *Lewis* the Idle, the sonne of *Caroleman*, but he is not numbred among the Kings.

**B** *Charles* the Grosse reigned nine yeares. *Eudes* or *Odon*, cleuen yeares.

*Behold the 22. yeares of this minority.*

## The 28. Reigne vnder LEVVIS and CAROLOMAN.



**T**hey talke diuersly of these Kings, who indeed were no lawfull Kings, but guides to a lawfull King. A confused and obscure age, which hath left such famous persons in doubt. But we may lay in their excuse, that men being weary of these confusions, haue willingly left them doubtfull, to hide the infamy of their times, or else no man durst let Pen to Paper, to represent the shameful courses of those miseries.

*Lewis* and *Caroleman* tooke either of them a part to gouerne: *Lewis* the Country on the other side of Loire; and *Caroleman* that on this side. They had the Normans, and *Boson* King of Arles for common enemies, and as continuall thornes on their sides, in diuers places and vpon diuers occurrents: for the ending whereof, they besiege *Boson* in Vienne, and resolute to take it: but presently the Normans, come to his succour. *Caroleman* continues the siege, and *Lewis* goes to encounter the Normans. But oh the vanity of humane conceptions! The Regents are frustrate of their hopes, for *Lewis* loseth his Army, and afterwards his life, through grieve of his defeat. *Caroleman* on the other side takes Vienne, but not *Boson*: who saues himselfe in the Mountaines of Viuauez. And contrariwise, he that hoped to haue his greatest enemy in his power, was surprised by death vnlooked for, and extraordinary, hauing ended his siege and become sole Regent by the death of his brother. But the manner of his death is diuersly obserued: some write, that running in left after a gentlewoman, he was cruelt vnder a gate, which his horse had violently caried him. Others say, that he was slaine by a boare, going a hunting: or that being at the chase, he fell downe and brake his necke. But all this notes, that the manner of his death was violent and extraordinary. So the Regency of these two bastards, gotten by sute against the law, was both short and vnfortunate.

*Lewis* succeeded to these two brethren. Men dispute with much vncertainty what he was to *Caroleman*, either brother or sonne, but all agree he was an idle person. It is likely he was the nearest kinsman. Hauing seized on the authority after the death of these two Regents, but in effect the French had the power in their owne hands; it changed as they were ready to free themselves of this *Lewis*, that he died, and so they called *Charles* the Grosse, King of Bauaria, first Prince of the blood, to this great dignity.

CHARLES

*Lewis* defeated by the Normans, and dies for grieve.

*Caroleman* dies of a violent death.



# CHARLES, called the Grösse, or Great, The 29. King, and Emperour.

An example from a tragick change to a worthy person.



CHARLES called the Grösse, began to reigne the year 885. and reigned nine yeares. His entrance was goodly, but his end tragically foule. Hee was installed in the Regency with the same ceremonies that the other two forenamed, for hee was crowned King, with promise to restore the Crowne to the lawfull Heire, and to gouerne according to the will of the States. He was sonne to Lewis called Germanicus, sonne to Lewis the Gentle, as wee haue said. This needesse of blood gaue him an interest, and the Imperiall dignity, power, and meanes to gouerne the Realme well. So the eyes of the French were fixed on him, as the man which should restore their decayed Estate, after so many disorders and confusions. His entrance was reasonable happy (as at the first euery thing seemes goodly) being respected of all his subiects. He went into Italy, and expelled the Sarazins which threatened Rome, but being returned into France, he found a new maske, for the Normans (a Northern people, gathered together not onely from Denmarke, but also from Sweden and other neighbour Countries, as the word of Norman doth shew, signifying men of the North) were dispersed in diuers parts vpon the sea coast of the Realme of France: and had chiefly set footing in the Countries of Arthois, Therouenne, and other, Countries, and in Neustria one of his greatest and neerest Prouinces, taking their opportunity by the troubles so long continued among the brethren.

Charles marcheth with his Army against them, but at the first encounter hee was beaten. This checke (although the losse were small) stricke a great terror, and in the end caused an apparent impossibility, to recouer that Prouince from so great Forces: so as hee was aduised to enter into treaty with them, and to make them of enemies friends, leauing them that which he could not take from them. The which hee did absolutely of his owne authority, (being very great, vnited in these two dignities) without the priuity of his Estates. So Charles yeelded Neustria to the Normans, vpon condition they should doe homage to the Crowne of France. Then gaue they their name to the Country which they had conquered, ratified by this solemne title, and called it Normandy. He likewise lost Friseland, and gaue Gisela in mariage (being the daughter of Lothaire his cousin) to Sigefrid or Ieffroy one of the chiefe of the Normans, thinking thereby to stop this storme. But thereby hee wrought his owne ruine, for this grant was found so exceeding strange, as the French, not only grieved that the Regent had done it without their aduice, but also that (in yeelding this goodly Country to the Normans) he had dismembred the inheritance of the Crowne, which is inalienable by the law of State. And although necessity might inferre some consideration for Charles his excuse, yet the French for this respect conceiued to great a hatred against him, as they could not rest vntill they had degraded him. And as one mischiefe neuer comes alone, Charles finding himselfe thus disdained, fell sicke. This corporall sicknesse was accompanied with a disemperature of the minde, farre more dangerous, by an extreme ielousie he had conceiued against his Queene Richarda, daughter to the King of Scots, suspecting her to haue beene too prodigall of her honour. These two infirmities of body and minde, made Charles altogether vnfit for his charge, which consilts more in action then in contemplatiue authority, and in a season when as occasions were ministred of all sides. This difficulty and disability to serue effectually in the Regencie of the Realme and Empire vnited in one person, of whom all men expected much, and the discontent of the ill gouernment which the French & Germanes (depending of this Crowne) pretended, in quitting Normandy, made both the one and the other, to enter into strange alterations against Charles. At the first his great authority kept the boldest in awe, and his sicknesse did excuse him: but after some yeares patience, the French & Germanes by a common consent resolved to dispossesse Charles, and to call a more sufficient to the place, euery one according to the limits of his Country.

Great hopes  
of Charles his  
good gouern-  
ment.

Neustria now  
called Nor-  
mandy.  
Charles de-  
feated by the  
Normans,  
yeelded to a pre-  
iudiciall peace.  
Charles ex-  
tremely hated.

A try. The Germanes made choise for their Emperour, of Arnoul sonne to Caroleman, the sonne of Lewis the Gentle, retaining the respect they bare to the blood and memory of Charlemagne. Thus the Eclipse of the Empire chanced not altogether, but this change was the first motiue to alter the Imperiall dignity, whereof afterwards was framed an Estate in Germany, vnder the title of an Emperour, as we shall see. The French likewise reiect this miserable Charles, from the regency of the Realme, and call Eudes or Odon Duke of Angers named by the will of Lewis the Stuttering.

So this poore Prince is dispossessed of all his Estates, and abandoned by euery man, reiected both from Realme and Empire, hauing so ill provided for himselfe in time of prosperity, as he remained naked without an house, where to shroud himselfe from the disgrace of this shipwracke: being banished from his Court, and driuen into a poore Village of Sueuia, where he liued some daies in extreme want, without any meanes of his owne, or reliefe from any man, in the end he died, neither pitied nor lamented of any, in a corner, vnknown, but to haue been the Theater of so extraordinary a Tragedy. That one of the greatest Monarches of the world, should die without house, without bread, without honor, without mourning, and without memory, but the note of this end, so prodigiously memorabile. A notable patterne of the vanity of this world, in diuers circumstances: In Charles, in the people, and in the Chastisement. In Charles, to learne by this example, to cary themselves wisely, both in prosperity and aduersity. He wanted no iudgement, and had abundance of wealth: but he was neither temperate nor wise in his abundance, in the which the actions of his life shew him to haue beene Impertious and indifferet, purchasing enemies, in contemning those that had raised him to those dignities, hauing been too confident in himselfe, and carelesse of the condition of mans life: and from this extremity he fell into another, in the time of his greatest afflictions, suffering himselfe to be caried away in the current of melancholy, and his soule to be swallowed vp in despair. In the people, who worship him in the beginning, whom they deuoure in the end, and with an inexcusable malice, tread vnder foot the afflicted: and without due consideration of the true cause of affliction, they esteeme no crime greater then affliction it selfe, whereon they should haue pity, and detest the vice, the which they couer with the cloake of prosperity.

D But from Charles, the People, and the Rodde, let vs ascend to him that holds it, which is God, and learne to depend on him, both in wealth & woe, not trusting in our felues when we abound, nor distrust in him, when we are in greatest extreames: the which he can easily releue. Doubtlesse greatnesse commeth neither from the East, nor from the West. God raiseth one, and pulleth downe another, that weighing duely the vncertainty of this life, and profiting by the example of others, we may learne not to be wise vnto our felues, but to stop our mouthes, and open our eares and eyes, to see what God doth, and heare what he saith, seeking the true remedies of consolation, in him that neuer failes the afflicted which flee vnto him. So, that great King and Prophet banished from him house, said, *I haue held my peace, for thou hast done it,* and *The Lord is iust in all his waies.* A most reasonable warrant of Iustice, and excellent fruits of afflictions. Such was the entry and end of Charles the Grösse, at the first a King and Emperour, and in the end lesse then his most miserable subiect. After him Eudes came in place, thrust forward by them that had reiecte Charles the Grösse.

Charles dejected  
from the Em-  
pire & Realme.

Charles dies  
poorly in a vil-  
lage.

The fruit of  
this memorabile  
example.

## EYDES, or O DON, named Regent by LEVVIS the Second, called the Stuttering, and receiued by the Estates: The 30. King of France.



Behold Eudes at last, who should haue beene in the beginning. He began to reigne, or rather to be Regent; the year 894. and reigned eight yeares and some months, but not without difficulties. For the order of the history, we must carefully observe his race, which in the end shall game the highest place. We haue made mention of Wid-  
child of Saxony, one of the most famous personages of his time. Being greatly fauoured by Charlemagne, hee sent a sonne of his into France,

the sonne of  
Wid-child  
the Race of  
Eudes, from  
whence sprung  
Hugh Capet.

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Duke & Earle,  
buriedes of  
Officers.

France, named *Robert* or *Rupert*, who had great dignities. This *Robert* had two sonnes, *A Eudes* and *Robert*, who shall soone minister matter to talke of his life. This last *Robert* was father to *Hugh* the great, and he father to *Hugh Capet*, who in the end shall fit in the Royall throne: wee shall see by what degrees and meanes. But to vnfold many difficulti which appeare in the reading of this History, and in the diuersity of titles giuen those that are descended of *Eudes* Race, wee must obserue, that the name of Earle and Duke, were titles of government, and not of inheritance, and that their governments were temporary, so as one and the same man (being possessed of diuers governments at diuers times) doth cary in diuers respects the title of Duke, and Earle of those Prouinces, whereof he hath bene gouernour: the which was usually for a yeare, or for three. So as wee finde in this house, Dukes of Angers, Paris, Guienne, and Bourgongne, according to their commands.

Eudes malignent  
in his Regency.

*Eudes* undertooke the government of the Realme, according to the decree of the Estates, when it had most need of a good Pilot. He was held to bee a good and a wise man, yet could he not please all the French that had called him to the Regency. They complained that *Eudes* was well pleased to rule and to keepe the King in awe, being no more a childe: and after so bad government of the former Regents, such as sought to be partakers of the authority vnder the yong King, did vehemently insit against *Eudes*, to haue him leaue the government of the Realme: but necessity did contradict it, not permitting him to abandon the helme in these tempests. In the end (after many clamors) *Eudes* authority is limited to the government.

France full of  
seditions.

Eight yeares passed in these contentions, but now the seed of inuolution was in the heart of the State, the liberty of priuate men hauing cast away all respect: all the members of the body were sicke, and the souereigne authority shaken by a generall disorder, which in the end changed by degrees: Italy wauered, Germany was quite fallen away, as I haue said: and France was greatly troubled with diuers factions, amongst the which the Kings part was reckoned the greater: but experience shewed, it was the weakest, for *Eudes* kept them in awe. The King who had the greatest interest, thought least thereon, being ill aduised by them who sought to abuse his simple and tractable disposition, and to aduance themselves by his ruine. Hee solicited: *Eudes* in such sort as in the end hee strips himselfe of all authority, and resignes it into the Kings hands, who knows neither how to manage it, nor how to auoid his owne misfortune, the which *Eudes* prevented whilst hee liued. It was not long before his death, that hee resigned all his authority of Regent vnto *Charles* as the lawfull heire, the which hee could not long keepe when he was in possession thereof, according to his souereigne desire.

## CHARLES the third, called the Simple, The 31. King of France.



A memorable  
league of King  
Charles the 3.

He was crowned in the yeare 902. *Eudes* gouerning with him eight yeares from his coronation, *Charles* remaining alone after the death of his Regent in the yeare 902. reigned seuen & twenty yeares. His reigne was miserable both in the beginning, midit and ending. He ratified the accord made with the Normans, by *Charles* the Grosse, and sealed it with the marriage of his Sister *Giler* with *Raoul* *Raoul* (he is also called *Rhoulon*) their chiefe Commander, who haue left the Pagan superstition, and embraced Christian Religion, purchased a great priuilege in that Country, whereof he was first called Duke. But the Normans first causing a more violent fire is kindled by confusion. All brookes forth: A league made against the King, disaues it selfe, and takes Armes without shame or respect, but being the breeding of the change of this second Race, wee must obserue it very distinctly, and take note of the motives thereof.

906

## A The League of ROBERT brother to Eudes, Against King Charles the Simple: the first stepping the change of this second Race.

The which lay smothered fifty and three yeare before it was fully discovered,  
vnder Hugh Capet, from the yeare 923. to 976.



*ROBERT* Duke of Aniou, that is to say, Gouernor by the death of his brother *Eudes*, becomes the head of this league, accompanied by many great men of France. The euent shewes that their intent was to reiect *Charles* the Simple, as vnworthy to reigne, and to choise a new King: I doubt not but *Robert* affected the Crowne for himselfe: but it is very likely that hee couered this his designe with some goodly pretext. The writers of that obscure age haue concealed the motives, but as by the effects wee know the cause, so by the euent of this league when it was strongest, wee may iudge of the intent.

The motive of  
this League.

They aduanced a Prince of the blood for King, causing *Charles* to quit the Crowne, disgracing him with the name of simple or foolish, and declaring him incapable of so great a charge. Who seeth not then the reason, that during the minority of *Charles* the simple, the diuersity of matters had bred infinit confusions in the State, and that since his coronation, things were nothing repaired, although *Eudes* had resigned him the Regency. They pretend it was necessary to furnish the Realme with a more worthy Prince, who might giue an end to these miseries. But that which chiefly moued the vnderakers, was their priuate interest, the which they cloaked with the good of the Common-weale. The humors of this insufficient king offended many, too milde to some, too seuer to others, and ingratefull to such as had best serued him.

Charles per  
the crowne.

The commentary which hath bene added to the text of the Original is not likely, that *Robert* as brother to *Eudes* pretended the Crowne, as heire vnto his brother, being lawfully chozen by the States. But whereunto tends all this? *Eudes* had left no suspicion to pretend any interest vnto the crowne, hauing bene Regent after others, and inioying it but by sufferance, resigning it willingly, or by constraint, vnto the lawfull heire. Truly the French mens careful keeping of their Queens wombe: their acknowledging the child borne after the fathers death for king: their choosing of Regents: their placing and displacing of one and the same Regent, doe plainly shew both the efficacy of the law, and the resolute possession of the French, the which they yielded not easily to a man with so weake a title. What then? I should rather thinke that the peoples complaint, tyred with so long calamities, was their colour to furnish the Realme with a more wise and profitable guide, & that they sought a Prince, (as in the end they tooke *Raoul* King of Bourgongne, the first Prince of that blood) of which league *Robert* was the ring-leader, as the first in dignity and most valiant in resolution, or the most rash in so dangerous an enterprise. The memory of his brothers wife and peaceable gouernment, and his owne valour, opposit to the foolish and base disposition of *Charles*, blest with this name of simple, (for his folly and contemptible humors) gaue a great lustre to this enterprise, with those great intelligences he had within the Realme, and namely with the Normans his confident friends.

Robert the head  
of the league  
and in manner  
of a king.

With this assurance he armes boldly against *Charles*, promising himselfe an vndoubted victory, by the valour of his men, and the baseness of his enemy. *Charles* the Simple awakes at this strange reuolt, and (distrusting his own subiects, whom hee sees risen in armes, to dispossesse him of his Estate) hee flies to *Henry* the third Emperour, and prepares all he can to calme so great a storme. As their armes approach, *Robert* (to haue some title to make warre) causeth himselfe to be crowned King at Rheims, by *Henry* the Archbishop, who died three daies after this vnlawfull Coronation. The opinions are diuers: but for my part, I do not hold that *Robert* caused himselfe to be crowned, with a better title than his brother *Eudes*, who was neither crowned, nor reigned as King, but as Regent. But all the French complained, that they needed a better King then *Charles* the Simple, who would lose the crowne, if it were not foreseene.

Robert caused  
himselfe to be  
crowned King.

He had already ratified the folly of *Charles* the Grosse, in continuing the vsurpation of

923

The error of King Charles.

of Neustria to the Normans, who with the Kings consent were seized thereon, with the title of lawful possession: and moreover they were much incensed, that he had put himself into the protection of the Emperor *Henry*, to give him a cause to invade himselfe King of France, as of late dayes the Germanes had enfranchised themselves from the French Monarchy, by the division of brethren which had reigned, and the minority of *Charles* who then commanded. This ielousie inflamed the hearts both of the one, and the other, and seued *Robert* for a hew, meaning to fill in a troubled water.

Now they are in Armes. Reason and respect of the common good fights for *Robert*. The same reason ioynd with the royall authority, armes for *Charles* against these new designs. But God, (who guides the least moment of our liues, watcheth mightily for the preservation of mankind, and disposeth of Kingdomes by his wisdom) had limited this audacious attempt, reseruing the change to another season, and yet for the same Race of *Robert*. Even so, the death of him that had crowned *Robert*, was a foretelling of his owne. The armies lodge in the heart of France, neere vnto the great City of Paris, the seizing whereof was a maine point of State: but see what happens, he that thought to vanquish, is vanquished. As the armies approach neer to Soissons, striuing in the view of Paris) who should do best, they ioyne. The combat is very cruell: but *Robert* fighting in the front is slaine, leaving for that time the victory to *Charles* the Simple: and a son in his house that shal reuiue his designe in his posterity, that is *Hughes* the Great, father to *Hugh Capet*.

Robert defeated and slaine by Charles.

The death of *Robert* did not daunt his Army, but it continued firme vnder the command of *Hebert*, Earle of Vermandois, son in law to *Robert*. And *Charles* did so ill manage his victory, as it became a trap for his owne ruine: for seeing these Forces to stand firme, he seeks a treaty of peace with an vnseasonable feare. *Hebert* embraceth this occasion, beseecheth *Charles* to come to Saint Quintens, to confer together. *Charles* (simple indeed) comes thither without hostages. *Hebert* hauing him in his power, takes him prisoner: and letting him vnderstand the will of the French, to haue the Realme gouerned by a more sufficient man then himselfe, he resolues to assemble the Estates of the Realme to that end, conueyes him to Chateau-Thierry, and from thence to Soissons, where he had assembled the chiefe of the Realme, chosen after his owne humour: where he makes him to resigne the Crowne to *Raoul* his god-sonne, the first Prince of the blood, by his mother *Hermingrade*, daughter to *Lewis*, and wife of *Boson*, King of Bourgongne.

Charles taken prisoner by Hebert.

So this poore Prince is led from prison to prison, (for the space of five yeares, yet numbred in his reign) and after he had renounced his right, he payed Nature her due, oppressed with griefe, and dying of a languishing melancholy, to see himselfe so ignominiously intreated by that audacious affront, done by the trecherie of his owne vassall.

Charles dies.

He had to wife *Ogins* the daughter of *Edward* King of England, a wife and courageous Princeesse: by her he had a son named *Lewis*. This poore Princeesse (seeing her husband prisoner, and foreseeing the end of this Tragedie, by the strange beginning) takes her son *Lewis*, and flies speedily into England, to her brother *Adelstan*, who then reigned, yecding the time, and the violent force of her enemies. Thus *Raoul* was seated in the place of *Charles* the Simple, a Prince of apparent vertue, and so they account him.

Queen Ogina flies into England with her son Lewis.

## RAOVL the 32. King, but in effect an vsurper of the Realme.

Raoul on victory, his reign was victorious.



**R** was proclaimed and crowned King of France at Soissons, in the yeare 923, and reigned about 13. yeares, during *Charles* his imprisonment, and after his death. This reign was painfull and vnfortunate: Normandie, Guienne, Loraine, Italy, were the cause of much fruitlesse labour. He fought to suppress the Normans, and to repaire the errors of *Charles* the Groffe, and *Charles* the Simple, (who were blamed to haue suffered them to take footing in that Country, to the preiudice of the Crowne:) but he prevailed not, nor yet in Loraine, nor Guienne, whither he made voyages, with

77

925

**A** with much brute, and small fruite. From thence he turned his Forces toward Italy, where the State was much troubled, by the decease of *Boson*, and boldnesse of the Commanders: who held the strongest places, playing the Kings, in refusing to acknowledge the Empire, but in name; and in effect, they commanded as Soueraignes, imagining their gouernments to be hereditary for their children. He performed some things worthy of commendation, in suppressing *Berenger* Duke of Friul, who hauing freed himselfe from the Empire, had vanquished *Lewis* the sonne of *Boson*, who enioyed Italy: (as wee haue said) as husband to the daughter of *Lewis* the Gentle. *Raoul* made a quiet end with *Hughes* Earle of Arles, who had gotten possession of that goodly City as Gouernour, seated in a fertile Country, and very conuenient: he suffered him quietly to enioy the City and territories about it, holding it of the Crowne of France.

Thus passed the reign of *Raoul*, without any great profit after so much toyle, and trouble, vnder a colour to do better then the lawful heire, wrongfully dispossessed by him; Leaving no memory but his ambition and iniustice, in a deluge of troubles & confusions, wherein the Realme was plunged after his departure, to the great discontent of all the French. He dyed after all these broyles, in the yeare 936. at Compaigne. An age wonderfull disordered, wherein we may profitably observe by what accidents and meanes great Estates are ruined. Ciuill warres bred the first Symptomes. As order is the health of an Estate, so is disorder the ruine. The seruant hauing tasted the sweetnesse of command, imagines himselfe to be Master, being loth to leave the authority he had in hand, holding it as his owne by testament. In this resolution there is nothing holy, all is violated for rule, all respect is laid aside, every one plays the King within himselfe: For one King there are many, and where there are many Masters, there is none at all. The which we must well observe, to vnfold many difficulties in the History of this confused age, wherein we reade of many Kings, Dukes, Earles, although these titles were but temporary, hauing no other title but the sword, and the confusion of times.

Necessary ob. servations for great Estates

Thus was France altered after the death of *Charles* the Simple, by the practices of *Robert*'s League. There was no gouernour of any Province throughout the Realme, which held not proper to himselfe and his heires that which was given vnto him but as an office.

Confusions of those times.

**D** From hence sprang so many Dukedomes, Earledomes, Baronies, and Seigneuries, the which for the most part are returned to their first beginnings. Italy (given to an Infant of France) was possessed by diuers Princes. Germany (withdrawne from the Crowne) was banded into diuer factions, so as the Empire of the West, confirmed in the person of *Charlemagne*, continued scarce a hundred yeares in his Race: for *Lewis* the fourth, the son of *Arnoul* (of whom we haue spoken) was the last Emperour of this blood. In his place the Germanes elected *Conrade* Duke of East Franchonia, the yeare of grace 920. the Empire being then very weak. After *Conrade*, was chosen *Henry* the Foulle, Duke of Saxony, and after him his son *Otho*, Princes adorned with great and singular vertues, fit for the time to pursue the West: for the East did run head-long to her ruine, so as since *Nicéphorus* (who liued in the time of *Charlemagne*) they did not esteeme them, but held them as abjects in regard of those great Emperours which liued before them, named *Julius*, *Caprotalus*, *Leo Armenien*, *Michel* the Stammering, the two *Theophiles*, *Iader*, *Andron*, *Basil* the Macedonian, *Leo* the Philosopher, *Alexander*, and *Constantine* a Roman, all which had nothing of the Romance but the name. Thus this poore feeble body languished, being torne in peeces by the infamies of these men, either of no valour, or altogether wicked, attending the last blow by the hand of the *Mohemetans*, whose power they fortified by their vicious liues, vntill they had lodged them upon their owne heads.

In France, In Italy and Germany.

Confusion in the East.

**E** phorus (who liued in the time of *Charlemagne*) they did not esteeme them, but held them as abjects in regard of those great Emperours which liued before them, named *Julius*, *Caprotalus*, *Leo Armenien*, *Michel* the Stammering, the two *Theophiles*, *Iader*, *Andron*, *Basil* the Macedonian, *Leo* the Philosopher, *Alexander*, and *Constantine* a Roman, all which had nothing of the Romance but the name. Thus this poore feeble body languished, being torne in peeces by the infamies of these men, either of no valour, or altogether wicked, attending the last blow by the hand of the *Mohemetans*, whose power they fortified by their vicious liues, vntill they had lodged them upon their owne heads.

A notable spectacle of Gods iust judgement, who dishonours them that dishonour him, and expell them from their houses that banish him from their hearts. In these confusions of State, the authority of the Pope increased daily, by the ruines of the Emperours, who thrust himself into credit among Christians by many occurrences. There desired was to build a Monarchy in the Church, by authority, power, Seignuries, ciuill iurisdiction, armies, revenues, & treasure, being growne to the greatest, as afterwards they sought to prescribe lawes to Emperours & Kings, who relating it (and disposing vpon this many) many differences grew among them, and so were dispersed among the poples. The summe of all that shall be discoursed in the future ages in Christendome, wherein we shall view the Ruine of Rome, the Empire & the Kingdoms. The bur of matters of State, which

Confusion in the East.

In the Church.

disruption of the empire into many states

935

In vita Iohannis  
offici.Pope John deli-  
cured of a child  
in the open  
streets.

vnto the subiect and the order of our designe doth mee, to report by degrees so long A  
and so obscure a discourse of those ages plunged in darknesse.

Platina the Popes Secretary, reports a very notable accident, happened at Rome in  
those times, A yong maid loued by a learned man (these are his words) came with him to  
Athens, arrayed like a boy, and there profited so well in knowledge and learning, as be-  
ing come to Rome, there were few equall vnto her in the Scriptures, neither did any one  
exceed her in knowledge: so as she had gotten so great reputation, as after the death of  
Pope Leo, she was created Pope, by a generall consert, and was called Iohn the eight.  
But it chanced, that hauing crept too neere to one of her groomes, she grew with childe,  
the which she did carefully coneeale. But as shee went to the Baslique of Saint Iohn de B  
Lateran, betwixt the Colosses and Saint Clement, shee fell in labour, and was deliuered of  
this stolne birth, in a solemne procession in view of all the people. And in detestation of so  
foule a fact a pillar was erected where this prophane person died.

So without flattering the truth, not the Empire alone went to wracke, but also the  
Realme and the Church, being in those daies full of confusions, in which they fell from  
one mischiefe to another by the barbarous ignorance of all good things, both in the  
State and Church, as the wife and vnpassionate reader may obserue in the continuance of  
the History plainly described. But let vs returne from the Empire and Sea of Rome to  
France. We haue said, that when Charles the Simple was first imprisoned, Queene Ogina  
his wife had caried her sonne Lewis into England to Adelstan the King her brother. Shee C  
had patiently endured all, during the furious reigne of Raoul, the vsurper, while the expe-  
rience of diuers masters did ripen the French mens discontents, to make them wish for  
their lawfull Lord. After this death of Raoul, Adelstan King of England, (hauing drawne  
vnto him William Duke of Normandy, the son of Rhon) sends a very honorable Amba-  
sage to the States of France, intreating them to restore his Nephew Lewis to his lawfull  
and hereditary dignity. The French will it, so as without any difficulty, Lewis the son of  
Charles was called home, by the Estates of France, whither he was accompanied with a  
great troope of Englishmen and Normans, as the shew of a goodly Army, which might  
seeme to force them to that which they willingly yielded vnto.

## LEVVIS: the 4. furnamed from beyond the Seas,

### The three and thirtieth King.

Lewis a disloy-  
all Prince.

LEVVIS returns into France, hauing remained nine yeares or therea-  
bouts in England, furnamed *D'outremer* or from beyond the Seas, by  
reason of his stay there. He began to reigne in the yeare 935. and reigned E  
935 yeares. A disloyall and vnfortunate Prince, hauing made no  
vse of his afflictions, vnworthy the blood of *Charlemagne*. And thus  
was their name aduanced by the default of men, which God held back  
by his pience. He found the Estate of his Realme like vnto one that  
returnes to his house after a long and dangerous nauigation. Hee was receiued with great  
ioy of all men. Those which had been most opposit vnto him, made greatest shewes of  
faithfull and affectionate service, to insinuate into his fauour. Amongst the rest William D.  
of Normandy, and especially Hugues the great, Mayr of the Palace, whom we haue already  
noted as the sonne of Raoul, the chiefe of the said League. Hee had employed all his  
meanes for the calling home of Lewis into France, and at his returne, hee spared nothing  
to confirme his authority. This was the meanes to lay the foundation of a greater  
authority for his successors.

Lewis married  
one of the Em-  
perors sisters.

They must begin the new government of this Prince with a wife, to haue lawfull  
issue. The Emperors alliance was very needfull. Hee held the Imperiall dignity, being the  
sonne of a very the Fowler Duke of Saxony. Hee had two sisters *Herberge* and *Amoy*.  
King Lewis married the eldest, and in signe of brotherly loue, hee bestowed the marriage  
of the youngest with Hugues the great. Lewis had two sonnes by *Herberge*, *Lithaire*,  
(who

935

Hugues, father  
to Hugh Capet,  
marries another.

A (who succeeded him to the Crowne of France) and Charles, who shall be Duke of Lo-  
raigne, and contend for the Crowne, but shall lose it. Hugues the great was more happy,  
then Lewis, for of the youngest he had Hugh Capet, who shall take their place, and ascend  
the royall Throne, to settle the French Monarchy, shaken much in the confusions of these  
Kings unworthy to reigne, or beare any rule. And of the same marriage Hugues had Orbe  
and Henry, both Dukes of Bourgoigne, one after another. Behold now vpon the Stage  
two great and wise personages, the King and his Maire, whom we may call a second king:  
they strive to circumvent each other, the which their actions will discover: but man can-  
not prevent that on earth, which is decreed in heauen. At this time William Duke of Nor-  
mandy, the sonne of Rhon (who had shewed himselfe so affectionate in the restoring of  
the King to his dignity) was traiterously murdered by the meanes of Arnoul Earle of  
Flanders his Capitall enemy: leaving one sonne named Richard, a yong man vnder go-  
uernment. This vnexpected and extraordinary death needs breed great troubles in  
Normandy, an Estate which was but now beginning. It did greatly import for the good  
of France, to haue this Prouince quiet. Lewis was likewise particularly bound, for the  
good entertainment he had receiued of William in his greatest necessity, the which tied  
him to his sonne,

Troubles in  
Normandy.

These were goodly shewes to make him embrace this cause: so as hauing intelligence  
of this accident, he sends expressly to Richard and his Councell, to assure him of his loue  
and succour, and followes himselfe presently to Rouan, with a traine fit for his Royall  
greatnesse, being loth to be the weakest after so strange an alteration, where the most au-  
dacious doe commonly fish in a troubled stream. The colour of his coming was to  
comfort Richard with his counsell and fauourable assistance: but in effect, it was to seize  
vpon his person and Estate. He sends for this yong child to his lodging, conducted by  
his gouernour, a Knight called Osmond: he doth assure him with sweet words of his fa-  
therly loue: but when night came, he would not suffer him to depart, detaining him three  
dayes with a carefull guard. The people incensed by them that had then charge of the  
yong Duke, mutine, and besiege the Kings lodging.

Hauing pacified this popular fury, in deliuering them their Prince, he protests to haue  
no other intent, but to preferre his Estate. And so in an open assembly of the Citizens,  
receiuing him to homage, hauing giuen him a discharge of his Lands and Seigneuries, he  
doth solemnly promise to reuenge the death of William against Arnoul Earle of Flanders,  
and gets the consent of the Normans, to lead their Duke with him to be instructed with  
his sonne Lothaire, a yong child of the same age. He brings him to Laon, whither Ar-  
noul the murderer of William repaires, in shew to purge himselfe of the murder: but in  
effect, to perswade him, so to seize on Richards person, as he might enioy his Estate.

Lewis deales  
treacherously  
with the Duke  
of Normandy.

Lewis being resolute in this determination (a man disloyall by nature, and louing no-  
thing but himselfe) he caused this poore yong Prince to be straitly guarded: but his  
gouernour Osmond, retires him cunningly out of Laon, conducting him to Senlis, to He-  
bert his fathers confidenc friend. This is he which imprisoned Charles the Simple, contrary  
to his faith: and now he detests Lewis his Soueraigne Lord, who seeks to doe the like  
vnto one of his vassalls. But we shall soon see the iustice of God aboue all, who will pu-  
nish one by another, and shew himselfe an enemy and reuenger of all disloyalty and mi-  
deemeanour: Both in servant and master, and in all other, as all are naturally subiect to this  
fouraighe law of integrity and truthfulness to all men.

Hugues the great Earle of Paris, and Maire of the Palace, had wonne great credit with  
the Cities and men of warre: but he was more feared then loued of Lewis, a treacherous  
and reuenging Prince, whom he distrusted, and opposed his authority against him. He-  
bert was his confidenc friend: so in this accident of the yong Prince, he comes to Paris,  
and winces him to promise fauour vnto Richard, or at the least makes him promise not to  
be his enemy.

The King the while, knowing how much his friendship did import in these affaires, be-  
bouts to winne him (he was the strangeness of that age, as the master must seek to the  
seruant) the which he obtained, vpon condition to giue him a good part of Normandy.  
Hereupon the match was made, that Hugues should accompany Lewis to the war of Nor-  
mandy, and should enter on the one side, while the King came on the other, promising to  
diuide their conquests according to their agreement. But this succeeded not according to  
their

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their meanings, the two deceivers were deceived: but the greatest bare the greatest burden. This complot of *Lewis* and *Hugues* could not be so secret, but it came to the knowledge of *Hebert*, who gave intelligence to *Richard* and his governors, *Osmond* and *Bernard* the Dane: so as they assembled at Senlis, and refused to crosse this double dealing of *Hugues*, with the like policy. To this end *Hebert* (according to the familiarity he had with *Hugues*) goes to conferre with him, to put him in mind of his promise, of the right of a young Prince violently pursued by *Lewis*, and of his trecherous and disloyall disposition, who having employed him to worke his will, would in the end deceive him, beseeching him to stand firme in a good cause, for his ancient and faithfull friends, and not to fortifie their common enemy by the afflictions of another, but in defending the right violently set vpon, prouide for his safety and profit: *Hugues* (who thought it best to haue two strings to his bow) distrusts *Lewis* in his heart more then any man liuing, doth easily grant *Hebert* to assault *Richard* against *Lewis*, and doth confirme his promise by oath.

The deceiver is deceived.

*Hebert* hauing thus ingaged *Hugues*, and yet distrusting him greatly, whom he sees to play on both sides; returns to Senlis, to *Richard* and his Gouvernours, where they conclude, that if *Hugues* ioynd with the King against *Richard*, they would compound with the King to his cost: and so it happened. The King goes to field with his army on one side, and *Hugues* on the other to invade Normandy in diuers parts, when as *Bernard* the Dane, chiefe gouernor of the State for *Richard*, and *Osmond* of his person, came boldly vnto *Lewis* and said vnto him, that he had no need to attempt Normandy by force, when as he might enioy it by a voluntary obedience: for prooffe whereof, if it pleased him to come to Rouen, he should be obeyed. But withall he aduised him to take heed of *Hugues* his ancient enemy, shewing him treacherously the countenance of a friend and seruant, lest he were circumvented, but rather to accept of all Normandy with Rouen, the which offered it selfe vnto him to receiue peace from him, and yeeld him obedience as their so- ueraigne Lord.

*Lewis* willingly giues ear to this aduice: he comes presently to Rouen, and is honourably receiued, sending word to *Hugues*, that seeing the Prouince obeyed, there was no need of further proceeding, and hauing not employed him in this voluntary conquest, it was not reasonable he should participate in another mans Estate: that the publike good and reason required him to leave *Richard* as hee was, vnder the obedience of the Crowne, without dismembred of his Estate, *Hugues* (who pretended a good part of this rich Country) was greatly discontented with *Lewis*. Hauing dismissed his Army, he retires to Paris, detesting his infidelity. *Hebert* embracing this occasion, comes to *Hugues*, and according to the familiarity of their ancient friendship, he laughs at him, in suffering himselfe to be abused by his approved enemy, abandoning his trusty friends against all right. The shame to haue failed of his word, and despite to haue beene deceived, made *Hugues* soone resolute, not onely to leave *Lewis*, but to embrace *Richards* party against him, with all his power. It was a notable stratagem, to diuide *Hugues*, and leave him discontented with *Lewis*: but being assured of his friendship, they send into Denmarke (from whence the Normans were defended) to King *Aigrold*, kinsman and friend to *Richard*, for succours, the which succeeded more happily then they expected.

Lewis oppresseth the Normans.

*Lewis* is at Rouen, who doth not onely command there as Soueraigne, but doth seize on their goods, whom he doth any way suspect of deuising occasions, and holding it for a capitall crime to be any way affected vnto *Richard*, fauouring his followers with the best marches in the Country, and giuing them credit and authoritie in the Prouince by marriages: he impposeth extraordinary charges vpon the people, already, surcharged with the feeding of so many horsemen. To conclude, he doth all a man may do, that hath no other Councillor but his grauenesse, and that seeks his owne ruine by his blinde counsell.

The King of Denmarke comes to succour the Duke of Normandy.

In the meane time *Aigrold* armes in Denmarke, and in the end comes into Normandy with a goodly army: the King likewise brings his Forces to field: *Richard* who had the chiefe interest, is at Senlis in safety, and *Hugues* at Paris, a looker on. *Aigrold* before he enters into open hostility, sends his Ambassadors to *Lewis*, to let him vnderstand, that the reason which had drawne him into Normandy with his Army, was to maintain the right of his cousin *Richard*, who had not deserved to be spoiled of his Estate, vpon no other cause but his minority, who (although he had no father) yet should be not be de-  
tute

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A rute of kinsmen and friends. And therefore he entreated *Lewis* (rather then to come to the doubtfull euent of armes) to suffer *Richard* to enioy Normandy, as his father and grandfather had done. And this he did to haue the right on his side.

*Lewis* bold in deceiuing, and a coward in danger, charged with the wrong he had done vnto a pupill, seeing himselfe abandoned by *Hugues*, whom he had discontented out of season, and not trusting much the other Noblemen that followed him, he makes a very milde answer to *Aigrold*: and after some negotiations, he yeelds to a parlee with him, as the chiefe mediator of *Richards* rights. Being in field, and conferring together vpon this occasion, behold an vnexpected accident falls out. He which had bene the cause of the Earle of Flanders quarrell, and by consequence of the murdering of *William*, the father of *Richard*, was there present with the King. Our Historics say, it was *Ellain* Earle of Montreuil. A Dane (an old friend of *Williams*) knows him, he chargeth him therewith: and as they grow to choller, he kills him. Then both parties fell to armes: the French charge the Danes, but they find themselves too weak: all are disperled, and with this vprore the Kings brake off their parlee. *Lewis* goes to horse, the which being strong headed carries him among the thickest of the Danes. Behold hee is now prisoner in the hands of some souldiers: but as in this tumult the guard was neglected, he escapes: yet in the end he is taken againe, and led in triumph to Rouen. Thus the murder supported by *Lewis*, was the cause of his imprisonment: and hee seeking to wrong a pupill, did releue him C with his owne person, in exchange that he had restrained him against all right.

Lewis taken prisoner as a partaker.

Queene *Gerberge* greatly troubled for her husbands imprisonment, flies to *Otho* the Emperour her brother, who (preuented by *Hugues* his other brother in law, and seeing the wrong *Lewis* did, to disquiet a young Prince in the possession of his Estate) refused to succour him: so as necessity enforceth *Gerberge* to vfe *Hugues* (to her great grieve) to be a mediator for the deliuey of the King her husband. *Hugues* entreated by the Queene his sister in law, deales at length in this accord, but vpon good tearmes; That the King should yeeld to Duke *Richard* all the Duchy of Normandy, and for a surplussage that of Britany, to hold them freely without retention of soueraignty or homage: the which was much more then the pupill required, who would willingly haue done homage to the D King, as to his soueraigne Lord, and haue yeelded him faithfull obedience. Behold the issue of *Lewis* his deceit, being deceived by a poore young man, whom he thought to circumuent: verifying by a notable example, that whosoeuer seeks to take away another mans right, loseth his owne.

Enlarged vpon conditions.

Behold *Richard* restored to his Estate, where he carrieth himselfe with such equity and moderation, by the wise aduice of *Bernard* and *Osmond* his gouernours, as he winnes the loue of his subiects, and by their counsell he takes to wife *Agnis* or *Emacet*, the daughter of *Hugues* the great, for a requital of the good office he had receiued from him in his necessity. This alliance of *Hugues* with *Richard*, encreased *Lewis* his ieaously against him, so as he resolved to employ all his forces to suppress him. He goes to the Emperour *Otho* his brother in law, enforcing him, that *Hugues* practised to deprive him of the Realme: and that he would speedily attempt it, if he were not preuented: with whom he so preuailed, through this common ieaously of Princes (who impatiently doe see any other to grow great by them) as he leauied a great Army, the which ioynd with that of France, and besieged Rouen: but with such unhappy successe, as the Emperour (having lost both his Nephew and a great number of his men) aduised the King to compound with *Hugues* his brother in law, and to leave *Richard* Normandy in peace, according to their former Treaties.

Richard marries the daughter of Hugues the great.

Lewis seeks to ruine Hugues his brother in law.

So hauing laboured to reconcile these brothers in law, he returned into Germany. This counterfeit reconciliation; was but a breathing of the peoples miseries, which they suffered by the diffention of Princes: but there was no firme friendship, for *Hugues* trusted not *Lewis*, but kept aloofe in his great City of Paris, leaving the King at Laon, being then the chiefe seat of his Royall abode.

*Hugues*, by this cunning proceeding, kept himselfe out of *Lewis* his hands, who on the otherwise diffembled: and seeing that force could not preuaile, he watched all opportunities to surpris his enemies: amongst the which he hated none so much as *Hebert* Earle of Vermandois, both for that which he had done against his father, and his late proceedings against himselfe. He gouerned this dislike so wisely, as in the end *Hebert* was han-  
ged,



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ged, and this was the means: *Lewis* pretending to loue *Hugues*, shewed a good countenance to all such as were affected vnto him, especially to this Cont *Hebert*, whom he favoured extraordinarily, protesting to trust him in all things: the successe was answerable to his plot. He calls an Assembly of his Vassals at Laon, and fortifies himselfe to bee the strongest: thither he calls Cont *Hebert*, of whose counsell (in shew) he made great esteem, and writes his Letters vnto him, that he would vse him. *Hebert* growne familiar with *Lewis*, and sent for by him, comes to the Assembly, fearing no enemy. *Lewis* being master of the City, reading a Letter after dinner in the great hall he cried out: *It is truly said, that Englishmen are not very wise.* The Noblemen about him desirous to know the cause of this speech: he faigned, that the King of England had demanded his aduice by this Letter: *What he should doe to a subiect that had called his Lord into his house, vnder colour of good cheere, had seized on him, and caused him to dye shamefully: Hebert* answereth with the rest; *That he must dye infamously.* The King replies vnto him presently: *Thou hast condemned thy selfe by thine owne mouth, thou wicked seruant, thou didst inuite my father to thy house, with a shew of loue: being there, thou didst detain him, and cause him to die cruelly.* The company stood in shew amazed, but in effect ready to execute the Kings pleasure, not able to contradiet so manifest a truth: for the information of the death of King *Charles* the simple, was notorious to the world, so as presently, by *Lewis* absolute command, *Hebert* was taken away, delivered to the executioner, and hanged in view of all the world, the place being neere vnto Laon, (noted by so memorable an execution) is called Mont *Hebert* vnto this day. And thus the treachery of *Hebert* (after a long delay, when he least suspected) was punished by the treachery of *Lewis*: and he himselfe after all these exploits died at Rheims, in the year 955. hated and detested of the French, leaving to *Lothaire* his sonne a Crowne neare the ruine, and to *Charles* his youngest, the fauour of his elder brother, for a poore portion, as we shall declare hereafter.

Treachery punished with treachery.

Cont *Hebert* hanged.*Lewis* dies hated of his subiects.

## LOTHAIRE, The 34. King of France.

*Lothaire* a treacherous King.He attempts warre against *Richard* of Normandy, but in vaine.

**L**E began to reigne in the year 956. and reigned thirty one yeares, performing nothing that was memorable, but that he was heyre to his fathers treachery and misfortune, and the last but one of his Race. He was a forerunner of the change, which happened to his posterity. He renewed a league with the Emperour *Otho* the 2. who had succeeded his father *Otho* the first, with an intent to reuiue the enterprize of his father *Lewis*, against *Richard* Duke of Normandy, either by policy, or else by open force. He sought twice to surpriſe *Richard*, a good and wise Prince, with a shew of good meaning: but hauing attempted all in vaine, in the end he vied open force, and was shamefully repulſed and beaten. Thus he spent some yeares vnprofitably in this wilfull passion against the Normans, bringing infinite confusions into France, both by his owne Forces, and by theirs, against whom he vndertook this voluntary warre.

These miseries are set forth at large by those Writers which liued in that age. This briefe will serue for the matter, according to our style, to shew, that these calamities bred onely by the passion of an ill aduised King, thrust the Subiects into fury and despair, and then into hatred against him, being vnworthy to be respected, hauing so little regard of publike peace. The generall Estates assemblen for the redresse thereof. The Normans suffering as well as the French, demand nothing more then peace, and Duke *Richard*, notwithstanding his treaty with *Lewis* the fourth, offered to hold of the Crowne of France, so as his subiects might liue in quiet.

These honest, profitable, and necessary offers, augmented their hate against *Lothaire*, who sought warre without any cause, although he were vnfortunate, alwayes mutinous, and alwayes beaten. To this phreneticall passion of his fruitlesse quarrels against the Normans, a new fantasie possessed *Lothaire*, to breake the league with the Emperour, and to make warre with the Germans, for the possession of Loraine (anciently called

Austrasia)

**A** Austrasia) the which he said belonged vnto him by right, time out of minde. He sought by ill gouernment to repossesse that which lay farre off, being vnable to keepe that which he had in his possession. He engaged *Regnier* and *Lambert*, the sonnes of the Earle of Mons in this action, promising to diuide the conquest: and did so contemne his brother *Charles*, (whom his father had recommended vnto him) leaving him no portion but his fauour, hoping this liberty should breed more loue in him, and also the reuerence of a brother tyed to his eldest, should make him respectiue to the publike authority, as he fled to the Emperour *Otho* for helpe. *Otho* (embracing this occasion) determines the sure which *Lothaire* would commence against him, in respect of Loraine: inuesting *Charles* therein, **B** who sought releefe of him for his brothers discontent: but *Otho* restoring Loraine vnto him, tooke from it great Signeuries giuen to the Bishops of Cologne and Liege, with condition also that he should depend of the Empire. Hereof grew great iarres betwixt the French and the Germans, with so violent a rage, and passion, as they were rather furious robberies, then iust and well gouerned warres: *Charles* the brother of *Lothaire*, carried himselfe very indifferently, as if he had bene no Frenchman but a Germane, and was wedded to the Emperours passions with such vehemency, as if all his good fortune had depended thereon, and had vterly renounced France as a capitall enemy. Moreouer, the ordinary traffick from France to Germany, was a daily cause of discontent to the French: to whom Loraine was an ordinary passage for their commerce: so as diuers persons receiving daily, and vpon diuers occasions, discourtesies from *Charles* Duke of Loraine, the French conceived a hatred in their hearts against him, which burst out in a seasonable time, for the vtter ouerthrow of all the good hap whereunto God had called him, the which he could not gouerne by his indifferention and cruelty.

964  
*Lothaire* makes warre against the Emperour.Lorraine giuen to *Charles* of France by the Emperour.

But the prouidence of God, making way for his decrees, would expell them from the Crowne, which had banished all faith, valour, humanity, Iustice, and other royall virtues, and disposed the people to these changes, by their default, who had the principall interest to entertaine their loues by equity and good vsage. *Lothaire* hated of all men, died in the year 964. leaving behind him an execrable memory of his actions, and *Lewis* his sonne for a final conclusion of his Race, as an outcast of great *Charlemagne*.

*Lothaire* dyed detested of all men.LEWIS THE FIFTH,  
The 35. King of France,

And the last of this second Race.



**E** reigned one yeare onely, and dyed without heyre, without friends, and without memory, leaving his place void, in time of need, in troubles of State, and confusion of times horribly corrupted. He was likewise called idle, hauing done nothing worthy of memory, but in leaving the place to a better Prince, and more worthy then himselfe, whom God, the protector of the Crowne of France, had referred for this Estate, in so great necessity: for as God had decreed, that out of the house of *Hugues* the great, should issue a great King, which should repaire the errors of this bastard Race of *Charlemagne*, so likewise he had prepared the meanes, both for the father to lay the foundation, and for his sonne *Hugh Capet* (appointed for this dignity) to finish this goodly building, as it appears in the following Discourse.

The last King of the race of *Charlemagne*.

God the disposer of Kingdomes and States.

## The end of the second Race.





THE  
THIRD RACE  
OF THE KINGS  
OF FRANCE,

CALLED  
CAPETS,  
OR  
CAPEVINGIENS:

Of the name of HUGH CAPET, Father to  
the Kings which reigne happily  
to this day.

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*I haue made the Earth with a stretched-out Arme,  
and dispose of the Estates of Men at my  
pleasure.*

*By mee Kings doe reigne.*

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# A particular Chronologie of the third Race, From the year 988. vnto the year 1670.

Years  
of  
Grace. Kings.

- 988 36 **Henry the first of that Race, who reigned the Estate of the French Monarchy, and began by the conquest of Guitt Wales, and the multiplicity of Masters. The reckoning and eight Kings issued from him successively from father to sonne, or from branch to branch, according to the order of the Fundamental Law of the State of France: Having reigned nine years, hee leaues**
- 996 37 **Robert his son, alone of that name, a peaceable King, who reigned 32 years, and to him succeeds**
- 1018 38 **Henry, the first of that name, his sonne, who reigned 33 years, and to him**
- 1061 39 **Philip the 1. his sonne, who reigned 48 years, and to him**
- 1109 40 **Lewis the 6. called the Groffe, his sonne, who reigned 29 years, and to him**
- 1137 41 **Lewis the 7. called the young, who reigned 44 years, and to him succeeded**
- 1181 42 **Philip Augustus the 2. surnamed Deuotum, or Given of God, his sonne, who reigned 44 years, and to him succeeded his sonne**
- 1223 43 **Lewis the 8. called the father of Saint Lewis, who reigned 3 years, and to him**
- 1227 44 **Lewis the 9. called Saint Lewis, a great and famous Prince; he reigned 44 years, and to him his sonne**
- 1271 45 **Philip the 3. surnamed the Hardy, who reigned 15 years, and to him his sonne**
- 1286 46 **Lewis the 10. called the faire, who reigned 29 years, and to him his sonne**
- 1315 47 **Philip the 10. surnamed Hain; having reigned 2 years, he leaues the Crowne to his brother**
- 1317 48 **Philip the 3. called the Long, who reigned 6 years, and leaues the Scepter to his brother**
- 1322 49 **Charles the 4. called the Faire, who reigned 6 years: And by the law of State, for want of sonnes or brother, the Estates of France, notwithstanding the preiensions of Edward King of England, the sonne of the only daughter of Philip the Faire, placed in the Royall Throne**
- 1328 50 **Philip of Valois, the 5. sonne of Charles of Valois, and second sonne to Philip the 3. and by consequence, the nearest kinship to the three former Kings. He reigned 23 years, and to him succeeds his son**
- 1350 51 **John, alone of that name. Vnder him begins a confusion in the Realme, the which continued neare a hundred years with much misery: that is, from this John, vntill the warre of the Common-weale, vnder Lewis the 11. So wereckon five very troublesome reignes, vnder John, Charles 5. Charles 6. Charles 7. and Lewis the 11. who reigned and augmented the Estate of the Realme, being greatly decayed by the continuance of ciuill warres, John having reigned 14 years, leaues the Realme to**
- 1364 52 **Charles the 5. his sonne, called the Wise, who reigned 18 years, and to him succeeded**
- 1382 53 **Charles the 6. his sonne, who reigned with much paine 42 years, and to him**
- 1422 54 **Charles the 7. his sonne, who expelled the English out of France, and seled the Crowne, seized on by the King of England, who was crowned and proclaimed King in Paris, having reigned 39 years, he leaues the Royall Scepter to**
- 1463 55 **Lewis the 11. his sonne, who vniued Bourgonne and Prouence to the Crowne, and thereby tooke away all occasions of trouble, leaving the Royall Scepter to his sonne**
- 1483 56 **Charles the 8. with peace. The which continued without any disturbance, about an hundred years, from the year 1462. vnto the year 1562 vnder the reignes of Lewis 12. Francis 1. and Henry 2. Charles 8. having reigned 14 years, dying without children, the Realme was transported to**
- 1498 57 **Lewis the 12. Duke of Orleans, who reigned 12 years, and for want of heyres male, remits the Crowne to**
- 1515 58 **Francis the first of that name, Duke of Angoulême, who reigned 32 years. An excellent Prince, who after the long ignorance of obscure ages, caused the knowledge of learning to flourish, having beautified his Vniuersity of Paris with excellent men, learned in the tongues and sciences, the which were dispersed ouer all Europe, and to him succeeded his sonne**
- 1547 59 **Henry the 2. of that name, who reigned 12 years, and to him succeeded**
- 1559 60 **Francis the 2. his sonne, who dying without children, there succeeded him his brother**
- 61 **Charles the 9. who dying without children, left the Crowne to**
- 62 **Henry the 3. his brother, the last of the Royall Race of Valois, who being slaine by a Iacobin, and dying without children, there succeeded in the lawfull masculine line,**
- 63 **Henry the 4. before King of Navarre, and the first King of the Royall line of Bourbon, who attained vnto the Crowne (after many painful difficulties by his owne valour and wisdom, having reigned neare 22 years, very happily, being beloued, obeyed, and respected both of subjects and strangers, was in the end traitorously murdered by a villaine, being in his Coach, leaving the Crown to his son**
- 64 **Lewis the 13. a young Prince not full nine years old.**

The Genealogie of King Lewis the 13. now reigning, according to the order of succession, is at the end of the Royall Branch of Valois.

A.

# HUGUES, OR HUGH CADET, 987 The 36. King of France, and the first of the third Race:

which reigned in this day vnder Lewis 13.



He royall Throne of France (remaining void by the death of Lewis the first) did vntill call Charles Duke of Loraine to this Crowne (of whom we haue before mentioned as the first Prince of the blood Royall) to whom by the fundamental Law did adudge the Crowne for want of heyres males, hispall sonnes of Kings, Charles was sonne to Lewis the fourth brother to Lothaire, and to Lewis the fifth, the last King Barthelemy, otherwise called Hugh Capet, John de Hagen the great Maire of the Palace, Bishop of Paris, and also Prince of the French, carried in froth Charles being aduanced to the Crowne by the free election of the French, assembled in Parliament, according to the ancient and inuoluble customes of France. In Iuly 987.

We haue said in the second Race, that Lewis the first, sonne to Lothaire, dying without heyres males, had buried the Royalty with him: for Charles Duke of Loraine had by his actions made himselfe vaworthy of this great honour. He had recourse to the Emperor Otto, and had taken the oath of fealty and allegiance to be inserted in the Duchy of Loraine: So by this homage hee had renounced all the interest hee could pretend to the Crowne of France. Moreover, he had aggravated this error by an irreconcilable hatred for (being Duke of Loraine) he had shewed himselfe a passionate enemy to the French, in maintaining the German faction against them, who had not long before withstanding themselves from the obedience of our Monarchy. It is also likely, that many private men were moued with the interest of this general quarrell, by reason of the situation of Loraine, the ordinary passage from France into Germany, Princes of mutual commerce.

These private injuries, bred in the end a general discontent, the which was increased by such as had a private interest in the wrongs they pretended to haue received. The feeling of these bad practices, acted to lately by Charles against France, both an general and particular, did incense the French against him. But the example and cries of them of Loraine added to their experience, confirmed their resolution to stop his enuances to the Crowne: for Charles did infinitely oppress his subjects of Loraine, for the supplying of his prodigall expences.

This was the preparative of Charles his downfall, wrought by himselfe, to deprive him of that authority whereunto God had called him. These were the causes which made the French resolute to withstand Charles of Loraine with all their force, in his pretention to the Crowne of France. But how then? Charles being rejected, the Realme had need of a King, vnto to submit without one, no more then a body can without a head. They could not live equall. The equall command is a plague to the French.

In this Estate they could haue recourse but to Hugh Capet, being accompanied with all the commendable vertues that might make a man worthy of a great command, with authority, power, vnderstanding, courage, wisdom, equity, mildness, dexterity, valour, and credit, both within and without the Realme.

We haue before spoken of his father Hugues the Great, the sonne of a Duke of Angers, who was the head of the League against Charles the Simple. To the expectations and dignities he held vnder Lewis 4. and Lothaire, he added the friendship of the chief Noblemen of the Realme. Richard Duke of Normandy was one of his most constant friends, whom he had gratified, maintaining him in the possession of his Estate. He receiued requital of this good office with interest; in the person of Hugh his sonne, to place him in the Royall Throne, as our History shall declare. But all these advantages, were not only crowned with a goodly and great offspring, but also with a sonne, endued with singular graces both of bodie and mind. He had fixe sonnes; and two daughters, but the eldest was the chiefest heyre of his name and vertue, perfecting what his father had begun.

He was named Hugues, and by surname Capet, either for that he had respect to his father that being young he was accustomed to, catch at his companions caps, as a pretigious Chapin.

I 2

that

that he should doe to Kings: *of the* and *Henry* two other *sonnes* of *Hugues*, were Dukes of Bourgoigne and after landing this overjoyne they advanced to Ecclesiastical dignities, the one Archbishop of Tholouse, the other of Rouan and the third died young. One of his daughters was married to the Duke of Normandy, the other to *Frederick* Duke of Metz. He had taken his *second* wife from England the daughter of King *Edward*, & sister to *Queen* *Ogiva*, the wife of *Charles* the Simple, mother to *Lewis* the fourth: and although he had no children by her, yet did he carefully preserve the friends of this alliance and before his death he choise a wife out of this great house, for *Hugh* his eldest daughter, the which was *Adele* the daughter of King *Edward* the first.

This he fortified his greatness by all means, the which raised his authority to the top of all Tholouse purchasing credit both within and without the Realme by all means, first to establish a great Family: These were the ordinary proceedings, his custom and policy, being the gift of God, and a branch of his jurisdiction in those things which he loved, leaving the wretched plunged in their wretchedness by their own indiscretion: so that fully prepared to wild and carefull men. But *Hugues* the great had another advantage, which furnished all these his great means, or the force of his friendships and alliances, having a sonne capable of judgement for great attempts, fit for the times, brought up, and instructed by himselfe. To conclude, all things were so disposed in France, as they must necessarily receive him for King: Necessity, the general consent both of great and small, and a means to preserve the Covenant from ruine, the which he alone could effect. But if the French were forward in seeking to him, *Hugues* was so much the more encouraged to embrace so great and famous a dignity. And in the execution of this generous designe, he carried himselfe with so great wisdom, moderation, and dexterity, as we may well say, than God called him, as it were from heaven. There remained nothing but an orderly proceeding to that which reason presented unto them.

*Hugues* began with the greatest, who had a speciall interest to preserve what they held. He treated mildly with them for the common necessity. The condition was, To leave them all that by inheritance, which they held of the *Coronne*; by title of office, and they to doe homage, and acknowledge him for their lawfull King. Thus was the accord made betwixt the Nobility of France, and *Hugh* Capet, profitable for gratitude, necessary for the people, honourable for *Hugues*, and beneficial for the Realme: for by this means the Realme was maintained in one body under the authority of one absolute Commander. *Hugues* was well furnished, having a sonne capable of the Realme which was hereditary. The better sort had what they could desire for them or theirs, and the people remained in peace after so many miseries. Things being thus disposed of all sides, the Parliament assembled at Noyon, whether they runne from all parts: and both necessity and desire to winne his favour (to whom reason should assigne the Realme) brought all the Cities, and made such haste thither as they fought to finish their private Estates by this publike authority. *Hugh* failes not likewise to call all his friends, to reape the fruit so long sought for, with so great paine and traile, both by himselfe and his father, and now to employ them as in a day of battell.

The Assemblies were great, by the concourse of all the Prouinces and Cities of the Realme, which repaired thither. It was the more famous, for that in shew the French of fued the Realme to *Capet*, as if he had not affected it. As things passe in this sort, *Charles* Duke of Loraine, well advertised of the Frenchmens intent, and the designs of *Hugh*, he bound up himselfe: and being resolved to employ all his Forces, he begins first by admonitions, but so ill seasoned, as it made the way more easie for *Capet*: for hee sends his Ambassadors to the Assembly of the States, not to intreat them to receive him into their hands, and fore the Crowne, according to his hereditary right; but to threaten them, that if they did not speedily obey, he would reduce them to subjection by force. The French men were incensed against *Charles*, and having placed their hopes in *Hugh* (being present and following for himselfe assisted with his best friends) fell into to great a rage against *Charles*, by his rough and importune speeches, as hardly could the law of Nations restrain them from doing him face affront unto his Ambassadors, for their indiscretion.

Then the Estates enact by a solemn decree, That for as much as *Charles* had invited himselfe a friend to the enemy of France, and a sworn enemy to the French, so likewise did the French pronounce his friendship, declaring him incapable of any benefit of the law,

both

A both for that he gaue the first cause, as also not being bound to acknowledge him for King that is an enemy to the State, (their oath binding them to a King which is a father, iust, wife, milde, and temperate.) And therefore, betweene God and their consciences, without any alteration of the Fundamentall law, they renounce him; and declare that their intention is to choose a King which should prouide for the quiet of France.

They deliuer this declaration to *Charles* his Ambassadors, commanding them to auoid the Realme presently. Thus *Charles* his reiection, was the raising of *Hugh* Capet; for presently the generall Estates (assembled in one body, and representing all the Prouinces of the Realme) declare by an authentick and solemne decree, That being necessary to choose a King for the preservation of the Crowne of France, destitute as well by the death of *Lewis* the fifth, as by the apparent treachery of *Charles* Duke of Loraine, That in equity, according to God and their consciences, the Estates did choose *Hugh* Capet for King, promising to obey him, and his, as their lawfull King, according to the law of State. This is the ground of *Hugh* Capets royaltie. There was no need of any Preachers to perswade the people, nor to send to Rome for the Popes dispensation, as *Pepin* did. The people were fully perswaded in their mindes, and a fit occasion was offered, that without any iniurious change (as that was in the person of *Chilperic*) they might supply the place (being void) with a better King, and more profitable for the Common weale. This A& was made at Noyon, in the Month of May, in the year 987. And to giue more authority to this famous decree, the same Assembly goes to assist at the Coronation of *Hugh*, who was anointed and crowned King the third of Iuly, after his election.

*Hugh* Capet being thus chosen and crowned King, hee studied by all means to let the French vnderstand by the effects, that they had made a good choice, as the successe of his reigne, and of his posterities, will shew in the following discourses. From Rheims he went to Paris, well accompanied, where he makes his entry, to the great applause of all the people. He employs his first endeouours, to send them all home well satisfied, who had giuen him so notable a proofe of their affection. But euery one being returned to his house; behold *Charles* of Loraine reiecteth, assembles Forces, and with part of them begins to ouer-runne Champagne, doing all acts of hostility: and within few Moneths after, he himselfe comes to field with a great Army of Germanes, Loraines, and Bourguignons: and having taken Rheims at his first approach, he passed on towards Paris, as to the head or heart of the Estate, and enters into Picardy, where he seizeth on the townes of Soissons and Laon, all by the practices of *Arnulph* the bastard son of King *Lothaire*, and Archbishop of Rheims: a man both cunning and head-strong: from thence hee runnes euen to the Gates of Paris, filling all the Countrey with fire and feare.

*Hugh* sleeps not, but knowing how much it did import to possesse the people with a good conceit of him, and to stop the courses and spoiles of *Charles*, (who of purpose tormented the Parisiens, to breed some inuouation) hee gathereth together what troops he can, attending the rest which he had sent for, and with them hee goes presently to field: but it chanced that *Charles* (being farre stronger then *Capet*) did easily defeat him: so as hauing cut his troopes in pieces, he had almost surprised *Hugh* in the sight of Paris, where hee faued himselfe with much paine and danger. These beginnings did as much amaze the people (who had so cheerfully chosen *Hugh*) as it putt vp *Charles*, already a Conqueror, and a peacefull King in his owne conceit: who being retired to Laon in great triumph, sends new Letters to all the Prouinces of France, perswading them to acknowledge him for their lawfull King, vaunting of this happy beginning, as a gage of the felicity which did attend him in his reigne. But hee had not cast vp his accounts with him who holds the events of things in his hand, for the contrarie fell out to that hee had conceived.

*Hugh* is nothing dismayd at this first repulse, these summonings of *Charles* make him to vse all haste, and pricketh them forward with whom he had diuided the Realme, having a particular interest in his reigne, according to their election: All men fle vnto him: *Charles* (supposing that *Hugh* meant to yeeld, and that these Assemblies were made to haue the better conditions) had dispersed his Army about Laon, and retained the least part within the City: and with this assurance, that all necessities should abound, he had no care to make vse of his victory, when as suddenly *Hugh* appears with his army before Laon: and (hauing stoppt all the passages) he besiegeth it: all the Lorains small troops which were found

dispersed in the villages thereabouts, were easily taken and disarmed, and the Citie was presently summoned to yeeld in the Kings name, and to deliuer vp *Charles* of Loraine, guilty of high treason, and enemy to the French, vpon paine of fire and sword.

*Charles* flies to entreaties and teares. The inhabitants complaining of him, as the cause of their misery, resolute (with the aduice of *Anselme* their Bishop) to obey *Hugh Capet* as their lawful King, and to deliuer *Charles* into his hands. The which they did with his wife and children. This happened in the year 991. and so the controuersie betwixt *Hugh* and *Charles* of Loraine for the Crowne, was decided in lesse then four years. *Hugh* being a Conqueror goes to Orleans, and leads *Charles* with him, where he past the remainder of his miserable daies, inflicting no greater punishment on him, then perpetual imprisonment, where he was well kept with his wife, vnto his dying day, in the which he had both sonnes and daughters. There are diuers opinions vpon this point. Some say they died all there: others say, that they reaped the State of Loraine, and transplanted their Race vnto the Princes that rule there at this present.

But howsoever, as the Romans had expelled the Gaules, and they themselves were afterwards driven out by diuers Nations: and the Race of *Pharamond* (which had dispossessed them) was displaced by *Pepin*: so *Hugh Capet* expelled that of *Pepin*, with a better title then *Pepin*, being lawfully called by them which had the right: and the presumptiue heyre was iustly degraded for his fault: so as no man can with reason say, That *Hugh Capet* was an usurper, seeing he had so *solemn* and *lawfull* a calling, by a decree of the generall Estates of the Realme, to whom the application of the foueraigne law belongs, as *Nangius* an ancient writer doth testifie. For what auails it the legitimacion of his Royalty, to say, that *Hugh Capet* came of the Race of *Charlemagne* by his mother *Auoye*, daughter to *Osbo* Duke of Saxony and Emperour. In this regard he could not be of *Charlemagnes* Race, (the which without doubt, failed in *Lewis* the fourth, the some of *Arnould*) neither would it auale him any thing to bee the sonne of a daughter of France, seeing the Distaffe may not lawfully succeed. This victory added an incredible reputation to *Hugh Capets* vertue, the which was without doubt in great extremity, and made him an easie way to purchase obedience in his new kingdom. He began by homage, as the seale of authority: to that end he calls all Dukes, Earles, Barons, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to come and take the oath of allegiance. They runne of all hands, onely the Earle of Flanders (that *Arnould* which had bene the firebrand of those warres in Normandy) plays the mutine. *Hugh* hauing called him to doe homage, and nored his contumacy, goes to field with his Forces, to compell him thereunto. Hauing seized on the greatest part of his country, the Earle flies to humility, and by the mediation of *Richard* Duke of Normandy (whom he had so much wronged in his youth) makes his peace with *Hugh*, yeelding him the homage which he had denied, with promise to obey him.

Hauing thus fortified the authority of his Soueraigne command, he passed vnto the gouernment of the Realme, and to make this voluntary obedience (so well begun) more pleasing to his new subiects, he calls an Assembly of the chiefe of the Realme, and giues them all to vnderstand, that his desire was to haue their aduice, for the well gouerning of the State. Necessity spake, and his proceeding did winne the most violent. Hauing renewed their homages, he sets downe the order of the twelve Peeres of France, and protests vnto them all, that he will not doe any thing of importance either in peace or warre without their aduice. So as in yeelding he did aduance himselfe with a wife and victorious modesty. By the most ancient institution, the chiefe charge ouer armes belonged to the Maire of the Palace, to the which *Martel* added the authority of Duke of France. But these two great charges, gave a sufficient testimony, how much this great authority did import, to counter-balance and checke the foueraigne authority of Kings: and *Hughes* himselfe was both a witness and iudge of that which he had done in the execution of this charge, being in a manner royall. He therefore resolves to suppress it: and to bury it in an honourable tombe. He sees many competitors, and takes thereby an occasion to discouer his intent, declaring to the greatest of his Nobility, how happy hee was in his reigne, hauing the choice of so many persons worthy of this great dignity: but finding himselfe bound to all, he knew not to whom he was most indebted: and was so affected vnto them all, as he could not say to whom he wished best. And therefore to satisfie all his good friends, he had bethought himselfe of an expedient: That his sonne (whom nature

*Charles* taken in Leon, and carried to Orleans, where he dies in prison.

*Hugh Capet* no usurper. *Nec ills Hugo regis insinuator aut usurpator aliquantulum est iudicandum quem regis proceres elegimus, fatis Nangius.*

The subiects doe homage vnto *Hugh*.

He forceth the Earle of Flanders to his obedience.

*Hugh* doth insinuate the Peeres of France.

He suppresseth the Maire of the Palace.

ature had giuen him, and France had nourished and brought vp for her seruice) should bee the person, to content all his friends in the execution of this charge, which should bee with the title of a Royalty.

All the Noblemen (which would haue endured it of an other impatiently) embraced this speech willingly, the which presented all ieaousie, and cured the chiefe fore. So with one consent it was decreed, that *Robert* (sonne to *Huge Capet*, should bee his Lieutenant Generall, and to that end should be anointed, and crowned King: as he was at Rheims in the year 990. three yeares after his fathers election. A wise Prince, and of a tempered disposition, a well reasond plant for the fruitfull continuance of this latter reigne, of whom it is said, that he was a sonne without forwardnesse, a companion without ieaousie, and a King without ambition. So *Hughes* effected three things by this wife proceeding. Hee tooke away the breeding of future dangers, by restraining of so great a power: hee suppressed all ieaousie, and assured his owne estate in the person of his sonne.

But in burying thus honorably the name and apparent shew of this dignity, hee confirmed another, to reape the same fruit: it is a resolute maxime, that in a Royalty, the first mouer of an Estate, must be fortified with some neere instruments, with whom hee may communicate some beames of his authority, to impart them to other inferior motions, according to their order. The Constable in old time, had no command but ouer the horse, either as great Master, or as Generall vnder the charge of the Maior, as the name doth signifie: *Hugh* amplified this dignity, and in suppressing the name of Mayre, he gaue that authority to the other, for the which the Mayrality had bene in old time instituted, refering the fruit, and preferuing France both from danger and feare of so great power, which might aduance the seruant aboue the Master: yet this authority of Constable is very great, foueraigne ouer Armes, vnder the Kings good pleasure, to command the men of warre, to take knowledge of their faults, and either to punish, or to pardon offences at his pleasure, to order batells, to dispose of all things that concerne the souldier: and finally he keepes the Kings sword, for which the Constable doth him homage. Moreover vnder this dignity *Hugh* appointed Marshalls to execute the Constables commands, as chiefe hands, and so by these two goodly institutions, the charge ouer armes continued in

great credit, vnder the great light of the Royall Maiesty. Hee likewise fortified by new decrees the Royall homages of *Ban* and *Arrierban*, instituted by *Charlemagne*: and to conclude, he made all those military orders, wherein France surpasseth all other nations, to be reduced to their ancient institution and right vse. And as good lawes spring from bad manners, so *Hugh* (hauing carefully observed the errors of former Reignes) endeuoured to redresse them, and to prevent the like inconueniences. The most dangerous errour had bene the multiplicity of many foueraigne Masters, one King being sufficient for a whole Realme, as one Sunne is for all the world. Hee therefore decrees, that hereafter the title of King should not be giuen but to the eldest, who should haue soueraign power, and command ouer his brethren, and they should respect him as their Lord and father, hauing no portions but his good fauour, as for the lands which their elder should assigne vnto them for their portions, they should hold them of the Crowne, to doe homage, and to be augmented and diminished as the Kings good pleasure. The aduancements of Kings bastards had much interested the State, hauing bene allowed and apportioned with the lawfull children, yea euén raised the Royall throne, as wee haue seene. Therefore *Hugh* decreed, That hereafter bastards should not onely be reiectied from the Crowne, but also from the same name of France, the which was before allowed them. To him likewise are due the goodly ordinance of Iustice, and of the treasure, wherein without doubt France excels, so as they be well executed, according to the institutions of that golden age. Thus by these wife decrees, he prevailed more then all the Armies of his Predecessors, in preferring a great Monarchy vnto this day: supported with these goodly lawes and ordinances, whereto (without flattering the truth) we may see by the effects that which the most learned Academie doth represent but in discourse, touching the true and perfect pattern of a well gouerned State, vnder the fatherly authority of a King, reuerenced by the hereditary Law of his Race, with the free consent of the people, confirmed by the Estates, counter-balanced by the authority Royall, determined by the liberty of those which owe him voluntary obedience. The continuance of ciuill warres had bred such disorders in all parts of the Realme, as it was not without cause, if men (which liued in these miseries)

Crowning his sonne *Robert* King.

*Roberts* vertues.

The Constable succeeds the Mayre.

*Martha's*.

A proclamation to call all Gentlemen together, that hold land of the Crowne, for martiall affaires.

*Hugh* decrees that the elder should reigne alone amongst his brethren.

said

993 said that God hath sent *Hugh* to restore the French Monarchy, and they aouoh predictions, and Prophecies of this reign, as Oracles. Doubtlesse this maske of building, was too huge to continue long against so great a Storme. God made vse of it for a time, as he had willy decreed, that is to say, to deliuer the West from the blasphemies and furies of *Mahomet*, and there to preferre his Church. But it was necessary this power should be limited within his bounds, to the end it might be well gouerned, and in the end, giue some rest vnto Christendome. This happened in his reign, as if the building had then taken a firme and sure foundation.

Warre had reigned so long, and ruined the poore subiects to enrich men of warre, who being seized of the strongest places, had without doubt deuoured one another, and ruined the Realme, if a greater authority had not shewed it selfe to maintaine euery one in peace vnder the reuerence of the Lawes, in the bosome of one common Country. This confused warlike season, had more need of a wife man to saue what was gotten, then of a valiant man and active to make new conquests. Such was *Hugh Capet*, a wife Prince, aduised, experienced, resolute, neither dull, nor a coward, (as hee made proofe in the beginning of his reigne against the rebels.) And whereas he parted with the Crowne-lands so casily, to such as were seized thereon, seeming thereby to haue blemished the greatnesse of his State, it was like vnto one which had much land lying waste, and had let it to farmers at an easie rent, yet remaining alwaies master thereof, with power to leaze it againe at his pleasure: else all had bene lost for want of good husbandry, in so great and confused an abundance: for *Hugh Capet* leauing to the possessors that which hee could not take from them, assured the Crowne-lands by certaine homages, and preserved the Royall authority throughout the Realme. And that which was profitable and necessary for the State, proued the most easie, for the gouernours of the Prouinces and strong places, hoping to hold that which they had in hand, desired rather to obey a King with any title available to them and theirs, then to play the petty Kings at their pleasures, and command absolutely alone for a while, and ouer few, and be in danger to lose all as vsurpers. A notable proofe of the Frenchmens humors, borne to obey a King, and not able to subsist but vnder a Royalty. The French had no lesse power then the Germans, to make an electiue Common-weale, as they had done, but their humour sorted with an hereditary Royalty, without the which they could not subsist. Thus *Hugh Capet* had sedled his reigne with so great wisdom & authority, and was so fortunate in the successe, as we may iustly say, he restored the Realme of France, when it was almost ruined: he reigned 9. yeares, 4. alone, and 5. with his son *Robert*, in great peace, beloved and honored of all men. France (as after a long and tedious winter) puts on the new face of a pleasant spring. All men honoured him, as the meanes of their assured rest. His most viual re- treat was to Paris, the which was greatly augmented and beautified in his reigne, whereas other Kings before him remained in diuers places, at Aix la Chapelle, Campaigne, Laon, Soissons and elsewhere, according to occurrents and their humors.

We haue said, that *Arnulphe*, bastard to *Lothaire*, was the onely man which had fauoured the Cities of Loraine against *Hugh Capet*. The History notes this man to be peruerse, and disloyall, hauing deceiued both *Charles* of Loraine, and *Hugh Capet*, who had giuen him the Archbishopspeake of Rouan, in recompence of the seruice he promised him against *Charles*, to whom notwithstanding (contrary to his faith) hee gaue means to seize vpon the Cities of Rheims, Laon, and Soissons. *Hugh* taking this presumption for a preiudice to come, learning by what had passed, how much the name of a bastard of France might import, for a colour to diquie the State, and what danger there was of trouble, in the beginning of his new reigne, not yet well seled, he therefore resolues to suppress *Arnulphe*: but respecting his quality, he assembled a nationall Councell of the French Church, in the City of Rheims. This Assembly deposeth *Arnulphe*, as guilty of treason, and a trouble of the publique quiet, and they substitute *Gilbert* in his place, who had bene Schoolemaister vnto *Robert*.

Afterwards *Hugh* confines him to Orleans with *Charles*, there to end his daies in rest. Pope *Iohn* the 12. very ill satisfied with *Hugh*, for that hee had not appealed to him for his confirmation in this new Royalty, disanuls this decree of the Councel at Rheims, excommunicates the Bishops which had assisted *Arnulphe*, and deprives *Gibbert* from the Archbishopricke of Rouan : and to temper this sharpe and rough proceeding,

The French  
cannot subsist  
but under a  
Royalty.

Paris the chief place of Hughes residence.

*Hughes proceeding against Arnulfe bastard to Lothaire, who is depoid from his Bishoprick.*

A with some sweet words; he doth infect *Gillbert* in the Archbishopsrick of Rauenna: But we shall presently see that this was a means to raise him in the dignitie of Pope. *His* doth not for all this contend with Pope *John*; but having beaten *Medardus*, hee took from him all the means of troubling the State: So hee presented himselfe Pope *John* the *fourth* *Plarin* writes so plainly, as any reader may finde in the original letters; where hee shall read with admiration, not only the deprauid manners of *John*, but also of some a dignity; who by his disgracefull life, monster, exceeding his most beauid, goodly, and most pernicious; these are his very words: but all the censures, which were decreed at those times; for we read of nothing but penalities, and excommunications, one excommuniceth, another; and all to overthrow the authority of the See of Rome: All these practices were that made without bitter and long contentions, as the History will more then extenuate; and this my Inventory shall be but a simple declaration to the Originall, in which (the pure truth speaking more freely) the reader may peruse without passion: wouldst thou

Here began the great iarrs and contentions betwix the Emperours and the Pope: The  
ancient custom of the Catholike Church, gaue the Pope *Consecration* thereof, and the first  
Christian Emperour, was, *That the Emperour should be crowned by the Pope, and the Pope*  
*even of the Bishop of Rome.* The Popes would not allow the Emperours should beight this, and  
rogative, but therein the time that Boniface the 8. took upon him the same, he shewes  
minence of Vniuersall Bishop: & he was chosen without licence from the Emperours  
& held the Pontificall See by vniuersall multitude, and did lead a different life, and of  
dilect of many: for the redre whereof, the Emperours did come to Rome, and  
upon complaints, (having laboured to reclaime this right to his duty, which hee found  
corrigible) in the end he calls a Councell within Rome, whereby a decree of this kind  
ably 1086 the 12. was depofed, and Les. 8. substituted in his place. But the Emperours  
scarce going out of Rome, when as he had a new fustion: & Les. 8. being chosen by  
force, is expelled by disorder, and Benedict the 4. restored in his place. & he becomes  
and reuoketh Les. who upon this occasion made a decree. That in executing the  
rule of discipline, which giues the election to the people and Clergie, the Pope is to  
and constitute the Pope and Cardinals, who are to be elected by the Pope, and the Cardinals

**D** *herp*, *founde* *being* *into* *this* *Empire*, as the said and first *Emperours* of *France* *1490*. So the *renewed* was well expounded, but not well applied: for *after* that *King* *Charles* of *France* thirty *million* *French* *Popes*, *John* the *14*. *Benedictus* *de* *Albano* *2*. *Gregory* *14*. *Gregory* *15*. which were *after* another *Emperours* *Rice* and *placed* by *him* *upon* their expelled, or imprisoned, or strangled: vntill that *Gilbert* *Amirault* of *France* (of whom we haue spoken) came to bee Pope, being named *Silvester* the 2. Hee was brought in after so strange a manner, as I haue horror to reade *Platina*, who saies, it was by diuellish arts. But the wise reader may view the rest of this troubleome report in the author himselfe, altogether vnreprocheable, being a confident seruant to the Popes: and so may ease vs of this tedious toyle. Such was the Empire and the Sea of Rome, amidst these horrible confusions, whilest that our *Cape* laboured to repaire the breaches of this new Kingdome. Hauiug reigned peaceably nine yeares, he died the 22. of November in the yeare 996. Leaving his sonne *Robert*, not onely succellor to the Crowne, but also of his vertues, his happinesse, and his credit, in the deuour loue of the French. He had him by *Adela*, the daughter of *Edward* King of England, in whom hee was so happy, as not onely to see him of age, but also crowned King, and well married. He reigned both alone and accompanied with his son beloued and honoured of him and his subjects, it ouer father and Prince were. A patterne of a great States-man, comming to the last fit of a desperate disease, whereunto he applied such seasonable remedies, as hee might well bee called the Restorer of the French Monarchie. But from him we must ascend vnto God, the true Guardian of this Estate, meaning to preferre it by his care & wisdom, who governs changes by his wise prouidence, and giues vertues and successe at his pleasure.

Now we begin new reigne, a wifer, more happy, and longer then the two prece-  
~~ding~~ whereof the one continued but three hundred and one twenty years, and the other  
two hundred forty seven: and this vnto *Lewis* the 13. now reigning, hath continued  
622. yeares, so countinge the date of it first beginning from the yeare 420. making of all  
these particulars one groffe summe, from the yeare of our Redemers comming into  
the world, we shall find in all 1610. yeares inclusive. A terme which no State euer attain-  
ned

926

The manners  
of Pope John  
the 12.

**The Fate of  
the Church  
and Empire.**

The Pope confirmed by the  
Emperour.

101 13010 111  
212 10 111 111  
111 111 111

### Seditious election of Pope.

**In the life of  
Silvester the 2**

**Hugh Capet**  
dies.

X  
Edw? the Elder was the  
only Edw<sup>d</sup> that co<sup>ld</sup> be  
meant - Adelaide's is not  
named amongst his nu-  
merous issue -  
Other authorities say y<sup>t</sup>  
she was the da<sup>y</sup> of Wm.  
2<sup>nd</sup> of Guverne

**The Monarchy**  
of France of  
greater con-  
tinuance than  
ever any.

996

ned unto. If it were, that the bounds of this Monarchy should not be so large, as under *Charlesagne*, you were limited: and although it seems that *Hugh Capet* (in yielding the property of the Crowne to the Governours of places) did diminish it: yet in effect he did augment it, in assuring the Crowne by his good husbandry, being extraordinary, yet very common in such extreme necessity, and since all that which seemed to be dismembered, is returned whence it came. Wee must therefore set before our eyes, all this great Monarchy, imparted to diuers Lords, and the Royall authority ouer all, as the head ouer the whole body, which hath diuers members, giuing life and force to every part, to exercise his proper function: we shall see in order (as things have fallen out) the greatest part of those Provinces which were made hereditarie by this con-  
tention of *Capets*, returne to the Crowne againe. The which I will labour to effect, so long as the light shall guide me in the diuersity of these changes.

Wee shall now enter into a more temperate reigne then the two former. Wee shall not see so many Armies in field, so many victories, nor so many conquests; neither shall we see so many audacious and infamous outrages, so many murders and parricides, so many unnatural cruelties of children against the father, of brethren against brethren, of husbands against their wives, and of wives against their husbands: we may well note and observe diseases, but neither so dangerous nor so tedious, as haue bene played on the theatres of horrible tragedies in former reignes. Doubtlesse as the body and minde haue their proper diseases, so hath the estate of mankind: Man cannot bee alwaies found, both waies pleasant: his body and minde haue their passions in their seasons, according to the degrees which God hath preferred them by the course of Nature. Likewise the changes are remarkable in all this Monarchy: but this reigne iudiciously considered, we may admire the notable proofes of Gods providence, who would fortifie this Estate, for the preferation of his Church in Europe, whereof France is a notable member, and doth import much to all other Nations. The History therefore of this third reigne is most worthy of memory: for the vie whereof we may observe three famous parts, to helpe the iudgement and memory. The first from *Hugh Capet* to *Philip of Valois*: where began the controuersie of the English against the French, long and lamentable for the pretension to the Crowne of France. The second from that reigne, to *Henry the third*, and last King of that branch of *Valois*. The third begins at *Henry the 4.* the first of the most noble Race of *Bourbon*. This Inventory shall faithfully and briefly quote the particularities of these last reignes, to send the Reader to the whole History, to the which we leave him.



# THE FIRST PARCELL OF THE THIRD ROYALL RACE

Called *CAPETS*:

CONTAINING THIRTEENE  
Kings, from *HUGH CAPET* to *CHARLES*  
the Fourth, called the *FAIRE*.

The names of thirteene Kings, of the first  
Royall branch of *CAPETS*:

Placing:

*HUGH CAPET*, for the stem and foundation of the third  
Royall Race, which reigne at this day.

*ROBERT*.  
*HENRY*.  
*PHILIP the 1.*  
*LEWIS the 6. called the Grosse.*  
*LEWIS the 7. called the Long.*  
*PHILIP the 2. called Augustus.*

*LEWIS the 8.*  
*LEWIS the 9. called S. Lewis.*  
*PHILIP the 3. called the Hardy.*  
*PHILIP the 4. called the Faire.*  
*LEWIS the 10. called Hutin.*  
*PHILIP the 5. surnamed Yong.*

*CHARLES the 4. called the Faire, the  
last of this Branch.*

From the yeare nine hundred nine six, unto one thousand  
three hundred twenty and eight.

THE



# ROBERT alone of that name, The 37. King of France.

The Reigne of  
Robert long and  
happy.



Hugh, a Bastard Son of  
Robert, by Bertha, Robert's  
2<sup>d</sup> wife, was the issue of  
the King's 3<sup>d</sup> marriage,  
with Constance, who  
suffered her own son  
against Henry.

Robert prefers  
Henry his yonger  
son to the  
Crown before  
the elder.  
Robert dies.  
His disposition.

ROBERT began to reigne alone in the year 996 and reigned 37 years. He had three sonnes, *Hugh*, *Robert*, and *Henry*, by his wife *Constance*, the daughter of *William* Earle of *Aides*. Following the example of his father *Hugh*, he desired to assure the Crowne in his house, installing his heire in the right purchased to him and his, by a decree of the States. So he crowned *Hugh* his eldest sonne at *Compaigne*, in the year 1028. But after the death of *Robert*, he continued in the same designe, to assure his estate in his house: and observing a more Royall disposition in the younger, then in the elder, he preferred verue before the prerogative of elderhip: causing *Henry* the younger to be crowned in his life time: decreeing by his will, that *Robert* should content himselfe with the Duchy of *Bourgonne*, doing homage for it to the Crowne of France.

So having happily disposed of his affaires, and reigned with the generall content of his subjects, he dyed in the year 1031. being threescore yeares old. A Prince very fit for the time, being wise, resolute, peaceable, and continent. But Piety was the Crowne of all his vertues, and the knowledge of Diuinity seasoned with learning, one of the flowers of this goodly Crowne: for hee is commended to haue bene very deuout, and to haue loued both Diuinity and Humanity. They sing hymnes of his inuention, and namely, that which is to the honour of holy Martyrs, which begins, *O constantia Martyrum mirabili*, the which bearing resemblance with the name of his wife *Constance*, he was wonderfully pleased with the humor she had to be honoured with his writings, being then greatly esteemed throughout the world.

Wife Kings and  
of long life  
happy for an  
Estate.

There is nothing more dangerous in an Estate then the change of diuers Masters: as experience hath taught in former reignes. So God, who meant to confirme the Monarchy in this Race, gaue a long and a happy life to their first Kings, issued from *Capet*, without any sudden change from reigne to reigne. For *Robert* reigned 37 yeares: *Henry* his sonne as much, *Philip* his sonne 49 yeares, *Lewis* the seuenth 44. *Lewis* the ninth called *Saint Lewis* as much. All wife Princes, moderate, valiant, peaceable and happy. As good houses are settled, euen so Kingdomes are confirmed. As when one good husband succeeds another, adding wealth to wealth, new, vpon old, houses then grow great: euen so the long life of these good and wife Princes, was continued with much happy successe, as we shall see in euery reigne.

Robert main-  
taines his Key-  
all authority.

This in particular is remarkable in the reigne of *Robert*. We haue said, the Realme was diuided, as it were to many Masters. As there is small respect amongst equals, who seeth not what should haue succeeded betwixt so many great Lords being equals, and especial- ly in France. But *Robert* did so firmly gouerne the tickne of this great bark in the midst of the tempestuous Seas of French humors, as he controuled all such as sought to free themselves from the Crowne: whose authority by this meanes was great, by the obedience which he forced all them to yeld that would play the mutines. Hee entertained the amity his father had with *Richard* D. of Normandy, confirmed by alliance, and for that there was it house betwixt him & *Otho* Earle of *Chartres*, he could wisely make his profit of them both. In the beginning of his reigne one *Gautier* Gouernour of *Melun* sold the place to the Earle of *Chartres* about named, according to the manner of confused times. At the complaint of *Bouchard* (to whom the Towne belonged,) the King commanded *Otho* to restore it vnto him, who refused to obey. *Robert* lets the Normand against him, who handles him in such sort, as in the end the Earle humbles himselfe vnto the King, and deliuer vp both the place, and merchant, who was hanged.

He suppresseth  
the seditious.

*Henry* brother to *Hugh* *Capet* was Duke of *Bourgonne*, by the decease of his brother *Otho*. *Henry* then died, and so *Bourgonne* returned to the Crowne. But passion perswading *Landry* Earle of *Neuers* to make a benefit of his right of neighbour-hood, and time inuiting him to embrace this occasion to fish in a troubled water, hee seized on *Auxerre* by intelligence. But he was deceived, to thinke this a time wherein all things were law- full:

A full: for *Robert* goes presently to field with his army, and besiegeth *Auxerre*; wherth this ill-advised *Landry* was: but the Inhabitants open their gates to the King, and deliuer *Landry* into his hands. All the *Auxerrois* obey, except *Aaulon*, which after a few daies yeelds, and in the end all *Bourgonne*. *Landry* guilty of treason, suffers an easie punishment for his rashnesse. Confessing his fault, he obtains pardon of *Robert*, promising obedience.

1031

Thus *Robert* being Master of *Bourgonne*, he giues it to *Robert* his eldest sonne. But *Robert* doubly interessed (his yonger being preferred, and he hauing a very small part in the State) was not pleased with this portion. *Bourgonne* was then distinguished into a Duchie and County, whereof the County belonged to the Empire, and the Duchie to the Realme, according to the diuision made by the Children of *Lewis* the Gentle. At that time *Henry* the second Duke of *Bauaria*, furnished the holy, held the Empire. *Lorraine* was the ordinary cause of debate betwixt France and Germany. *Robert* (to end this controuersie) meets with *Henry* at a place called *Enol*, vpon the riuer of *Cher*, and made an accord with him, the which continues to this day. At that time *Giselbert* brother to the Earle of *Ardenne* held *Lorraine*.

Robert giues  
Bourgonne to  
Robert his el-  
dest sonne.

Agreement  
with the Em-  
perour for  
Lorraine.

Robert recon-  
ciles the Duke  
of Normandy  
and the Earle  
of Chartres.

Hereupon the hatred betwixt the Duke of Normandy and the Earle of *Chartres* kindled in such fort (by the yeelding vp of *Melun*) as they assembled their friends on all sides. The Normand calls his farthest friends to his succors, *Logman* King of *Sueden* & *Olave* King of *Norway* his kinsmen. But *Robert* pacified this quarrell in time, by his wisdom, shewing by the effect, how much authority employed in time may preuaile, and that wee must speedily quench a small fire, the which neglected burnes a whole forest. There were great personages in all provinces with hereditary power, according to the grant made by *Hugh* *Capet*. In Normandy *Richard* the third, in *Aniou* *Ieffrey* *Grise-gondie*, in *Guicenne* *William*, of the race of *Pepin* sonne of *Lewis* the Gentle, in *Languedoc* *Cont* *Mahen*, in *Champagne* and *Touraine* *Odo*, all great and valiant men, with other worthy personages throughout the Realme: all which were rash men and of high attempts, but the name and Royall authority of *Robert*, contained all these great and courageous spirits within the bounds of their duty and publike respect. And so this reigne passed quietly without any great tumults. Leaving a lesson for Princes, to ioyne widome with authority, and valour with mildnesse: it being as great a conquest to perserue his owne, as to get another mans, and to vanquish mens minds by reason as by force. A pattern in these two reignes, of the meanes to restore an Estate, dismembred by the disorders of ciuill warres.

A notable  
reigne.

## HENRY THE FIRST; The 38. King of France.



HENRY being in possession of the Realme during the life of his father, succeeded him in the year 1031, and reigned 37 yeares. He had two sons, *Philip* and *Hugh*, by *Anne* the daughter of *Georgius* or *Gautier* the Sclaun King of the *Russians*, and one daughter, the which was married to *Robert* Duke of Normandy, son to the *Richard* of whom we haue discoursed.

The beginning of his reigne was rough and vnquiet, and the end more mild and successful. But *Henry* in the perseruation of this Estate, did nothing degenerate from the wisdom and dexterity of his fathers. The cause of this hard entry was the brothers portion, apparently vnquell and preiudicial, although a wild father had so decreed it. *Queen* *Constance*, mother to these two Princes, was brought up in the house of *Robert*, and was very much affected to him, and so she nourished this dislike, supporting *Robert* against *Henry*, that is to say, the elder against the yonger, as oftentimes mothers haue the like humors, to ioyne one more then another. The cause was plausible, that it was against the law, vnto and customs of France, that the yonger should be preferred before the elder in Royalty. The parties were great, for *Robert* was the mother to the King, *William* Earle of *Flanders* and *Odo* Earle of *Champagne* were bulwarks for the King, the *Royall* Majesty, the will of his father, the Forest of the Realme, and amongst all, the power of *Robert* D. of Normandy. The armies approached to fight, when as behold *Robert* (for whose interest the question was) being a Prince of mild

AD.  
1031. Bo.  
106. dies

He first met and then  
the next day.

Contrition  
betwixt the  
brethren.

To shut intex  
ed and colled  
Robert's  
vnto his  
ther.

1037

milde and quiet disposition, giues his mother and friends (who had brought Forces to his aide) to understand, that he would not be the cause to shed Frenchmens blood: and that Bourgongne should suffice him, seeing his father had so decreed. Vpon this declaration of *Robert*, *Queene Constance* changeth her minde, and sends backe her troopes, embracing peace with her children. The armies were dismissed, and an agreement ratified betwixt *Henry* and *Robert*, who liued like bretheren and good friends: That Bourgongne should remaine to *Robert* and his successors, with the title of a fealty to France, (which they call *Peere*) and to bee Deane among the *Peeres*. Thus *Robert* of France enioyed Bourgongne, and left it hereditary to his heires successiue, vntill the reigne of *Iohn*, in the year 1360.

But the Countries of Bourgongne and Normandy were the cause of much trouble in those times, during the which he kept the stakes, not onely as a spectator, but as an usurper. This *Odo* Earle of Champagne (who had incensed his brother against him) lookt for a good part in Bourgongne, and had already won *Robert* to promise him the towne of Sens, who euen vpon the accord making had seized thereon: but being easily expelled by the Kings authority, he runnes another course, to lose both himselfe and what hee had, supposing to vsurpe another mans estate.

He held vnder the Crowne, Champagne, Touraine and the County of Chartres. He had two sons, *Stephen* and *Thibault*: yet he sought to ioyne Bourgongne to his other Estates, which was the cause of great trouble. We haue before made mention of *Besou* the husband of *Hermingrade*, daughter to *Lewis* the sonne of *Lewis* the Gentle, who had the Realme of Bourgongne and Italy. He had two sonnes, *Ralph* and *Lewis*. *Lewis* was overthrowne by *Beranger* Duke of Friul, who easily seized on that which remaine in Italy, and of Prouence, as lying nere, and of easie access. *Ralph* had the rest of Bourgongne, the County, Sauiy, & Dauphine for the Duchy of Bourgongne remained to the Crown of France. From this *Ralph*, sprung *Lewis*, and from *Lewis* another *Ralph*, who liued during the reigne of *Henry*, being old, without children, and disobeyed his subiects.

He had two sisters, the one married to *Conrade* furnished the Salique, Duke of Francoyny, who was Emperor: and another to the Earle of Champagne, father to this *Odo*, who seeks to perswade *Ralph* his vncl to make him his heire, as sonne to his eldest sister: and employes the fauour of many subiects, who desired rather a neighbor then a stranger to be their Princes. But *Ralph* preferred *Conrade* before *Odo*, and leaues him his testament, his Crowne, and Scepter, instituting *Henry* his son, and his Nephew, his heire Generall. *Conrade* made war in Hungary. *Odo* imbraceth this occasion, and (seeing him thus busied) he enters into Bourgongne, where he takes certaine Cities: the rest hold at *Conrades* deuotion, being called to the inheritance: but these designs were soone cut off. For behold the Emperour *Conrade* returnes with a goodly and victorious army, who not onely recouers againe the Cities of Bourgongne that were lost, but also takes some in Champagne, so as *Odo* doth with great difficulty hold Troies: he is forced to seek for humble protection to his vncl, who giues him his owne, and forbids him to take from another. Thus *Odo* being thus suppressed, *Conrade* parles with King *Henry*, and ratifies the former accords, for the stilling of Bourgongne, whereof we haue spoken.

From that time, the German Emperours challenged the right and aide of the Realme of Arles, which the Emperour *Charles* the 1. shall alienate, and shall be soe divided into sundry principalities, as we shall shew in their places. Thus the Realme of Bourgongne had an end in the posterity of *Besou*, the Emperour *Conrade* being forced to goe into Italy, after these treaties, to redresse the confusions which grew daily. Behold, *Odo* returns the war more furiously then before, and enters Lorraine with a strong army, but his enterprize fall vpon his owne head. For *Gothelon* D. of Loraine (confirmed by the Emperour) defeat him, burying his ambition and life in one graue, and thus much for Bourgongne: since on Normandy haue no lesse cause of imbecillity. *Robert* Duke of Normandy had maintained the hereditary ioye of his father with the King, as well as vpon his friend. After having reioined a long & dangerous voyage to the Holy Land, he instructed him to affect the protection of *William* his bastard son, whom he had made his heire, excluding his lawful children. This testament seemed vnto *Odo* to be all in vain, but *Robert* had sealed his Estate before his departure, applying him good Generall, and putting the strong castles, and treasure into their hands: so as *William* remained Duke after his death,

which

A which happened in this long voyage beyond the Seas. But this was not without great difficulties, in which *Henry* kept the stakes, ballancing both parties with his authority. *William* remaining the stronger, Normandy had some rest, being freed from men of war by this occurrent. A gallant toope of warriors, weary to liue at home, and desirous to see the world, led by *Robert* and *Guischard* valiant Gentlemen, seeking their fortunes, came into Italy: where they are employed in priuate quarrels, and there get so great reputation, as by their example, they drew many to the same voyage: and another notable swarme of braue souldiers are led thither by *Tancred*, a man very famous for this attempt, the partialities of Italy giue them occasions and means to seize vpon Pouille, Calabria, B and Sicilia, as the History describes at large. This briefly may suffice to note the Estate of this reigne. Thus *Henry* passeth his reigne amidst these troubles, being too light to shake the body of an Estate, following the example of his Grandfather and Father, hee caught *Philip* his sonne to bee crowned King, being but seuen yeares old: and gaue him *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders for Tutor and Regent of the Realme. He liued little after his Coronation, the which hee hastened by reason of his indisposition, and so hee died five and fifty yeares old, in the year 1061. Beloued and lamented of all his subiects, whom hee intreateth with much mildnesse some yeares before his death: the beginning of his reigne being disquieted with the feare of ciuill dissention, and the end crowned with a plentiful rest.

Happy successe  
of the Nor-  
mans in Italy.

Hen. I.  
Robert dies

## PHILIP THE FIRST, The 39. King of France.



According to King *Henries* decree, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, took vpon him the government of young King *Philip* person, (already confirmed by his coronation,) and of the affaires of the Realme with quietnesse: hauing the reputation of a good and wise man, although he were not pleasing to them all. For certaine Noblemen of Gascony did crosse him, charging him with ambition, as if he would make himselfe a King, like to other Regents, whereof the memory was yet fresh in all Frenchmens minds. But his integrity and wisdom (preseruing his credit with the greatest part of the French) gaue him means to subdue the rebellious Gascons, who made this great pretence, to fish in a troubled streame, during the minority of the young King.

*Baldwin* doth not winke at this repulse, neither doth he suffer it to passe vnpunished, he armes wisely, with a shew to goe against the Sarazins, which sometimes did ouer-run the frontiers of France, bordering vpon Spaine. This zeale hauing moued many to accompany him, he punished the rebels in Gascony, & preuented many which began to mutine in sundry places of the Realme, as shall appear in the future reignes. It is the ordinary ebbing and flowing of worldly things, in the impatience of the French, neuer to liue long in one state. We haue now passed 70. yeares in peace, in these three reignes: this Prince shall adde 49. more of great tranquillity to this Realme. But setting before our eyes the horrible confusions in other parts, it doth shew vs plainly the occasions, whereby the disease grew in the State, which in the end bred so long and dangerous a fever by ciuill warre. For why doth a History represent vnto vs the effect knowne vnto all men, if it touch not the causes and motives of these great euents, the which succeed not presently, but by degrees, as a clock which caried by contrary motions strikes the houre at the time appointed amongst all the minutes. This iudgement is necessary for the right vse of what we read. The Kings minority passed quietly by the wise government of *Baldwin*, who accompanying his pupil to the age of 15. yeares, leaues him his temporall Realm in peace, and seeks an eternal Crowne in heauen: greatly lamented of the good, and leaues a memorable example of a good Tutor to a King, & a wife Regent of a Realme. *Philip* takes in hand the helme of the Estate, beholding from a safe harbour the stormes of other nations, which exceed in pernicious furies, not forcing that his example giues liberties to his subiects to the like disorder.

*Baldwin* Regent in *Philip*'s minority.

*Baldwin* punished the rebels of Gascony.

*Baldwin* dies much lamented.

1061

The disposition  
of Philip.

A wife Prince, but disloyall, taking couetousnesse and ambition for his Councellours, seeking only his owne profit and contemning that plaine simplicitie; which had purchased so much happinesse to his father and grand-fathers, and to himselfe a respectue credit with all the French, and immortal praise to his posterity. A looking glasse for Kings and Princes without any deceit, wherein they may view the true causes of the happinesse of Estates, Flanders, England and Italy, began first before that France entred, who shall ad a long and tedious part vpon this stage. *Baldwin* of whom we haue made mention, left two sonnes, *Baldwin* and *Robert*, with their mother *Richilde*. Their vnele *Robert* the Frison, pretended the inheritance to belong vnto him: or at the least the guardianship of his Nephewes. *Richilde* and the States opposed to both his demands, so as they grew to words, and then to war. King *Philip* (as their Soueraigne) ought to be Iudge to compound their quarrels, but he labors to kindle them, seeking his owne profit in these garboiles. *Robert* the Frison procures him with promises to do what he pleased. He winnes him and gets a promise to be succoured against the right of his Nephewes. But *Richilde* mother to these pupils, knowing the Kings humor goes vnto him to crosse *Robert* designs, who brought nothing but words. This woman brought money with her good behaviour, and wonne him against *Robert*, who discontent with the King, assembles his other meanes, goes to field with his Army, and gets part of the Country: *Richilde* flies to *Philip*, who comes himselfe with a very great Army, and enters Flanders. His meaning was to make a benefite of their comon quarrell. But it fell out otherwise, by his prouidence who doth pull downe one and raise vp another, alwayes iustly, although the causes be vknown vnto vs. *Robert* defeats the King and his Nephewes. After this victory he is receiued Earle of Flanders without any discontent of the King for the distressed pupils: who relying no more on him, fled for succor to *Thierry* Bishop of Liege, who makes an accord: That *Robert* the Frison should haue the Earldome of Flanders, and giue his Nephewes some recompence. After this peaceable possession of the Earldome of Flanders, *Philip* became a dear friend to *Robert*, forgetting the good offices he had receiued from his tutor, measuring friendship by profit. Such was then the State of Flanders. England had a greater change, we haue said that *Robert* D. of Normandy had infatuated *William* his bastard sonne his wife, and that he had gotten possession of the Duchy, but behold a greater happinesse awaits him. *Edward* King of England hauing receiued much kindnesse from him, and knowing him fit for the government of the Realme, names him his heire by his testament, by vertue whereof (notwithstanding all the policy and force, that *Harould*, brother to the Queene could vfe) *William* is receiued King of England, and crowned in a solemne Assembly of the English, homage is done vnto him as to their lawfull Lord: and this great dignity continued in his posterity. *Philip* sees this new increase of power impatiently, yet can he not prevent it, for God hath prepared it as a rod to correct this Realme, by the three sons which *William* left to succeed in his Estates, *Robert*, *William*, and *Henry*. Ambition is the leuaine of these warres, it shewed it selfe soone after the birth of this new power growne to the Dukes of Normandy, (whose first breeding we haue seene in the second Race) by the increase of the Realme of England.

The vnele sup-  
plants his Ne-  
phewes for the  
Country of  
Flanders.Philip forsakes  
Baldwin chil-  
dren at their  
need.Philip discon-  
tent at Wil-  
liams aduance-  
ment to the  
Crown of  
England.The leuaine of  
discontent be-  
tween France  
and England.

*Robert* and *Henry* the sonnes of *William*, come to the King at Constans vpon Oise. As they play at Chess with *Lewis* the son of King *Philip*, there fell some contention among these yong Princes, and from iniurious words they fell to blowes: *Lewis* called *Henry* the sonne of a bastard, *Henry* strucke at him with the Chess-board, and had slaine him, if *Robert* had not stayed him. This blow being giuen, *Robert* and *Henry* made all haste to take themselves in Normandy: where they incensed both heauen and earth with their complaints. From this light beginning, grew all the troubles which disquieted these two Estates during foure hundred yeares, vpon diuers occasions. *Robert* and *Henry* being escaped, the fathers so imbrace the quarrell for their children, as they fall to Armes. *Philip* goes to the field, and takes *Vernon* depending of Normandy. *Robert* goes out of Normandy and doth seize vpon Beauuons. King *William* parts from England, and lands in France, with a great and mighty power, and invades Xaintonge and Poitou. Behold the first checke of a dangerous game. *Philip* moued with these lesseis, enters into Normandy with a great and mighty army: but he cures not one wound in making of another. *William* on the other side, ouer-runnes and spoyle all the Country, euen vnto the gates of Paris, where hee entred not then, but his posterity did after him. He dyes soone after,

The English  
enter into Gui-  
enne.

1061

after, but the quarrell suruiued in his children, who augmented this hereditary hatred in many years.

While they began to weare this web, Italy was in no better estate, being full of horrible contentions, and the cause was so much the more lamentable for that the mischief came from them, from whom all good was to be expected. We haue formerly spoken of the diuisions growne betwixt the Emperours and the Popes of Rome; for their preheminent. In all ancient times the Popes were subject and to be summoned before the Emperour, who had authority to create them, and to depose them that were vnworthy of their charges: to call Synodes, and to confirme all things which concerned the outward government of the Church. The Pope on the other side maintaines that all his authority was his, as vniuersall Bishop, hauing power to binde and loose, and to iudge of all men, and all causes, as the Soueraigne Iudge of the Church, not so to be iudged by any man: and so to dispose absolutely of all matters, as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill, as Monarch in the Church, not onely armed with power of excommunication to damne rebels, and authority to remit sinnes: but hauing also the temporall sword, with soueraine authority ouer Emperours, Kings and Princes of the earth, to place, and displace, and to dispose of their estates.

Contentions in  
Italy betwixt  
the Emperour  
and Popes.The Popes  
disputation.

Hereafter we shall haue in every reigne, some memorablen example of this soueraigne authority. This reigne giues a very notable one. After the death of the Emperour *Conrad*, called *Salique*, *Henry* the third of that name, (hauing happily gouerned the Empire) left it to his son *Henry* the fourth yet very yong, so as the Popes during this weaknesse of the Empire, had meanes to fortifie themselves: and so embracing this occasion, *Gregory* the seventh called *Hadabrand*, did prohibite the Emperour all authority ouer the Clergy, and forbade (vpon paine of excommunication) to haue any recourse vnto him for the collation of Benefices, or for any thing else that depended on the Church. *Henry* moued with so great an affront, lets *Gregory* vnderstand, that this his decree was contrary to the ancient orders, and the vfe of the Catholike Church. Vpon this refusal, he lets him know, that he will maintaine the rights of the Empire, and complains to the Clergie of Rome in an open assembly. *Gregory* calls another, wherein he doth excommunicate *Henry* and all his adherents, and sends forth his Bull in all parts, whereby he declares him excommunicate and degraded of the Empire, and in his place cauleth *Rodolphe* Duke of Saxonia to be chosen Emperour.

Strange confu-  
sions betwixt  
the Emperour  
and the Pope.

Thus there grows two factions in Italy, and in Germany, one for the Emperour, and the other for the Pope: behold two armies leauied of these factions, ready to shed Christians blood: nine battells were giuen vpon the quarrell of these preheminentes. In the end, *Rodolphe* the new Emperour is taken and slaine by *Godfrey* of Bouillon, who followe the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, who after this victory, assembled a great Councell at Bresse, whereas *Gregory* the seventh is excommunicated, and *Clement* Bishop of Rauenness appointed to succeed him, they conduct him to Rome with an Army, and take the City after a long siege, whereas the new Pope is solemnly installed, and *Henry* the fourth Emperour restored by the decree of *Clement*. But this was not all, those which were opposite to the Emperour, chose in this place of *Gregory*, *Vrbane* the second, and their party growing strong, the confusions increased, opposing one Emperour against another, *Herman* of Luxembourg to *Henry*, and after him *Egbert* Marquis of Saxony, the which were taken by *Henry*, and slaine one after another. *Vrbane* hath other practices against *Henry*, hee animates his owne sonne by his first wife, forcing all the lawes of Nature. And as *Henry* had suppressed the practices of this his eldest sonne, *Paschal* who succeeded *Vrbane* the second, succedes him euen in the like monstrous practices, incensing his other sonne *Henry*, whom the father intended to make Emperour, relying on him as his childe, beloued aboue all the rest. So this sonne (bewitched by ill counsel) found meanes to seize on his father, depriving him first of the Empire, and then of his life. The Pope added to this death a new disgrace, causing by his thundering Bulls, the body of *Henry* to be digged out of his grave. These were the fruits of their serious controwersies for preheminent, not onely vknown to the ancient Church, nor practised by the Apostles, but expressly forbidden by the holy mouth of the Song of God.

The Pope in-  
cites the son  
against the fa-  
ther, who takes  
from him both  
his Empire and  
his life.  
The Popes malice  
against the  
Emperour be-  
ing dead.

The Popes one after another (troubled with these crosses) had recourse vnto our

1061

*Philip*, so had *Henry* the fourth, being a prisoner to his son, but the respect of his common friends, made him to keep the stakes and to be a spectator of these lamentable confusions. And yet many orders were erected by the Pope, amidst these disorders, that of the regular Chanoines, for a difference of the secular; the Chartreux, Templers, Benedictines, and Carmelites. Thus *Philip* a witness of others miseries, reigned peaceably during this age full of confusion, both in Church and State.

The beginning of the States of Dauphine, Savoy, Provence, and France Centre.

The Emperor had reduced the Realme of Bourgogne to the Imperial jurisdiction, distinguishing as we have said: but during these disorders, the whole body was consumed, bred, and reduced to another forme; as when once a weary of an old garment. The industry of such as held the Cities and Country in their possession, made foure peeces of this garment. The one was for *Otho* of Flanders, which is the Country about Heslens, with the title of an Earldome; whereof it carries yet the name. The other for *Frederick* of Saxony, who enjoyed *Sauiy*. The third for *Guigne* the son, Earle of Grifaudin, who from little, grew to great in the confusions of times; having taken the chiefe Townes of the Country, and in the end Grenoble the capitall City, as he became absolute Lord of all that Prouince: the which he called Dauphine, in favour of his Sonne, who having married the daughter of the Earle of Albion and Viennois, named Dauphine, we carry the same name, holding himselfe honoured by so worthy an alliance. The fourth pece is Provence, one of the goodliest and richest, both for the fertility of the Country and commodity of Ports, most convenient in all the Mediterranean Sea: this was fallen into the hands of *Berenger* successors, by the means before specified.

So the Empire lost the command of these foure Prouinces, which fell to the foure diuers Lord, leaving yet in Dauphine some traces of the ancient name, without any effect, for they yet call it the Empire in their common language, as we have said elsewhere.

Voyage to the Holy Land.

But as during the reign of our *Philip* these confusions were notable; so that great and renowned voyage to the Holy Land, made by our Argonauts Christians, is worthy to be carefully observed. The project was to deliver the Christians of Asia, tormented by the furious tyranny of the Mehomitans, and to repeople the land, the which God had honoured with the first fruits of his Church. This zeale of Christians was commendable. I would to God they had at this day changed their disordered passions, gladd with their owne blood, into to holy a resolution, winking their minds and forces against the common enemy of all Christendome. The occasion was given by a French Gentleman called *Peter* the Hermit, who having long travelled in the East, and scene the miseries of the Christians among the Barbarians, the manners of the Leuantiens, and the commodities and difcommodities of the Prouinces of Asia, neere to the Holy Land: hee laid a plot with *Simon* Patriarcke of Ierusalem, to sollicite all Christian Kings and Princes, to employ their Forces for the conquest of the Holy Land. The event was answerable to the project: for being come to Rome to Pope *Innocent* the second, he did so well lay open the estate and importance of this action, as being satisfied by him, hee resolved to invite all the Kings, Princes, Potentates, States, Countiehaltes, Lords and Gentlemen of Christendome thereunto. To this end hee calls a Councell at Clermont in Auvergne, where hee assisted himselfe, and induced the whole Assembly by his persuasions, with so great efficacy as they resolved neither to spare their persons nor estates, in the execution of so important a worke.

The motives of this enterprise.

*Godfrey* of Bouillon, sonne to *Eustace* Earle of Boulogne upon the Sea, being Duke of Loraine by his vncke *Godfrey* the Crooke backe, the sonne of *Emelin*, a great and generous Prince, offered himselfe the first to this expedition, and was choise chiefe of this famous adion. The Emperour and all Christian Princes, promised to contribute their means, some their persons. A troope of all the selected Nobilitie of Europe, did willingly consecrate themselves. The most apparent were *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, brothers to *Godfrey*, *Hugh* the great Earle of Vermandois, brother to *Philip* King of France, *Robert* the Frison, Earle of Flanders, *Robert* the second sonne to *William* the bastard, Duke of Normandy and King of England, *Stephen* Earle of Blois and Chartres, *William* Bishop of Puy, *William* Bishop of Oranges, *Raimond* Earle of Tholouse and Saint Gilles, *Baldwin* Earle of Hainault, *Baldwin* Earle of Reims, *Robert* Duke of Apoulie, *Garnier* Earle of Grez, *Harpin* Earle of Bourges, *Isard* Earle of Die, *Raimond* Earle of Oranges, *William* Earle of Forez, *Stephen* Earle of Anjou, *Hugh* Earle of Saint Pol,

*Retren*

1096

*Retren* Earle of Perche) and many others, worthy to be registred in this History, I have only noted such as I could find.

All Europe was moved with this voyage, France, Germany, Italy, England, Scotland, Hungary, Denmark, and some other parts, being at that time much troubled to keep their owne Country free from the Sarazens, who were lodged each in their bowels. France did contribute more then all the rest of Christendome. The zeale which moved their Princes and valiant men, made them to head all Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, old and young, their Seigniories, as hand themselves in this great voyage. At what place *Godfrey* of Bouillon chiefe of the Army, sold the Siege of the City of Antioch, to *Robert* Bishop of Legos, and *Nica* to the Archbishop of *Constantinople*, *Godfrey* himselfe, engaged all his lands to his brother *William* King of England, *Harpin* Earle of Berry, his Earldome to *King Henry*. A tale farre more honourable for the latter then for the former, being a boole plainly applicable to the Christian cause.

There was a quarrell betwixt the children of *Tanner* the Notman (of whom we have spoken) who by his valour had conquered Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, growne from high beginning, to be brought to the question being betwixt his will and his kin, but this zeale did so pacify their quarrels, as they brought about twenty thousand brave men to the Army, with their owne persons. In every towne there was nothing but men making their provisions, the wayes were full of Soldiers, horses, and baggage, which hee paired to the Rendezvous, the Ports, Haueys, and Seas, swarmed with ships and vessels, to transport our generous Argonauts, they being guided with this holy zeale, to the State of Christians in the Holy Land. The number of the Army is diversly reported. Some say they were fifty thousand fighting men, others restrain it, only to a hundred thousand. The first number were more likely, for where were there in Europe, but for our wretched dissensions? But that which they add is to be considered. That many else with us, were kept backe by reason of the dissensions betwixt the Emperours and Popes. For Germany, a great number of men of warre, sent very few, and Italy fewer, being dissented with by the Pope, who had engaged others. See the ordinary fruits of home-bred quarrels, the which fortifies the enemies of Christendome. Some write of judgement adde, that Pope *Innocent* did cunningly use the Christians zeale, to weaken the Emperour and his Partisans, that he might prevail with more facility, causing them to march in this action, and retaining such as were at his devotion. This is their opinion as the wise Reader may verifie in their places. The sequel will shew, that this voyage did nothing mortifie the quarrell betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, the which was renewed after a tragick manner. We follow the traces of truth as every thing hath succeeded. Here we discourse of the beginning and motives of this warre, we shall see the end and issue of this great preparation. Let vs returne to the Hauens of our Argonauts, the Trumpers sound, they are already to set sail.

The number of the Army to the Holy Land.

*Godfrey* diuided his Army into three Fleets, making the Rendezvous at Constantinople, whither hee sent his Ambassadors to *Alexis* Emperour of Greece, who entering into the house of so great an Army, made some difficulty to grant him ports: yet in the end hee yielded, and gave him an honorable entertainment. The departure of these Christian adventurers was in the yeare 1096. the first day of April. Behold our Latines arrived in safe Port. (Thus hereafter we shall call them, to distinguish them from the Greeks, being Christians and friends: and the Turkes Leuantiens, enemies) They undertooke no small worke, neither went they to take possession of an empty inheritance, the Turkes and Mahometans their enemies, were Lords of Asia, from the Realme of Pontus (towards the Mediterranean sea) vnto Hellespont. After they had expelled the Greeks, theye throwne the Forces of the Caliphs of Babylon and Egypt, and had seized on *Palestina*, *Iudea*, and all the rest of the Kingdome of *Israell*, from the entry of the Holy Land, vnto *Libanus*: Ierusalem was in their hands. Their Estate (springing from weak beginnings) encreased daily. *Soliman* *Belchiar* was their first Sultan or Emperour, who quickened with so hot a summons of Christians, assembled his Forces together, stood upon his guard, and prepared to fight.

The Army parts, and arrives at Constantinople.

The Mahometans comm- mand

*Godfrey* (taking the advice of *Alexis* Emperour of Greece, who made him to employ all his means to advance the common cause) resolved to passe into Chalcidene, and beginning with the Cities of Asia to make his passage more easie: hee had sent *Peter* the

1099

The Christian  
troops twice  
defeated by the  
Turks.

the Hermit before, the first trumpet of this warre, with *Gautier* (who was a brave, stout-  
good) and some troopes to discover the Country, but *Gautier* and some few  
died Captaine, suffered themselves to be surprised and taken prisoner in  
their place one called *Regnaud* or *Raymond*, who was a noble French knight, the Count  
try, but hee perds worse, suffering him to be taken prisoner by the Turks, and so, in his  
life, he renounced the Christian Religion, and in all his life, he followed him to the  
slaughter. This was foretelling of a battle. The Army marching by Asia the selfe, but  
they besiege *Nicomedia* the selfe, and then the attempt in *Asia*. *Caesar* of *Byzanti-  
nia* (famous for the first general Council, which was held against *Arrian*). The Sultan  
had thrust Mahomet into it, one of his daughter's wives, yet was it taken by assault by  
the Christians, after two and twenty dayes siege. The Sultan being in *Asia*, hee fled  
which approached so favour the besieged, and in the meantime, of one day's marche  
and likewise to hold the Cities in obedience which stood amazed, *Nicaea* being yielded,  
there were some skirmishes so favourable for the Christians, as *Armenia* was in Army to  
the mountains, and leaves the places and Cities to *Caesar*, who put up with this hap-  
pie success, and leaving a good Guard in *Nicaea*, hee moved on towards *Byzantium* and comes  
to *Heraclia*, the which yields presently, and then goes on with good success, as in lesse  
then four years he subdued all the goodliest Provinces of *Asia*, that is to say, *Lycania*,  
*Gilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Syria*, *Metopota* and *Comagene*, as the whole Rea-  
der may see in the Originals of the whole History, without making of any particular re-  
lation in this Discourse.

Godfrey wins  
the greatest  
part of Asia.Jerusalem  
taken.Godfrey of Bo-  
nion chosen  
King of Jeru-  
salem.

These happy and gainfull conquests make as great a scrore into *Bolonia* and *Italy*, as  
as it purchased honour and reputation to *Godfrey* and the Christians, so as having  
taken *Antioch*, *Tripoli*, and other renowned Cities, they came into Judea, and to Jeru-  
salem with a victorious resolution. Thus Jerusalem is besieged with his intelligence and reso-  
lution, as after eight and thirte dayes it is taken by assault, and all the *Turkes* are in pieces.  
The poore inhabitants without Armes are carefully preserved, so purchase a double victo-  
rie to the Latines, of valour in fighting well, and of clemency in sparing the vanquished.  
The citie wonne, the Latins assemble in Council, and with one common consent choose  
*Godfrey* of *Bouillon* King of *Jerusalem*. All the royal ornaments were taken and accept-  
ed by him; except the Crowne of gold, the which he would have of no more, like to that  
of our Saviour Iesus Christ, to augment the price of gold, and precious stones dedicated  
to his Crowne by a holy humility, and a religious acknowledgement of the victory which  
the Sonne of God hath gotten by his blood, to give vs in heaven the Crowne of immor-  
tal life. This famous act chanced in the year 1099. in the Month of March.

Having put *Godfrey* and the Christians in possession of the Holy Land, let vs returne  
into France to our *Philip*, not without griefe to see the difference betwixt the Emperour  
and Pope, who were nothing reconciled by the voyage to the Holy Land. The emper-  
or of this new power, purchased in England to the Sonnes of *William* the Conqueror, gave  
him no final occasion to looke to his affaires, and the rather, for that this new King of  
England had begun to make a breach in his Estate, taking *Xaintonge* and *Poitou* Coun-  
tries very important, being members of one of the principal Provinces of his Realme,  
foreseeing also that Normandy would bandy it selfe against France without all respect.

The sonnes of  
William King of  
England.Philip King  
1109

His disposition.

*William* had left three sons of great hope: *William* (named *Rufus*) King of England,  
*Robert* Duke of Normandy (whom we have left in the Holy Land), and *Henry* Earle of  
*Maine* with all his treasure. *Philip* therefore to secure his Estate, (following the example  
of his Ancestors) caused *Levis* his sonne (whom he had by *Berthe*, daughter to *Baldwin*  
Earle of Flanders) to be crowned King. There was a scandalous breach in this marriage,  
for *Philip* falling in love with *Bertrude* the wife of *Fouques* Earle of Anjou, puts away  
*Berthe*, and afterwards (having reiectd *Bertrude*) he received *Berthe* againe, being mo-  
ther to King *Levis*, to whom having reigned the Crowne at Orleans, he died at *Me-  
lun* in the year of Grace, 1109. of his age 57. and of his reigne 49. having reigned long  
to fettle his Estate, but not without a levaine of much trouble to come, having degenerat-  
ed from the vertues of his grand-fathers and father. He was disloyall, covetous, loving  
nothing but his owne profit, pittilesse, ingrate, and one who sowed dangerous seeds of  
much mischief, which began to bud in the reigne ensuing.

L E V I S

L E V I S the sixt, called the Groffe,

The 40. King of France.



As we foresee a storme by the clouds that rise, by the darke mists of  
the thicke ayre, pierced through with sparkles like the shining of a  
close fire, and by the mortuities of the water, driven with a violent  
and sudden wind; even so there be Symptoms and fits in an Estate,  
which foretell the alterations which shall ensue: the which fall not  
all at one instant, but the subject being gathered together, in proces  
of time, breaks forth when it can no longer hold. There is this dif-  
ference betwixt natural things and those which belong to man,  
for that men can well discern what the weather will be, but he is blind in that which con-  
cernes himselfe, and neuer beleevues untill he feels the blow, falling into the danger which  
he flies, by his owne fault, neuer wise but after danger. France had enioyed peace about  
an hundred years, under these forecasted reignes: the now growes weary. This reigne  
is a piteable to a mournfull song, which shall make me to weepe that rejoiced in the  
fruition of so long rest. The name of royall authority held all those great men backe which  
had any interest therein, the wisdom of *Capet*, *Robert*, *Henry*, and *Philip*, had so bridled  
them, as they willingly obeyed.

Now they are of another humour. The Duke of Normandy (who since *Capet* had  
been obedient and well affected to the Crowne) seeing himselfe strengthened with the  
Realme of England, he frames all his practices to overthrow this order, by rebellions and  
tumults. *Levis* had scarce performed his fathers funerals, before the fire of rebellion kind-  
led in divers parts of the Realme: and (as if the Kings youth had beene a blemish to his  
dignity) every one will play the petty King. The places neere unto Paris began these first  
revolts, by reason of the many great familiars thereabouts. *Corbeil* had an Earle, *Char-  
tres* another, *Piseaux* in *Beaufe* had one, *Crecy* had his Lord, *Marle* his, *Pomponne* his,  
so all others other Seigneuries had every one their particular Lord. But as a disease stir-  
reth up all the humours in a weak body, so all that were discontented with *Levis*, gather to-  
gether into one head, to afflict him vnder the countenance of the King of England. They  
were for a time suppressed, yet this was but to open a vein, and not to cure the Feur;  
*Guy* of *Crecy*, the Lord *Piseaux*, *Lancelin* Earle of *Dammartin*, *Thibaud* Earle of *Cham-  
pagne*, and *Brye*, *Peau* of *Louvre* in *Paris*, *Milon* of *Montlehery*, and *Philip* the bastard  
of King *Philip*: all joyntly play the mutines, and rise against their King. At the same in-  
stant, *Henry* King of England goes to field, his private quarrell was for the towne of *Gi-  
fords*, seated vpon the riuier of *Epre*, on the confines of Normandy. But this small proceffe  
was soone ended, for *Levis* having defeated the English neere unto *Gifors*, hee forced  
*Henry* to retire, and afterwards punished all these rebels, encreasing his reuenuues by their  
confiscations.

But the quarrell betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, did hatch a more dangerous  
proceffe for France. We have said that *Henry* the sixt banded against his father *Henry* the  
fourth (who had associated him in the Empire) and had cast him into prison by the Popes  
counsell, where this poore man died for griefe. *Henry* the sixt wonderfully troubled in  
conscience, and vexed with daily reproaches, that hee had violated the Imperiall right;  
resolved to haue his reuenge of Pope *Pascal*, the author of this cruel and vniuersal  
counsell. To conclude, he armes, and that with so great a resolution, as in few dayes hee  
assembles threecore thousand foot, and thirte thousand horse: with this Army he goes  
into Italy, and having taken and spoiled *Nouarre*, *Pontremolo*, and *Arezzo*, hee comes  
a Conqueror to the gates of Rome, the which are opened without any resistance.

Being entred the Citie, and causing the Pope and Colledge to assemble, hee makes  
knowne vnto them the rights of the Empire, as Pope *Leo* the eight had acknowledged  
them to *Orto* the second Emperour, and before him *Adrian* to *Charlemagne*, according  
to the Decree of the Councell at Rome, contained in the sixtie third Distinction: and to  
conclude, hee forced him to take the oath of fidelitie, as to the true and lawfull Empe-  
rour, and then returns with his Army. Pope *Pascal* extremely moued with this affront,  
cals

The effect of  
this reigon.The French  
begin to fall  
from their  
obedience.Rebels sup-  
pressed and pu-  
nished.The Emperour  
grinned for his  
viage of his  
father.The Emperour  
comes to Rome  
and forces the  
Pope to take  
an oath.



III 7

The Emperour  
degraded by  
the Pope de-  
crees in a Coun-  
cell at Rheims.

The Emperour  
and King of  
England ioyne  
against France.

The French  
King and the  
Emperour re-  
conciled.

Notable trou-  
bles in Flan-  
ders.

calls a Councell, wherein he proffits to haue beene forced by *Henry*, so by consequence pronounceth, that whatsoever he had promised was of no force, and after all these toiles he died. *Gelasius* succeeded him both in place and hatred against the Emperour *Henry*: but being too weake of himselfe neither hauing any such friend as the King of France (according to the tryall so often made, time out of minde) he comes into France, but he died at Cluny: and in his place *Calixtus*, sonne to the Earle of Bourgoingne, was chosen Pope. The reputation of the place from whence hee was defended was great, so as being a Frenchman, he easily called a Councell in France, to the great satisfaction of the French. It was held at Rheims, where by an Ecclesiasticall decree, he declared *Henry* an enemy to the Church, and degraded him of the Imperiall dignity.

As this ignominious decree did moue the Emperour, so did it minister matter to the King of England his brother in law, to embrace all occasions to annoy *Lewis* his capitall enemy: for seeing this Councell had bene held in France, and consisted chiefly of the French Church: it was very apparent that the Kings fauour was very preiudiciall to the Emperours affaires. The English failes not to harpe vpon this string to the Emperour, being already incensed by the thing it selfe: promising him all his meanes, and encouraging him to enter France on the one side, whilst that he came on the other with all the Forces of Normandy and England. The party was not small, neither had *Lewis* small cause to feare, being encountered by two such enemies. But God shewed him the rod, and refused the punishment for another season: for as the Emperour was going to field, the Germane Princes (foreseeing the misery of a warre undertaken lightly vpon despight, and weighing the importance of neighbourhood) gaue him to vnderstand that hee ought not to attempt warre against the King of France, without declaring vnto him the causes of his discontent. He therefore sends his Ambassadors to this end. *Lewis* doth wisely answer him, that he is exceeding sorry to see the two great Pillars of the Church so shaken by these dissensions; and that it was to be feared, the whole building would be ruined. So as being a friend to both, he desired greatly to be a mediator of concord, and not to cary coales to encrease the fire, too much kindled already, the which ought to be quenched for the good and quiet of all Christendome. This Ambassage was pleasing, and prevailed so much, as the Emperour disarmed, and was content to make *Lewis* a mediator for an accord betwixt him and the Pope, to the great griefe of the King of England, who expected a long continuance of this jarre. The composition was made at Wormes, very beneficiall for the Pope, in the yeate 1122. whereby *Henry* grants him the installing of Bishops, and other benefices. This did ease the fore, but not cure it: as the sequell of the History will shew. While that Princes haue leasure to contend, the poore people die for hunger in many places of Europe. This famine was exceeding great in Flanders, who then had for their Earle *Charles* furnished the Good, for his good disposition and great charity to the poore. He sought by all meanes to relieue them. But as barrenesse was one of the causes of this famine, so the cruell couetousnesse of the rich, was a great hinderance to the commodity of vituals: whereby there grew as remarkable an act, as the successe was strange, the particular report whereof, the Reader must pardon in the briefnesse of our stile.

There were three brethren at Bruges, of the chiefe of the Country, the which had gathered together a great quantity of Graine, and would not sell it, expecting a greater dearth, which might cause a greater price, that is, *Bertholphe Wendefstrate*, Prouost of Saint *Donas*, and Chancellor of Flanders: *Lambert* and *Bouffard Wendefstrate* brethren: and another rich Burgesse called *Lambert*, one of the chiefe of the City. This dignity of Prouost and Chancellor was so great, as he supplied the Princes place in his absence. Vpon the peoples complaint, the Earle decrees, that all the Graniers of these great houses should be opened, and the corne sold to the people at a reasonable rate. The commission was giuen to *Thamard*, Almoner of the Earles house: he causeth the Graniers of these rich Burgesse to be opened, the corne is sold to the people, and the money deliuered to the owners. The people being relieved by the courageous care of *Thamard*, commend him. The *Wendefstrates* and *Lambert* (greatly discontented with this sale, wherein they held themselves interested) cause many indignities to be done vnto him. *Lambert* is directly accused by Informations, being an audacious young man, and the *Wendefstrates* were touched therewith. The Earle offended with these audacious attempts, repaired them by iustice: threatening *Lambert*, that if he continued, he would severely punish him.

There

A There was also another complaint, made by an old Abbot against the Prouost, to whom the Earle spake roughly, commanding him to restore vnto the Abbot what he ought him. These free admonitions of the good Earle *Charles*, did so alter the proud and trecherous minds of these Citizens, as they resolute to kill him: his mild facility giuing these wicked spirits both courage to attempt, and boldnesse to execute: And the end is answerable to their wicked designe. As the good Earle went ill accompanied in the morning to his deuotion, to the Church of Saint *Donas*, on a Wednesday, beheld a troope of young mad men, led by this *Lambert*, comes vnto him (being vnarmed, on his knees in a Chappell) the Priest attired in his ornaments at the Altar, (the Earle holding forth his arme to giue his almes to a poore woman) and without any warning, they beat him downe with their swords, and kill him, and so they seeke for *Thamard*, whom they find and massacre, with so great a fury, as they leaue him vpon the place, hewed into many peeces. Their troope encrease, and they flee to the Palace, where finding it without guard, without keyes, and without any gate shut, they enter it, they kill, sacke, and spoile: and running from thence into the City, they commit the like in those houses which they knew best affected to the good Earle *Charles*. The people exceedingly grieved to see these barbarous cruelties against their good Prince, whom they loued as a father, durst not speake a word during this fury, whereas this troope of murderers commanded absolutely. But the wisest Citizens fled to *Lewis*, as to their soueraine Lord. *Lewis* comes to Bruges with great speed: these butchers attending their misery, shut themselves into the great Tower of S. *Donas*. *Lewis* doth first burie the body of this good Earle honourably, (the which had layd without interring) and then doth punish the murderers and their complices rigorously.

But this is not all. He must provide for the Earldome, remaining without a Lord, by the death of Count *Charles* deceased without children. There wanted no pretendants, *William* of Ypre sonne, to *Philip* of Flanders, the second sonne of *Robert* the Frison: King *Henry* of England (who desired greatly to ioyne this goodly Country with his Normandy): *Stephen* of Blois, Earle of Montreuil and Bologne: *Baldwin* Earle of Hainault: and *William* the sonne of *Robert* called *Count-hoff*, brother to the King of England, but his sworne enemy, having vied his father ill, and kept him prisoner.

D *Lewis* was soueraine Iudge of this controuersie, Flanders depending vpon the Crown of France. He assigned all the pretendants to repair to the City of Arras: signifying that his intent was to doe them iustice: but in the end he inclined to fauour, adiudging the Earldome of Flanders to the last, that is, to *William* of Normandy, to bind him with more strict bonds against his kinsman. On the other side, the Flemings assemble at Ypre, and choose *William* of Leo, Lord of Ypre: the King aduanceth with his Forces to Ypre, to prevent this popular election, where he enters the stronger, and forceth *William* to renounce it. From thence he goes to all other good Cities: where by his authority he causeth *William* of Normandy to be receiued for lawful Earle, and puts him in solemn possession by a publike act. But his fauour had ill bestowed this goodly inheritance on an unworthy man, whose fury deprived him presently. *Lewis* hauing installed him, returns into France: *William* in stead of winning his new subjects by equity and mildnesse, begins to oppress them after an imperious manner: by infringing their priuileges, alterations of his authority, taxes, subsidies, new impositions, and by all other meanes which Princes (that seeke to lose their Estates) hold to torment their subjects. Hee had to fave himselfe as the Cities resolute to provide a better Earle; and to this intent they chose a head: The memory of their good Earle, makes them to cast their eyes vpon him that hath most right to this inheritance, as the nearest kinsman, which is *Thierry* sonne to the Duke of Holatia, and of *Gerrude* daughter to *Robert* the Frison. The Flemings intent him to come into their Country, promising him all assistance to conquer the State. He comes, and is receiued with an extraordinary joy by all the people: All the Cities assemble to acknowledge him by order, and dismisse *William* of Normandy, who seeing a hat repulse by this people thus freed, repairs to *Lewis* for succour in this extremity. *Lewis* falls him in his Army marcheth with great speed: he himselfe comes in person, and is receiued into Arras: from thence he adiuournes *Thierry* to come and answer before him as his Soueraine, by what warrant he carries him selfe for Earle: this summons is made vnto him at Ypre, whither he had repaired himselfe: Having condemned him by default, he approacheth his Armie to Ypre, to vex the inhabitants. *Thierry* rallies forth with a noble

III 7  
Trasher 7  
against the  
good Earle  
of Flanders.

The Earle of  
Flanders and  
his Almoner  
murdered.

Cruelty in the  
City of Bruges.

*Lewis* King of  
France punish-  
eth the rebels.

Pretendants  
for the Earle-  
dome of Flan-  
ders.

*William* of Norm.  
mostly master  
Earle of Flan-  
ders.

He oppresseth  
his new sub-  
jects.

The Flemings  
chose *Thierry*  
new Earle.

table





1137

The Pope and King of France at jare.

It is a priviledge, time out of mind, due to the Kings of France, that they admit not any to Ecclesiasticall dignities preferred by the Pope, or chosen by the people, if he bee not pleasing to themselves. The reason is apparent, to avoid either disloyalty, ignorance, or ill life, in such as are advanced to these dignities: our Kings having right to be sovereign over-seers of the Church. The King would not allow of *Peter* thus advanced to this dignity, although the Chapter of Bourges had given their consent to the Popes decree. *Peter* being reiected, had recourse to *Thibaud* Earle of Champagne, and to the Earle of Blois, men discontented with the King, and only fit to be opposed. But to this difficultie there was added a greater at the same instant. *Raoul* Earle of Vermandois had put away his wife *Gilbert*, the daughter of *Roger* Lord of Chastellu-briant, upon suspicion that she had been prodigall of her honour, without any proofes to convince her. But iealousie made him to see that plainly, which was concealed to others: so as he put her away, and tooke *Peronelle*, the bastard daughter of *William* Duke of Guienne in her place, being aduowed sister to *Queene Elenor*, and her deare friend. *Gilbert* complains to the Pope, being reiected (as she pretended) without cause, and demands iustice. The Pope commands *Raoul* to receive his wife againe, and to put away *Peronelle* as vnlawfull, and (for not obeying) doth excommunicate him. The King intreats the Pope for *Peronelle*, but he preuailes not: for he sends *Tues* into France as his Legat, to reuine the first censure, not onely against the Earle, but also against the Bishops which had consented to the diuorce of *Gilbert*, forbidding them any more to exercise their charges. The Earle *Thibaud* had undertaken to haue the Pope obeyed, to the more dislike of the King, as it were attempting it of purpose to offend him. *Lewis* moued with this affront, went against *Thibaud*: & at the first takes Vitry, and not onely sackes the towne, but in disdain of the Pope, caused the Churches to be spoiled: and many being fled out of the villages, to saue themselves from the fury of the disordered troopes, had retired themselves into a Temple, as to a place of safety: *Lewis* gives such liberty to his souldiers, as they set fire of the place, and burne fiftene hundred persons men and women. The horror of this massacre offended all good men, but especially *Lewis*, who was so much grieved as he could not be comforted. Misfortune is good for something. *Lewis* loathing the voyage to the East, for the aforesaid occasions, was easily confirmed by *Saint Bernard*, who had perswaded him to yeeld all succours to the afflicted Christians, for a reparation of so execrable a fact, committed by his commandement, vpon so many poore innocents: and likewise he embarked *Conrad* the Emperour and the Germanes. These two great Princes, caried with one zeale, and vnited in one will to this worke, make great preparations for the voyage. *Conrad* armes threecore thousand horse, and an infinite number of foot, and he himselfe is chiefe of this goodly Army, taking the way of Hungary to Constantinople, through the Country of *Alexis* his brother in law, Emperour of Greece: he arriued some moneths before *Lewis*, for the Emperour parted in February, and *Lewis* went to field in May, and takes the same course the Emperour had done.

A horrible massacre committed by the souldiers of Lewis, and by his consent.

The Emperour and Lewis goe into the East.

The Emperour voyages to no purpose.

The Kings Army was nothing inferior to the Emperours: and so much the more remarkable, for that *Queene Elenor* desired to accompany her husband in the voyage: so as after the King and *Queene* example, all France thought to flye into the East. They sent a distaffe and a spindle to all those that were fit for armes, if they marched not with this troope of braue warriors. *Conrad* arriued first at Constantinople: and so hee returned much sooner into Germany. Having passed into Asia by the Bosphorus of Thracia, it was likely that all should yeeld to so mighty an Army: but it fell out otherwise then hee had designed. All the Cities wonne at the first voyage were almost lost; and the Christians ill government was so well knowne, as the Turkes made head in all places. The Emperour measuring his triumph by the number of his men, contemned the enemy, and was negligent in his proceedings: having reiected the proposition to *Alexis* Emperour of the East, his brother in law, he found little bread, and store of enemies in all places. So as what by hunger and the sword, scarce the tenth part of his men came to his friends in the holy Land, where he found them all amazed.

*Lewis* (warned by *Conrad* example) did some what better in the beginning: for being reiected at Constantinople, and other Cities of Greece he passed the channel into Asia happily, where hauing bearen the enemy, he came without losse to Arhala, and thence caused his Fleet (which was at Rhodes) to come to the friend Ports of Palestina: hee arriued

1143

Arriued by land safe with all his troopes at Antioch, where hee was honourably receiued by *Raimond* Earle of Saint Gilles, his brother in law. In the meane time the Emperour, besiegeing Afcalon alone, but preuailes not. *Lewis* arriues at Ierusalem, whither *Conrad* comes likewise. After they had visited the places of deuotion, they resolve to besiege Damas in Syria, a City very important for the commerce for Iudea: after a long and fruitlesse siege, all are dispersed. The Emperour who came first, returns first; the King stayed not long after him. There were foure yeares spent in this fruitlesse voyage, with much paine and cost, and not onely without fruit, but it also tooke away the terror of Christian Armies in these miscreants, and left the affaires of Asia in farre worse estate then when they came. There was yet another inconuenience. The Emperour *Alexis* (a friend at their entry) shewed himselfe an enemy to them both at their departure. *Conrad* saued himselfe as well as he could, more fearing the trechery of the Greekes, then the cruelty of the Turkes. *Lewis* prouides in time to haue the Fleet of Sicily come for his conuoy, else had hee lost both himselfe and his treasure, the which had bene a meanes for the Greekes to make their peace with the Turkes, and open warre against the other Christians, being better then themselves. This shamefull and preiudiciall departure, was hurtfull to the whole Christian Church. But there was a greater losse for *Lewis*, very troublefome to himselfe, and preiudiciall to all France: for *Queene Elenor* his wife (who made provision to goe visit the holy places) suffered her eyes to be abused with an ynchaste and filthy lust, which tainted her honour, and the King her husbands heart with an outrageous iealousie. This woman accustomed to the liberties of time and place, had so abandoned her selfe to the pleasures of the East, as the stench of her incontinency was poble to the whole world, before her husband had any notice thereof: her impudency did so farre exceed, as she would dishonourably haue stayed in Antioch, and left her husband presuming to cloake her shame with a shew of Religion: saying without blushing, that shee could be no more the wife of *Lewis*, to whom she was cousin in the fourth degree, preferring the loue of a lecher, named *Saladin*, of the Sarazin race, before the greatness of a King of France, her lawfull husband. *Lewis* being much disquieted, periwades this woman to returne (a heauier burthen to his mind, then to his ship) being returned to his house, he frees himselfe with all the speed he can. And whereas he should haue cast this inordinate woman into the Riuer, being no more his wife, and retained her dowry iustly gotten, shee playing bankrupt of her honour: He calls a Councell at Baugency to haue her diuorced, the which was granted vnder colour of farre fetcht consanguinity. But his desire was to be freed from her. So retaining two daughters, borne vnder the vaile of their marriage, he restores vnto *Elenor* all her Country of Guienne, that is, he puts into the hands of his furious enemy a Torch to set his whole Realme on fire: for as soone as the secher selfe freed from the subiection and feare of a husband, shee stayed not long to acquaint her selfe with *Henry* King of England, and Duke of Normandy, the greatest and most capital enemy that *Lewis* had. So he obtained Guienne by the voluntary Cession which *Lewis* made, to haue the better and more conuenient meanes to annoy him & his whole Realme. Moreover, *Lewis* payed dearly for so great a discommodity, for the Pope would not give him a dispensation to marrie againe, without a great summe of money to bee employed in the warres of the holy Land: and to finish this worke, hee tooke to wife *Constance*, the daughter of *Alphonso* King of Galicia, being a weakie friend, and farre off. This marriage was not greatly conuenient, neither for his own quiet, nor the peace of his subjects: This subiect of deadly rancor, encreasing the hatred of these two neighbor Monarchs of France and England, burst forth soone after by dangerous effects. The benefit of the new purchase of Guienne, was the cause of that perillous warre, the which had so long and so lamentable a continuance. *William* Duke of Guienne, Grandfather by the Mother to *Queene Elenor*, had married the onely daughter of the first *Raimond*, Earle of Tholouza, who had ingaged the said County to *Raimond* Earle of Saint Gilles, who lineally called himselfe Earle of Tholouza, being seized on the said County, and enjoyed it so quietly vnder the Kings obedience. *Henry* King of England offers the money to *Raimond* to redeme it, and demands the Earldome as his Wives right. Upon his refusal, hee armes, enters into Quercie, takes Cahors, spoiles the Country, and besiege Tholouza, being entrained by *Raimond* runners to quench this fire: Being arriued, and the warre almost ready to ioyne, a peace was made betwixt the two Kings, by the marriage of *Henry* King of Englands daughter

The Emperour of Greece dealers treacherously with the Emperour and King. The Emperour and King of France make shamefull returne from the East. *Queene Elenor* vouchaile.

*Lewis* preceds a cause to be diuorced from *Elenor*, and restores her Guienne. *Elenor* marries with *Henry* King of England. *Lewis* marries againe.

The first warre betwixt France and England, for the Earldome of Tholouza.

1151

The two Kings  
reconciled by a  
marriage.

daughter of *Lewis*, with *Henry* the eldest sonne of *Henry* King of England: but for that she *A* was very young, and not yet mariagable, shee was deliuered into *Henry* the fathers hands, vntill she were of fit age to marry. *Lewis* had now buried his wife *Constance*, who left him but two daughters, without any heyres male: so as being desirous to haue a successor, he made no delay to marrie, and tooke to his third wife *Alix* the daughter of *Thibault* Earle of Champagne, his vassall, and newly reconciled, but not greatly affected vnto him, vntill that time. He had a sonne presently by her, whom he called *Dieu Donné*, or Giuen of God, as an acknowledgement that God had sent him and his subjects prayers. This is he that shall succeed him. I should beginne to describe his reigne, but order commands me to relate what hapned during the reigne of *Lewis*, in the neighbour Nations of England and Italy, wherein *Lewis* had great crosses.

Noble troubles  
in England  
betweene the  
father and the  
sonne.

Prince Henry  
isalous of his  
owne father.

*Henry* King of England had two sonnes by *Eleanor*, *Richard* and *Geoffrey*: and by his first wife he had *Henry*, who was made sure to *Marguerite* of France, of whom we haue spoken. The father caused him to be crowned, to settle him in his life time, and tied the English vnto him by homage. A young Prince, ambitious, audacious, ill aduised, and rash, who cannot long containe himselfe with the taste of this new authority, but will play the King with his father. And although his fathers admonitions restrained him for a while, yet this ambitious humour still burst forth: so as the father from milde admonitions came to threats, the infolency of this young Prince encreasing daily. Some yeares passed whilst this fire lay smothered, very long for young *Henry*, to whom the fathers life seemed too tedious, and the children of the second wife grew by the care of *Eleanor* their mother. *Henry* the father discontented with his sonne, and fearing that in consummating the marriage betweene him and the daughter of France, the young Prince would grow proud, augmenting his traine and State, and (through the fauour of King *Lewis* his father in law) attempt something preiudiciall to his authority: hee delayed the accomplishment of his marriage, although the virgin were of more then sufficient yeares. To this mischief was added another more shamefull, for that *Henry* the father caused this Prince to be carefully kept, the which should be his daughter in law, fearing lest his sonne should take her away, and marrie her. *Eleanor* falls into ielousie, as if *Henry* had abused her: and it was easie to settle this conceit in her sonne in law *Henric* head, who had the chiefe interest in this delay: and to publish this scandalous report vnto the people, to make the old man more odious vnto the whole world. A malicious and importune woman, borne for a great plague to both these Estates. As men doe commonly adore the Sunne-rising, so there wanted no Sycophants in Court to flatter the eares of this young King, and likewise to incense the two Kings one against the other, in flattering their passions.

The fance  
made warre  
against the  
father.

Thus *Henry* transported by these occasions, complains to *Lewis* of the double wrong his father did him, both in the delay of his marriage, and deniall of his authority. And as *Lewis* at his request had giuen some admonitions vnto *Henry*, in the end this passionate young Prince came to Paris, where being well received, he enters league with *Lewis*, to make warre against his father, and to disquiet him in diuers parts. *William* King of Scotland is an associate, vpon condition that *Henry* shall giue him the Countie of Northumberland adioyning vnto Scotland, for his charges in the warres. *Henry* the father (aduer-tised of all these preparations) moues not, hoping that reason should reclaime his son, and to this end he sends an honourable Ambassage to *Lewis*, and to his sonne being in France: the which made them more resolute, an vsual thing in such as are fought vnto. *Eleanor* adds more to this dissention (great enough of it selfe) to crosse the affaires of her old husband, with whom she stood in very bad tearmes. She doth bandy her two sonnes *Richard* and *Geoffrey* against the father, causing them to ioyne with their brother *Henry*, who is put vp wonderfully herewith, hauing his brethren for companions of his furie. The warre breakes forth amongst them, the Kings Army enters into Normandy, the which obeyed the father. *Henry* the sonne takes some places, and ingageth some men of warre with great promises, and by great assurances of good, the which was not in his power to performe. *Henry* the father (hauing provided for England against *William* King of Scots) passeth into Normandy, where lay all the burthen of the warre, and armes with speed: The coldness of his age was charied by the lively apprehension of so many indig-nities. The greatest part of his subjects desisted the presumption of his Sonne, neither could they allow of *Lewis* his proceedings, who had done better in casting Water then

Oyle,

1179

*Lewis* supports  
the sons against  
the father.  
But they pre-  
uile not.

*Henry* King of  
England recon-  
ciled to his  
sonnes.

New dissention  
betweene the  
Emperour  
and Pope.

*Fredericke* the  
Emperour re-  
in Milan.

He takes Rome,  
and creates a  
new Pope.

The Emperour  
subiects him-  
selfe baucily to  
the Pope.

*A* Oyle, into this home-bred fire. *Lewis* besiegeth Vernueil, and fearing to be forced to raise the siege, vnder colour of a parlee with *Henry*, he takes the towne, and sends Forces from other parts into England, to cause new broyles. *Richard* Duke of Guienne by his mothers right, makes warre there: but all these vnlawfull attempts haue no successe. The French that passed into England are beaten: and *Richard* preuailes not against his father, to whom most of the Cities yeeld daily, and leaue the sonne. *Richard* drawne to his duty by the respects of Nature, which cannot bee denied, and forced by necessity, desires to parlee with his father. He is receiued into grace, and deales with his brother *Henry* for the like reconciliation. *Lewis* finding *Henries* disposition, allows of it. They send Ambassadors of either side. This vnciuill and vnlawfull warre was ended by this accord: That the father should remaine alone in the royall authority: acknowledged and obeyed of all his sonnes: that he should giue honourable allowances to either of them, according to their degrees: That the marriage of *Henry* with *Marguerite* the eldest daughter of King *Lewis*, should be consummated: and that *Alix* his other daughter, should be giuen in marriage to *Richard* the other sonne of *Henry* to make an absolute accord. Thus this Tragedy seemed to end with a Comedy: but there shall be change of subjects vpon another scaffold.

As these things passed in England, Italy was nothing quieter, by the dissentions, that were reuiued betwixt the Emperours and Pope. After the death of *Conrad*, *Frederick* surnamed *barbarossa*, is created Emperour, of whom Histories yeeld an honourable testimony for his wisdom and valour. Hauing pacified Germany, he came into Italy, to repair the confusions bred both by long absence, and the death of *Conrad*. The Emperour hauing punished the Veronois and the Milanois, had incensed Pope *Adrian*, who supported them, (the factions of Guelphs and Gibelins being confusedly spread throughout all the Cities) so as he was ready to excommunicate him: when as death stayed this storme, leauing it ready to his successors. The Schisme which grew in the Sea of Rome by these factions, stayed the blow, some hauing called *Victor*, as most affectionate to the Emperours party: other *Alexander*, as his sworne enemy. To remedy this diuision, *Fredericke* calls a Councell at Pavia, and sends for both the Popes to come thither: *Victor* comes, and offers to performe what should bee decreed. *Alexander* on the other side makes the old answer, (these be the words of the History) That the Pope was not to be iudged by any man liuing, and that he neither ought, nor would appeare. The Councell being thus dissolved, without any good conclusion: the Emperour for the making of an accord, intreats *Lewis* King of France, *Henry* King of England, and the Kings of Scotland and Bohemia, to meet him in some conuenient place for a parlee. Dijon was appointed, as bordering vpon the Empire: They meet, but their conference did aggravate the quarrell. *Lewis* was wholly for *Alexander*, who had likewise gained the Venetians, and the greatest part of Italy. The issue of this parlee was open force, the which *Fredericke* employed against the Milanois, being the principall cause of this dissention: whom hee did punish severely, hauing taken, spoyled, and sackt their City, ruined it vtterly, causing Salt to bee sowne there, and punishing the authors of this rebellion capitally. *Alexander* not able to resist *Fredericke*, retires himselfe into France, from whence he planted his battery against the Emperour. The Milanois (suing what they could in this shipwracke) begin to build their City, vnder the fauour of Pope *Alexander*, and to make new defences against *Fredericke*, who returns into Italy, makes himselfe master of Genoa, from whence their meanes came, defeats the Romanes in a pitched field, takes Rome, and causeth another Pope called *Calixtus*, to be created in the place of *Alexander* the third. *Alexander* saues himselfe at Venice. Orho the sonne of *Fredericke* follows after to take him with 75. Gallies. But the chance turned, for hee himselfe was taken by *Cian* General of the Venetians, and caried prisoner to Venice. Then *Fredericke* grew more milde, and accepted of such conditions of peace, as *Alexander* had prescribed. That he should craue absolution on his knees, and himselfe should lead his Army into Asia. So as *Fredericke* comes to Venice, and being prostrate at the Popes feet in a solemne assembly, he asketh pardon. The Pope sets his foot vpon his necke, and cries with a loud voice: *Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis*. The Emperour moued with this disgrace, answers, *Non tibi, sed Petro*. The Pope replies, *Et mihi & Petro*. This brauado of *Alexander* seemed so strange to some of his traine, as *Theodore* Marquesse of Misnia, trembling, and gnashing his teeth with choller, was held backe by the reines of respect: yet he

L 3

runes

runnes to the Emperour and takes him vp. The Pope fearing lest these Germanes should offer him some violence, being amazed, calls himself about *Fredericks* necke, whom euen now he held vnder his feet, befeching him to preferue him from his traine. The Emperour giues him his word, for he was the stronger both within the City and without, hauing humbled himselfe for no other respect, but for the reuerence of Religion, and the zeale of publike peace. This famous act happened at Venice, in the year 1171. in the presence of the Ambassadors of the Kings and Princes of the greatest States of Europe, that were mediators of this accord. From Venice, *Fredericke* went into the East with a goodly Army, according to his promise: and the dissention was well pacified by his humility, but not altogether suppressed in Italy, for it reuiued afterwards, as we shall see in the continuance of this History. Thus the Christians liued, whilst their enemies preuailed daily in Asia, to the great and shamefull losse of all Christendome. Such was the Estate of the Church and Empire, vnder the reigne of *Lewis* the seuenth.

*Lewis* caused his sonne *Philip* to bee solemnly crowned at Rheims, at the age of 14. years, in the year of Grace 1179. He betrothed him to *Isabel* the daughter of *Bauduin* Earle of Hainault: and hauing thus disposed of his affaires, he dyed the yeare following 1180. An vnwise Prince, and vnhappy with all his policies, leauing a leuaine of great miseries to his posterity. Doubtlesse the greatest policy is to be an honest man. This assured peace caused the Vniuersity of Paris to flourish, as far as those obscure times would permit. *Gratian*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Cornelior*, learned men liued in that age. The inexcusable confusion which reigned in the Church, was a iust subiect of complaint to the good, as appears by the writings of *Peter of Blois*, *John de Saraburck* Bishop of Chartres, and *Bernard* Abbot of Cîteaux, great and worthy men: Their books liue after their deaths, wherein the wise Reader may see an ample and free Commentary of this Text, the which the History suffers me not to dilate of.

Lewis dies.

Complaints against the abuses of the Church.

## PHILIP the second, called AVGVSTVS, or Gods-Gift: The 42. King of France.

An excellent King, and an excellent reigne.

His disposition.



The title of *Augustus* given to *Philip*, is worthy of his person and reigne: who not onely preferred the French Monarchy, amidst so many sorts of enemies and difficulties; but enlarged it with many Prouinces (diuided to diuers proprietaries by *Hugh Capet*) and vnted them to the Crowne: for this cause hee was also called Conqueror. The beginning of his reigne was a preface of happinesse, for there appeared in his face a great shew of a good disposition, inclined to piety, iustice, modesty, being strong, quicke, vigilant, valiant, and active. He did consecrate the first fruits of his reigne, to purge the corruptions which reigned among the people: blasphemies, Playes, Dicing-houses, publicke dissolutions in infamous places, Tavernes, and Tipling-houses. Hee made goodly lawes which our age reads and scornes, doing the contrary with all impunity: but whilst hee reigned they were duly obserued.

The Iewes were mightily dispersed throughout the Realme, who (besides their obnoxious superstition, vsed exorbitant vsury, and were supported for some great benefit, by the Pope and other Princes and States, whereas they haue liberty at this day, to liue after their owne manner. *Philip* expelled them, although they obtained a returne for money: yet in the end they were banished out of all the territories of the French obedience, and so continue vnto this day. This was a small apprenticeship, and an entrance of much more happy paine, the which hee should vndergoe, both within and without the Realme, in great and trouble some affaires, as a famous subiect worthy of his valour. England, Flanders, and Asia, provided variety and change of worke to employ his reigne, the which continued forty yeares: but the change of his intricate mariages troubled him more then all his affaires, as the progresse of our Discourse will shew.

In the beginning there was emulation who should be nearest to gouerne him. *Philip* Earle

The Iewes banished out of France.

A Earle of Flanders, and the Duke of Guienne were competitors. The one as vnde to the young Queen *Isabel* his wife, and named by his father *Lewis*: the other as his neereft kinsman, and both the one and the other had great meanes to preuaile: but *Richard* was the stronger, as well by the Kings fauour, as by the Forces of England, of whence he was an Infant, and welbeloued by *Henry* his brother, who then reigned. Behold, the King is imbarqued against the Earle of Flanders, by the aduice of his Councell: The subiect of their quarrell was for *Vermandois*, which the Earle enioyed: the King demanded it, being no longer his, by the decaise of *Alix* dead without children, and therefore must returne to the Crowne: From words they go to armes. Their troopes being in field and ready to fight, a peace was made, with this condition: That Count *Philip* should enioy *Vermandois* during his life, and after his decaise it should returne to the Crowne. But this peace continued not long among these Princes. The King could not loue his Wife *Isabel*; it seemes this was the chiefeft cause of the dislike the King had against the Earle of Flanders her Vncle. In the end he put her away, in the year 1188. from which time *Philip* loued *Richard* Duke of Guienne.

But this good agreement continued not long, by reason of another controuersie betwix him and the English. *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Lewis* the 7. sister to *Philip*, married to *Henry* of England, as we haue said, dyed then without children. *Philip* doth presently re-demand his Sisters dowry, which was the Countrey of Vexin. The King of England is loth to leaue the possession, so as they fall to armes, and the mischief increased by this occasion. *Henry* the first son to old *Henry* dyed: *Richard* Duke of Guienne his brother, (who might haue compounded this quarrell) being called to the Crowne, embraceth the action with all eagernes. And to crosse *Philip* by an important diuersion (like to old *Henry*) auoides the blow in Normandy, and enters Languedoc by Guienne into the Countrey of Tholouse, renewing the old quarrell he had against Count *Raimond*. *Philip* being assailed in two places, is nothing amazed: hauing leaued an Army with all celeritie, he enters the English pale. Where he suddenly takes *Chasteauaux*, *Buiancais*, *Argenton*, *Leuroux*, *Montrichard*, *Montforeau*, *Vandome*, with other townes: and passing on, hee batters and takes *Mans*: and hauing waded through the River of Loire, he presents himselfe before *Tours*, which yeelds at the terrour of his Forces. Old *Henry* amazed at the sudden valour of this young Prince, faints, and oppressed with griefe, dies at Chinon, in the year 1190. leauing his Realme to his Sonne *Richard*, but not his Malice: for presently after his Coronation, he concludes a peace with *Philip* vpon a cause very honourable to them both.

The Christians affaires in Asia declined still. The Pope perswades the Kings of France and England with many reasons, and the zeale of the common interest of Christendome made them resolute. They became good friends, with an intent to make a voyage together to the Holy Land, to the incredible content of all their subiects. But whilst they prepare for this voyage, Ier vs passe into Asia, to visit the afflicted Christians. After the fruitlesse returne of the Emperor *Conrade*, & of *Lewis* king of France, things went from bad to worke, hauing caused the Christian Forces to lose their reputation with the Turks, being grown proud with this vaine shew of Armes: *Baldwin* dies after the fruitlesse attempts of these great Princes: *Amaury* his brother succeeds him, who toyled himselfe in Egypt, against *Sultan Saracoon*, and *Saladin* his successor. He was releeued by the coming of *Frederick Barbarossa*, who failed not to performe what he had promised to Pope *Alexander*. But the Christians found small comfort in his coming. The Forces of the Empire (which were great) being dispersed by the death of the Emperor, *Amaury* likewise dies, who leaues one Son named *Baldwin* both yong and a Leper, so as hauing voluntarily resigned the charge, finding himselfe vnfit, he did inuest his Nephew *Baldwin*, the son of *William Longsword*, Marquis of Monferat, & of *Sibill* his sister: and considering the weakness of his age, he appoints *Raimond* Earle of Tripoli for his Tutor. Hence sprung a horrible dissention among the Christians: for *Sibill* (by whom the right came to *Baldwin* her son, after the death of Marquis *William*) was married to *Guy* of Lusignan, who was seized of the yong Infant. He is now his Tutor by force, the childe dies, and *Guy* of a Turor becomes a King, (not without great suspition of treachery against the Infant) & in the end they fall to war. Euery one doth strengthen himselfe for this goodly Realme: & they are incensed with greater fury, then when they ioyntly made warre against the Infidels. *Guy* seeks

Competitors for the government of the State.

Troubles in Flanders, and the Earle of Vmmandois.

Henry son to Henry the 1. King of England, dies before the father.

Warre with England.

Philip of France, and Richard of England make a peace.

The Christians estate in Asia very miserable.

The Christians in Asia as in civil warre.

1190

The Infidels  
make their pro-  
fit by their dis-  
fentions.

The Emperour  
of Greece  
murdered by  
his Tutor.

King Philip and  
Richard King  
of England  
made a voyage  
to the East.  
The great fa-  
miliaritie a-  
mong Kings,  
brekes con-  
tempt and ha-  
tred.

Richard King  
of England his  
exploits in  
Asia.

Philip first vp  
John against  
his brother Ri-  
chard King of  
England.

Richard makes  
a truce with  
Saladin upon  
warfare unable  
conditions.

seekes for succour of *Saladin Sultan* of Egypt, who imbraceth this occasion, and runnes A with a great Army to besiege *Tiberiades*. The Christians assemblé, and are defeated in a set battell. The Crosse is taken by *Saladin* and caried in Triumph. Then was Tripoly deliuered into his hands, and the Earle *Raymond* found dead in his bed, when as he should have reigned : to teach all men how to trust Infidels. *Saladin* passeth on, hee besiegeth, takes, and sackes Ierusalem : and in this amazement, *Pielomais, Azo, Baruth, and Ascalon* yeeld vnto him. These victorious conquests of *Saladin*, were accompanied with great mildnesse to the people whom he had subdued ; that by this wise course, the Miscreant might encounter the Christians disorders, by a notable example of vertue. Moreover, there happened another Tragical confusion ; *Alexis* a yong man of fifteene yeares, B sonne to *Emanuel* the Emperour, (issued from that *Alexis*, of whom we haue spoken in the beginning of this Easterne warre) was cruelly slaine by his Tutor *Andronicus*, and he himselfe afterwards by *Isaac*, and the people of Constantinople, who had called him to the Empire. Such was the sicke estate of the East, when as our Kings were solicited to goe and visit it, in the yeare 1190.

Philip calls a Parliament at Paris to settle his estate : they dissuade him from the voyage, but zeale transported him, and made him fight and contend with impossibilities : So great efficacy this resolution had to go to this war, which seemed to be the gaine of their soules health, as the History saith, great changes were imposed vpon such as went not the voyage, to pay the tenth of all their reuenues, both spirituall and temporall, called for C this occasion the *Saladins* tenths. *Richard* King of England came with many Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, great Lords, and an infinit number of yong Gentlemen. The Kings swaue a brotherly and inuolable League : but the continuall and priuate entercourse by the way, bred a familiarity ; and this familiarity engendered a contempt, and contempt hatred, as the course of this Historie will shew. A notable lesson for Kings and Princes, to teach them how farre they should conuerse familiarly. Having crossed the Seas with some difficulties, in the end they come into Syria. The losse of the Crosse made them to besiege *Acon*, the which they take very valiantly, after great losse of their men : but the Crosse would not be found, As the Originall saith.

The plague fell among their troopes, euery one talkes of returning. *Philip* speaks first, D pretending indisposition. *Richard* made some difficulty, lest that *Philip* in his absence should indeavour to attempt something in his territories of France. *Philip* hauing assured him by oath, retournes, and passing by Rome, comes safe into France : Hauing left the greatest part of his Forces in the East, vnder the command of *Odo* Duke of Bourgogne. *Richard* remaining alone, was better obeyed of the Army, and achieved great and memorable exploits against *Saladin*, being already amazed and astonished by the taking of *Acon*. He fortified Gaza and Iaffa, hauing re-peopled them with Christian Colonies, and vanquished *Saladin* in battell : From thence he resolved to besiege Ierusalem, but as he was kept from this enterpryse by reason of the Winter, so was hee forced to leaue Asia, vpon this occasion, and returne into England. During his voyage and *Philips*, there had passed E some vnkinde speeches, by reason of *Alix* Sister to *Philip*, and the wife of *Richard*, who in great disdain said : That he had neuer toucht her : and that she should neuer come neer him, blaming her, as if she had bene prodigall of her honour, by a monstrous incest with his Father. Notwithstanding all shewes of friendship at their parting, yet this did sicke in *Philips* stomacke, who at his returne found his sister *Alix* at S. Germaine in Lay, whither she was retired, expecting his returne, who failed not to seeke all means of freuenger *Richard* hath left his brother *John* in England to gouerne the State in his absence. *Philip* solicited him, and promifeth him all his meanes, with his sister *Alix* (being vnworthily reiecte) for a gage of his loue. But *Elenor* the mother of these Princes, kept *John* in awe from ioyning openly with *Philip* against his absent brother, yet could nee not refrain *John* from giuing his word to *Philip*, who failes not to feize covertly, seeing his faith plighted, and the reuerence of the cause which held *Richard* from his house, would not suffer him to worke openly. So hee takes Gisors by intelligence, and all the other Townes of Vexin, which were in controuersie. These newes gaue *Richard* iust cause to resolve vpon his returne : but it cost him deare, for *Saladin* (whom he had kept in awe since the taking of *Acon*) well informed of his necessitie and resolution, makes him to buy a truce for five yeares at a deare rate : yeelding him vp all that had bene taken since the

1193

Richard King  
of England stand  
by the Empe-  
rour, and made  
to pay a raga-  
sone.

Strange mar-  
riages of Philip.

An aduocate  
unknowne  
pleads against  
the King for  
his wife Gel-  
berge.

Philip returns  
and takes Gel-  
berge.

Philip had sin-  
dry wars a-  
gainst the King  
of Bohemia  
the Duke of  
Flanders, &c.

A the coming of the two Kings into Asia, and so the Blood, Time, and Cost, spent in this conquest, were lost in an houre by the ill government of our Kings.

*Richard* hauing left the absolute command of the affaires in Asia, to *Henry* Earle of Champagne, takes his way for England ; but as he came to Vienna, in Austria, hee was knowne and stayed, first by *Leopold* Duke of Austria, and then by *Henry* the Emperour, for some discontent hee had against him. Thus *Richard* was retained 22. months, and not deliuered but for a ranfome of an hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was then a great and notable summe. This was the successe of that long and dangerous Easterne voyage, crossed with so many toiles, takings, and yeeldings vp, and with such troublefome consequences for both Kings & both Realmes : for the quarrell ended not vpon King *Richard*, release out of prison, as we shall see. *Richard* being returned into England, hee sought all means of reuenge for the wrongs he supposed to haue receiued vnworthily of *Philip* in his absence and calamity. But let vs returne to *Philip*, he had put away *Isabel*, and taken *Alix* the daughter of the King of Hungary, who liued not long with him. Shee being dead, hee tooke *Gelberge* sister to the King of Denmarke, whom likewise he put away, and in her place married *Mary* the daughter of the Duke of Moravia. After long & bitter controuersie vpon the repudiation of *Gelberge*, the King remaining obstinate in his resolution, yet in the end hee receiued her againe, beyond all hope, and ended his daies with her, sending backe *Mary* with honorable meanes to liue in this kind of solitary life, in manner of a widow. But our Inuentory may not excuse it selfe vpon the breuitie of the style, without reporting the manner which *Philip* held in receiuing *Gelberge* after so long and obstinate a suite. The King of Denmarke pursued vehemently in the Court of Rome, for the honor and quiet of his sister reiecte : *Philip* notable to auoide the decision of the cause, and yet resolute not to receiue *Gelberge*, prepares his Aduocates to shew the reasons which had moued him to put her away. The cause was to be pleaded before the Popes Legate in the great Hall of the Bishops palace at Paris, thither they runne of all sides. In this great and solemne Assembly, *Philips* Aduocates pleaded wonderfully well for him against his wife, but no man appeared for her. As the cryer had demanded three times if there were any one to speake for *Gelberge*, and that silence should be held for a consent : D behold a yong man vnknowne, steps forth of the presse, and demanded audience : It was granted him with great attention.

King *Philip* assisting, euery mans eares were open to heare this Aduocate, but especially *Philips*, who was toucht and rauished with the free and plaine discourse of truth which hee heard from the mouth of this new Aduocate, so as they might perceiue him to change his countenance. After this yong man had ended his discourse, hee returns into the presse againe, and was neuer scenemore, neither could they learne what hee was, who had sent him, nor whence he came. The Iudges were amazed, and the cause was remitted to the Councell. *Philip* without any stay in Court, goes to horse, and rides presently to Bois de Vincennes, whither hee had confined *Gelberge* : hauing imbraced her, hee receiues her into fauour, and passed the rest of his daies with her in nuptiall loue. By *Isabel* hee had *Lewis* E the 3. of that name, whom (during his life) hee employed in affaires, & left him the crown, but the peace of his house was blemished by these crooked changes, whereby we may observe by the disquieted mind of this worthy Prince, that there is nothing absolutely perfect in humane affaires. He which could surmount the insolencies of his enemies, could not vanquish his owne passions. Hee that could get elsewhere, could not preferre that which was most pretious, that is, the peace of his house & of his bed : and which is more, that of his soule : who could not liue quietly amidst these continuall debates bred and nourished in his bosome. This was the banquet which was prepared for him at his returne, after so many broyles passed in the voyage of the East. Flanders and England ministred him matter of troubles all his life time, & hee required his enemies with the like, ouer whom hee had victorious aduantages. *Baldwin* son to *Baldwin* Earle of Hainault and Namur, called the 4. and of *Marguerite* of Alsatia heire of Flanders, by the decease of her brother *Philip*, (dead of late in the East) was then seized of these goodly Signeturies : whereunto hee had added Vermandois, the which hee pretended to belong vnto him by a certaine agreement : but in effect it was by the right of consuetudine : the which hee had seized on in *Philips* absence, who at his returne recovered it from him by force, with the Country of Artois, the which hee gaue to his son *Lewis* being now grown great, who took possession



1183

possession and received homage from them of the Country. Moreover, *Philip* caused *Baldwin* to do homage (as his vassall) for Flanders and other Lands of the low countries, noted by that name at Paris, according to the solemnities required: from thence hee marcheth into Normandy, takes *Gisors* and the Country of *Vexin*, giuing it for a dowry to his sister *Alix* being put away by *Richard*, whom he had married againe to the Earle of *Ponthieu*. But suddenly there are complaints from England, That *Philip* did breake his promise. He replies, *That seeing his sister was nothing to Richard, there was no reason he should enjoy her dowry*. But this quarrell must proceed farther. *Richard* receiues his brother *Iohn* into fauour, and pardons what is past, so as hee will serue him faithfully against *Philip*, and be no more seduced by his practices. It chanced moreover that *Orso* of Saxony, the son of *Richards* sister, was chosen Emperour, in his absence, being then in England, from whence he presently departs, assisted with his vnclcs meanes, the which hereafter shall import him much, *Richard* seeing how much *Tholouse* did import him for his Countries of *Guienne*, enters into a strict League of friendship with *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse*, then a widower by the death of *Constance*, Aunt to *Philip*, giuing him *Ieane* his sister in marriage, the widow of *William* King of Sicilie.

All these were preparatives of great warre against France. And could *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders be well satisfied being intreated as we haue seene? *Richard* ioynes with him. They resolute to make war against *Philip* in diuers places: hauing assembled their Forces, *Baldwin* enters into *Artois*, *Richard* into *Vexin* (Countries then in controuersie) where by reason the warre should begin, seeing the proccesse was bred there, *Philip* without any amazement provides for *Artois*, sending Forces thither vnder the command of his Son *Lewis*. Helmselife marcheth in person against *Richard*, who besieged *Corceele*, which he belecced in despite of him. *Richard* not able to hinder these succors, takes his way into the Country of *Beauuillain* and spoiles it, *Philip* doth the like in Normandy. All tends to trouble, by the willfulness of these two Princes: when as the Pope (some say *Celestin*, others *Innocent* the 3.) sends his Nuncio to exhort the to peace. This perswasion said it not, but only made a diuersion of their armies: for *Richard* supposing that *Philip* could not auoide the blow, being engaged in Normandy, hee marcheth into Berry, and being assisted with all his Forces of *Guienne*, besiegeth *Yssoudun*, hauing wasted & spoiled all the Country. *Philip* hauing besieged *Vernon* (although the name be diuersly quored *Vernon*, *Vernueil* or *Aumale*) he leaues the towne and flies to *Richard* to draw him to fight: who finding himselfe too weak, retires from the towne, & *Philip* returnes to his siege, and wins the towne, notwithstanding all the attempts of *Richard*, who now takes breath to seeke his reuenge, but God hath otherwise disposed, with whom all Princes ought to account for their actions, who laughs at men when they vex theiues most. During his abode at *Limoges*, hee was aduertised that one of his men at armes had found a great treasure in the ground: this Souldier fearing to be ill rewarded by *Richard* flies to a small towne of *Limotin*, which the History called *Caalac* or *Cailus*, held by the French, although of the Prouince of *Guienne*, then belonging to the English. *Richard* besiegeth it, but as he approached too neer the walls, hee was wounded with an arrow in the left arme. His desire to follow this siege, makes him to neglect his wound, which impaires not being drest. He takes the towne, but the man saues himselfe, hauing hidden his treasure, so as *Richard* took not the treasure which he hunted after, with a desire so vnseemly for a great Prince: but in stead of taking gold, Death surpris'd him, who leauing his life vpon so light an occasion, leaues a notable example of the vanity of this world, in the lightnes of humane spirits, who suffer themselves to be transported with couetousnesse, a miserable counsellor both to great and small. This death did somewhat temper the bitterness of their diffentions, but it did not quench it betwixt France and England.

*Iohn* had right to succeed in the Realme of England, as Brother suruiuing the King deceased: but *Arthur* Duke of Britany, sonne to *Jessrey* the other brother, as wee haue said, pretended the Crowne to belong vnto him, as the sonne of the elder, *Eleanor* their mother being yet liuing. *Iohn* was receiued by the English, so as being in possession, hee had the better and stronger title. *Philip* fauoured *Arthur*, but he meant to make his profit of the brother's diuision, and to keepe the stakes. Being fought vnto by *Iohn* the new King of England (who had then nothing of greater import than his friendship,) he concludes a peace with him, vpon condition, that *Iohn* should yeeld vp all that his brother

War with Richard King of England.

Richard King of England dies.

Iohn succeeds Richard and makes peace with Philip.

1185

Ather had taken in Berry, and neuer pretend any thing of that which *Philip* had taken in *Vexin* in these latter wars: & that *Eleanor* (Mother to *Iohn*) Duchesse of *Guienne*, should do homage to the King for that Prouince, as depending of the crown of France. This accord is ratified by a new alliance, the which encreased no loue. *Lewis* the son of *Augustus*, takes to wife *Blanche* the daughter of *Alphonse* King of *Castill*, and of *Iohns* Sister, being his Niece. In the meane time *Philip* fauours *Arthur* vnder-hand, who (assisted by his meanes) takes the City of *Tours* to his great content. *Arthur* doth him homage presently for the Countries of *Touraine*, *Aniou*, and *Maine*, and so passeth on and takes *Mirebeau*, where *Eleanor* his Grand-mother was, resolving to proceed, but the Almighty God stayd his course. For *Iohn* comes, besiegeth and takes *Mirebeau* againe, and *Arthur* his Nephew likewise.

*Eleanor* extremely afflicted with these diuisions, dies for griefe, and *Iohn* puts his Nephew *Arthur* (whom he held prisoner) to death, to extinguish all controuersies, for the title of the Realme: although this death were cloaked as accidentally fallne out for sorrow. Hence sprung a cruell warre: *Constance* the Mother of *Arthur* Duchesse of Britany, demands Iustice of *Philip*, as her Soueraigne: *Philip* adiournes *Iohn*, & (for not appearing) he condemnes him as guilty of the crime imposed, and felony, in disobeying of his commandments. He proclaimes him an enemy, & doth confiscate all he held of the Crown. This sentence is seconded by open force, to make the execution thereof more easie: The

C Britans and Poiteuins, (wonderfully grieved with this cruell fact) arme & come to *Philip*. So *Iohn* abandoned of all, flies to Pope *Innocent* the 3. accusing *Philip* of the breach of his faith, in making warre against him. *Innocent* the 3. declaring that the breach of faith belonged properly to his authority, and so by consequence, carying himselfe for Soueraigne Iudge of the controuersie betwixt the two Kings, commands both the one and the other, to lay aside armes, and to suffer the Churches in peace: threatening to curse his Realme that should disobey his authority. *Philip* shewes, that he hath neither broken his faith nor peace with *Iohn*: But that he being his vassall, had laine his Nephew, in the territories of his obedience, as it appeared by good proofes, so as it was not reasonable the holy authority of the Church, should serue as a defence or support for his impunity. D In so detestable a crime, seeing the punishments of sabbicids and vassals, appertained to the Prince by all diuine and humane lawes. But there were new complaints to the Pope against *Philip*: that finding himselfe oppressed with war, hee imposed certaine tenths vpon the Clergy, to ease the people, who complained of their burthens. He did not exact this of the Church by his owne decree, but had assembled a Nationall Councell at *Souissons* to that end. The Pope said, this was done against his authority, and not only threatened *Philip* with his censure, but also all the Clergy that had assisted at this Assembly: *Philip* lets him vnderstand, That (touching the Clergie of the Realme) it was necessary that out of their abundance they should helpe to beare the charge for their common preferation: the which hee would discharge when as the necessity ceased. And hauing thus sent backe the Popes Nuncio, he pursues *Iohn*, so as in few daies he becomes master of all Normandy, the which had bene diuided from the Crowne since the yeare of our Lord 885: as wee haue sayd.

Normandy being thus reduced to obedience, with an admirable celerity, *Poitou* doth likewise yeeld vnto him: *Iohn* vpon this plarum comes to *Rochelle*, & from thence passeth into *Aniou*, but in vaine. He takes & vnpeoples *Angers*, & seekes to seize vpon Britaine, being well guarded through the care of their Duke *Guy*, so as he knowes not which way to turne him: when as suddenly behold new occasions in Flanders, the which hee feeds all the can to kindle new troubles, whereby he hopes to finde some rest: but his death shall Releall these toyles, as due punishments for his blind couetousnesse & horrible parricide. He seeks all meanes possible to trouble *Philip* with the ruine of France: Flanders misers matter by this meane. We haue formerly spoken of *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, who after he had done his homage to *Philip*, he resolves to passe into Asia to succour the afflicted Christians. He had two daughters, *Iohne* and *Margueris*, the which he left in the charge of *Philip* Earle of Namour their vncl, with the Kings good liking, who required the eldest to giue her in marriage to *Ferrand* of Portugall, to the dislike of the Flemings; and in the end hee took her himselfe, when as he hoped for profit. *Iohn* employing all his meanes, he first vnto this instrument to oppose him against *Philip* in his ayde. *Orso* the

Emperot

War betwixt Iohn King of England, and Arthur his Nephew.

Iohn murthereth his Nephew Arthur.

The cause of a cruell warre.

Iohn declared guilty of murder and felony by Philip.

Pope Innocent interposeth his authority.

Philip takes Normandy and Poitou from Iohn.



1215

Emperour his Nephew ioynes with him in such sort, as France was in great danger of ruine, by so great Forces in so resolute an Enterprise.

*Philip* takes counsell for his passage into England, finding so good successe in his Affaires. *Ferrand* having openly in counsell disswaded this attempt, shewing it to be both vniust and impossible, he made many of the chiefe to wauer, ouer whom *Philip* commanded with great respect, and among the rest, *Regnauld* Earle of Bologne, of whom hee had great need, for his descent into England, holding him in suspect, he sought to make trial of his faith, offering him a French Garison, the which he refused; whereupon *Philip* comes to Bologne, where the people giue him entry, and Count *Regnauld* (discouering himselfe) retires into Flanders to *Ferrand*. The league was great against *Philip*, being encountered by two fo great enenies, neighbours, and vnited: but *Otho* the Emperour swaid most, hauing promised to assilt *John* his vncl with all his meanes in this warre. But the issue of this great league was not answerable to their designe. *Philip* fore-sees this storme, and resolues to preuent it. He goes to Field, seizeth vpon Cassal, Ypre and Lisle, and takes assurance of the Cities of Gant and Bruges, employing his Sonne *Lewis* in these exploits, hauing meane thereby to be in sundry places, by so faithfull a Lieutenant. On the other side, Count *Ferrand* falls vpon Tournais, and hauing taken Tournay, hee crossieth *Philip*s delignes: *John* hauing sent an Army to Sea, defeats the Kings Fleet at Dam: and hauing passed into France, he recouers Poitou. In the meane time the Emperour *Otho* comes downe with a great and mighty Army, in which they number an hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and a notable troop of Horse, not specified. There were great Captains on eyther side. Against the King were *Ferrand* and *Regnauld* resolute men, who had fury and hope to encourage them. *Otho* the Emperour brought his honour with the Imperiall Eagle in the view of all Europe. *John* hauing intelligence of some stirrs in England, returnes with speed, leaving his army to his Confederates, and providing to send vnto them vpon all occasions. On *Philip* side, his greatest advantage was in his owne person, who did glister like the Sunne. *Lewis* likewise was there: *Odo* Duke of Bourgogne, and the Earle of Saint Paul held the first rankes. The common Souldiers were nothing inferior to their enemies in courage, and they surmounted them in number and expectation of victory: for who would doubt but the greatest number should vanquish. But the souereigne Iudge of victories had otherwise decreed, whom *Philip* had called on in this extreme danger. He fought to encounter his enemies apart, but God had prepared him a greater triumph in a greater Combat. The armies were betwixt Lisle and Tournay, where there was a Riuer to be passed by a bridge. *Philip* takes it, and whilst the Army passed in their rankes, he sleeps: being awaked, they giue him intelligence that the Emperour had passed the Riuer at a Ford, meaning to charge him behinde. *Philip* when hee had prayed vnto God (a circumstance very profitably obserued in the History) meaning to preuent him, hee caused those troopes to turne head which had passed the Riuer, and that with such celerity as they came vpon their enemies backs. The combat was furious on eyther side, vnder the most famous Ensignes of the world.

On the one side, was the Eagle holding a Dragon in his Talons: on the other side the Aurifume or standard of France. The Germanes, Dutch and English, shot at the King, the French at the Emperour, the King was in extreme danger, ouerthrowne vnder his horse, which was slaine, and rescued by *Hugh* of Marueil. The fame of which fact is more honorable to his posterity, then the Lordship of Mille-bois, which was giuen him by the King in recompence of fo worthy a seruice. The Emperour *Otho* hauing fought valiantly, was in danger to haue falne into the Kings hands, as the Earles *Ferrand* and *Regnauld* did, hauing performed as much as Valiant Captaines might doe. But God would punish (both in the Emperour and in them) the rashnesse of an vnecessary warre. The slaughter was great on either side: blood vniustly spilt through ambition and conuentionall reproachfull causes of a voluntary losse. The signes of an absolute victory remaine to our Augustus. The field enignes, yea, and the Imperiall Eagle, (which was to be instead of tearing) the chiefe Commanders, the Camp and dead bodies, *Philip* added to the triumph of this victory of his valour, dismissing all the baster prisoners, and honouring the Nobles with good viage, and their liberty. He retained *Ferrand* and *Regnauld* prisoners, whom hee accused of ingratitude and rashnesse, to haue rebelled without cause against their King and benefactor, he led them in triumph to Paris, where he made a large peny, drawing them

A dangerous league against Philip.

Philip in danger of his life in the battell.

Ferrand and Regnauld prisoners in triumph.

1215

A them chained in litters, and condemned them to perpetuall prison: *Regnauld* to Peronne, and *Ferrand* to the Louvre at Paris. All France made Bonfires for this happy successe, and *Philip* built a Temple in honour of the holy Virgin, which he called Victory, neere to Senlis. By a decree of the Parliament at Paris, the Earledome of Flanders was adjudged vnto the King as forfeited, who gaue it againe to *Jane* the heire of the said Earledome, being not guilty of her husbands treachery.

This memorable victory called the battell of Bouvins chanced in the year 1215. the five and twentieth day of Iuly. To make his triumph absolute, *Philip* gaue free passage to the Germanes, and *Otho* the Emperour being returned to his house, willingly resigned the B Empire, and died of a pining griefe, which neuer left him after that shameful flight, hauing willingly sought his owne misery: in supporting wrong against right, and searching danger, to perish in danger. A notable example which shewes, That victories come from the Eternall, that mortall man dies before his time by his owne rashnesse, and that no vniust warre can be successfull.

The Emperour dies with griefe of his losse and disgrace.

But what shall become of *John* the only motiue of this war? while the Emperour, and the Earles of Flanders and Bologne (great Princes whom he had imbarqued) be at war, he remains at home free from blowes attending the euent. Seeing his confederates thus defeated, he fears the whole storme will fall vpon him, what doth he? he plaies at Double or Quire, and flies to *Innocent* the 4. as to his Sanctuary. And being forced to saue his Estate in this extremity, hee resolues to giue him a good part. The Popes hatred, with the power of France, was the last end of his downe-fall. The Pope had excommunicated him, not only for the parricide of his Nephew *Arthur*, but for the ill vsage of his Clergy. To purchase fo difficult an absolution, there needed a great satisfaction. Hee therefore sends confident men in all haste to *Innocent* the 4. humbly beseeching him to pittie him in his calamity. That if it would please him to receive him into grace, and protect him against the King of France, he would bring the Realmes of England & Siegneury of Ireland, to hold of him and his successors, and in signe of obedience to pay him a yearly tribute of a thousand marks of silver. This franke offer caused *John*s Ambassadors to be wel entertained. *Innocent* sends his Legat presently to absolve him, to passe the contract, & to receive the homages of fealty, as well of himselfe, as of his subiects. *John* is absolved, and hauing laide his Crowne, Scepter, Cloake, Sword and Ring, (the Royall ornaments of a King) at the Legats feet, he doth him homage for his Realme of England, kissing his feet as his tributary; and binds the English to the like duty by a solemne oth. He was also willing to discharge that which he had taken from his Clergy. This shall be the meane to make him lose both his estate and life. This hapned in the year 1215. These things being performed in England, the Legat returns into France, and denounceth vnto *Philip* in the Popes name, That hee should suffer *John* to enioy his Realme of England in peace, and freely to possesse the lands which he held by homage of the Crowne of France. Moreover, that he should satisfy the great complaints which the Clergie of his Realme had made against him, restoring that which he had exacted from them during the warres, vpon paine of excommunication, if hee did not presently obey. *Philip* promisseth to submit himselfe: and before the Legats departure, he frees the Clergie of his Realme of the tenths which hee had exacted for the charge of the warres, according to the decree of a Nationall Councell held at Soissons.

*John* liues at peace in England, for that which concerned *Philip*: but (see, he is the instrument of his owne misery. Being exhaust of meanes, through the long and chargeable warres, wherewith England had bene afflicted, he had bound himselfe to the Pope, to restore vnto the Clergy, all such summes of money as he had extorted from them, during his troubles: and for want of payment, hee sees an excommunication ready, the which was reuoked, but vpon condition of obedience. Thus freeing the Clergy, he sur-chargeth the people: and pressed by the Pope to satisfy his command, he oppresseth his subiects, by extraordinary impositions, and tyrannicall exactions, adding force to his commands. So as it fell out, that as hee could not helpe the one without hurting the other, and that the people hate him commonly that wrongs them: behold the English make strange complaints in Parliament against *John*, who doth incense them the more by his rigorous answers. The English seeing themselves reioiced by their King, fly to extraordinary remedies, & being denied iustice by him that should giue it, they seek it elsewhere, choosing a King in the place of a Tyrant. France was their only refuge in these circumstances, and there.

John makes the Realmes of England tributary to the Pope.

John doth homage to the Pope Legat.

M

1217

The English receive *John*, and offer the Realm to *Philip*.

*Lewis* of France received by the English.

The Pope sends to *Philip* for *John*.

King *John* dyes for griefe.

Our English Chronicles say that hee was poisoned by a Monk.

The English change their opinion.

The English receive *Henry* the sonne of *John*, & disclaime *Lewis* of France.

Auvergne united unto the Crowne of *Philip* the eighth.

therefore they send the chiefe Noblemen of the realme to *Philip*, to offer him the Crowne of England, promising to obey him as their lawfull King. *Philip* (who desired nothing more) makes shew to refuse it: pretending both the truemade with *John*, and his word passed to the Pope, but vnderhand he sends them his sonne *Lewis*, his faithfull Lieutenant, giuing him a traine fit for his person in to great an exploit.

*Lewis* having taken hostages of the English (for assurance of their faith,) he passeth into England, being receiued of them all with greatioy, as the Prince from whom they attended their health and quiet: He makes his entry into London, which was the Rendezvous of his most confident friends; and by their example many cities come and offer him obedience. In the meane time, complaints come to *Philip* from Pope *Innocent* as if he had broken his faith; and threats, if he did not repaire it. *Philip* denies any breach of faith. They be (saide he) the discontentes of the English against *John*, whom they accuse to haue slaine *Arthur* their lawfull King: and hauing free liberty to make a new election, they repaired to his Son, who was of age to gouerne himselfe, for whose errors hee was not answerable. But attending the end of this sute, let vs returne to England. *John* held strong places, Winchester (whither he had retired himselfe) Windolifor or Windfor, Norwich & Douer, he had likewise factions in other cities. *Lewis* (receiuing homage from many of them) commandeth his Army to march, to reduce the Cities to obedience, who for the most part receiued him willingly. Norwich yeelds without any dispute: from thence he goes to Douer, (hauing attempted the Captaine by means of his brother, whom he held prisoner) he resolves to take it by force, and in the meane time he besiegeth Windfor by some Noblemen of his party. *John* sleepees not, he makes a vertue of necessity, employing all his meanes to leauy men, and to keepe what remained. But behold an accident which ends both his suite and his life. One of his Captaines brings him certaine troops to releue Winchester, where he attended the Siege, but they were charged by *Lewis* his men. *John* seeing his people perish, some by the sword, and the rest drowned flying to saue themselves, oppressed in his conscience, not able to endure the reuenging furies of his Ne-phewes blood vniufully spilt, he falls to a despairing griefe, and shortly after dyes, suffering the punishment of his iniustice and cruelty. Leaving a notable example and president to all men, neuer to hope for good by doing euill, although the offender grow obdurate by the delay of punishment. This was after eightene yeares patience, during the which *John* reigned with much trouble, a slave to his furious passions, which is a cruel and insupportable commander.

Thus the decree of Gods iust iudgement against *John* the parricide, was put in execution in the yeare 1217. But this death of *John* did not settle *Lewis* in his new Royalty, as it was expected. The discontent of the English dyes with *John*, and the loue of their lawfull Prince reuiues in his Sonne *Henry*. God limits the bounds of States, which mans striving cannot exceed. The Sea is a large ditch to diuide England from France: the Pirenei Spaine, and the Alpes Italy, if audacious ambition and courtousnesse would not attempt to force Nature. The English (pleased with his death that made them to languish) cast their eyes vpon their lawfull King. The Pope interposeth his authority for *Henry* against *Lewis*; who desirous to preferre what hee had gotten, prepares his Forces, when as the losse of his Fleet (comming from France to England) makes him to change his resolution, yeelding to reason and time: restoring another man his right and estate, to keepe his owne at home the surer and safer. Thus *Henry* the third, the sonne of *John*, was receiued King of England, and *Lewis* returned into France: but *John*s posterity shall be reuenged of the children of *Lewis* with more and heauier blowes then he had giuen: *Lewis* (being returned into France) findes worke at home to employ him in warre, which hee fought beyond the Seas. The occasion was to make head against the Albigeois, of whom we will discourse in his life, and not interrupt the course of this reigne. It is now time to finish this tedious relation of *Philip*s actions, and to shew the conclusion of his life. Hee did confiscate the Earldome of Auvergne, and vnitied it vnto the Crowne, taking it from *Guy*, being found guilty of Rebellion: this was his last act. All the remainder of his dayes were consecrated to make good Lawes for the well gouerning of the Realme. At Paris hee did institute the Prouost of Merchants, and the Sheriffs, for the politicke gouernment thereof: he caused the Citie to be paved, being before very noysome by reason of the dirt and mire: hee built the Halls and the Louvre, being beautified since by *Henry* the second with a goodly pauillion

1223

A pauillion, and the rest of the new lodging: whereunto King *Henry* 4. did adde a Gallery of admirable beauty. He walked in Bois de Vincennes, and replenisht it with Deere & with diuers other sorts of wilde beasts: hee finished that admirable and sumptuous building of our Ladies Church, whereof the foundation was only laid, vnkowne by whom.

He made lawes against Vsurie, Players, Iuglers and Dycing-houses. An enemy to publicke dissolutions, and a friend to good order and Iustice. Hee releued the people ouercharged by reason of the wars. He restored vnto the Clergy all the reuenues he had taken from them during his greatest affaires. And thus he employed this last act of his life to gouerne the Realme, to the which he had vnitied a good part of that which was alienated by *Hugh Capet*. That is, all Normandy, a good part of Guienne, the Earldomes of Aniou, Touraine, Maine, Vermandois, Cambresis, Vallois, Clermont, Beaumont, Auvergne, Pontieu, Alanfon, Limosin, Vandoline, Dampmartin, Morraigne, and Aumale. Wee shall hereafter see, how the rest of the Crowne-lands returned according to the diuers meanes which God gaue by the good gouernment of our Kings.

*Philip* employed his peaceable old age in this sort, when as God did summon him to leaue his Realme to take possession of a better. Hee was very sicke of a quartaine ague, which kept him long languishing in his bed, giuing him meanes to meditate vpon his death, and to provide for the Estate of his Realme; leaving a good guide, whom he had leasure and meanes to fashion, yet could he not make him the perfect heire of his vertues and happinesse. Although *Lewis* his sonne were not vicious, yet had hee nothing excellent to make him apparent amongst other Kings. He would not Crowne him in his life time, being taught by the late and neighbour example of the ill gouernment of England, betwixt the Father and the Sonne: finding his Forces to faile him by the continuance of this Feuer, hee made his will; In the which he dealt bountifully with his seruants, according to their deserts: hee gaue great Legacies towards the Chriftians warre in the East, and to the Temples, who were then held in great reputation, to be very necessary for the guard of Chriftendome: hee gaue new rents to Hospitals, and to very many Churches.

And so he died in peace, the yeare of our Lord 1223. the first of Iuly, at the age of 59. He beloued and lamented of his subiects. He was 15. yeares old when he began to reigne, & gouerned 44. yeares. He left two sonnes, *Lewis* and *Philip*, and one daughter called *Marguerite*. Vnhappy in his house, and very happy in his reigne. His minority was reasonable good, but his age was very reuerend, crowned with all the contents a mortall man could desire in this mortall life. Hauing left many testimonies of his vertues, to make his memory deare and respected of his posterity: his Estate peaceable: his heire knowne and beloued of his subiects, and of age and experience to gouerne himselfe, and to force obedience. A Prince rightly called *Augustus*, whom we may number among the greatest. He was most religious, wife, moderate, valiant, discreet and happy: a louer of Iustice, or order, and of policy: friend to the people, enemy to disorders, dissolutions and publicke violence: charitable, liberrall, and iudicious to giue with discretion. To conclude, the pattern of a great King, by whom our Kings should take example, to learne how to gouerne the helme of an Estate, in the tempest and stormes of many toyles and confusions, and by the managing and successe of his reigne, to gather this goodly poeie, or rather to take this passport for the confirmation and greatnesse of Kings: That a vertuous King is in the end happy, howsoeuer he be compassed in with difficulties. But before wee enter into a new reigne, order requires that we obserue the estate of the Church and Empire. *Fredericke*s humility to the Pope, had somewhat calmed the violence of these factions, and his voyage to the holy Land, to performe his full obedience, seemed to bring a perfect peace to Chriftendome: when as behold a new cause of troubles.

*Fredericke* going for Asia, had with the consent of the Princes of the Empire, confirmed his eldest Son *Henry* Emperour, but he being dead, and his Sonne *Henry* to succeed him, Pope *Innocent* opposed another Emperour, which was this *Otho*, of whom wee haue spoken, and did excommunicate *Henry* in hatred of his Father *Fredericke*. *Otho*s ambitious of command, caused *Henry* to be murdered in his Chamber. But it chanced, that hauing committed this fact, he went to receiue that disgrace in France, which was his death: and *Fredericke* the second succeeded him, so as hee liued when as our *Augustus* left the Crowne to his Sonne *Lewis*.

Estate of the Empire.

The Pope opposes against the Emperour.

The Emperour numbered by *Otho* who succeeded him.



1215

A wonderful  
slaughter of  
the AlbigeisStrange execu-  
tions done by  
Simon of  
Montfort.In the reign of  
Philip Au-  
gust.Count Ray-  
mond and his  
confederates  
defeated by Si-  
mon of Mont-  
fort.The Council  
of Latran.The Earldome  
of Tholouze gi-  
uen to Simon of  
Montfort by  
the Pope.Simon hated by  
his subjects of  
Languedoc for  
his oppression  
and tyranny.

the blood flowed by the losse of threecore thousand persons: & in the end it was spoiled, A  
fackt, burnt and made desolate. All other townes being terrified, yielded at the first sum-  
mons. Carcassone held out, but it was taken by compulsion: *That the inhabitants should  
depart all naked, only their privie parts covered, and halsters about their necks.* Castelnau like-  
wife would not obey, yet in the end it yielded, and Simon caused 50. men to be burned  
alive. Alby obeyes without force. Lauaur by the resolution of *Gerarde* the Lady of the  
place, did resist, but the towne was taken by force, and this woman cast into a Well: *A-  
maulry* a gentleman of the Country, (who had maintained the siege against Simon,) was  
hanged. By these fearful examples, Castres, Rabastens, Gaillac, la Caussade, Puy Laurence,  
Saint Antonin, and Saint Marcell yeeld; Cahors followes, but Moissac being obstinate,  
was taken and spoiled. This sudden execution amazed Count *Raimond*, who having ex-  
cused himselfe touching the Legates death, and being so neere allied vnto the King  
his brother in law, he attended nothing lesse then an army against him: yea hearing of the  
leasy, and seeing it to march, he feared not that which was put in execution against his  
subjects. He conceived it had beene onely to countenance the sermons of Saint *Dominike*  
who accompanied the Army with a notable number of Clergy men. Being awaked with  
so great a losse, he seeks out all meanes and friends to oppose them against Count *Simon*,  
of Montford, who was wonderfully feared by reason of so victorious a successe. King *Al-  
phonso* of Arragon, and the Earles of Cominges and Foix, bring him great troopes. In-  
couraged by these examples to their preferation, *Raimond* employes all he can, his army  
(as they say) consisted of an hundred thousand men.

As this Army of the Albigeis by Count *Raimond*, goes to field to recover their lost  
townes, Simon opposeth himselfe courageously with far lesser Forces, and yet overthrow  
these great numbers with little losse. *Alphonso* was slaine in this defeat, the taking and  
sacke of Tholouse followed, where there died 20000. men by the victors sword, the cities  
of Rouergue and Agenois (terrified with this feare proceeding) yielded obedience vnto  
*Simon*. This happened in the year 1215. the place of the battell is diuerly reported, at  
Muret or at Mirebeau. After this strange and ruinous defeat, Count *Raimond* (being  
spoiled of his possessions) retires into Spaine to the Estates of King *Alphonso*, attending  
meanes to repair his affaires in better season. In the meane time *Simon* doth promise him-  
selfe the property of all *Raimonds* estates, which he had gotten with his sword: but for that  
it was apparent, that the King of France would hardly grant so goodly a Prouince, taken  
from his kinsman, to one of his subjects, *Simon* therefore flies vnto the Pope, by whose  
authority this war was chiefly managed, and from whom hee attended his chiefe recom-  
pence, having laboured for him. *Innocent* the third, finding that *Philip* (who would not  
desist in his pursuit against *John* King of England, notwithstanding his interdictions)  
would not be moved now by his simple authority, to leave so important a peece: he as-  
sembles a great Council, meaning to force the King to yeeld vnto his will. The Patriarks  
of Ierusalem and Constantinople were there in person and those of Antioch and *Alexan-  
dia* sent their deputies, there were twenty Archbishops, foure hundred Bishops, and  
thousand Abbots and Priors. The Emperors of the East and West: the Kings of France,  
England, Spaine, Ierusalem, Cipres, and other Kings, Princes and great Estates had their  
Ambassadors. By a decree of this notable Assembly, Count *Raimond* was excommunica-  
ted with all his associates, and his lands adiudged to *Simon* of Montford, for his service  
done (and to doe) to the Catholike church. *Philip* could not gaine-say this decree con-  
firmed in a manner by the consent of the whole world. Hee therefore received *Simon*  
to homage, for the Prouince of Languedoc, whereof he rooke peaceable possession: but he  
did not long enjoy it: for seeing himselfe inuaded, he began to oppresse his new subjects.  
An eele is lost with ouer gripping. The people of Languedoc finding themselves oppressed  
with this insupportable burthen of *Simon*, they resolute to call home their Count *Raimond*  
who was retired into Spaine, to seeke some meanes to recover the possession of his estate.  
His case was not desperate, for he inioined the Earldomes of Viuaretz, Venaiffon, and the  
City of Auignon, places kept by his subjects during these occurrences, whither *Simons*  
Forces were not yet come. *Raimond* (being called by his subjects) returns into Languedoc  
accompanied with a notable troop of Arragonois, being discontented for the death of their  
King *Alphonso*. The whole country bandied against *Simon*, hating him as an vsurper, & de-  
testing him as a tyrant, for doublese vnjust and violent things cannot continue. Whilst  
that

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Simon of Mont-  
fort slaine be-  
fore Tholouse.Count Raimond  
receiued againe  
in Languedoc,  
waite in Gui-  
enne against  
the English.Lewis com-  
pounds for  
Languedoc  
with the sonne  
of Simon Montfort.Count Raimond  
submits him-  
selfe vnto the  
Pope.Desolation of  
the Albigeis  
by Lewis.

A that *Simon* seeks to bridle the Cities of his new conquests, leaping from place to place,  
with an infinite toile, behold *Raimond* is receiued into Tholouze by intelligence, and with  
great ioy of the inhabitants. *Simon* abandons all the rest, and flies thither: but he finds a  
stop, for coming to the gates of the City, as he approached neere the wals to parlee,  
he was hurt in the head with a stone, whereof he died. The example of Tholouze made  
the greatest part of the subdued Cities to reuolt. *Simon* of Montfort left two sonnes,  
*Guy* and *Amaulry*: vpon the reuolt of Tholouze, the one seizeth vpon Carcassone, the  
other of Narbonne: but *Guy* was slaine in Carcassone by the inhabitants, who were the  
stronger. *Amaulry* having fortified Narbonne, repaires to *Philip Augustus*, beseeching  
him to succour him in his necessity. *Philip* held the Wolfe by the eare: for as on the one  
side he desired this goodly Prouince for himselfe, rather then for the children of *Simon*  
of Montfort, so was he also restrained by the authority of the Pope and Councell. Hee  
therefore sends his sonne *Lewis* into Languedoc, to reduce the Country to his obedience.  
But he had scarce taken any one castle, when as his fathers death calls him home. So as  
Count *Raimond* and his subjects of Languedoc had time to reuiue their spirits, and reco-  
uer many places gotten by *Simon*. The King of England would neither assent nor send to  
the coronation of *Lewis*, although he were held as Duke of Guienne. This occasion mo-  
ued *Lewis* to warre against him; whereby he got Niort and Rochel: and *Sauary* of Mau-  
leon Gouvernor for the English, retired to his seruice. This losse made the warre more  
C violent.

*Richard* Earle of Cornwaile, brother to *Henry* King of England, passed into France  
with a goodly Army, and having taken Saint Macaire, Langon, and Reolles, (townes sca-  
ted vpon the riuer of Garonne) and defeated some French troopes, hee made way for a  
Truce, which was fauourable for both parties; but especially for *Lewis*, being desirous  
to settle matters in Languedoc, which troubled him, for the daily proceedings of the Al-  
bigeois; yet was he loth to labour for another. For this reason he treats with *Amaulry*  
Earle of Montfort, touching the right that hee to that Country: with whom hee pre-  
ualled the more easily, for that having lost the greatest part of the Prouince, hee was not  
able to hold the rest with the Kings dislike, to whom he resigned it, by order of a decree,  
D made by the Pope in the Councell of Latran: and in recompence hee made him Con-  
stable of France, with the consent of Pope *Honorius*. Having compounded with the  
children of *Simon Montfort*, he resolved to winne Count *Raimond* to his deuotion, and to  
perswade him to lay aside Armes, where he did see the euent to be very doubtful. His  
intent was to winke this rich Prouince of Languedoc to the Crowne. But reason which  
saith that no man thinks his owne too much: the respect which great men doe vsu-  
ally beare one to another, and the alliance which the house of France had with the Coun-  
tie of Tholouze, were great restraints for the couetousnesse of *Lewis*. But howsoeuer, hee  
determined to make himselfe the stronger, and to prescribe them a law. To this end hee  
leauied a great Army, fortified with his Edicts, by the which hee thunders against these  
E poore Albigeois, as Hereticks and Rebels. These Edicts were of force, whereas his au-  
thority was respected. Count *Raimond* (considering with himselfe the cruell beginning  
of this warre, and the continuance of the like misery in these second armes, fearing to em-  
barke himselfe the third time with a people against his King) is easily perswaded by *Le-  
wis* to reconcile himselfe to Pope *Honorius*. Thus *Raimond* leauing to oppose himselfe,  
yields to *Lewis*, and perswades the Earle of Cominges (the chiefe agent of his designs)  
to the like obedience. Thus both of them abandon the people, and goe to Rome, they  
make their peace with the Pope, and leaue the Albigeois to the mercy of *Lewis*, who see-  
ing them without a head, embraceth this occasion to their ruine. High and base Languedoc  
was wholly in his power, by *Raimonds* departure. Auignon remained, with many  
other places in the County of Venaiffon, and in Prouence. Hee besiegeth Auignon and  
takes it: from thence he passeth into Prouence, whereas all yeelds to his will. The Coun-  
ties of Viuaretz and Die yeeld without blowes, and many families were made desolate, by  
the rigour of these Edicts, which did forfeit both bodies and goods. The house of *Mau-  
ler*, one of the greatest of Viuaretz, having followed the Albigeois party (being cursed  
makes his peace by meanes of the towne of Argentiere, giuen to the Bishop of Viunty,  
who enioyeth it vnto this day. These poore miserable people were dispersed here and  
there, and such as remained in the Country, were forced to acknowledge the Pope as  
soueraigne

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soveraign pastor of the Church. This hear was for a while restrained, but the seeds were not rooted out: as we shall see in the following reignes.

Lewis dies.

*Lewis* having thus subdued the Albigeois, gave order to suppress them, if they should rise againe: appointing the Marshall of Foy of the house of *Myrepolis*, to command his Forces, and leaving the Lord of Beauieu for Gouvernor and Lieutenant general of Languedoc, he tooke his way towards France. But coming to Montpensier in Auvergne, he died in the year 1227, the 27. of October, leaving four sonnes by his wife *Blanche*: *Lewis* which succeeded him; *Robert* Earle of Arthois, who died in Morez; *Alphonso* Earle of Poitiers; and *Charles* Earle of Anjou, who shall be Earle of Prouence, and King of Sicilia and Ierusalem. In this year the Flemings were much disquieted by means of an Impostor, who said he was their Prince; but he received condigne punishment for his rashnesse, and by his death this error vanished, wherewith many had bene bewitched. *Lewis* the eldest sonne of France, succeeding his father, goes now to sit in the royall Throne.

## LEVVIS the ninth, called S. LEVVIS:

## The 44. King of France.



*Blanche* Regent of the King and Realme.

HE piety and good disposition of this Prince, consecrated to the happy memory of his posterity, represented vnto France goodly first-fruits: but his age (not yet capable to gouerne the helme of this Monarchie) suffered him onely to take the first and most pretious game of his lawfull and hereditary right: for being but twelue years old, he was crowned at Rheims, but his mother *Blanche* (a wife and courageous Princeesse) tooke vpon her the gouernment of his person and Realme; according to the decree of *Lewis* the eight who knowing her capacity, had appointed her for Regent. He beganne to reigne in the year 1227. *Blanche* had much honour in the education and instruction of her sonne, the which purchased her the free consent of the Estates (assembled at Paris) to be admitted Regent: but this was not pleasing to the Princes of the blood, who pretended this prerogative to appertaine vnto them, and not to a woman and a stranger borne. From these discontents sprang two wars in France, in the beginning of his reigne, the which were suppressed, not onely by the discretion of *Blanche*, but also by the wisdom and valour of young *Lewis*, who then played his part with so good successe, as hee purchased great credit in his youth.

A faction in France for the Regency.

The heads of this faction, were *Philip* Earle of Bologne, vnder to the King by the fathers side; *Robert* Earle of Champagne; *Peter* of Dreux Duke of Britanie; and *Robert* Earle of Dreux his brother: Princes of the blood, valiant, and factious men, who had embarked many of the Nobility, vnder a goodly pretext; That it was not reasonable a Spanish woman, (abusing the Kings minority) should gouerne the Realme at her pleasure, and by the counsell of Spaniards, whom she advanced, rejecting the Princes, keeping backe the naturall French from all preferments. But that which was most to be feared in this occurrent of affaires, was that *Raimond* Earle of Tholouza, who had so great a subiect of discontent against the King (being spoiled of the greatest part of his Estate should ioine with that party, and draw his cousin the Earle of Prouence into the same quarrell: men which were neither dull-witted nor gouty-handed, and who were nothing altered in minde, although they had made a good shew, yielding to necessity: the which *Blanche* perceived happily, winning Count *Raimond* (who now began to rise in Languedoc) by the marriage of *Isabel* his only daughter with *Alphonso* the Kings brother, & Earle of Poitiers, vpon condition that *Raimond* should enjoy it during his life, & that after his death the said *Alphonso* should succeed in the right of his wife; and if they had no issue, the Earle dome with all the dependances, should returne to the Crowne as to his first beginning. Thus Languedoc shaken at the first by armes (as we haue said) was honorably vnto the Crowne of France, by this accord, as the History will hereafter shew in the reigne of *Philip*, sonne to our *Lewis*. By the like meanes the drew *Robert* Earle of Champagne vnto her, a very

Languedoc annexed to the Crowne by marriage.

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A very factious man, and did not onely thereby weaken the party of these discontented Princes thus disioyned, by withdrawing the most sufficient man they had, but also the employed him against them. There remaind a Triumuiate, the which three diuided. They made a good shew, but *Blanche* did cunningly counterminne them, discouering their actions euen within their Cabinets, where she found access by money. In the end their practice must breake forth.

*Blanche* supplants the discontented Princes.

The Earle of Bologne fortified Calais, and the Duke of Britaine, with the Earle of Dreux, did purposely demand some of the Crowne-lands, which they knew well, that *Blanche* would not yeeld vnto, as inalienable; whereby they might pretend some colour to rebell. They now goe to armes, and at the first seize vpon Saint Iames of Beuron, and Beleime. *Blanche* flies to the Maiesty of the King, and threatens these armed Princes to proclaim them Rebels, and guilty of high treason if they obey not. The confederate Princes answer: That they most humbly beseech his Maiesty to giue them free access, to complaine of his mother, who abused both his name and his authority. *Blanche* admits them, being well aduertised by the Earle of Champagne, that their intent was (vnder colour of this parlee) to seize vpon the Kings person. Their desire was to haue this meeting at Vendome, but they had layd their ambush neerer to surprise him by the way. They had advanced their troopes to Corbeil, when as the King parted from Paris: being ariued at Montchery, newes came that the troopes marched to surprise him.

*Lewis* in danger to be surprised by his Rebels.

The King retires to the Castle (then being of some strength) and *Blanche* giues it out that the King is in a manner besieged. The Parisians arme speedily, and goe in great troopes to fetch their King, to make the Leaguers thereby more odious, and to confirme the Queenes authority.

These Princes being thus discouered, depart from Corbeil, and enter Champagne in hatred of the Earle, who had forsaken them to follow the Kings party: But *Lewis* taking him into his protection, and marching towards them with his men at armes: all their designs came to nothing: And yet they had embarked the Duke of Loraine, and the King of England in this quarrell. *Lewis* having expelled them Champagne, follows his course, takes Angiers, without any contradiction, belonging then vnto the Britans, and from thence he marcheth into Britany. Terror opens the gates of all the townes. The Earle of Dreux leaves his brother, who (seeing himselfe abandoned of them all, but first of iudgement) confesseth his fault, and doth homage to the King for Britany: and by this rebellion, he gets the name of *Masclercok*, having so ill employed his time, as to suffer himselfe to be vanquished by a child and a woman.

The League broken.

These troubles thus pacified (to the dishonor of the authors) the young King wonne great reputation, and his mothers wisdom was generally commended, who thought it fit that her Sonne should be seene of all his subiects. As he went this progresse, he received homage from all his Nobility, and ordained many things according to occurrents. It chanced, that having erected Poitou to an Earle dome, and given it to *Alphonso* his brother; *Hugh* Earle of Marche (which lies within Poitou) would not acknowledge *Alphonso* for his Lord: his wife *Isabel* mother to King *Henry* of England (who had bene first married to King *Iohn*) was the motive; for coming to subiect her selfe to an Earle of Poitou. This ambitious passion was the cause of great warre: First the drew in the Earle of Lusignan, vnder the same pretext (for that there had bene Kings of Ierusalem and Cyprus) issued out of this Noble house; and afterwards the King of England. The first tumult not prevented, had almost surprised *Lewis* within Saumur, and this woman transported with pride and hatred, sought to make him away either by poison or sword, kindling the warre in England by hired Preachers. In the end, after the two Armies had made great spoile in Poitou, Xaintonge, and Angoulmois, both of friend and enemy, a peace was concluded with the English, vpon condition, that *La Marche* should remaine in France. This was the end of that feminine rage, ridiculous in the issue; but lamentable for the poore people, who alwayes pay for the folly and malice of Princes.

*Lewis* makes a progresse throughout his Realme.

Prouence was gouerned by the *Berengiers* (as we haue said) since the ouerthrow of *Lewis* the sonne of *Boson*: and then in the hands of *Raimond Berenger*, a fierce and cruell man: who had so incensed his subiects, being impatient and turbulent of himselfe; as they had recourse to *Raimond* Earle of Tholouza, his nearest kinsman, to install him in their Earles place, with whom they would haue no more correspondency. Being ready

Prouence comes to Charles of Anjou, a sonne of France.

to



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to arme, the felicity of *Lewis* pacified all. *Raimond* Earle of Prouence had foure daughters, *Marguerite* which was wife to our *Lewis* the ninth, and *Queene of France*: *Elenor* which was married to *Henry* King of England: *Sancho* to *Richard* his brother, Duke of Cornewaile: and *Beatrice* which was to marrie. Daughters of great happinesse: hauing had three Kings, and a royall Prince. The Earle of Prouence would hardly haue bene controuled by *Lewis*, but *Gon* (who meant to plant a generall peace in France, by the hand of this good King) buried *Raimond* with his rage in one tombe, taking him out of the world, whom a whole world could not containe. *Lewis* after the decease of *Raimond*, pacified the Prouencals, in marrying his brother *Charles* Earle of Aniou, with *Beatrice* the daughter of their Earle, to their great content: adding (in fauour of this marriage) Maine to Aniou. And since this *Charles* was King of Sicily. *Robert* the younger brother was Earle of Arthois. By this meanes his brethren remained satisfied. *Alphonfus* being Earle of Poitou and Tholoufa, by his portion and marriage: *Charles* Earle of Prouence and Aniou: and *Robert* Earle of Arthois: and the Realme continued in happy peace.

*Lewis* his disposition.

These things thus happily performed by *Lewis*, hee employed his care in the reformation of the Realme, beginning first with his household: then did hee plant Religion and Iustice (the principall pillars of a State) for the good and ease of the people. Hee led a life worthy of a King, louing and honouring Religion with much zeale and respect, taking delight in the reading of the holy Scriptures, the which he caused to bee translated into the French tongue, which I haue scene in a Gentlemans custody, carying this title. Hee did greatly honour Clergy-men, being worthy of their places, and was a seuerer Censor of them that did abuse it, whom he charged to liue according to their Canons, and to shew themselves patternes of good life to the people. That they should bee preferred to Ecclesiasticall dignities according to order, in all liberty, and should enioy their reuenues without lett: That the exactions and insupportable charges imposed by the Court of Rome (these are the words of his Edict) on the Realme of France, by the which it was mightily impouerished, and which hereafter might be leauied, should not in any sort be leauied without apparent cause, his expresse command and the approbation of the French Church. He had a good soule, being iust, sober, modest, temperate in his eating and drinking, in his talke, habits, and conuersation, neither melancholicke, nor exceeding merry, in circumspet, of a good iudgement, stayed, charitable, moderate, vigilant, and seuerer in the obsecration of that he had decreed.

The patternes of an excellent Prince.

And as the Prince is the rule of his house, he either chose seruants of his owne humor, or else his seruants framed themselves vnto his disposition: so as hee had his treasure replenished to giue to such as deserved. Hee payed his seruants well, yet hee gouerned his treasure in such sort, as his officers could hardly steale from him, and such as offended he punished with so exact a seuerity, as the rest feared to commit the like. The orders for his treasure are registred in his Ordinances, where you may see them at large. Hee loued and cherished learning and learned men, and delighted to reade and heare good Workes: fauouring his Vniuersity of Paris, & drawing the Parisians to loue Schollers: so as in his time the Vniuersity of Paris had great prerogatiues, as the eldest Daughter of our Kings. The Realme was corrupted with the iniustice and extortion of former reines, by the sale of offices, being most certaine, that what wee buy in grosse, wee must sell by retail. Hee did therefore expressly prohibit these sales, and supplied such places as were void, according to the merits of persons, after due examination, to draw good men, and of vnderstanding, to apply themselves to study. Hee punished the abuses of Iudges severely, as appears by his Orders made to that end. And that which caused him to be much honored, he gaue free audience to his subiects complaints, and especially at Bois de Vincennes, where he tooke delight, and oftentimes (being set vnder a Tree, very simply) like a father giuing his children counsell. He was a capital enemy to suites, commanding the Iudges expressly to doe speedy iustice: so as suites were then layd aside, and compromises did end an infinite number of controuersies. But his chiefe care was in sparing, for to ease the people: abating the taxes and subsidies imposed on them by his Predecessors: and hee did so husband the publicke reuenues, as hee had sufficient for his traine and his great affaires, and yet a surplusage to relieue poore Widowes and Orphelins, to feed and instruct Children, marrie their daughters, cure the diseased, and the remainder was to build Churches. There are many in this great City of Paris and about it,

it, built or repaired by him. But he said, that the chiefe Stones of Gods Temple were liuing, and they must rather beautifie the Church with good manners then with words which he had learned out of Saint *Bernard*. But these Christian-like vertues were lodged in a royall brest, fit for the government of this royall Estate, heroicke, valiant, wife, and active. Yet *Lewis* was more enclined to peace then warre, louing better a good and fruitful rest, then the doubtfull and turbulent euent of warre. God likewise sent a greater peace to his Realme, then vnder any King that euer liued: and with so great authority and obedience, as there was neither great nor small, but held himselfe most happy to obey so good and happy a Prince. He was likewise well guarded, for all his subiects were his guard, and he enioyed the peoples hearts by good viage. The people called him Father, the Nobility their Head, Religion her Defender, the Church her Protector, the Lawes their Guardian and Tutor, and Armes their Mars: by the terror whereof hee kept the most rebellious in awe, both within and without the Realme: For after the pacification of the former troubles, suppressed in the spring, there was not any tumult within the Realm, neither durst any one mutine against him.

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A worthy saying of a goodly Prince.

A happy peace in the reigne of *Lewis*.

But to crowne these blessings of *Gon*, the peace of his house was ioyned to the publicke, *Blanche* his mother had her humours; extremely louing the sweet of command: but she resigned the Regency to her Sonne, when as hee came to age, and discharged her selfe in open Parliament, to the great content of all men. *Lewis* and his subiects loued and honoured her much, being generally well respected for the good education he had giuen the King her sonne, and the happinesse of her wife government. *Queene Marguerite* (the wife of *Lewis*) was much beloued and respected of her husband, but not so by her mother in law *Blanche*, being jealous of the loue which *Lewis* did beare her, and of the credit shee had in his fauour, and generally throughout the Realme: but she could wisely beare with the humours of her mother in law, for the loue of *Lewis*: a wife and a milde Princeesse, wholly of her husbands humour, whose continency is commended to haue loued none but this woman, by whom he had five sonnes, and foure daughters, the gages of their inuoluable loue. To this good government was added the strict loue and amitie hee had with his brethren, and the respect they bare vnto him. Worthy considerations of our History, and considerable in our corrupted age.

*Lewis* happy government.

The rest of the Albigeois.

*Lewis* seeks to reclaim them, by reason why they were called Valdenes.

The manuscript of these miserable Albigeois adds, That euen as the Pope would haue continued his persecution against them, and that the Marshall de la Foy (so called for that he was as it were the chiefe Champion of the immortal warre decreed against the Albigeois) prepared for a new search to root out the remainders: *Lewis* would not allow of it, saying, That they must perswade them by reason, and not constrain them by force, whereby many families were preferred in those prouinces. They called them Valdenes, either for that the greatest part of them retired into the Vallies and Mountains of *Sauoy*, *Viualetz*, *Dicis*, and Prouence, where the chiefe seed was preferred at *Merindol*, *Lormarin*, and *Cabrieries*; or of the name of *Peter Valde*, one of their most renowned Doctors; or that the Vallies of Piedmont haue preferred the families, from father to sonne vnto this day.

In those times also liued *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore*, a Doctor of Paris, and Chanoin of *Beauuois*, exclaiming both by word and writing, against the abuses of the Church: and namely, against this planting of Monkes. Pope *Alexander* pronounced him an hereticke, and armed *Thomas Aquinas* and *Bonauentura* men of violent spirits, and well read in *Aristotles* Philosophy) against him, but he prevailed against these reprovers. The Writings of either part make mention, and the issue of their controuersie is apparant. France enioyed a perfect and plentiful peace, when as Italy and Germany were afflicted with cruell and tragickall dissensions, by the implacable quarrels of the Popes and Emperours, as if they had bene hired to multiply the miseries of Christendome by their importune hatred. The subiect of the old quarrell continued: the Popes would haue Italy, and the Emperours would not yield it. Rome (which had bene the head of the Empire) was then the seat of their pontificall authority, belonging wholly to the Pope, the Emperour hauing no more command there. This usurpation had bene gotten by degrees, but they pretended the like of the whole Country: first they would seize vpon what lay neerest vnto Rome; then vpon Calabria, Appulia, and Abbruzzo; euen vnto Lombardy, the which they left to the Germanes, French, and Venetians, to command sole, hoping

Effaces of the Empire and the Church.



1227

The Pope seeks  
to drive the  
Emperour out  
of Italy.

hoping in the end to cary it, after a long strife of the contenders, who should leaue the possession more easie to their successors. To conclude, in the end the Imperiall sovereignty being banished out of Italy, it was dismembred by diuers Lords, and the Realm of Naples and Lombardy were made the subiect of long and bloody warres, betwixt the French, Spaniards, and Venetians. This reigne was a witness about thirty and three yeares of these disorders, by excommunications, depofings, armes, taking and sacking of Cities and Countreys, vnder the Empire of *Fredericke* the second, who opposed himselfe against *Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Celestin*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregory* the ninth, Popes, with such policies, trecheries, and vnkind cruelties, as I am affhamed to set to view these scandals of Christendome, whiles that our dissensions doe settle a free Empire for the blasphemies of *Mahomet* in the East. As the Popes proiects were to become absolute matters of Italy, so their ordinary course was to flye vnto France when they felt themselves the weaker, to vse their meanes in necessity, and to vsurpe vpon them by all occasions, as we haue seene, and shall see by that which folloves.

To *Otho* the Emperour (who wilfully went to seeke his owne ruine in France) succeeded this *Fredericke* the second, grand child to *Fredericke Barbaroussa*, of whom wee haue spoken. A generous, wise and learned Prince, who being scarce seated in the Empire (having giuen *Innocent* the third the Earldome of Fondi, in the Realme of Naples, to be proclaimed Emperour) when as *Honorius*, successor to *Innocent* the third, caused a part of Tuscane and Apulia to be surpris'd by certaine Noblemen of the Countrey, esteeming the conquest the more easie, for that *Fredericke* was newly aduanced to the dignity, hauing neither courage nor power to oppose himselfe against his surprisals, and even in the fresh memory of so many affronts which the Pope had done to his predecessor *Fredericke*. But he was ignorant of his disposition, being resolute not to suffer the Imperiall dignity to be any thing blemished by him. *Fredericke* goes into Italy, with an army, recouers what had bene taken, and punisheth the rebels.

*Honorius* seeing himselfe the weaker, flies to his accustomed meanes. To his fulminations and Ecclesiasticall terrors (these are the very words of the History) against the French. He did first excommunicate *Fredericke*, then he flies to France, and doth stirre vp *Henry* the sonne of *Fredericke* against the father. *Fredericke* begins with the most dangerous, for being seized of this disloyall sonne, who would haue taken and depriv'd him of his dignity, he confines him to perpetuall prison, by a decree of the Princes of the Empire.

He had happily made a League with *Lewis* the eight, father to our *Lewis*, and had renewed it with himselfe, on whose faith he relied much; but *Charles* of Anjou Earle of Provence his brother, would be doing, being desirous to get something. Hee was easily persuaded with the hope of these goodly Realmes of Naples and Sicilia, which the Pope offered him as the fruits of his labours: so as in the end he shall come to his ayde, and being King of Sicilia shall expell the Race of *Fredericke*.

This Tragedy must continue long, they vie craft vpon craft, and whilest one is preparing, another is put in practice. The zeale of the holy Land was the Popes ordinary colour to censure the stormes raised by the Emperours: and in sending them farre off, to haue better meanes to compass their designs at home, without controule. *Iohn* of Breynne King of Ierusalem comes, and preuailes so much, as Pope *Honorius* promised to absolve *Fredericke* the second, so as he will make a voyage into the East. *Fredericke* accepts thereof, and presently makes leaues in Germany for an army: whilest that he assembles the Estates of the Empire at Cremona, to assure the affaires of Italy in his absence: the place and subiect of the assembly displeased Pope *Honorius*, who accuseth *Fredericke* that by his delays he suffered the Christians to goe to ruine in Asia, whither he had promised to goe, and doth excommunicate him againe. This doth hasten *Fredericke*: he parts with his army (but without taking leaue of the Pope) and arriues suddenly at the holy Land: where he strucke such a terrour into *Sultan Saladin*, as he demands a Truce, and obtaynes it vpon condition, That he should restore Ierusalem and the holy Land to *Fredericke*, and all the Christian prisoners without any ransom. These conditions, duly performed, *Fredericke* visiteth Nazareth, fortifieth Ioppa, and the other Cities of Iudea, being in a good way to settle the Christians affaires. As he labours thus with a commendable successe, the Pope displeased at *Frederickes* departure without his blessing, and holding

The Emperour  
goes with  
an army against  
the Pope and  
his confederates.

The Pope  
drawes the  
French to his  
succour.

The Popes  
policy to sup-  
plant the Em-  
perours.

*Fredericke* hap-  
pily successe  
in Asia.

1219

The Popes  
turned against  
the Emperour:  
irreconcilable.

A ding it done in contempt of his authority, proclaimes him excommunicate, and forfeits his Estates. He presently seizeth vpon the Realme of Naples, and raiseth factions in all the Cities of Italy, to cause a reuolt against the Emperour. *Fredericke* (moued with these newes) leaues Asia, and being returned into Italy, he employes the Princes of the Empire to make peace with the Pope, forgetting the priuate wrongs he had done him, and obtains absolution, giuing him 11000. markes of gold to pacifie him. But this accord lasted little, yea it turned into an implacable hatred, which augmented the factions, shed blood, made Cities desolate, buried *Fredericke* and his posteritie, and in the end banished the Imperiall authority quite out of Italy.

B Vpon this accord *Honorius* dies, and leaues *Gregory* the ninth his successor in the same quarrell against the Emperour. *Fredericke* (having satisfied the Pope for his priuate interest, and payed very dearly for his authority) sayd, that he could not passe away the rights of the Empire: beseeching Pope *Gregory* to leaue things as they had bene before his going into the East, that the Cities of Italy (which had freed themselves by this occasion) might acknowledge the lawfull authority of the Empire. *Gregory* the ninth is wonderfully moued with this proposition, and forbids *Fredericke* vpon paine of a new excommunication to make any more question thereof, but to leaue the confederate Cities in their libertie. This was to giue a law to the Emperour; to subiect his authority to the Popes command, to giue leaue to the Imperiall Cities to rebell, and to authorize their rebellion.

C *Fredericke* much discontented with this answer, and seeing plainly that this was the last farewell of the Imperiall authority in Italy (as without doubt it was) hee employed his wit and all his means to preuent the practices of *Gregory*, who without any dissembling, sought to suppress the Imperiall dignity in those parts. *Fredericke* tries all means to crosse the Pope, he solicits the Ghibelin faction throughout the cities of Italy, he leuies a mighty army in Germany, and enters into Italy with a horrible waste; taking, sacking, and spoiling the reuolted Cities, and filling all places with fire and blood; Milan, Genoa, and diuers townes of the Duchy of Spoleum, were thus strangely spoiled by violent force, without any mercy, wherein *Fredericke* exceeded the bounds of a iust punishment, the which must be in the Magistrates hands, as the rod in the fathers, and the razor in the

The Emperour  
enters Italy  
with a great  
army.

D Surgeons, to chaffe, and not to ruine, to cure, and not to kill. He shall soone receive his reward, by his hand who strikes two strokes with one stone, and doth alwayes well when men doe ill. *Gregory* stood at a gaze at *Frederickes* first entry, not much moued with the shedding of so much blood, and the sacke of so many Cities ruined, for his quarrels sake: but when he sees *Fredericke* conquers to encrease, hee straines his wit to find out remedies to stop so dangerous a deluge. He raiseth some troopes which he calleth Holy, but they were too weake to withstand so great a force. He therefore flies to Councils (the firme bulwarkes of his authority) he makes a Bull of Excommunication, proclaimes him a capitall enemy to the Church, and layes open the causes by a publicke declaration. *Fredericke* continuing his armes, answers the Popes writing by an Advocate of Capua, called *Iohn de Vignes*, and so giues in exchange words for words. But *Frederickes* forces had preuailed without a better remedy. Hereupon Pope *Gregory* dies. *Celestin* succeeds him, who within few daies after his election dies, and leaues the Chaire to *Innocent* the fourth, with this quarrell not yet determined. *Innocent* in the life of *Gregory* was a Ghibelin, and by his death (being chosen Pope) he becomes a Guelphe, as great an enemy to *Fredericke*, as he had bene a friend; a cunning and circumspect man, who politickly wrought the means to vndoe *Fredericke*.

*Gregory* turnes  
enemy to *Fre-  
dericke* being  
chosen Pope.

After his election he sends his Nuncio into France, to exhort our *Lewis* to succour him, according to the ancient proofes of the most Christian Kings to the holy Sea, and to assure him the better, he giues him to vnderstand that he is resolu'd to come into France, as the most fast retreat of Christendome now afflicted. Hee comes and calls a Councell at Lions, whither he cites *Fredericke*, but vpon so short a warning, as he could not appeare. *Fredericke* (having sent his Ambassadors to the Councell, to require a lawfull time and to aduertise the Pope of his coming) begins his iourney to performe his promise. Being arriued at Thurin, he had intelligence giuen him that the Pope had condemned him as contumax, excommunicated him, and degraded him of the Empire. But this was not without the consent of the Princes Electors of the Empire, who after mature deliberation proceeded to a new election.

The Emperour  
*Fredericke* ex-  
communicated  
and degraded.

1255

The Germanes  
chooſe another  
Emperour.

The thundring Ball of excommunication and depofition is no ſooner publiſhed, but the Princes Electors chooſe *Henry* Landgraue of Thuringe for Emperour: vpon the receipt of theſe newes, *Fredericke* ſtays at Thurin, and hauing ſent to ſound the Germanes mindes, he findes ſtrange partialities, the greateſt part of the Nobility banded againſt him, and reſolued to reiect him. Thus he felt the force of the Popes power. The prooffe of this reſolution was at hand, for as *Henry* of Thuringe (the new elected Emperour) approached to *Wimes*, to force them to yeeld to his obedience, and that the partifans of *Fredericke* would not receiue him: hauing beſieged the Citie, he was wounded with an arrow, whereof he died ſhortly after: whereupon the Princes Electors of the Empire did preſently chooſe *William* Earle of Holland for Emperour: and at the ſame time the faction of the Guelphes of *Paui* being baniſhed, found meanes to re-enter the City, where they made a horrible and bloody maſſacre of the Gibelins, with more then ordinary fury vſed in ciuill mutinies.

The Emperour *Fredericke* in this vncertainty of his affaires, being in Italy with his army, he flies to the neceſſity. He beſieged *Paui*, and for that hee would not hazard his Forces (whereof he might ſtand in need, if Germany failed him) hee reſolued to blocke it, and builds a Fort which he calls *Victoria*; but he reckoned ill without him that giues victories, meaſuring the iſſue too confidently by the proict. Thus God confounds the enterpriſes of men, when they attribute that to themſelues which belongs to his power. This done, *Fredericke* (leaving his baſtard *Encius* to command the ſiege) takes his way to *Lions*, where the Councell was yet remaining: with an intent to reſtore his affaires: but he is not farre gone, when as newes comes vnto him, that the inhabitants had made a great ſally, and forced and razed his Fort of *Victoria*, with great loſſe of his men. He returns to *Paui*, takes it by force, and did execute that which the outrage lately committed, might moue a chollerick man vnto, being halfe deſperate: but this ſurpriſe repaired not his Eſtate, for in all the chiefe Cities of Italy the Guelphes faction was the ſtronger, through the authority of the Councell of *Lions*, which had wonderfully diſgraced *Fredericke*: firſt by excommunications, and theſe by a ciuill depofition. *Fredericke* ſeeing himſelfe diſtreſſed of al ſides (as in great afflictions one miſchiefe calling another, the greateſt is to be faile hearted) he ſuffered himſelfe to be ſo oppreſſed with griefe, as he falls into a burning Feur and dies, burying in one graue, his deſignes, and his imperiall dignity, whereof at that time he was deſtitute. Thus *Fredericke* dies, leaving Italy and Germany in great combustion: and *Conrad* his ſonne, the ſucceſſor rather of his miſeries then of his inheritance, for ſeeking to effect that which his father could not do, and to preſerue the Realmes of Sicily and Naples to his ſucceſſors, hee loſt his life and both Realmes, hauing truſted *Manſſey* his fathers baſtard too much; who poiſoned him, notwithstanding he had appointed him Tutor to his ſonne *Conrad*, not knowing by whoſe hand he died. *Manſſey* ſeeing himſelfe in poſſeſſion by this title, gives it out that *Conrad* was dead, and vnder this goodly title to be the neceſſity kinsman of the lawfull Lords, hee tooke poſſeſſion of theſe two Realmes. The ſtronger alwayes preuailes in an Eſtate. *Manſſey* was maſter of Naples and of Sicily, although *Conrad* had the right: and to aſſure the poſſeſſion of what he had gotten, he allies himſelfe with *Lames* King of Arragon, giuing his daughter *Conſtance* in marriage to *Peter* his eldeſt ſonne. This was in the year 1255. a remarkable date for ſo long a quarrell. *Manſſey* could not be heyre to *Frederickes* Eſtates, but hee muſt withall ſucceed in the hatred the Popes did beare him; the ſubiect of diſcontent remaining in thoſe Seigneuries which he enioyed vnder his name. Pope *Vrbane* 4. (who then held the Sea of Rome) did excommunicate *Manſſey*, as a diſturbor of the Church and of Italy, but finding himſelfe too weak for the execution of his decree, he caſt his eyes to the place from whence his predeceſſors had alwayes drawne aſſured and timely ſuccours. *Lewis* our good King, of a contrary humor to their turbulent paſſions, was a ſpectator of theſe diſorders: but ſo indifferent, although the Councell of *Lions* had bene held by theſe diſorders: but ſo indifferent, that hee endeavoured to quench this fire, kindled betwixt the greateſt perſons of Chriſtendome. He could not be moued by the authority or perſwaſions of Pope *Vrbane*, to take away another mans Eſtate, being well content with his owne. But *Charles* Earle of Prouence perſwaded by his owne diſpoſition, thruſt on by his wife *Beatrice* (deſirous to be called Queene like to her other ſiſters) and drawne headlong by the ſhew of theſe goodly Crownes, ſuffereth himſelfe to be eaſily transported at the Popes entreaty.

The death of  
*Fredericke*.Conrad his ſon  
poiſoned by his  
baſtard brother  
*Manſſey*.*Manſſey* viſtues  
Sicily and  
Naples.

1257

*Charles* Earle  
of Prouence de-  
feats and kills  
*Manſſey* in Si-  
cilia.

A entreaty. He armes, drawes vnto him a great number of French Nobility, comes into Sicily, giues battell to *Manſſey*, defeats and kills him, making him to ſuffer the puniſhment of his cruell and wicked purchaſe, which he enioyed not full ten yeares. For *Charles* Duke of Aniou became maſter of theſe two Realmes in the year 1265, and *Manſſey* was confounded in his vniuſt deſigne. After the death of *Fredericke* 2, and the violent elections of *Henry* of Turlinge and *William* of Holland (feare retaining ſome, and fury thruſting on others) the Empire was in effect without an Emperour, being without a guide, by the fury of ciuill confuſions, like a great ſhip at ſea beaten with winde and waues, without ſailes, helme, and Pilot. Pope *Vrbane* pretending then, that in the vacation of the Empire, the gouernement belonged to the Sea of Rome, he created *Charles* of Aniou Vicar of the Empire, giuing him Tuſcane, vpon condition to ſuccour the ſea of Rome againſt the Gibelins & Suenians. So at one inſtant *Charles* of Aniou was poſſeſſed of the two Realmes of Sicily and Naples, and the gouernment of the whole Empire. But theſe two great dignities purchaſed by the Popes bounty, muſt be countenanced by his vertues, and this was the meanes.

*Charles* of An-  
iou Vicar of the  
Empire, and  
King of Naples  
and Sicilia.

*Conrad* in the ſonne of *Conrad* was not dead, as the Impoſtor *Manſſey* had giuen it out: but hauing bene patient during theſe tempeſts, hee had ſo well managed his hereditary meanes, as finding himſelfe ſtrong, he fought to recover his Realmes viſtured by *Charles* Duke of Aniou. Hauing incited the Gibelins throughout all the Cities of Italy, to draw them to reuolt, he leaues a goodly army, with the help of his friends, and comes into Italy, hauing in the meane time bred an alteration in Sicily, where many Cities were taken, and Nocera in the Kingdome of Naples. *Conrad* accompanied with many Noblemen, which hunted after his doubtfull fortune: the chiefe whereof were *Frederick* Duke of Auſtria, and *Henry* the ſon of the King of Caſtile. *Charles* of Aniou beſieged Nocera, where *Conrad* reſolued to charge him. Hauing provided for the ſiege, hee goes to encounter *Conrad*, and hauing drawne him to fight by a ſtratagem, he defeats his army, takes him priſoner, and with him *Fredericke* of Auſtria, and *Henry* of Caſtile, with a great number of the Nobility. This goodly and abſolute victory, leading the Commanders priſoners in triumph, ſhould haue bene ſeaſoned with the wife clemency of our *Lewis*. But *Charles* of Aniou his brother had no portion with him in this excellent vertue: whereby we haue ſcene, that *Philip* their Grand-father, in well viſing a victory, did purchaſe the name of *Auguſtus*, and conſecrated it to the honorable memory of his poſterity. For *Charles* (hauing theſe great Princes in his power) by the counſell of Pope *Clement* the fourth, beheaded the two firſt, bathing the ſcaffold with the blood of twelue of the greateſt Noblemen of the army; and coop vp *Henry* of Caſtile in a Cage of Iron, to make him dye hourly, cauſing him to be caried through all the Cities of Apulia and Beneuent, in a moſt ignominious ſort. A reuenge which ſhall coſt France deare at the Sicilian Euen-ſong.

*Conrad* de-  
feated.*Conrad* be-  
headed by *Charles*,  
with many  
others.  
An ignominious  
revenge.

But we haue wandred enough in the confuſions of Italy: let vs now returne into France, and to our *Lewis*. *Lewis* beheld the tempeſtuous eſtate of Chriſtendome aſtrike off: which was the more incurable in Germany and Italy, for that the ſicke reſeſed phyſicke, and that darkneſſe came from them whence light ſhould haue proceeded. He caried himſelfe very coldly in the heat of theſe diuiſions, the which he could not redreſſe: but ſeeing his Realm in peace, and his authority firmly ſetled in the loue of his ſubiects, and the amity of his brethren: foretelling alſo, that by the wiſedome of his mother he might ſalue the inconuenience of his abſence, he reſolued to ſuccour the Chriſtians afflicted by the miſcreants, both in Affricke, and in the Eaſt. *Philip Auguſtus*, with the Emperours (which had paſſed thither one after another) had nothing repaired their decayed Eſtate: and the miſchiefe came from the Chriſtians themſelues, one oppoſite to another, the which gaue great advantage to their enemies, as if they had purpoſely fought to fortiſie them. The Empire of the Eaſt was in a horrible confuſion, diſmembred by home-bred diuiſions, which drew in the French and the Venetians.

The confuſed  
eſtate of the  
Eaſterne Em-  
pire.

One *Alexis* *Ducas* called *Murzenophile*, hauing himſelfe ſtrangled another *Alexis* called the young, and cauſed one *Nicholas* (another Competitor in the Empire) to be ſlaine, in the end he is ſtrangled himſelfe. The *Theodoros*, *Ducas* and *Laſſares*, (being the greateſt Families) contend for the Empire. In the end Conſtantinople is taken by the French, and *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders (of whom we haue ſpoken) is choſen Emperour: ſo as the Empire of Greece is transported to the French, and diuided with the Venetians, who at that time caried away the Iſle of Candy. So as at one inſtant there were

The Empire of  
the Greeces  
tranſlated vnto  
the French.

1258

Three Emperours at one instant in the East.

three Emperours in the East: *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders at Constantinople: *Theodore Lascaris* in Naxos, in the City of Nicea: and the third was *Alexis Comnenus* at Trebizond, commanding over Cappadocia and Calcidia. All this shall bee a prey to the enemies of Christendome. But let vs returne to our Frenchmen, who leaue the certaine, to rume after the vncertaine. They scarce held this shadow of the Empire threecore years. *Baldwin* of Flanders was slaine; *Henry* his brother died soone after: *Peter* of Auxer his father in law succeded, rather in his misery, then in the Empire: for going against *Theodore Lascaris* the other Emperour, he was taken and afflicted with the imprisonment of two yeares; in the end he lost his head vpon a Scaffold, leauing the shadow of the Empire to his sonne *Baldwin*, too young to gouerne a masse of affaires so confused: So as by the aduice of Pope *Gregory*, *John* of Breynne was giuen him for assistant. This *John* of Breynne (of whom we haue spoken) was a French Gentleman of meane calling, who by his valour (hauing taken the City of Tyre) became a Prince, and after in the confusion of times (as the most sufficient of these poore afflicted Christians) was chosen King of Ierusalem: the which was not yet in his possession: so as finding himselfe too feeble for to waigh a burthen, he allied himselfe with this *Fredericke* the second, Emperour; who hath filled some leaues in our Discourse, and made his peace with the Pope; vpon condition, That he should succour and ayde the Christians in the East. *Fredericke* hauing recovered Ierusalem, by the truce he made with the Sultan, (as we haue sayd) left it to *John* of Breynne his father in law, and returned into Germany, to make the end which we haue before set downe. On the other side, as Christian Kings and Princes laboured what they could to repaire this their decayed Estate: *Andrew* King of Hungary (the sonne of *Bela*) assisted by the Dukes of Austria and Neuers (whose names are not specified) went into the East with a goodly army, and (to make work for the Christian enemies) he besieged *Damietta* in Egypt, where being succoured by *John* of Breynne, after a long siege he takes it, but it was soone after recovered by the Mammelucks.

Lewis goes with an army into the East.

*Lewis* therefore vnderooke this voyage of the East, when as extreme necessity called him to succour the afflicted Christians. The Popes, *Innocent* the third, *Honorius* and *Gregory*, had one after another vehemently perswaded him to this voyage; but the affaires of his Realme had stayed him from attempting rashly, to settle the generall Estate, and ruine his owne particular: yet being fallen extremely sicke, he resolved to delay it no longer, preparing for this expedition vpon his recovery. Hee assembled his Estates, and by their free consent, left the Regency of the Realme to his mother *Blanche*, who was gladly receiued of all men, vpon the conceit of her first government. Hee parts, accompanied with *Alphonso* Earle of Tholousa and Poitiers, and *Robert* Earle of Arthois, his brethren; *Hugh* Duke of Bourgogne; *William* Earle of Flanders, and *Guy* of Flanders his brother; *Hugh* Earle of Saint Paul, and *Gustier* his nephew; *Hugh* Earle of Marche; the Earles of Salbruke and Vandome, of Montfort, of Dreux; and *Archibauld* of Bourbon; (very renowned in the course of this History, being father to the mother of our King now reigning) the Lord of Ioinuille, (who hath worthily written this History;) *Hugh* Brissac and his sonne; *Gaubert* of Apremont; *William* Morlet; *William* of Barres, men of great esteeme in their times; the Lords of La Voute, Montlaur, Turron, and Crusol, men of account in the Country of Viualetz, enrolled with Count *Raimond*, who died vpon the point of their departure, and the rest passed on. This was in the yeare 1258. about the twentieth yeare of the reigne of Saint *Lewis*. The army consisted of two and thirty thousand fighting men. Queene *Marguerite* his wife bare him company in his voyage, but more faithfull then *Elenor* was to *Lewis* the seuenth: the Countesses of Tholousa and Arthois did also goe with their husbands, after the Queenes example.

The Queene vnder-standes the Kings.

He embarks at Marcellus.

*Blanche* his mother bare him company to Lions, where *Innocent* the fourth attended him. From thence he went to Marcellus, where he embarked with the Geneuois that were hired by him. His departure was the 25. day of August, to the best voyage vnder heauen. He arriued happily in the Island of Cipres, held by *Guy* of Lusignan, where (attending the rest of his army) the plague wasted many of his men, euen of the chiefe of his Court: *Archibauld* of Bourbon, *John* of Montfort and others died. The fame of his holinesse moued the King of Tartaria to send his Ambassadors vnto him, to offer him his friendship, and to acquaint him with the desire he had to become a Christian. *Lewis* sends him Preachers to instruct him in the Christian Religion. But the Tartarians vnderstanding that

1260

The Tartars refuse the Christian religion by reason of their ill life.

Lewis takes Damietta.

Besieged Caie in secretly.

Melexala a pollicie Commander.

The plague in Lewis his camp.

Lewis distrusts.

Lewis taken by the Sultan of Egypt.

He pays his ransom.

the Christians liues were not answerable to their profession, they returne without any better fruit then the shame of their ill life, whose doctrine was so famous. At the reliefe of Cipres, *Lewis* had conference with the Christians of Iudea, where they resolved to recover the City of *Damiette*, a most rich, and very important for their state. The Mammelucks sought to hinder *Lewis* his descent, but to their great losse, and also of their Commander the Satrape of Canope.

Behold *Lewis* is now landed, and from thence he goes to *Damiette*, the which he speedily besiegeth, yet not with so great foresight, but the stranger *Garison* (hauing made shew to yeeld at the first summons,) had meane to make a hole in the night, and to saue themselves. This happy taking of *Damiette*, gaue sundry counsels both to *Lewis* and to the Mammelucks: to *Lewis* to pursue his victory; to the Mammelucks to defend themselves, and the rather, for that soone after the losse of *Damiette*, *Meledin* Sultan of Babylon died, leauing his sonne *Melexala* for his successor: a young man of great hope. The proiect of *Lewis* was to pursue his victory, and to keepe his enemy busied in attempting Caie, the capital City of Egypt, anciently called Memphis; but the ignorance of these strange places where he was, not onely deprived him of the fruit of his first conquest, but gaue *Melexala* meane, not onely to perseuer himselfe, but to defeat *Lewis* his army, and to take him prisoner. Whilest they attend Count *Alphonso* his brother with new Forces, and spend too much time vpon the passage of Nilus, behold the miscreants Forces flye into Egypt from all parts, to succour the young Sultan, from Arabia, and Syria. The scallowes betwixt the Satraps of Hala & Damas, were by this occasion conuerted into vnion and firme loue, to expell a common enemy, whose victory would proue their generall ruine. *Lewis* ingaged beyond Nilus, in an enemies Country, where hee must either vanquish or die; beheld a great and mighty army of enemies against him assembled from all parts. *Lewis* a braue and resolute Commander, desired nothing more then to employ the first fury of the French in battell, encouraged by the happy successe of *Damiette*. But *Melexala*, (who was within his own country, and prepared rather to defend himselfe then to assault) resolved to weary *Lewis* his Forces, the which he knew would be more annoyed by the foggy ayre where they were lodged, and by the want of all kind of victuals, then by his sword. The successe answered his designe: the Campe is presently full of diseases, and those contagious. The common souldiers, the Noblemen, and in the end the King is sicke: all is disordered with this infectious sicknesse: the Guards and Sentinels stand in feare, all are amazed. *Melexala* well enformed of their estate, surchargeth them with another discommodity, hee takes from them the passage of Nilus, by the which victuals came from *Damiette* to the Christians Campe: And to braue these poore sicke men (who had neither hands to fight, nor feet to flye) he sends troopes hourly to their trenchcoats prouoke them, and cuts them in peeces that goe to forrage. *Lewis* who lay in his bed extremely sicke, had nothing but courage to maintaine life, and zeale to dye in this holy warre, in the which hee had embarked himselfe very inconsiderately. And not to giue his enemies all aduantages to braue him thus dayly, he makes choice of such as were least sicke, being resolute to dye, vnder the command of *Alphonso* and *Robert*, his brethren.

This poore embated troupee was easily beaten by a fresh and strong enemy. The Kings brethren were taken. *Lewis* being then prest dayly by *Melexala* to yeeld, he giues care to a composition (which till then he had reiecte) seeing himselfe a prisoner without hope of recovery. The conditions were very hard in so great an extremity: That *Damiette* should be restored to the Sultan, all prisoners freed, and eight thousand pounds of gold payed to the Mammelucks to redeeme his life, which they held as it were in their hands. *Lewis* payes foure thousand presently, and hauing left the Host and the Pix (as a most precious pawne) hee was deliuered: but before hee returned into France, hee payed the summe, and tooke his pawne: Hereof it comes that in the Tapistry of Egypt you shall alwayes see the Host and the Pix for a memoriall of this worthy victory. Attending the payment of this summe (very great for that age) *Lewis* fortified the Cities of Iudea, and redeemed prisoners and reliques, being loth to returne into France with empty hands. But these newes were presently brought thither with an incredible celerity. All things seemed to inuite fooles and ambitious men to innovations: but God had seld to great a loue in the hearts of the French to their good King, as they come all ioyntly to his mother, wonderfully perplexed for her sonnes losse, (a griefe which caused her to dye) with as great

1251

The French generally is more for their King.

Lewis makes good Lawes.

A true estimation of Saint Lewis.

Blanch his mother dyes.

The English rebels against their King.

Lewis reconciles the English to their King.

Diffusions in Flanders pacified by Lewis.

obedience and respect, as if he himselfe had bene present in his greatest prosperity. Private houses, publicke places, and especially Churches, were full of sorrow, teares, & vows, for the distresse of their good afflicted Prince, for whom all founded forth their prayers and deuotion. Their priuies were as open as their hearts, to furnish whatsoever was needfull for their Kings ransom, or his returne, so much was hee beloued, and wished for of all men. The money is speedily provided, sent, and deliuered to the Enemy: and Lewis returned into his Realme, five yeares after his departure, bringing with him *Marguerite* his deare Spouse with the conceit of the same chastity she had before. But after his absence, he nether found his Realme so well ordered as hee left it, nor his neighbor-State in any better peace. He began by the reformation of his owne, making constitutions concerning the Church, Iustice, the reliefe of the people; against publicke dissolusion, blasphemies, Stewes, Dicing-houses, Plaies, and other enormities. He made orders for mariages, debts, Impositions, Offices and Benefices, which are contained more at large in the originall history. This was in the yeare 1251. The fruits of his voyage and affliction was, that hee became a better man; hauing increased in zeale, modesty, wisdom, and diligence, better beloued and respected then before his departure; and generally had in great admiration, for his good life, and constancy in the midst of greatest dangers, as a miracle among Kings. He found his Mother *Blanch* wanting in his house, being dead a little after the imprisonment of her Sonne, furcharged with age, and the griefe of so great an affliction. Lewis hauing ordered the constitutions sprung vp in his absence, hee employed the rest of his time and authority, to pacifie quarrels growne among his neighbours, as the generall Arbitrator among Christians.

England did offer a notable occasion. The English were reuolted against King *Henry* vnder the command of *Simon* of Montfort, a man of great credit, for some discontentments touching their priuiledges. By the countenance and conduct of this commander, their complaints are converted into open warre, in the which *Henry* and his brother *Richard* are taken prisoners. Lewis exhorts the English to concord, and doeth not seeke to nourish these diuisions for his owne benefit, as his father *Lewis* had done. *Edward* sonne to *Henry* that was prisoner, giues them another Battell, in which *Simon* of Montfort was slaine, yet his faction dyes not, but the warre was reuiued vnder the command of *Guy* the sonne of *Simon*. Lewis employed his authority so happily, both with *Guy* and the people, (who held his piety and wisdom in great admiration) that hauing perswaded his brother, *Charles* king of Sicily to make *Guy* his Lieutenant (and as it were companion in the conquest of Tuscany) he was a means to restore King *Henry* to his auhority, and the people to their liberty with a generall content. Flanders presented him another subiect, *Marguerite* Countesse of Flanders (issued from *Baldwin* father to *Jane* the wife of *Ferrand*, as we haue said) had children by diuers men. Two by one bed which were held vnlawfull (hauing bene abused either by *William* her Schoolemaster, (who was a Priest) or by *Besford* of Auvergne her gouernor, or by both of them, hauing voluntarily yielded to either of them) and three in lawfull matrimony, by *Guy* of Dampierre a Gentleman of *Champagne*. The two first were the eldest and strongest in credit, whereby must needs grow great troubles among a stirring people, as wee haue seene a great combustion of a finaler fire.

Lewis pacified this quarrell without force as the soueraigne Iudge, assigning the Earldome of Haynault to the first, and Flanders to the last: and so ended a suit which in shew seemed infinit, and should immortalize a dangerous dissention, holding those children for legitimate, which could not beiectioned without troubling the lawfull equity of the country according to the rule, That a common error makes a iust title. But Languedoc was ready to rise vpon the controuersie of the Earles of Tholousa & Rossillon, both parties were strong, his brother *Alphonfus* on the one part, & *James* king of Arragon on the other. The question for those lands was the cause. This great Family had diuers branches, and by this occasion diuers diffusions, and so diuers names were giuen to this Province, now called the Earldome of Tholousa, sometime S. Gilles, sometime Beziers, and otherwhiles Narbone, as we shall declare in the theater of Languedoc. Lewis decreed, that *James* king of Arragon should enioy the County of Rossillon, and all the rest should remaine to his brother without controuersie: the which was obserued by them and their successors. Thus this good Prince laboured happily to compound controuersies in notable actions, being careful to pacifie

1269

A pacifie all suites among his subiects, and happily hee might haue preuailed in reconciling that great diuision betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, if zeale to relieue the afflicted Christians, had not made him to abandon his owne quiet, with all his good works, to transport his treasure and life into Africke, and there to leaue them among the Barbarians. All declined in the East; *Mahomet* preuailed so, both there and in Africke, as Europe was threatened by their neighbourhood. Spaine as the neereff, and Prouence, and Languedoc, by the easie aboard of the Mediterranean Sea. Lewis not able to liew without seeking the aduancement of the Christian Religion, resolues a voyage into Barbary, against the aduice of his State, and contrary to his owne experience: a zeale which shall succeed ill for himselfe and his whole Realme, whom we cannot excuse of indiscretion. Thus hee enrouled himselfe the second time, and his son *Philip* likewise which shall succeed him; with *Peter* Earle of Alanson, and *John* Earle of Neuers, furnished *Triflan*. Hee left the Regency to *Simon* of Neele, and *Mathew* of Vendosme, on whose fidelity he relied much. Before his departure he made a League with the King of England, to whom he had done many good offices in his great necessity. It was agreed, That the English should pretend no interest to Normandy, nor to the Earldome of Anjou, Maine, Poitou, and Touraine: and as for Guienne, he should enioy the Countries of Quercy, Limosin, and Xaintonge, vnto the River of Charenton; all which Countries he should hold by homage of the Crowne of France, and in this regard he should be Vassall and Liege-man to the King of France. For confirmation of this Accord, *Edward* his sonne enters into society of armes with Lewis, for the voyage of the holy Land, to march at the same time. This accord was made in the yeare 1269, and their departure was the yeare after 1270. the first day of May. He parted from Aigues-mortes, and not from Marfeilles, as some haue written: and for that there was no good Port vpon the Mediterranean Sea, he caused the towne of Aigues-mortes in Languedoc to be built, and compassed with goodly wals, which speake yet of him, and with channels for the commodity of the shoare, the largest is called *The great Lewis*, by his name. *Edward* takes his course for Asia, and Lewis for Africke: the French army consisting of forty thousand fighting men: that of England is not specified. The voyage was short and vnhappy for them both, but especially for our good Prince. Lewis had scarce lost the sight of shoare, and discovered the Iland of Sardinia, when as both hee and his whole Fleet had almost perished in a storme. A preface of a mournfull successe. In the end hee lands in Africke, (a Country worthy to lose that ancient name among vs, and to be called Barbary, for the barbarous and vnfortunate successe it brought.) Lewis resolues to take Carthage, a new City built vpon the ancient name, and held for a strong Garison of the Barbarians: hee takes it, but with great paine and losse. From thence hee goes to Tunis, a strong and well guarded Citie, resolute to haue it, at what price focuer. But man purposeth, and God disposeth: for as *Edward*, son to the King of England, turned backe from his voyage of the East, hauing passed but to Malta, & *Charles* King of Sicilia going to ioine with him, to set vpon the Barbarians of Africke altogether. In a manner at the same time as they arrived all at Tunis, the plague had deuoured a great part of the French army, and taken away many Noblemen. And to increase the mischief, it enters the Kings paullion, and strikes Lewis, although some say it was a flux. But whatsoever it be, our Lewis is extremely sicke, and feeling it deadly, he calls for *Philip* his eldest sonne, whose age and vertue preferred him to the Crowne. Hauing giuen him goodly admonitions, and exhorted him to serue God, to liue vertuously, and to gouerne his people fatherly vnder the obedience of his lawes, which hee himselfe must first obey: hauing recommended vnto him the loue of his brethren, and entreated all the Nobility about him to obey *Philip*, he yielded vp his soule to God, to take his true rest in heauen, leauing all his followers in great heavinesse: being the most perfect patterne of a good King, that euer was read of in history. Hee only wanted the happinesse of a good writer, although these small gleams which we find in the writings of the Lord of Ioinuille make his vertue admirable. A Prince borne for a testimony to that obscure age, and for ours which is corrupted: to be a president to all Kings and Princes of religion, equity, clemency, wisdom, valour, magnanimity, patience and continence; to loue piety, iustice, order and peace: to ioine the loue of holy things, and the modesty of manners, with armes and state. Hauing shewed, that it is very fitting for a King, to be a good Christian, a good warrior, a good husband, a good father, a good Gouernor, a good iusticer, and to know how to make warre and peace. That it is very necessary to ioine vnto the Majesty, pietie,

Lewis goes into Barbary.

A league with England, 1269.

Lewis in danger at Sea.

Lewis being sicke giues his sonne instruction.

Lewis dies.

Lewis his vertues.

Vertues of a Christian, a good warrior, a good husband, a good father, a good Gouernor, a good iusticer, and a good man.

1270

His reign.

His children.

His posterity in  
his two sonnes  
Philip & Robert.The house of  
Orleans called  
to the Crowne.

petie, clemency and authority, to gaine the love, respect and obedience of all men. And to conclude, That the best guard, and most assured renuence of a Prince, is the love of his Subjects: worthy of that venerable name of Holy, wherewith posterity hath iustly honoured him. He was twelve years old when he began to reigne, and governed forty four years. So he died in the fifty first year of his age, having received this mortal Crown in the year 1226, and the Immortal in the year of our Lord 1270. the 25. of August. Of *Marguerite* the daughter of *Raymond* Earle of Prouence, hee had four sons, and four daughters. A Princeesse worthy to be great a husband, the sole wife of one husband, and he the only husband of one wife. His Sons were *Philip* surnamed the Hardy, King of France, *Peter* Earle of Alanson, *Robert* also Earle of Alanson (succeeding his brother *Peter* deceased without children, and hee likewise died without any issue) and *Robert* Earle of Clermont in Beauvoisin. His Daughters were *Blanch* Queene of Castile, *Isabel* Queene of Nauarre, *Marguerite* Countesse of Brabant, and *Agnes* Duchesse of Bourgonne. So as of his four sonnes there remained but two, *Philip* and *Robert*. From *Philip* the third, called the Hardy, his eldest sonne, are issued successively either from Father to sonne, or from brother to brother, or from the nearest kinsman, to the next of blood, *Philip* the 4. called the Faire, *Lewis* the tenth, called Hutin, *Philip* the fifth, called the Long, *Charles* the fourth, called the Faire, *Philip* of Vallois, *John*, *Charles* the fifth, *Charles* the sixth, *Charles* the seventh, *Lewis* the eleventh, *Charles* the eighth, who dying without children, the law calls the children of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, the Son of *Charles* the sixth, to reigne. One after another. *Charles* Duke of Orleans, and *John* Duke of Angoulême, for *Lewis* the sonne of *Charles* reigned under the name of *Lewis* the twelfth, who dying without issue male, the law takes the other branch of *John* of Angoulême, so as it sets the Crowne vpon the head of *Francis* the first his only sonne, and from *Francis* the first, to *Henry* the second his sonne, and so in order to *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, *Henry* the third his children successively from brother to brother. This direct line ending in *Henry* the third, the last King of the house of Vallois: the law calls the second Son of Saint *Lewis*, named *Robert*, who gives the Royall branch to Bourbon; Out of the which is issued *Henry* of Bourbon, the fourth of that name, King of France and of Nauarre, and *Lewis* his Sonne now reigning: but wee will set downe his genealogie distinctly in the end of the Royall race of Vallois. It sufficeth to haue noted the order of the following reigns, returning to the course of our History. Thus *S. Lewis* the 9. liued, and thus he dyed, the honor of vertue in our Kings, leaving *Philip* his eldest son for his successor.

## PHILIP the third, called the Hardy.

## The 45. King of France.



HE authority of *Lewis* was so great, as neither his absence, nor his death, could alter any thing in the Estate of France. Being dead, *Philip* his eldest Sonne was proclaimed King in the Army, and (as the time would permit) was received with a generall applause of all men: as hee in whom the Fathers vertue and authority was yet living. The Army in the meane time is fortified with the Fleetes of England and of Sicilia, so as the Barbarians seeing the whole Countrey in Armes and on fire, they demand a truce, and obtaine it vpon condition; That they should suffer the Christians (which were dispersed in diuers parts of Africke) to liue in peace. But that which did most presse *Philip*, was his returne into France. So as hee gathers his troopes together (the remainder of the plague, and of the vnciuill vlage of that barbarous Countrey) and parts from Africke into Sicilia, where his losses encrease: for his wife *Isabel* diest there; and his Vncle *Alphonfus*, with his Wife the Countesse of Tholousa, die soone after at Bologne, without any children, so as according to the contract of marriage, the Earledome of Tholousa should be incorporate to the Crowne.

An

1270

Richard (son to  
Henry King of  
England) slain  
traitorously.

Another sinister accident chanced to *Richard* the Son of *Henry* King of England (to the end the English might likewise reckon their gains in this voyage:) for being arrived at Viterbo a City of the Popes, walking in Saint Lawrence Church, suspecting no enemy: beheld this *City* of Montford the son of *Simon* (of whom we haue spoken) kill him in the presence of all his followers, and drawing his sword, hee makes his way to the Church doore, where finding a horse ready, hee flies into Tuscane: wherat neither the Pope *Philip*, nor *Charles*, were any thing moued. This murder thus neglected, shall bleed hereafter. But these were not all the occurrents which *Philip* had in his returne home.

Pope *Clement* the fourth (borne in Languedoc) being dead, the Cardinals loth to yeld vnto another, disagree in the election of a new Pope, and continued in this contention of two years nine moneths and one day, as *Platina* reporteth. Our *Philip* and *Charles* his vncle intreat the Colledge of Cardinals to make an end of so scandalous a dissention. The respect of their admonition was not fruitlesse: For the Cardinals resolve, that not any one of the Colledge that had assisted at this tedious controuersie, should bee Pope. *Thibaud* of Plaisance Archdeacon of Legee, (being absent in the voyage of the East) was chosen, and called *Gregory* the tenth. In the end *Philip* returns into France, to the great content of his Subjects. Having interred the dead, his Father, Wife, Vncle, Aunte and Cousin, he disposed of the affaires, and of matters of iustice, according to the instructions and example of his Father *S. Lewis*, famous amongst all our Kings. And then he married with

the daughter of *Henry* Duke of Brabant: having three sonnes by *Isabel* his first wife, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. But here we shall not finde the happiness of our Saint *Lewis*, for this second mariage was blemished with a sad and soule suspect. *Lewis* the eldest Son of King *Philip*, dyed with apparant signes of poyson. This mischief encrease by the ialousie is had of Queene *Mary* his Mother in law: and *Peter de la Broche*, (chiefe Chamberlaine to the King, and principall Intendant of his Treasure, being the Queenes Favorite) is accused for this fact, who being prisoner, confesseth the crime; and accuseth the Queene, as having poysoned *Lewis* by her command. Moreover, as one mischief commeth not alone: *La Broche* is found guilty of Treason, by his owne Letters, giuing intelligence to the King of Castile, of the estate of France, being then no friend to this

Crowne. This crime alone was sufficient for his death: being hanged, leaving *Mary* in trouble by his accusation, and by the strange euent: a notable example of the inconsistency of the Court, and the vanity of the world. *Mary* denies the fact by oath. The King desirous to be satisfied, proceeds strangely. For want of common proofe, he resolves to leane the truth by a Sorceresse, to whom he sends a Bishop and an Abbot. This Witch remained in Holland, and was Subject to the Duke of Brabant the Queenes Father. The Bishop & Abbot at their returne, faile not to absolve the Queene by her report, but they free her not from the generall ialousie of the French, nor in the Kings conceits, who after this accusation, did neuer enjoy any rest in his house. These were the beginnings of the reigne of *Philip*, whose progresse and end shall be nothing better. His Vncle *Charles* King of Sicilia, shall crosse his life with many toyles, and end it with perplexity. But let vs obserue euery thing in order.

As by the decease of *Alphonfus*, and *Isabel* his wife (being dead without Children) the County of Tholousa came to the Crowne: so *Philip* failed not to take possession thereof, as one of the most important peeces of his Estate: but hee found some alterations there, through the priuate quarrels of his Subjects. The Earle of Foix having a notable quarrell with *Girard* of Castebonne, had taken his house from him by force, *Girard* fled to the King for iustice, but the Earle trusting to his Forts, and the mountaines, deluded the Kings commandements, who knew well how to hunt him out of his Rockes, and to send him prisoner to Beaucaire with his wife and children, there to digest his felony, and to teach more mighty Vassals and Subjects, what it is to dally with their Soueraigne. Having tamed him with a whole years imprisonment, and drawne from him proofes of a serious confession of his fault, he grants him liberty, his Earledome, and his fauour, making good vse of him in his affaires. But the quarrell of Nauarre was of greater consequence. *Henry* King of Nauarre Earle of Champagne and Brie, had married *Isabel* the daughter of *Robert* Earle of Arthois, brother to Saint *Lewis*, and at that time dyed, leaving one only daughter his heire, named *Jane*, with his Widow, to whom hee had appointed the regencie of his Realme. After the decease of *Henry* (which was in the year 1274:

The Countie  
of Tholousa  
annexed to the  
Crowne.Troubles in  
Nauarre.

at



1274

at Pampelune) the Nobility were grieved to be governed by a Woman, she flies to Philip as to her neere kinsman. The King sends *Eustace of Beaumais*, a Knight, to assist her with his Councell, the which encreased the discontent of the Navarrois, who take Armes, and besiege the Mother, the Daughter, and this new Councellor in the Castle of Pampelune, hoping to become Masters thereof, and to settle the government at their pleasures. Philip hastens thither, relieves the besieged, punisheth the Rebels, sedeth the Government, furnisheth the Forts, and sends *John* the heire of Navarre into France, with the good liking of the Navarrois, by the assurance which Philip gave them to make her Queene of France, in marrying her to his eldest sonne. Navarre continued thus without any alteration wholly at Philip's disposition, whose authority was confirmed in all those Prouinces, and his name grew great throughout all Spaine.

This worke thus easily ended, another taske began, which brought much misery to this reigne. The French affaires succeeded not well at Constantinople, we have shewed inq what extremity the successeours of Baldwin Emperour of Constantinople were brought, and now behold the last Act of this borrowed Empire. Baldwin the son of Robert, in the life of John of Breynne his Father in Law, made head against his enemies, so as having imployed his all meanes, and exhausted his treasure, hee flies to Fredericke the 2. his brother in law, but in vaine: and this was the period of his ruine, for his absence gaue his enemies meanes to attempt, and his fruitlesse labour was a proofe of his weaknesse at his returne, *Michel Paleologus* a Lord of the Countrey, great both in meanes and courage; after the death of *Theodore Lascaris*, (of whom we have spoken) had so managed this occasion, as Baldwin could scarce enter into Constantinople, to provide for the safety of the Citie, when he was besieged by *Paleologus*, and so hardly prest, as hee saved himselfe with difficulty in the Ile of Negrepont, and from thence went into Italy, leaving Constantinople with all this imaginary Empire, three score yeares after the taking thereof by Baldwin the first. Thus the Greekes are repossessed vnder the government of *Michel Paleologus*, who in the end seized on the Empire of the East. But the coming of Baldwin into Italy, was the cause of a long and painful taske, wherein our Philip was so farre engaged, as hee shall leave his life there, and cause much trouble to his subjects: His Vncle Charles King of Sicilia, shall be the motive, but his owne disposition shall thrust him forward. Philip was a great undertaker, and oftentimes of other mens affaires, as the whole discourse of his life will shew, whereby it seemes the title of Hardy was giuen him. Not so discreet therein as his Father, who caried himselfe alwayes coldly, a newter in his neighbors dissensions, but when he found meanes to reconcile them with mildnesse. Let vs now returne whence we parted. Baldwin thus dispossessed of Constantinople, flies to Charles King of Sicilia, a Frenchman to a French: but he had a more strict gage, his daughter *Bertha* whom Charles had married after the death of *Beatrice* Countesse of Provence. Moreoer, hee addressed himselfe to one, whose spirit was neuer quiet but in Action. A strange man, he was Earle of Provence, King of Naples and Sicilia, Vicar of the Empire, and Senator of Rome, holding Tuscane at his deuotion, and almost all Italy: in as great reputation as any Prince of his time, and yet not satisfied. Baldwin arriued presently after this shipwracke, perceiving him to hope for better, hee tries all meanes to leauy a goodly army to go into Greece, and to restore him with the rest of the French Nobility to their Estates and Seigneuries, whereof *Paleologus* had dispossessed them: not foreseeing how much more necessary it was for him to guard his new conquests of Sicilia & Naples, and to keep his credit in Italy, in well intreating his new subjects, and embracing politickly the Italians loue. As Charles deuiled the meanes to attempt, so his enemies fought the meanes to prevent him. They were not small nor few in number: Pope Nicholas, Peter King of Arragon, & Michel Paleologus Emperour of Constantinople, but there wanted a Solicitor. There was one found out, which proued a notable instrument. *John Prochite*, one of the greatest men of Sicilia, being dispossessed, he imployed his study to recouer his Estate, by expelling of Charles his capitall enemy. Pope *Frane* a Frenchman borne at Troyes in Champagne, had called Charles to these goodly Kingdomes; and contrariwise Pope Nicholas an Italian, borne at Rome, plotted this Tragedy to dispossesse him, although his succour Martin borne at Tours, did fauour him, seeking to restore him againe to his possessions, but it was too late.

Such is the ebbing and flowing of the fauour of the Sea of Rome, subiect to rectiue diuers persons, and by consequence diuers humours. Peter of Arragon had married the

The French expelled Constantinople by the Greekes.

Philip's disposition.

Why he was called Hardy.

Charles King of Sicilia a turbulent Prince.

1282

A party made against Charles King of Sicilia

A daughter of *Manfrey*, whom Charles had dispossessed of Sicilia (as wee haue said) and therefore had reason to attempt any thing against Charles for the recouery thereof, holding his title better then the Popes gift. *Michel Paleologus* fought to prevent this storme which Charles prepared against his new purchase, and therefore had reason to imploy all his Forces against him. But that which did most preiudice Charles, was his carriage, and officers, towards the people of Naples and Sicilia, whom hee discontented by all kindes of exesse, impositions, rigorous exactions of money, insolencies against their wives and daughters, and outrages against their persons. This vniust and vnchast liberty, which exceeded in the manners of our men, bred a iust choller against them, in the minds of this poore captiue people, which made them to seeke all meanes to shake off their yoke, and to be reuenged. But they had chiefly offended the fouereigne Iudge of all the whole world, who neuer suffereth such iniquities vnpunished, although hee forbear for a time. Behold the party is made against Charles from many places, and executed with incredible celerity.

*John Prochite* hauing priuate conference with Peter of Arragon, and knowing the secrets of his heart, goes to Constantinople to *Paleologus*, of whom hee was well entertained, and obtained what hee desired for the King of Arragon; which was the charges of the Army which was presently to be imployed. This plot was laid by Pope Nicholas a capitall and open enemy to Charles, from whom hee had taken all hee could. By the aduice of Pope Nicholas, *Prochite* (attired in the habit of a Fryar) goes into Sicilia (being well acquainted with all the passages) to incense the Sicilians mindes: which he performed so cunningly, as there wanted nothing but force. The designe was to murder Charles with all the French; and to seize vpon Sicilia, and all the rest for the King of Arragon. The event is answerable to the proiect. The King of Arragon leaues an Army in the view of all the world, but with this supposition, that it was to succour the afflicted Christians in Asia and Africke, especially after the death of Saint Lewis, who had but stirred vp, and not suppressed the Barbarians. Philip who was then at Tholoua, sent to Peter of Arragon to know his intent, and to offer him his meanes. He answers, that it is to follow the stepps of Saint Lewis, a Prince of immortal memory, and to help the poore afflicted Christians, resolving to set vpon the Africans as the necrest: but that his meanes were short, and therefore he desired him to succour him in this great necessity. Philip provides, with an affection worthy of the publike zeale, and sends him money, vn furnishing himselfe to supply his enemies want. In the meane time Peter of Arragon, and *John Prochite* lose not an houre, but they imploy all instruments and meanes. His Army arriues vpon the coast of Bonne in Barbary, called in old time Hippon, and hauing burnt all the Countrey neere the Sea coast, he takes Port in the lland of Corsica. *John Prochite* sleepees not, hauing laid his plot with the chiefe men of Sicilia, at Palermo, and Messina, where the conclusion was of the whole practice, and a conspiracie made throughout the whole Countrey, very attentive to their deliuey; he begins the game in seizing vpon Charles his Gallies and Ships, which lay dispersed in the Ports of Sicilia, all was easily effected without paine or danger, and this was a signall to the Army.

In one day and one houre all Sicilia riseth in Armes against the French, both Cities, Townes and Villages. All are massacred, men, women, young and old, all ouer-floues with blood. This popular fury armed with a shew of iust reuenge, spares nothing of the French name. This was done in the yeare of our Lord God, 1282, on Easter day at five of the clocke, when as euery one was sitting at supper on this solemne day. Charles was wanting (being the chiefe oblation of this solemne sacrifice,) but the vnder-takers had changed their first resolution, to watch a time to kill him with the rest, fearing lest his presence should hinder the execution of their designe. He was in Tuscane, doubting nothing of this rebellion, which at the first brute must needs amaze him, but he recalled his spirits, and sought for remedie. Pope Nicholas his great enemy was dead, during these preparatiues. Martin the fourth borne at Tours, held the Sea after him, of another disposition, French by nation and humour. But it was too late, the last peale was rung to the Sicilian eunefion, hee could not prevent it. This massacre thus performed by the Sicilians, a signall being giuen, behold Peter of Arragon appears in the view of Sicilia, to behold the sport more courtly, giuing daily some aduice to *Prochite*, and to the chiefe of the Sicilian tumult, yet loth to imbarque himselfe rashly with the humour of a people as soone past.

Sicilian Vespers

Sicilian Execution

All the French slain in Sicilia.

Red



1282

Peter of Arragon enters into Sicilia.

Charles of Sicilia repulsed at Messina.  
Peter of Arragon crowned King of Sicilia.

fied as moued. But being assured that the people (having cast the chance) grew daily more resolute, and that they wished for him as their deliverer: not to lose their good will, and to give way to his enemies practices, he casts himself into the Port of Palermo, where he was attended by all the Sicilians in great devotion. Charles in the meane time doth what he can; he doth aduertise Philip his Nephew of what had hapned, assembles Forces in his neereft territories, sends into Provence, to gather what he could together in all his ports, and besiege Messina by sea and land. The fury of the French is greater in their first heat, and had prevailed, if the Sicilians only had withstood them. But the Arragonois was strong and resolute in his first credit, and the Sicilians in their desire to be freed of the French. So Charles is forced to leave the Island to keepe the maine land, and Peter of Arragon was joyfully received by the Sicilians, and crowned King of Sicilia in Palermo, in the year 1282. the eight of May.

Behold the beginning of a tedious quarrell which shall continue long betweene the French and the Arragonois, and shall cause many Widowes and Orphelins, bringing nothing but miseries to them all. A proceffe betwixt Kinsmen, and Allies, for *Isabel* the first wife of Philip King of France, was sister to Peter of Arragon, with whom hee had lived in great love, and had three goodly gages, *Lewis, Philip, and Charles*. Oh miserable ambition, and cruell couetousnesse, the rootes of all mischiefs, which make men unkind, deprives them of reason, teares out their bowels, and fills the world with a deluge of all sorts of calamities! Two great Kings and old, which should and might live in peace, now cutting into their graves, they lay the foundation of a new life, by their new conquests, as if they should live hundreds of yeares: And not content to be sicke themselves, they infect our Philip with their contagious disease, who imbarques both himselfe and his children in this quarrell. But the yeare shall not passe before they be all intombed, and Pope Martin with them, who instead of casting Water, brought Wood and Oyle to this fire, he shall be bound vp in the same bundell, to be cast with the rest into the graue: but lets returne to our discourse. The quarrell betwixt these two Princes, begins by reproaches. Charles complains of Peter, That during the Peace, hee had against all the rights of neighbourhood, affinity, honesty and friendship, against the law of Nations, and duty of Kings, vsurped and invaded by detestable fraud, by theft, and treachery, vnworthy of a Prince, and an honest man, the Realme of Sicilia, given him by authority of the holy Sea, as a holy gage of the Church. Peter answers: That Charles is the vniuall vsurper, hauing violently taken the Lands of the Empire from *Manfroy* the lawfull heire. That hee could not bee ignorant of his right, hauing married *Constance* his Daughter, by whom hee had Sonnes, to whom hee could not deny the duty of a Father, without wronging of Nature.

Thus he opposeth the authority of Nature to the Popes power, right to wrong, and reason to passion. Moreover, to this law of Nature, hee ioynes Faith, the ground of humane societie, being called and desired by a people vniuallly wronged in their goods, liues and honors. Should he then condemne their teares, being bound to succour them? He hath therefore done what hee ought, a lawfull heire against an vsurper and a tyrant, for poore people oppressed: resolute to continue so great a worke, worthy of a Christian King, perswading himselfe that God, who had given him a good beginning, would send him a happy ending, leaving Sicilia free and peaceable to his posterity. And thus one for another. Hereunto Pope Martin the fourth did adde his thundrings, supporting Charles his cause with as great vehemencie, as his Predecessor *Nicholas* had laboured to plot this practice against him. Hee sends a Legat to the Sicilians to let them vnderstand that they were excommunicated, and their goods confiscate. The Legat deliueis his Commission freely, and cites all the people to Rome, with an expresse inhibition to all Priests, to communicate any Sacraments vnto them vnder great paines: So all the Churches in Sicilia were shut vp by the Popes command. The same thunderbolts cast against Peter, hee is excommunicated, degraded, and his Realme of Arragon accursed; but from words they fell to blowes. Charles resolute to hazard all, intreats Philip his Nephew to succour him with his best meanes in this his great necessity. And the better to ingage him, he giues *Katherine* (the daughter of his sonne Charles the lame) in marriage to Charles the youngest sonne of Philip, and in consideration of this marriage giues him the Duchy of Aniou. Of this marriage shall issue Philip of Vallois, who shall be King of France 43. yeares after.

All

1283

Philip succours his vnkle Charles.

The Sicilians seek to make their peace with Charles.

A combat appointed betwixt a King.

Peter fortifies himselfe in Sicilia.

Charles King of Naples dies.

All France armes for this warre: Philip employes all his meanes, Peter Earle of Alanfon the Kings brother, Robert Earle of Arthois his nephew, the Duke of Bourgogne, the Earles of Bologne, Dampmartin, and Iogny, with an infinit number of the Nobility, repair from all parts of the Realme: Charles sending men expressly with priuate letters, to all his friends to inuite them to this warre. And to keepe *Paleologus* in Constantinople, he works with the Christians of Asia, and with the Islands of Cipres, Malta, Rhodes, and others to make warre against him, and likewise he fought to disquiet Arragon, by meanes of the Nauarros, Philip remaining at Tholoufa for that purpose.

Behold the Arragonois in great perplexity, charged on all sides, both with spiritual and temporal armes, but that which troubled him most, the Sicilians (excommunicated by the Pope, and amazed at so great Forces as came to Charles from all parts) not only grew cold, but also sought to make their peace with Charles. To this end they got to Rome to Pope Martin, of who they craue pardon with an extraordinary humility, for the History notes that their Deputies being on their knees, cryed to the Pope, *Qui tollis peccata mundi misere nostri*. A title belonging only to Iesus Christ. This deuout respect, had in a manner drawne the Sicilians to Charles his obedience, wherein doubtlesse hee had prevailed, if he would haue embraced the occasion, for Pope Martin had perswaded them to yeeld, but without a French Garrison: Whereunto Charles would not condescend, seeking to haue them at his discretion. Peter was not quiet in mind amidst all these difficulties, hauing the Pope in front, the people ready to reuolt, Philip watching ouer his Realm of Arragon, and an army in the port of Naples ready to land.

He finds an expedient for all these difficulties, to stay all these forces, to quiet this storm of Sicilia and to escape all dangers, after a manner in shew worthy of commendation, for the reputation, valor, and bounty of so great a Prince. He giues Charles to vnderstand that he lamented the common misery of so much people, whom hee did see in danger for their priuate quarrels, that it were much better to end it betwixt themselves by the sword. That if he were an honest man, a souldiar, and a King, he was ready to fight, with him, and Sicilia should remaine to the Conqueror. They were both old & broken, but both equal: Peter had only the aduantage in one thing, hee was more cunning then Charles, and his Dint was to circumvent him, as indeed he did. Charles willingly accepts the combat. The manner is determined by a common consent. That either King should take a hundred choise horse, and that the conquering troope should purchase Sicilia to his King.

Bordeaux is chosen for the place of combat, the day is appointed. All Europe flies to this Theater, to see an end of so notable a quarrel, by such an extraordinary means. Charles comes to the place at the prefixed day with his troope chosen out of the brauest Gentlemen of the army. Peter appears not, nor any one for him. He is called, he is summoned, they protest against him, but there is no newes of him. So after all these solemn prote-stations, every one retires with laughter: but Peter was otherwise employed; he assured Sicilia by his wiues meanes, whom he sent thither, providing to fortifie the weaker places, both of Sicilia and Naples equally threatened. The heate of the French is cooled, by this intermission of time, by the hope of an accord, and by the departure of so great a multitude disbanded to see this fight; the Sicilians had taken breath, & Peter stood firme to chooise his best aduantage. The French (being out of hope to see this controuersie ended by combat) returne to armes, (but with lesse courage,) to make warre in Sicilia, they must approach, and they must land. Roger of Lore a banished man of Apulia, Admiall of the Arragon fleet, had the guard of the landing: Charles the Lame, son to King Charles, offers to land, but his fleet is defeated, and he taken prisoner.

Charles wonderfully perplexed with this losse, runs from City to City in his Realme of Naples, seeking to raise new Forces, when as death calls him to his rest: the which in his life time he would neuer enioy, hauing giuen to many, and receiued himselfe infinit troubles without any fruit. In his youth his enterprises were happy, but in his age very unfortunate. Robert Earle of Arthois (by the decease of the father, & imprisonment of the son) remains Tutor to the children of his father in law Charles the Lame, and Regent of the Realme of Naples: but Peter of Arragon keepees Sicilia (at that time lost) for the French. After the death of Charles of Aniou, behold Peter of Arragon is assailed with a new party. Pope Martin the 4. doubled his excommunications against him, as a capital enemy of the Church, and inuested Charles the youngest son of Philip King of France in his Realme.

O

he

1286

Philip makes warre against Peter of Arragon.

Warre in Arragon.

Peter of Arragon defeated.

He dies.

Philip set upon vaswars and in danger.

The death of Philip.

His children.

he absolues the Arragonois from their oath of obedience, and proclaimes a holy warre, as against a sworne enemy of the Church. For the execution of these threats, *Philip* employs all his meanes to raise a goodly Army, vowing to bee no more circumvented by *Peter* of Arragon. *James* King of Maiorica and Minorica ioynes with him an enemy to *Peter*, who had spoiled him of his Estate, so as there were foure Kings in this Army. *Philip* King of France, and his eldest sonne *Philip* King of Nauarre, *Charles* his sonne inuested in the Realme of Arragon by the Pope, and *James* King of Maiorica. The Army was faire, & the Frenchmens courage great, being very resolute to reuenge the massacre of the Sicilian Euen-song, the ridiculous scome of the combat, and the imprisonment of *Charles*. The red scarfe, the marke of the holy warre, against one excommunicated, and their courageous resolution to bee reuenged of a cruell enemy, who had shed blood by treason, appears in these troopes brauely armed. All this promised a great victory to *Philip*, who commanded his army in person. But the issue will shew, that being a Conqueror hee lost the fruits of his victory, and in the death of three great personages, shall bee seene the vanity of this world. *Philip* enters the Countie of Rossillon with a goodly Army: all obeyes him, except the Cities of Genes neere to Perpignan, the which he besieged, and it was well defended, but in the end it was taken by the French. *Peter* was come out of Sicilia to defend his fathers inheritance: hee fortifies all hee can against *Philip*, and the difficulty of passages, seemed to fauour him, but the resolution of the French surmounted the steepnesse of the Rocks.

The passages are forced, *Peters* army is defeated, and hee saues himselfe with difficulty by these inaccessible places. The Army enters the countie of Emporia. *Pierre* late yeeldes in one day: *Girone* is besieged, and as *Peter* comes to succour it, the French encounter him, and overcome him, who hardly saues himselfe in Ville-franch, extremely amazed with this happy beginning of *Philip*. What followed he that was accustomed to deceiue all the world by his inuentions and policies, could not by any meanes deceiue death, transported with griefe, sorrow, impatience, and despair, he dies the fifteenth of August, in the same year with his enemy *Charles*. The brute of *Peters* death makes *Girone* to yeeld presently, being a very strong City, and promitteth *Philip* an assured possession, not onely of the Realme of Arragon, but also of Sicilia, where in shew they could not resist: when as behold other occurrents, which mans reason could not prevent. *Philip* assuring himselfe thus of the peaceable possession of the Realme of Arragon, minding to free himselfe of a needlesse charge, hee dismisseth the Gallies of Genoa and Pisa, the which hee had hired, and for that the plague was crept into his Campe, he had dispersed his forces about the Cities of *Girone* and *Perpignan*, whither he retired himselfe very ficke, with an intent to pacifie the whole Countrey, hauing recovered his health, and taken some breath. *Roger* Admirall of Arragon (of whom wee haue spoken) ignorant of *Peters* death, was parted from Sicilia, with an intent to bring him succors against the French flecte. Being arriued at Genoa (a newwre City, and of free access for both parties) he is informed both of the death of his Master, and of the Estate of *Perpignan*, and being there, of this new accident, hee takes a new aduice. In stead of returning in Sicilia, hee hires the Gallies of Genoa and Pisa, dismissed by *Philip* and resolues to enter the port of *Perpignan*, where hee had intelligence, that *Philip* remained without any great guard, and the port to bee without defence. Hee arriues so happily, as without any opposition hee giues a signall to the people of his arriuall, who suddenly rise and kill the French in the houses and streets. *Philip* lay sicke in his bed, and the French souldiers had no thought of *Roger*. The King made a vertue of necessity, hee encourageth his men with a sicke and feeble voice, and they behaued themselves so valiantly, as they expell *Roger* out of *Perpignan*, and *Philip* held the City, who was so diftempered with this alarm, as his sicknesse encreased daily, and he died the fifteenth day of October, hauing suruiued *Peter* but two moneths: In the same year 1286, and in the same moneth died *Pope Martin* the fourth, to shew vnto great Princes the incertainty of their great dignities.

Thus liued, thus reigned, and thus died *Philip* the third, surnamed the Hardy, hauing reigned fifteene yeeres, and liued forty, a great vnderaker, leauing no memorable act to his posterity, but a good example, not to deale in other mens affaires. Of his first Wife *Isabel* he had *Philip* and *Charles* remaining. *Charles* was Earle of Vallois, of Alanson, and of Perche, father to *Philip* of Vallois, who in his course shall succede to the Crown.

C



1286

A *Philip* his eldest Sonne was King of France: of the same marriage hee had one daughter, *Mary* who was Duchesse of Austria. By his second wife *Mary*, hee had *Lewis* Earle of Eux, and *Marguerite* Queene of England. The estate of the Empire (after a long confusion of diuers Emperours, and the interregne) had sinnerest: the Popes being buied in the warres of Sicilia. *Raoul* of Auspourg a good and a wise Prince, was chosen Emperour after these disorders: employing himselfe carefully to cure the wounds of Germany, and held the Empire from the year 1273. vnto 93. The estate of the Church appears by that which hath bene spoken in this reigne. This onely in particular, That a Councell was held at Lions by *Gregory* the tenth, where it was decreed, That to auoide the tediousnesse of the Popes election, the Cardinals should assemble at the Popes death, and keepe the Conclau, neither going forth, nor conferring with any one, vntill the Pope were chosen. The which is practised at this day. In those daies died *Thomas Aquinas*, a very subtill disputer, *Bonaventure*, *John Duns* called *Scot*, and *Gabriel Biel* (famous men in those daies) suruiued him.

## PHILIP the fourth, called the Faire, The 46. King of France.

HE found his authority respected within the Realme, as well for his age, as hauing gouerned the State with dignity vnder his father *Philip*. A good Prince, Iudicious, and of a noble minde, and (the which was not the least point of happinesse in his life) hee was well married with *Isabel* Queene of Nauarre, whereof he took the name of King, before the decease of his father, enjoying her as a sweet companion of his complexions. Hee had three sonnes by her, goodly Princes of body, and excellent spirits, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, which shall bee Kings successively one after another, but all so ill matched, as it was his griefe to see his childrens houses infected with three Strumpets, and put away without all hope of issue: hauing severely punished the corrupters of his daughters in Law, and confined these insatiate maisties into Monasteries. Hee had also one Daughter of the same bed, named *Isabel*, who was married to *Edward* King of England, leauing vnto France a heauie and dangerous leuaine of horrible confusion, by the meanes of her sonne, a fatal scourge for this Realme. *Philip* after the decease of *Isabel*, married *Constance* Daughter of *Charles* King of Sicily, a faire and a young Princeesse, whom hee left great with a sonne, the which was borne eight daies after his decease, and suruiued him but few daies. Hee began to reigne in the year 1286, and died in the year 1315. Hee reigned 29. yeares. The entrance of this reigne was goodly, but Flanders, Guienne, and the Pope, gaue him (vpon diuers occasions, and at diuers times) many great and painfull crosses. Hee loued Iustice and Learning, wherein hee was well instructed, for that age: so as he did consecrate the first fruits of his reigne, to honour both the one and the other: as also the Muses did honour him with a goodly Oration, which is read in the Originall of this History, for a commendable memory to posterity, of the vertues of this great Prince. The Parliament was not tied to any place, but changed according to the necessity of Prouinces. Suites were most commonly iudged definitively by the Bayliffes and Seneschals, and the greatest causes were decided souerely in the Kings Councell, who gaue free audience to their subiects. *Philip* hauing obserued (by the experience of former reignes,) that it was very necessary to haue iurisdiction distinctly limited, left a soueraigne power to his Parliament at Paris (a part of his Royall authority) in ciuill and criminall causes: and the better to gouerne it, hee appointed a sufficient number of presidents and Councillors, with his advocate and proctor (which number hath bene since augmented according to occasion) and for the greater countenance of this dignity, he placed it in his chiefe City of Paris: and to that end hee caused that great Palace (one of the most admirable buildings vnder the coape of heaven) to bee built by the meanes of *Enguerand* of Marigny Barle of Longueuille, Superintendane

The disposition of Philip.

His issue.

The Parliament of Paris etc. held.

The Palace built.

1293

of the treasury of France. Hee first ordained but two sittings of the Parliament in the year, the which necessity had made ordinary vnder *Lewis Hutin* his sonne, who also erected an Exchequer at Roan.

Other Provinces had their Parliaments at diuers times, and vpon diuers occasions: with like affection he fauoured his Vniuersitie of Paris, with all manner of priuiledges: hauing his wife *Isabelle* a companion of the same humour, whom he suffered to build in her name that goodly Colledge of *Naurre*, where at this day in this iron age, we may behold with admiration, the great bounty of our Kings in commendable and vertuous actions. These goodly beginnings (in shew the first fruits of a found peace,) were crossed with many difficulties, both within and without the Realme. Flanders gaue the first subiect. This country is one of the chiefe Seigneuries of this Monarchy, & in the year 1225. this lawfull subiection was acknowledged at Melun by the Earle of Flanders. In the beginning of this reigne, *Guy* Earle of Flanders came to doe his homage to *Philip*, who required to haue the Cities of Flanders to ratifie this peace of Melun, the which was performed, but vnwillingly by this rich people, who still complained vnto *Philip*, that his parliament at Paris did infringe their priuiledges, for the which he wisely provided: but the great security of these rich Cities must needs be the cause of their own afflictions, as it chanceth often, that a rich people, being too far, seeke wilfully their owne ruine. Guienne did likewise much trouble *Philip*, and these two quarrels were intricate one with another, like vnto discords which come together, according to the times and occasions when they chance. The King of England was Duke of Guienne since the mariage of *Eleanor*, as wee haue seene: but many difficulties haue falne out: the accord made by the King *S. Lewis*, specified by vs, had limited the Seigneuries of Guienne to the English, the which hee should hold by homage of our Crowne: but he could not limit his desire, being watchfull vpon all occasions, to free himselfe from the subiection of France. Let vs follow by degrees, the actions and the order of time, in the comberfome report of these new stormes, falling out diuersly, and in diuers places: like as in a time inclined to raine, a cloud diggeth it selfe by planets in diuers parts.

The force and neighbourhood of England increased the quarrell, and caused a continuance by diuers accidents. *Edward* the first of that name, sonne to *Henry* the third, liued then in England, and Count *Guy* in Flanders. *Edward* came likewise into France, and did homage to the new King for the Duchy of Guienne, and other lands which hee held of the Crowne, as *Guy* had done for his. It chanced that certaine English ships scouring along the coast of Normandy, made a great spoile of the subiects of France. *Philip* vpon their complaints, intreats *Edward* to cause restitution to be made of that which had been vniuilly taken by his subiects. *Edward* neglects it: so as *Philip* causeth him to be adorned, to yeeld a reason of this attempt, as vassall to the Crowne. Hee appeares not, and so by sentence he is declared guilty of felony, and of high treason, and to haue forfeited his interest in all his Seigneuries of France. For the execution of this decree, *Arnoul* of Neefe Constable of France is sent into Guienne with an Army, in the year 1293. a notable date to quote the first letter in this Inuentory of a very long processe, although with some intermission, yet so violent, as it had almost ruined France. The Constable doth his exploit, he taketh Bourdeaux the chiefe City of Guienne, and then most of the other Townes doe willingly yeeld obedience vnto the King. Rions and some other Castles well fortified by the English hold good, to serue as a leuaine of this warre.

*Edward* seeing himselfe thus afflicted, armes by sea and land. By sea he sends an Army vnder the conduct of *Robert Tipstiffe*: by land he sends some Forces vnder the command of *John Breton*, to preclude that which remained in Guienne: and to fortifie himselfe with friends in the doubtfull euents of so important a cause, hee makes a league with *Guy* Earle of Flanders, & for confirmation thereof, he demands his daughter *Philip* for his eldest sonne the Prince of Wales, the heire apparent to the Crowne of England, which the Earle accepts willingly. And to omit nothing that might auail him, hee enters league with *Henry* Duke of Bar, giuing him *Eleanor* his daughter in marriage, and with *Adolphe* of Nassau Emperour, both hauing pretensions against France. The Duke of Bar demanded Champagne of the King, by the rights hee pretended, and enters it with Forces. *Philip* sends *Gualter* of Crecy the Lord of Castillon vpon Marne against him with a goodly army, who on the other side (entring into Barrois) makes a diuersion, & forceth the Duke to

returne

Colledge of  
Naurre.Cause of the  
warre in Flan-  
ders.The cause of  
quarrell in  
Guienne.Occasions to  
renew the war  
with the Eng-  
lish.A league  
giueth *Philip*.

1296

A returne to defend his owne against *Gualter*. The Emperour after a brauing manner giues notice vnto the King, that he will make warre against him, to recouer the lands belonging to the Empire. *Philip* makes no other answer, but sends him a packet well sealed vp, in the which was a white paper folded like a Letter, without any writing. This scoffe was a great desic, as indeed the braueries of *Adolphe* had no successe. The Earle of Flanders was the neereft and most dangerous enemy to preiudice *Philip*, who had ioyned himselfe to the King of England, by so strict a bond as the mariage of his Daughter. *Philip* hauing three great enemies in front, tries his wits to stay them. The most dangerous was he that dealt vnder-hand, that is, the Fleming: who made a good shew to *Philip*, and yet treated with his most dangerous enemy, but policy did circumspect policy. The King finds meanes vnder-hand, to giue him notice that he would gladly see his Daughter, whom he had christned, & was called *Philip* by his name, before he led her into England. *Guy* brings her with him to Paris: being arrived, he is committed prisoner by the King: the cause is made knowne vnto him by such as had commandement to arrest him. That being his vassall, hee had presumed to ally himselfe with a capitall enemy to the Crowne, giuing him so precious a gage as his daughter. *Guy* obtaines leaue to speak with the King. He excuseth himselfe, but his daughter remains as a pawne with the Queene, to bee married at the Kings good pleasure. His daughter (although kindly entertained by the King and Queene) was full of griefe, lamenting daily, as if this honorable guard had been a most cruell prison. The Earle intreats *Philip* to send him his daughter: he answers him plainly, that he tooke her not to restore her. Hereupon *Guy* takes occasion to complaine of the great wrong he pretended to be done him by *Philip*, who detaines his daughter forcibly without reason.

The English in the meane time make open warre in Guienne. *Philip* foreseeing that this was the beginning of a great storme (meaning to lay the burthen vpon him that might do him harme) sends a goodly Army into Guienne against the English, vnder the conduct of two great Commanders, his brother *Charles* Earle of Vallois, and the Constable of Neefe, to molest the enemy in diuers places. Rions and Fronlac, townes vpon the riuier of Garonne, (then strong, but now ruined) are besieged, and after many difficulties, D yeeld vnto the King, and in the end Saint Seuer, but with more paine. *Edmond*, brother to the King of England is defeated at sea, and returning into England, repaires his Nauy. But struing afterwards in vaine to besiege Bourdeaux with new forces, hee goes and dies at Bayonne, then belonging to the English.

Thus all things succeeding ill for the English, he seeks all meanes to fortifie himselfe. Hee flies to the Emperour *Adolphe*, the chiefe instrument of his hope, and sends him money to leaue an Army. To Pope *Boniface* the eight, beseeching him to remember the priuate bond hee had to the preservation of England, whereof he was protector. *Guy* Earle of Flanders ioynes openly with the English in this societie, to make warre against *Philip* with all his Forces. But from these light beginnings sprung diuers occasions E which troubled these great Princes. The Fleming is the chiefe aduancer of this tragedy, and shall haue his share in it.

Hee calls a great Assembly in the City of Gramont, in the year 1296. at the feast of Christmas, where *Adolphe* the Emperour, *Edward* King of England, the Duke of Austria, *John* Duke of Brabant, the Earle of Iuliers, *William* of Iuliers his son, *John* Earle of Holland and of Haynault, *Robert* Earle of Nevers, *William*, *Henry* and *Guy* of Flanders, *John* Earle of Namur, and many other great personages meet, and with one consent resolute to make warre against *Philip*. The colour was to maintaine *Guy* Earle of Flanders, vniuilly afflicted by *Philip*, who had violently taken and stolne his daughter against the right of Nations, and detained her: refusing obstinately to restore her to her father. It was decreed that *Guy* should begin by force, and bee well seconded by the Emperour and the English, in case of necessity. But before they come to armes, Pope *Boniface* should make the first point by the iuster of his authority. All things threatened *Philip* with much trouble, but the end will shew that the attempts of man are all but vaine. *Boniface* (according to the iurent of their league) sends his Nuncio to *Philip*, which was *James* Bishop of Metz, to exhort him to doe iustice, both to the Earle of Flanders, and to the King of England, protesting that hee desired nothing more then peace betwixt Christian Princes. Hee sent the same Nuncio vpon the same subiect into England, but with an

O 3

other

Philip seized  
vpon the Earle  
of Flanders  
daughters.The English  
affaires succee-  
ded ill.A great Assem-  
bly against  
*Philip*.Pope *Boniface*  
enueys to  
*Philip*.

1296

Platina in vita  
Bonifacii octavi.

other intent then he made shew of vnto Philip, casting wood & oyle into this fire, in stead of water to quench it. But for that this Pope must appear in many acts of this Theater; we must obserue his disposition, by some sufficient and not suspected testimony. *Platina* the Popes Secretary. Being (saith he) a Priest, Cardinall of Saint Martin of the Mount, hee affected the pontificall dignity with such vehemency, as hee omitted neither ambition nor fraud to compass it: and moreover, he was pufft up with such arrogancy, as hee contemned the whole world. Hee reports also, that he vsed a notable policy to circumuent Celestin, being chosen to the dignity of the Pope, a simple man and vnfit for matters of State; hee suborned some one to talke to him in the night like an Angell, perswading him to leaue this charge if he would be saued: hee preuailes by his practises, and wrought fo by subtilties, as hee was chosen Pope in his place. Being Pope, he desired nothing more then to kindle the warre betwixt the Guelphes, and the Gibelins, then called blacke and white, by a name and marke of a faction. *Platina* quotes a singular prooffe of his disposition, nothing inclined to procure peace among Christian Princes. *Prochet* Archbishop of Genoa, affecting the Gibelin faction, kneeled at Boniface seete on Ash Wednesday: As the Priest is accustomed to say: *Memento homo quia cinis es, & in cinerem reuerteris*, hee said (changing the words) *Memento homo quia Gibelinus es, & cum Gibelinis in cinerem reuerteris*, casting the ashes into his eyes, whereas they are accustomed to cast them on the head, in signe of humility and submission. Boniface thus inclined to the peace of Christendome, that is to say (as the Lord of Haillan writes) more pufft vp with glory and vanity, then good zeale to the peace of Christian Princes, he commands Philip by his Nuncio, to restore to the English and Flemings what they demanded, and for not obeying, he cites him to appeare at Rome vpon paine of excommunication. Philip a wife and a valiant Prince, although hee were discontented with this course, yet he sent an honourable Ambassage to Rome, by the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Earle of Saint Paul, to lay open his right before the Deputies of the King of England and the Earle of Flanders, who were then at Rome to complaine as being wronged. All parties being heard, Boniface decrees that Philip (as the fountaine and cause of all the miseries and inconueniences which had happened) should yeeld to Edward and to Guy all they demanded, both in Guienne, and Flanders, charging the Archbishop of Rheims to signifie this Bull vnto the King, vpon paine of excommunication for not obeying. This was the first blow giuen by Boniface against Philip: The other Scene of this Tragedy shall represent another act. But what doth Philip after these great threats? He prepares for deeds, not suffering himselfe to be daunted with words, and tries his wit to find out meanes to maintaine himselfe against so mighty enemies, not holding it fit nor worthy of a King of France to bee terrified with these comminations from Rome, employed without reason against his lawfull authority. So seeking for all helpe, he resolves to be ready for all euents, holding words insufficient to calme this storme. He laies great impositions (which they call Maletost) vpon his subiects for the leauying of souldiers, and impositeth great tenths vpon the Clergy.

The Pope  
makes a decree  
against Philip.Philip prepares  
to defend him-  
selfe.Philip admon-  
isheth the Earle  
of Flanders of  
his duty.

But in the search of this remedy, he was encountered with two difficulties: on the one side, his Subiects furcharged with the exaction of these great sums, being almost in despair, were ready to rebell in diuers places, especially in the greater Cities: And on the other side, Pope Boniface thundered against him by new Comminations and Censures: forbidding the Clergy to contribute any thing. This Prince crossed with these difficulties, continues his course resolutely, as great worke requires a noble and vndaunted spirit: but before he enters war against Guy Earle of Flanders, he sends the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishop of Senlis vnto him, to aduertise him not to enter into a voluntary war: That the King was as careful of his daughter as himselfe, to marry her honorably according to her quality: That he did nothing unworthy of a good King, or a good God-father, in not suffering his subiects to ally themselves to his capitall & deadly enemies, the which he spake not for feare of the Earles Forces, or of his friends, but for the care he had of his subiects, not to see them run headlong into ruine, and therefore hee presents him the choice of Peace or War. Count Guy answers, that hee is resolute to recouer his right by force from the King, seeing he might not haue it by reason.

Philip hauing tryed mildnesse in vaine, comes to force. He had a goodly Army, whereof hee takes the one halfe, and giues the other to Robert Earle of Arthois his cousin. He

turnes

1297

Philip invades  
Flanders, and  
defeats the Flem-  
ings.

turnes the head of his army against Lille, and besiegeth it, whilst that Robert defeats the Flemings at Furnes, and takes the Earles of Iuliers and Albemont, with many other of great account, and sends them prisoners into France. So continuing his victory hee takes the townes of Cassel, Bergues, Saint Winoch, Furnes, and all the West part, with an incredible celerity. The King hauing taken Lille, he enters victoriously into Bruges. At this sudden checke, all the rest of Flanders stands amazed. This happy beginning did shake the designs of the confederate Princes, so as without any more delay they sue for peace. Ambassadors come presently vnto him from the King of England, demanding a Truce, the which he granted, comprehending the Earles of Flanders and Neucrs, vpon condition they should put their controuersies in compromise: and so he returned into France, leaving Raoul of Neche his Constable, Gouvernour of the Country of Flanders. This was the first voyage of Philip into Flanders, in the year 1297. All things seemed to be thus mildly pacified, but the progresse will soon shew, that Philip had no meaning to recieve the Earle of Flanders into fauour: for the Truce being newly expired, Charles Earle of Valois enters into Flanders with the same victorious army, where he takes Bethune, Douay, Cortray, and all the rest of the Country of Flanders, except Gant, whither the Earle Guy was retired with his children, being disappointed of succours from his allies and confederates. England is quiet, and the Emperour Adolphe is no more to be feare, who had made this poore Earle to weare the bable: and the Gantois make their peace with the King, keeping their priuiledges. But what shall become of the Earle? he yeelds himselfe absolutely into the hands of Robert Earle of Arthois, with promise, that by his intercession, he should be restored into the Kings good fauour, and so into the possession of his Estate. Vpon this promise of Robert, Guy (accompanied with his children, Robert, William, and Guy, and his Nobility that were most confident vnto him) comes to Paris, but his hope was soon turned into a languishing sorrow: for both himselfe, his children, and all his followers, were dispersed into sundry places vnder sure guards, as the Kings prisoners: from whom they could draw no other answer, but that he had passed no word to his brother, and that they were his prisoners by a iust warre. Philip without any further delay passeth into Flanders with a goodly troupe, to take possession of the Earledome: as proprietary and chiefe Lord, and to vnit it to the Crowne, by vertue of a sentence; whereby the person of Count Guy was found guilty of high treason, and his lands were confiscate to the King, as to his soveraigne Lord. He comes to Gant, where he is received with pompe, as Prince and Lord, he receiued their homage, and makes them many good lawes for the government of the Country, appointing James of Chastillon, Lord of Leuse and Conde, for Gouvernour and Licutenant General, and so returns to Paris. Then were Garisons presently placed, and Citadels made in all the townes, as conquered by the sword; they are charged with contributions, taxes, and impositions one vpon another, to finish the buildings, and to nourish the souldiers, with such other things as depended thereon. Such was the liberty and confusion of military discipline. On the other side, there were complaints and popular mutinies for the exactions made by the Kings command. These popular discontents did suddenly cause a new confusion. A people ought to be entreated with much mildnesse, be they either newly conquered, or reduced to their old obedience. This ill vantage gaue all the better townes occasion to reuolt. Bruges began, and is followed presently by the rest, but they must seeke meanes for their preservation, to maintaine themselves against the Forces of Philip, which vndoubtedly would fall vpon them. They assemble at Bruges. The first difficulty is to prouide a Commander. John and Guy of Namur brethren (sonnes to Guy Earle of Flanders) were jointly chosen by a generall consent, and come to Bruges. There all the Cities (Gant excepted) make an offensive and defensive league, against the King of France for their Earles deliuey. The Dice are cast, all breaks out into a furious sedition. At Bruges the French are slaine by their Hosts, Count S. Paul (who went thither to pacifie these troubles) escaped hardly. Fury had found them out Commanders fit for their humours. A wretched Weaver, suborned and counterfeit, mutinous and full of words (named Peter) is one of their chiefe Colonels, accompanied with like Ruffians: and the other Commanders a Butcher of like qualities to this Tribune. But as the baster sort begin these rebellions, so great men end them. Philip of Flanders (sonne to Guy) being a prisoner, flies from Apouille (where he was well appointed) to succour his Father and Country, being ready to suffer shipwracke. The Nobility of the Country

Guy put into  
prison.Flanders vniteth  
to the Crowne.The people of  
Flanders reuolt  
against Philip.The Nobility  
iourne with the  
people.

(who

1302

(who feared the fury of this mad enraged multitude) ioyne easily with him. The popular state (seeing how needfull the armes and direction of Gentlemen was for them) seeke all meanes to haue their fauour. The cause is plausible, the deliuey of their good Earle, and the liberty of their Country. Flanders being thus set on fire, *Philip* was in no lesse perplexity, resolving to employ all his Forces to suppress this mutinous nation. In few daies he leauies an army of forty thousand men, with exceeding diligence, and he himselfe is in field as General. And yet all this dies like a fire of straw, and breeds euents not foreseen by him, who in shew was the stronger, but in the end hee proues the weaker, and beares the blowes: for he was scarce entred into Flanders as farre as Boisduec, but hee talkes of his returne, pretending the vnsafonableness of the time, yet the cause was apparently knowne to be otherwise: and some thought that he feared a reuolt at home. So this great shew preuailed little in Flanders, and bred an infinite charge to France. This was the success of *Philip*'s second voyage into Flanders, with much bruit and no fruit. This his sudden retreat incensed this mutinous people more, and gaue courage to their Commander, to be the more resolute against *Philip*, by the renewing of a mutuall alliance: and made *Philip* seeke to repaie the error which he had (in his owne conceit) committed, in not employing so goodly an army against the Flemings: hee raiseth another army of forty thousand men of the companies already leauied, vnder the command of *Robert* Earle of Arthois his Cousin, accompanied with *Arneul* of Neele, Constable of France, and many great personages.

The diuers humours of both parties, were a foretelling of the issue of these armies: for the Earle of Arthois marched against the Flemings, as against a bafe people, easie to be vanquished, and this humour of the General crept into the soldierys minds, as going to an vndoubted victory, and not to a doubtfull combat. Contrariwise, the Flemings marched carefully to defend themselves against great Warriors, for the defence of their liberty against them that were greatly incensed, and vnder a wife and graue Commander. They choose for their Leader *John* of Namur, with his brethren *Guy* and *Philip*, (sonnes to the Earle *Guy* prisoner) accompanied with many Noblemen, that were good soldierys, and swayne enemies to the French, leading a people very resolute for their owne preferuations. The armies met neere to the towne of Cortray, in a place called Groeminghe. The Earle of Arthois would by all meanes draw the Flemings to fight: who fought onely to defend themselves, and therefore had chosen a place to campe in, strong both by nature and art, lying close with their batallions. This their countenance not to fight, made *Robert* of Arthois the more resolute to force them, contrary to the Constables aduice. The great numbers of the French did at the first terrifie the Flemings, but (their minds seasoned with the former considerations) they were encouraged by their leader *John* of Namur. *Robert* therefore hauing commanded his Horse to charge their Squadrons furiously, the Flemings withstood them as courageously, and hauing disordered them, they forced them to retire vpon their owne Foot, who were placed with so great a contempt of the enemy, as if they were not to fight, but to gather the spoiles of vanquished men. The horsemen thus disordered, passe through their bands of foot, the which thus diuided abandon their ranks, and then their armes. Some fight here, others flye there, but the horse & foot being in rout, they could not ioyne againe. The disorder was general: some defend themselves courageously, but there remains no squadrons to fight in grosse. Their multitude is a hindrance vnto them: the Flemings encouraged with this success, are the more eager in killing, for that this defeat of our men was v unexpected, and this multitude being victorious, is fished vpon the French without mercy, glutting themselves vpon them whom before they feared. Of this great army there hardly escaped 300, all are past together great and small. Not one Commander escaped, & very few Noblemen. *Robert* Earle of Arthois cousin to the King of France, General of the army; *Arneul* Lord of Neele, Constable of France; *James* of Chastillon, Gouernor of Flanders; *John* King of Maiorca, Godeffroy of Brabant, and his son the Lord of Viczon, the Earles of Eu, La Marche, Damarin, Aumale, Auge, Tancarville, and many other great personages which were the offerings of these cowardly spirits. They number 12000. Gentlemen slaine in this battell by this enraged multitude. A notable president, not to contemne an enemy, which teacheth what a furious people well led may doe: and especially, that victories come from heaven: for here the lesser number vanquished the greater, and the weak the strong.

This

*Philip's* Army  
defeated by the  
Flemings:

Battell of Cortray famous for the great defeat of the French.

135

1302

A This victory called of Cortray or Groeminghe, was followed with an absolute reuolt of all Flanders against the French. It hapned in the year 1302. the 11. of Iuly, *John* of Namur remaining their Gouernour in the absence of their imprisoned Earle. *Philip* receiued a great checke in this battell: but he had more bottomes to vntwist. All the threats of *Edward* King of England, and of the Emperour *Adolphe* vanished: onely Pope *Boniface* the 8. shewed himselfe obstinate in his hatred against *Philip*. A discourse worthy to be carefully described:

In the hottest of these Flemish afflires, *Boniface* did excommunicate *Philip*, and curst his Realme vpon this occasion: The Christians estate was lamentable in the East, the Tartarians increased dayly. *Cassan* King of Tartars, allyed with the King of Armenia a Christian, made a great profession of loue to the Christians: and for that the Mammelukes held Iudea and Ierusalem, he desired to draw the Kings and Princes of Christendome to their ayd. To this end he sends an Ambassador to *Boniface* the 8. and to *Philip* King of France, to entreat them both to employ their authorities and meanes in so good a worke. *Boniface* failes not to embrace this occasion; he not onely exhorts *Philip* to succour the Tartar, but also commands him proudly and imperiously vpon paine of excommunication. This Bull was giuen and deliuered to a sufficient man, named *Stephen*, an Arragonois, whom he had made Bishop of Apamiers, a town in the County of Foix, which they commonly call Pamiers, and had erected this new Bishopricke in the Archbishopricke of Thoulou, without the Kings priuity or consent: who acquitted himselfe of his charge so stoutly, that when as *Philip* represented vnto him the greatneffe of his affaires, so as hee could not obey the Popes command: he answered with a bold face, That if the King would not obey the Pope, he would deprive him of his Realme.

The subiect, the manner, and the person, (advanced thus against his will) did so moue and stirre *Philip*, (grieved and disturbed with this late losse and ouerthrow, as if the Pope would insult ouer him for his bad and vnforsunate successe) that hee imprisoned this Bishop. Pope *Boniface* transported with choller, sends so him againe one *Peter* a Romane borne, (Archbishop of Narbonne) with sharper Bals, to summon him to undertake this voyage of the East: to command him also not to touch the reuenues of the Clergy: to reprehend him sharply, for that he had presumed to lay hands vpon the Bishop whom he had sent: and to enioyne him to send him presently backe in full liberty. His charge extended to no other censures, in case he disobeyed not in the principall. The Archbishop executed his charge bodily. *Philip* shewed him with great modesty, the impossibility of this voyage, the reasons which had moued him to leaue this tenth of the Clergy, and so to entreat the Bishop, hauing spoken vnto him without any respect. The Archbishop replied with more arrogancy, That he was ignorant of the Popes authority, who was not onely the father of Christian soules, but also soueraigne Lord and Prince in temporal things. And therefore by that authority he did excommunicate him, declaring him vnworthy to reigne, and his Realme forfeited to the Church of Rome, to inuest whom hee pleased. Moreover, he brought another Bull, directed to the Prelates and Noblemen of France by the which hee did acquit and dispence all Frenchmen from their oath of obedience to *Philip*. And a third, by the which hee did cite all the Prelates and Diuines of the French Church, to appeare before him at Rome: disannulling all indulgences and priuiledges granted to the French, by any Popes his predecessors.

The Earle of Arthois disdainning this affront, takes the Bull and casts it in the fire, saying, That no such dishonour should euer befall the King, to submit himselfe to any such conditions. *Philip* amazed at these bold affronts, refers the whole matter to his Councell, who conclude to send backe the Popes two Nuncios to Rome, and to forbid the Prelates of France to goe, or to send any money to Rome: beseeching *Philip* to proceed in the affaires of his Realme, and not to stay in so goodly a course. This done, *Philip* raiseth new and great Forces to returne into Flanders. At his entry the Flemings were defeated at Arques neere to Saint Omer, in a strait passage. *Guy* of Namur besieging *Xirixie*, was ouerthrowne by the Kings Nauy, assisted by sixteene Gallies of Genoa, vnder the command of *Renier Grimaldi*: and being taken, is caried to the King, being in his army betwixt Lille and Douay. After this fortunate beginning, many Cities yielded to the French, the rest fearing the euent, stood amazed, the fume of their victory being euaporated, as if the first heat being cold, they entreat the Earle of Sauoy to be a mediator to *Philip* for a truce,

A notable affront done by Pope *Boniface* to *Philip*.

Arrogance of the Popes Nuncio.



1302

Philip subdues  
the Flemings.And makes  
peace with  
them.  
The Flemings  
tied to strict  
conditions.Six thousand  
pounds.Guy Earle of  
Flanders and  
his daughter  
die.Isabel the  
daughter of  
Philip married  
to Edward  
King of Eng-  
land.

truce, whereby they might obtaine a peace, after so many miseries. *Philip* of Flanders and *John* of Namur brethren, were great perfwaders thereof, for the naturall desire they had to free their poore father so long time a prisoner. But *Philip* thirsting after reuenge for his losse at Cortray, refused it. He aduanceth, and defeats the Flemings at Aire and at Tournay. There chanced in the end that notable encounter at Mons in Penelle, where they were wonderfully beaten, to make them lose the taste of the battell of Cortray, yet *Philip* was in danger of his life, and bought this victory dearly: and the Flemings (like men in despaire) assembled together from all parts, although vnder hand they did sue to *Philip* for peace: the which in the end they obtained, at the instance of *John* Duke of Brabant, vpon these conditions: That the Soueraignty remaining to the King, and the Flemings enjoying their liberties, the Earle *Guy* and all other prisoners, should be set at liberty, without ranfome: and the Flemings should pay eighty thousand pound sterling, for the charges of the warre; and the Castles of Lisle, Douay, Cassel, and Cortray, should be deliuered into the Kings hands as a pawne, untill the end of the payment: and that he might beat downe what hee had built in the Castles of Lisle and Douay, deliuering them to the Earle, as to their lawfull Lord: That the Flemings should raze the wals and forts of foue principall Cities, Gant, Bruges, Ypre, Lisle, and Douay, and neuer to build them againe: That the King should make choice of three thousand men at his pleasure, in Bruges and thereabouts, that were culpable of the seditions and murders committed, a thousand of them to be employed beyond the Seas, and two thousand on this side: and that the Flemings should furnish fixe hundred men at armes, to serue the King one whole yeare where he pleased. And for the performance hereof, the Cities should be bound, and should forsaite threecore thousand Liuers for non-payment: for the effecting whereof, Deputies should be appointed. During this treaty, the Earle *Guy* and his daughter *Philip*, (the subiect of this troublefome revolt) died, to the great griefe of *Philip*, who sees himselfe frustrate of all meanes to shew his clemency and bounty. But when these articles were brought vnto the Cities, the people did murine with great impatience, so as the Deputies perswaded *Philip* to moderate those which were most grievous. The demanding of the townes (except Bruges, where the revolt began, and the banishment of the men, conuerting it into a pecuniary fine, and a great summe to an annuall pension prefixt to easie payments.) Thus the accord was made: *Robert*, *William*, and *Guy* brethren, the sonnes of the Earle *Guy* of Flanders, were deliuered with all the prisoners, but we shall see that in the execution thereof there was much trouble. During these hard and rough proceedings, *Edward* King of England hauing receiued a checke in Guienne, was quiet, fearing *Philips* resolution in greatest dangers: whereof he could wisely free himselfe: in the end an accord is made by the mariage of *Isabel*, he left to his posterity a heauy pawne to pretend a title to the whole Realme. *Philip* had his reuenge of the Emperour *Adolphe*, who had so boldly braued him in the beginning of this quarrell, vnder colour of demanding the lands of the Empire, lying in the Countries of Bourgogne, Dauphine, and Prouence, being in old time the Realm of Arles, but then in the power of diuers Lords (as we haue said) vnder the Kings authority. The King of England, and Earle of Flanders had great cause to complaine of him, hauing receiued two hundred thousand Crownes to make war against *Philip*, the which he employed in the purchase of Thuringe, and taking possession of that goodly Country, so vnjustly gotten, being sold by an vnnatural father, who would disinherit his children. This filthy traffike (aggravated by the complaints of the King of England, and Earle of Flanders) made *Adolphe* of Nassau very odious and contemptible, being issued from a noble and worthy race, but this act against the poore children, made him vnworthy of the Empire, from which he was depozed by a decree of the Electors, and *Albert* of Austria seated in his place, who pursuing him with warre, slue him (as they write) with his owne hand, in an encounter nere vnto Spire.

But Pope *Boniface* the 8. (*Philips* greatest enemy) remained yet vn pacified, who stil continued his choller against him, in a season when as he thought him to be drawne dry, both of men and money: for they write that this warre of Flanders had wasted about three hundred thousand Frenchmen in eleven yeares, during the which it continued. We haue seene how he vsed him by his Nuncios: this last act will not onely shew the continuance of his spleene, but shall also represent a bad Catastrophe in this Tragedy, the which shall light vpon the head of *Boniface*, fought for by himselfe. *Albert* of Austria was no sooner chosen

1303

A chosen and installed Emperour by the Electors, but *Boniface* applied his wit to winne him against *Philip*, supposing to preuaile against him, as *Gregory* the ninth had done against *Fredricke* the second. He proclaimes him Emperour, and inuelt him King of the Realme of France, giuing him both the title and armes: and taking occasion to sow diuision in the heart of the Realme, by meanes of the Clergy, who by reason of their reuenues, had great power in the State, and for the interest thereof, great will to preferre them. He did also write his Letters to *Philip* in this manner:

*Boniface* Bishop, seruant of the seruants of God, to *Philip* King of Frenchmen. Feare God, and obserue his Commandements. We will thee to vnderstand, that thou art subiect to vs, both in spirituall and temporall things, and that it belongs not to thee to giue any Prebend or Benefice. If thou hast the keeping of any of them being vacant, thou must reserue the profits of them to the successors. If thou hast giuen any, we iudge thy gift to be voyd, and doe reuoke all that hath beene done, and who soeuer beleeueth otherwise, wee iudge them hereticks. Given at Latran, the fourth of the Nones of December, in the 6. yeare of our Popedom. The King answers him thus:

*Philip*, by the grace of God King of France, to *Boniface*, calling himselfe the soueraigne Bishop, little or no health. Let thy great folly and rashnesse be aduertised, that in temporall things we acknowledge none but God for superior; and that the gift of Prebends being voyd, belongs to vs by our royall Prerogative, and the fruits that grow thereby, the which we will defend by the sword, against all them that shall seeke to hinder our possession, esteeming them fooles and without iudgement, that shall thinke otherwise. These are the very words drawne out of the original.

But *Philip* (to preuent the plots of Pope *Boniface*) assembled the Prelates of his Realm at Paris with all speed, and hauing represented vnto them the wrong which Pope *Boniface* had done him by his decree (from the which he had appealed as erroneous) he makes them to renew the oath of fidelity. He thanks the King of England, in that he yeeldeth not to the perswasions of *Boniface*, who would haue incensed him against him; and in the end beseeches to stay the violent course of his furious practices. There was a Gentleman following the Court, whose name was *Felix* of Nogaret (borne in Seuennes, a mountaine Country of Languedoc, of the Family of Albigeois, as in that Country there were many referred from father to sonne, since the grant made them by Saint *Lewis*) whom *Philip* held fit for the execution of this charge: there was likewise a guide found out very fit to accompany him. *Boniface* had ill entreated the Colonis; one of them named *Sciaria* (lying the Popes fury, and seeking some rest) had beene taken by Pirates, and redeemed by a friend of his at Marseilles, and so brought into France. They could not chooe a more fit instrument to tame his arrogancy, who presumed to controule Kings, and to deprime them of their Estates (as *Platina* saith.) The pretext of *Nogarets* voyage to Rome was apparent, to signifie *Philips* appeale from the Pope vnto a Councell, and to find the meanes to leaue him vnder hand, for at that time the Realme of Naples obeyed the French, whither *Philip* had conueyed 60. thousand Crownes, by the bancke of the Petrucci, Merchants of Florence, to furnish this leauey. The Pope was retired from Rome to Anagnia, a towne of Abruzzo, (where he was borne) by reason of the troubles at Rome, whereas the Gibelin faction was growne the stronger. There were likewise in Anagnia many corrupted by the siler of France, by such meanes as *Sciaria* gaue vnto *Nogaret*, so as hauing drawne in 300. Frenchmen well armed, and wonne many of the Citizens vnto him, the Castle (whereas Pope *Boniface* was lodged) was seized on, and at the same instant the City gates (with that terror which doth vntually amaze men) surprised. Then the French cry, The City is wonne: no man dares appeare. In this confusion the Castle gates being seized on by French souldiers, *Felix* of Nogaret being armed (accompanied with *Sciaria*, *Colonis*, and many others) enters the palace-hall with their naked swords, *Boniface* is not much amazed, but hastily attires himselfe in his pontifical robes, and presents himselfe vnto his enemies. *Nogaret* begins to say vnto him: The good and noble King of France hath sent me hither, to tell thee that he appeales from thee to the Councell. But the Pope hauing not the patience to attend the end, Thy grandfather (said hee) condemned for the heretic of the Albigeois, was iustly punished by fire, a worthy reward for his wickednesse before God and man: I doe not therefore wonder if I see thee thus traitorously surprised by thee an hereticke, but I willingly beare what hapned to that good Pope *Silacrus*. *Nogaret* replies,

Anagnia seized  
on and taken  
by the French.

1304

replies, I will lead thee then to Lions, where a Councell shall iudge of thy abuses. But *Boniface* would haue replied, *Sciama* more hardly then *Nogaret*, gaue him a great blow with his gantlet on the face, which made him to bleed much. The Pope cried, and he struck againe, so as *Nogaret* (hauing no commission to proceed so farre) drew him out of the *Chapell* *Bonifaces* pawes, and hauing retired him into his chamber, howling and blaspheming like a desperate man) he led him to Rome. But *Boniface* through this accident entred into so cruell a frenzy, as he gnawed and eat his owne hands, and so died pitcously the 35 day after, to whom the common report registred in Histories made this Epitaph:

*He entred his Popedome like a Foxe, he reigned like a Lyon, and died like a Dog.*

*Platina* adds this Commentary: Thus died *Boniface*, who laboured to keepe the consciences of Emperours, Kings, Princes, and generally of all men in awe, more by terror then by religion: who sought to giue and take away Kingdomes, to expell and restore Princes at his pleasure: most greedy to gather gold by what means soeuer. Let Princes therefore both (spiritual and temporal learne to gouerne their Clergy and Subjects, not arrogantly with infolency and outrage (as this of whom we speak) but holily and modestly, as Christ our King, and his Disciples and followers, who desired to be beloued, not feared: whence iustly proceeds the ruine of tyrants. He writes also of him: That he nourished diuisions among the Italians, and especially betwixt the Geneuois and the Venetians. Behold the testimony of *Platina*, and the Catastrophe of the Tragedy which Pope *Boniface* the 8. had plotted to ruine the King and his Realme. *Philip* aduertised of the heauy end of him who had praiged to ruine both him and his Estate, presently sends his Ambassadors to the Colledge of Cardinals, being much amazed at this accident, protesting that hee gaue no such commission to *Felix* of *Nogaret*, (to whom notwithstanding he gaue in recompence the Barony of Caluision in Vauange neere vnto Nismes) but onely to intimate to Pope *Boniface* his appeale from him to the Councell; desiring them to expect all friendship and succour from him. The Cardinals reuiued from their great amazement by this kind message from *Philip*, stood yet long irresolute in the election of a new Pope, fearing to doe any thing vnpleasing vnto the King. In the end they choose one *Nicholas* a Cardinal, who had assisted *Philip* cousins in the voyage of Hungary (famous among the Popes by the name of *Benedict* the 11.) He renokes the excommunication giuen out by *Boniface* against *Philip* and his people, and restores the priuiledges of the Vniuersity of Paris, whereof he had deprived them in disdain of *Philip*: but he liued not long, and the Cardinals desire was to accommodate themselves wholly to the Kings will: they therefore by a generall consent choose *Clement*, borne at Bazadois in Gascony, of the house of the Vicounts of Tartas, and Lords of Veste, where he built a goodly Castle called Villandrant, as the Lord of Hailan doth testifie (an vnreprouable witness) being of that Country. This *Clement* was the first of the seven French Popes which held the Sea one after another, vntill *Vrbane* the 6. vnder whom the Italians recouered it againe with much trouble. These seven Popes were *Clement* the 5. a Gascon; *Iohn* 23 of Cahors in Quercy; *Benedict* the 12. a Tholouian; *Clement* the 6. *Innocent* the 6. *Vrbane* the 5. *Gregory* the 11. all foure Limosins one after another. Such power had this proceeding of our *Philip*. *Clement* the 5. being chosen Pope, he came into France, and the King receiued him at Lions, accompanied with the Kings of England and Arragon in great pompe. The Pope was on horse-backe, and the King with his two brethren on foot, holding the reins of his horse. Hee was crowned in the Temple of Saint *Iust*, where they had built a great Theater for so goodly a spectacle: but the presse of people was so great, as the Scaffold brake, and the multitude fell one vpon another. The Pope, Kings, Princes, and Noblemen, were all on a heape, and the scaffold fastned to an old wall pulled it downe, so as the King was hurt in the head, the Pope in the foot, and the Duke of Britaine slaine, with a great number of Noblemen and common people that were smothered vnder these ruines. The Popes Crowne fell from his head into the presse, where he lost a Carbuncle valued at fixe thousand Florins of Gold: but the life of men was inestimable. Thus this feast gaue no cause of ioy, but was famous to posterity by this notable accident, and by the translation of the Popes feat from Rome to Anignon, in the year 1305. vnto the year 1379. vnder *Vrbane* the sixt. This was the first act of *Clement* the 5. being arriued in France. In the meane time the Flemings practise new troubles, refusing to performe the conditions of peace, and their Earle *Robert* gathered together men and money on all sides for the warre: whereunto

Philip

Boniface dies made.

The Pope crowned at Paris.

1314

A *Philip* tired with the long miseries which had wasted his Realme) was vnwillingly drawne, Yet hee giues charge to *Enguerand* of Marigny Earle of Longueville, Superintendent of his treasure, to find meanes to leauy an army, appointing *Robert* of Valois his brother for General, accompanied with *Lewis* his eldest sonne, and a great number of the Nobility. But the difficulty to recouer money was so great, as the King was forced to grant *Truce* to *Robert* Earle of Flanders, the which was more available for him then France. This did greatly displease these two Princes (who had the chiefe places in the Army) complaining of *Enguerand*, as if he had purposely crossed this leauy, with a pretence of want of money: when as he himselfe was rather corrupted by the Flemings. They smothered this dislike vntill *Philip* death, who countenanced *Enguerand* (as his good and faithfull seruant) against the ordinary complaints of these Princes of the blood. But after long delays, Flanders continuing still more obstinate in their rebellion, and *Robert* seeking but to gaine time, necessity forced *Philip* to the warre, and want of money held him backe: yet both the one and the other were apparent. For the redress whereof, he finds an expedient, to call an assembly at Paris of all the Cities of his Realme, and there to represent vnto his subjects the great necessity of his affaires, to induce them thereby to contribute meanes for so important a warre, being both necessary and honourable. The Assembly was held in the Court of Parliament (a soleinne place) where the King assisted with all his Councell. *Enguerand* of Marigny made the speech, as the man which had the managing of his affaires. The Prouost of Paris made offer of any thing the City of Paris could doe, that the example of the capitall City might draw on the rest, who made the like offer. They grant a new imposition often Depuers vpon the Liuer, or Franke, of all Merchandise and wares: but when it came to the execution, there were daily seditions and mutinies in Picardy, Normandy, Orleans, and Lions, whither *Philip* sent *Lewis* his eldest sonne to pacifie them. But oh the vanity of this world! *Philip* had liued with much paine, he had passed his apprenticeship in his fathers troubles, crossed with the warres of Guienne and Flanders, he had giuen and receiued infinite losses, shaken with the pricking thornes of *Boniface*, who sought to ruine both body and soule in excommunicating him, and seeking to spoile him of his Estate. Was it not then time to rest after all these toyles? and yet behold he is more ready then before to embarke himselfe in new troubles, by the enterprise of a new and dangerous warre, whereof all his posterity could neuer preuaile. But God more wise then himselfe, did cut off these long discourses (cast in the mold of an infinite life) in this life so soone ended. So he dyes when his troubles began to liew, and goes to seeke rest in heauen, which he could not find on earth. He died at Fontainebleau in Gascony, in the year 1314. hauing reigned 28. yeares, and liued 58. His disposition and his children, are noted in the beginning of his reigne, and the estate of the Empire and the Church, throughout the whole discourse thereof.

The estate likewise of the Christians in Asia and Africke, and of the French in Sicily, Naples and Arragon, must necessarily bee described, both that which was past, and that which is to come. The Popes had embarked all Christendome in this action, goodly in shew, and very preiudiciall in effect, for those voyages beyond the sea, haue consumed an infinite number of men thoroughout all Christendome. Our France hath a great share of our Kings. Many Houses were cast away vpon this shiffe, whence grew infinite losses. And from thence likewise came the corruption of fees, by means of the sale of lands made by Gentlemen to peasants. To conclude, they employed 200. yeares to purchase much paine & infinit losse. We haue hitherto seene how things haue passed from reigne to reigne, from the year 1096. the date of the first departure of the Christian army into the East, vnto the year 1315. The ordinary practice of the Popes of Rome, was to free themselves of Kings and Emperours, the more easily to settle their authority ouer them, as the wife and vnfortunate Reader may verifie, by all the circumstances and order of the true History. I speake only in termes of State, and as mildly as truth will permit me. In those times the *Turks* (who had undertaken the protection of the Christians (the better to settle their affaires) obtained of Pope *Clement* a new Croysado, to the which *Philip* had vnto two *Joannes*, *Philip* and *Charles*, but it had no successe, although *Clement* did what he could to further the action. But a dog that is scalded fears cold water: and experience is the mistress both of wise men and fooles. So all these great shewes in the end came to nothing. The Countreys so valiantly conquered by the Christians, were seized on by the Infidels.

A penie vpon two shillings trading.

Philip died.

The Pope crowned at Paris.

1315  
The Christians  
lose all in the  
Bath

The Estate of  
Sicily.

as after infinite toiles, there scarce remained any reliques of this shipwrecke, onely some Harbours to the Venetians, and Genuois, Cyprus, Corfu, Chio, and to all the Christians jointly Rhodes and Malta. The Templers (placed for the guard of Christendome) became so disloyall and corrupt, as they must be rooted out, the which Philip did in France, in whose place were instituted the Knights of Rhodes and Malta, the which continue vnto this day. Behold the end of the voyage of our Argonauts, which made so gressely a shew vpon this Theater in the first Scene. But the Carastrophe was so miserable as the Countries where the Gospell had bene preached, remained a shameful prey to the enemy of Christendome, and the Christian Church at his mercy. As for Sicily, behold the estate: Charles the Lame (heire to his fathers misfortunes, taken by Roger Admirall of Aragon, and held prisoner foure yeares) in the end was released, vpon condition hee should relinquish all his interest to the two Sicilies. And all which Philip had taken in Aragon, returned presently after his death to James of Aragon, the lawfull heyre of that Realme. Naples continued longer in the Frenchmens power, but in the end all was lost, as we shall see hereafter: so as the Aragonois retained to himselfe the possession of these goodly Estates, and left vs in our voluntary losses, the gages of our accustomed rashnesse, and an apparent testimony, that the Popes gifts to our Kings, haue not greatly enriched the poore Realme, as appeares by infinite examples. After that of Naples, Hungary was in no better estate, being giuen by the Pope to Charles Martel, sonne to Charles the Lame, these two quartels hauing drawn all Europe into a strange confusion. So there was euery where vanity for truth, bruit without fruit, and shewes without effect. The originals are my warrant for this truth, which I ought to the honor of the history without dissembling.

### LEWIS the tenth, called *HUTIN*, The 47. King of France.



His reigne is short and of small fame, as the actions of this King are D not greatly commendable. He began to reigne in the yeare 1314 and dyed the yeare after, Iune 16. and so he scarce reigned a yeare and a halfe, which time was full of trouble and confusion, according to his turbulent and stirring disposition, whereof he bare the name, for a blemish to his posterity, for *Hutin* in old French signifies Mutine. A cholerick Prince, ingrate, indiscreet, outrageous, defacing his royall authority, by the insolent abuse of his power, couering his humane passions with the vaile of his authority. He first married with *Marguerite* the daughter of *Robert* Duke of Bourgogne, being detected of incontinency, she was confined to Chasteau-Gaillierd vpon Seine, where shee died in her ignominy. After her death he married with *Clemence* the daughter of *Charles*, brother to *Robert* King of Sicily, pretended King of Hungary. He made a great preparation against *Robert* Earle of Flanders, but could not passe with his Army for waters. He discharged his choler vpon *Enguerand* of Marigny Earle of Longueuille, Superintendent of the treasure, whom *Philip* had employed long and confidently. *Charles* Earle of Valois, brother to *Philip* the faire, accused *Enguerand* of extortion and robbing the Treasury, making him odious to the people, for that he had long managed the treasure of the Realme to his Masters good liking; but *Lewis* and *Charles* had hatched this hatred against him, to the losse of his life. Hee had caused the Palace to be built and he disposed of the publicke treasure, during the long wars of Flanders, the which had wasted much, to the peoples oppression and hindrance. And therefore it was a pleasing spectacle to see *Enguerand* of Marigny hanged by a solemne sentence vpon the gallows, which hee had caused to be made at Montfalcon, beating down his image in the Palace, where the place is yet to be seene with this inscription by it:

*Let euery one rest content with that he hath,  
For he that hath not sufficient, hath not any thing.*

This iudgement was very famous, yet afterwards it was reuoked, but the body was not taken out of the graue, although he were freed from the ignominy of so shameful a death.

The

The marriage  
of Lewis Hutin.

His wives.

Enguerand of  
Marigny ven-  
tually put to  
death.

A The Earle of Valois was soone after taken with a languishing disease, which consumed him by degrees, and King *Lewis Hutin* died so suddenly, as hee scarce by sickle one day. These were the workes of heaven, which made the foolish people change their opinion, of whom it was rightly spoken, *What the people sayes, a foole speakes*: for euery one tooke these extraordinary deaths, as witnesses of Gods iustice; who punisheth great Princes, which abuse the ordinary power which he hath giuen them, to serue their owne passions. And it is to be obserued, that this iustice of God continued in the posterity of *Lewis Hutin*: for he left his wife *Clemence* with child, who was deliuered of a sonne, an imaginary King, hauing liued but eight dayes: and though he were royally interred with Kings, yet he is not numbered among them. Moreouer, he left one daughter by his first wife called *Jane*, for whom *Eudes* of Bourgogne (her Vncle by the mother) caused great Tragedies against the fundamentall Law of State, to haue her admitted Queene of France, wrongfully and vniuistly, for that women are excluded by the law, whereon the French Monarchy was grounded, as we haue said. So this miserable reigne was begun and ended by confusion and iniustice.

A notable example to obserue the vanity of the Court, in good seruants vniuistly afflicted: of the people, in their false and passionate indgements, rendering euill for good, and suffering themselves to be transported with the ebbing and flowing of their passions, speaking good and euill of the same action, and the same man, without rule, without measure, C and without truth: And of the vanity of great men, which thinke it to be the chiefe fruit of their greatnesse, to abuse their power insolently, to the ruine of their inferiors: not remembering (being blinded with their passions) that they haue a superior ouer them, to make them yeeld an account of their vniuist proceedings, forcing them to make restitution with interest. All that *Lewis Hutin* did worthy of commendation, was that he made the Parliament of Paris ordinary, which had but two sittings in the yeare, although this commoditie of pleading hath bred many suites, to the hindrance of the publicke and private good. He was called King of France and of Nauarre, and left the two Realms to his successor: who disposed thereof as we shall see.

The Parli-  
ment ordinary.

D

### PHILIP the fift, called the Long, The 48. King of France.



HE controuersie touching the Crowne was easily decided, by the euidence of realmes, and also for that *Jane* the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, remained by the Will of *Philip* her Vncle, Queene of Nauarre, and Countesse Palatine of Brie and Champagne, and yet for the discontentment of some Princes of the blood, *Philip* went to Rheims with a strong army, to bee anointed there, where he was installed, the doores of the Church being shut and well guarded. Hee beganne to reigne in the yeare 1316, and reigned six yeares. He had foure daughters by *Jane* the daughter of *Othelin* Earle of Bourgogne, and no sonnes.

Controuersie  
for the Crowne  
of France.

Philip crowned.

His children.

By meanes of his daughters he made his peace with his discontented Princes: for he gave the eldest to *Odor* Duke of Bourgogne (who had supported the daughter of *Lewis* against him) and gaue in dowry the County of Bourgogne, belonging vnto her by her mother, and to *Lewis* Earle of Euxeu his other opposit, he gaue *Jane* with the Kingdome of *Nauarre* and the Counties of Brie and Champagne, whereof he afterwards earied the title.

A Prince of a very tractable disposition, and by consequence easie to bee corrupted, rather enclining to euill then good. There is nothing memorable vnder his reigne, but that through his facility: all was tolerable to his bad seruants, who vnder his name did great exactions vpon the people, the which caused them to mutine in many places, notwithstanding he being great of body, and therefore called *Long*, but of little wile, his sonne *Philip*: Vnder colour of a voyage to the East, two seditious men, a Priest and a Monk of the order of *Saint Benedic*, assembled a multitude of mutinous people, which continued

His disposition.

Rebels calling  
themselves  
heretics.

1322

ted a thousand infolencies where they passed, calling themselves shepheards, but in the end they were defeated in Languedoc.

An artificial plague.

The Iewes expelled before, were now admitted to returne for money: a wretched nation giuen to all kind of wickednesse, and therefore odious to the people, who exclaimed against the disorders gowne vp by the facility of *Philip*. This generall hatred bred such a rage in the licentious minds of the Iewes, as they brought the plague into diuers parts of the Realme, vsing the helpe of Lepers. Many were grievously punished by iustice and the rest banished out of the dominions of France. Flanders seemed ready to fall into new troubles, but in the end they were pacified, by the marriage of *Marguerite* the Kings second daughter, with *Lewis* Earle of Flanders, Neuers and Rethel, and the payment of certaine summes due by the sayd accord.

These are the most famous acts of that reigne; for to what end serues it to relate that priuate iustice was done vpon a Prouost of Paris, who was hanged, for that hee had put to death a poore innocent, for a rich man that was guilty, and condemned to dye: Or that *Philip* would make one weight and one measure throughout his Realme? but he could not maintaine his authority by the rule of reason. These things either too common, or not effected, are not worthy of a History. Thus *Philip* the fifth dyed with small fame, the fifth year of his reigne, in the year 1322.

## CHARLES the fourth, called the Faire, The 49. King of France.



Charles crowned without opposition.

His disposition.

His first.

*S* *Philip* the Long had succeeded *Lewis Hutin* his brother, with some dispute, so *Charles* brother to *Philip*, (the last of the sonnes of *Philip* the Faire) succeeded without any difficulty, the question being formerly decided. He was crowned King with great solemnity, the Princes of the blood and Noblemen assisting, in the year 1322. and reigned sixe yeares. A wife and temperate Prince, louing iustice, and yet vnfortunate in his Family. Hee was thrice married.

His first wife *Blanche* was accused and convicted of adultery, during his fathers life, and was confined to Chasteau-gaillerd by Andely vpon Seine. His second wife was *Mary* the daughter of *Henry* of Luxenbourgh Emperor, by whom hee had one son, which dyed as hee was borne, and his mother soone after at Yffoudon in Berry. His third wife was *Marguerite* the daughter of *Lewis* Earle of Eureux, by whom hee had daughters onely, leaving her with child, as shall be sayd. But let vs make a collection of his life, which is not long. The facility of *Philip* the Long, the fury of *Lewis Hutin*, and the long warres of *Philip* the Hardy, had peruered all, and giuen liberty to every man to doe what he pleased, especially the Nobility: who being armed, committed many infolencies by this liberty and impunity. *Charles* being anointed, hee held a great Sessions in his chiefe City of Paris, to heare all mens complaints, and causeth many Gentlemen to be punished. Among the rest *Jourdain* of Lille a Gascon, who vnder colour of being Nephew to Pope *John* the 22. then resident in Auignon (having had his pardon for eighteen crimes, whereof the least deserued death) continued still in his wickednesse: In the end he was taken and brought to Paris: The remitting of what was past, made him presume of impunity: but the iustice of God, (which comes in time, euen when the insolent and obstinate sinner dreames not of it) preuented him: for *Charles* laying all respect aside, caused him to be hanged, as a memorable example, that respect is an enemy to iustice, which must be executed without sparing of any one that is guilty of any notable crime.

*Edward* the second, King of England, stood vpon termes for his homage of Guicne, and had sent his wife *Isabel*, the daughter of *Philip* the Faire, and sister to the King, to compound with him. *Charles* brought him to reason by his authority. And as *Hugh* the Lord of Montepesat in Agenois, would haue fortified his house without his permission, hee forced him to obey, razing the Castle of Montepesat, whence the quarrell grew, and made him to giue hostages for the assurance of that hee had promised. Amidst these generall

A quarrels,

there chanced a jarre betwixt *Edward* and his wife *Isabel*, discontented with her husband, for that both she and her sonne had lost their credits with him, by the pernicious counsell of *Hugh Spencer*. Yet was he so supported by King *Charles*, as hee sent her backe into England without any countenance, commanding her to apply her selfe to her husband humours, the which shee endeauored to doe, being a wife and a courageous Princess: yet being assisted (as it is likely) vnder hand by the meanes of her Nephew *Charles* the Faire, she preuailed in her designs: causing *Hugh* to be apprehended and punished, as the leuaine of all their breach: and having brought her husband vnto reason, shee confirmed her sonne *Edward* the third, a Prince who shortly shall bee the cause of much trouble to this Monarchy. *Charles* likewise reduced *Lewis* Earle of Flanders to obedience, although hee was husband to his Aunt: and having called and condemned him by the Court of Parliament at Paris, he restored him to his Estates, the which hee had forfeited by felony; shewing in one subiect, both his severity to punish offences, and his clemency to remit the due punishment. The same Earle being fallen in some dislike with his chiefe townes, and seeking to reclaime them by force, *Charles* aduised him to winne them by mildnesse. A true remedy to reconcile subiects which are accustomed to oppose themselves against rigour, and in resisting to know their own forces, the which belongs to their Princes by obedience. Thus he pacified these discontents betwixt the Earle and the Cities of Flanders, by a common reconciliation, vpon condition, That the Earle should be acknowledged in his degree, and the King as Soueraigne.

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1328

Isabel complained of her husband Edward King of England.

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THE

1322

ted a thousand insolencies where they passed, calling themselves shepherds, but in the end they were defeated in Languedoc.

An artificial  
plague.

The Jewes expelled before, were now admitted to returne for money: a wretched nation giuen to all kind of wickednesse, and therefore odious to the people, who exclaimed against the disorders gowne vp by the facility of *Philip*. This generally hatred bred such a rage in the licentious minds of the Jewes, as they brought the plague into diuers parts of the Realme, vsing the helpe of Lepers. Many were grievously punished by iustice and the rest banished out of the dominions of France. Flanders seemed ready to fall into new troubles, but in the end they were pacified, by the marriage of *Marguerite* the Kings second daughter, with *Lewis* Earle of Flanders, Neuers and Rethel, and the payment of certaine summes due by the fayd accord.

These are the most famous acts of that reigne; for to what end serues it to relate that priuate iustice was done vpon a Prouost of Paris, who was hanged, for that hee had put to death a poore innocent, for a rich man that was guilty, and condemned to dye? Or that *Philip* would make one weight and one measure throughout his Realme? but he could not maintaine his authority by the rule of reason. These things either too common, or not respected, are not worthy of a History. Thus *Philip* the fifth dyed with small fame, the fift yeare of his reigne, in the yeare 1322.

### CHARLES the fourth, called the Faire, The 49. King of France.



Charles crowned  
without oppo-  
sition.

His disposition.

His issue.

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Isabel com-  
plains of her  
husband Ed-  
ward King of  
England.

P3

THE





THE  
SECOND PARCELL  
OF THE THIRD RACE  
OF CAPETS; CONTAINING  
THIRTEENE KINGS:  
IN THE SECOND ROYALL  
BRANCH, CALLED OF VALOIS,  
FROM PHILIP OF VALOIS,  
to Henry the third.

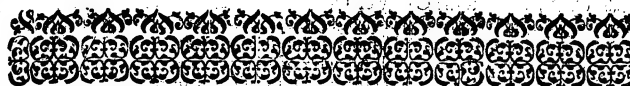
The names of thirteene Kings of the second Royall  
Branch of CAPETS: called of *Valois*,

PHILIP of *Valois*.  
JOHN.  
CHARLES the fifth.  
CHARLES the sixth.  
CHARLES the seventh.  
LEWIS the eleventh.

CHARLES the eighth.  
LEWIS the twelfth.  
FRANCIS the first.  
HENRY the second.  
FRANCIS the second.  
CHARLES the ninth.

HENRY the third, the last of this royall Branch.

From the yeare one thousand three hundred twenty eight, unto the yeare  
one thousand five hundred eighty eight.



PHILIP OF VALOIS,

*The 50. King of France.*



HE doubtfulnesse of the issue which was expected from the royall wombe of *Iane*, (widow to *Charles* the Faire) held the beginning of this reigne in great suspence and perplexity: euen for the Regency it selfe: for *Edward* the third, King of England, (the sonne of *Edward* the second, and *Isabel* of France, the daughter of *Philip* the Faire, and sister to the three Kings last deceased) pretended it as his right; and in case the child dyed (whatsoeuer it were) the Realme also, by the title of Royall Consanguinity, according to the Lawes of England. On the other side, *Philip* of Valois (the first Prince of

Controuerfie for the Realme betwix *Edward* the 3. King of England, and *Philip* of Valois

the blood of France) maintained, that as well the regency of the male (if any were borne) as the Realme, (if it were a daughter, or the son dyed) belonged directly vnto him, without all controuerfie; holding the first place among the Princes of the blood after the decease of the three brethren, who had bene Kings one after another. For *Philip* the Hardy had left two finnes, *Philip* the Faire, and *Charles* Earle of Valois: of whom it is sayd, That he was the sonne of a King, brother to a King, vncle to a King, father to a King, and yet no King.

*Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, had succed to the Crowne one after another: so as after their decease, the right came to *Charles* and his children, according to the fundamentall law of State. To decide this controuerfie, the generall Estates were called at Paris, with great solemnity, where they decree, that *Philip* of Valois should be Regent of the Realm (if Queene *Iane* had a sonne) and King, if it were a daughter. *Iane* was deliuered of a daughter, the first of April, at Bois de Vincennes, the which was called *Blanche*. This quarrell thus decided, *Philip* of Valois was saluted and proclaimed King of France, and within few dayes after, was anointed and crowned at Rheims, according to the vsuall custome: And then (being well accompanied with his Princes, Peeres, officers of the Crowne, and an infinite number of his Nobility) he made his entry into his chiefe City of Paris, with an incredible ioy and pompe. This was in the yeare 1328.

*Philip* of Valois preferred to the Crowne.

Being thus in possession of the Realme, he studied to settle his Estate, much disordered by the ill government of the forepassed Kings: and likewise to satisfie the daughter of *Leuis Hutin*, in regard of the Countries of Brye and Champagne, lying too neere to his good City of Paris, to be diuided from the Crowne. So he treated with her, and held them by his prerogative, giuing vnto her as much in exchange as the sayd Earldomes were worth, lying farther off in the countries of la Marche, Rouergne, and Languedoc.

*Philip* settles his affaires in France.

But Flanders troubled him much more: the Earle and his subiects very greatly incensed one against another, by reason of some exactions made by the Earle, for the payment of his old debts due by the accord, so as they made warre against their Earle, and took him prisoner. Being the stronger, they controuled their Lord: but soone after they payed for their folly: for the Earle (being deliuered) had recourse vnto *Philip*, as to their Soueraigne. *Philip* takes the Earles cause in hand, raiseth a great army against the Flemings, takes, sacks, and burnes Cassel, where they had made the body of their army, after the defeat of two and twenty thousand Flemings in a pitched field. Having subdued this mutinous people, he aduised the Earle to vfe that aduantage modestly: to win them by mildnesse, and not to thrust them into errors by despight or despair, which are sooner prevented then repaired in popular tumults.

Being returned from this voyage, *Philip* found new worke at Paris. The Courts of Parliament, and all the foueraigne Iudges (assembled from all the Prouincets) made a general

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A notable suite  
of the Parli-  
aments against  
the Clergy.

nerall complaint against the Clergy of France, they accuse them of sundry abuses, and namely, that against the due of their charges, they intermedd with the politike iurisdiction. The suite was vehement, and famous for the greatness of the parties. The King, to reconcile this quarrell, calls a general Assembly of his whole Realme at Paris. The cause was pleaded before him, with great liberty, by *Peter of Cugiere* (this is he who by derivation they called *M. Peter Cugier*, whom at this day they finde in the great Temple at Paris noted with a little Monke's head, placed betwixt two pillars, to put out the candles, being odious by reason of his pleading,) and as coldly defended by *Peter Bertrand*, both famous Advocates in those times. The issue was doubtfull, but *Philip* foreseeing the event of so important a business, after that hee had seriously exhorted the Prelates to reforme themselves, and in reforming the abuse, to avoid these popular complaints, hee referred the matter to a further hearing. But he had other worke in hand.

#Edward King of  
England doth  
homage for  
Guienne.

*Edward* the third King of England (for that he was not received King of France) practised great and new designs against him, studying only upon revenge. Hee had purposely refused to assist at his coronation, and makes no shew of any intent to doe homage for Guienne, whereunto *Philip* did call him. *Edward* having no colour to refuse so apparent a duty, came to Amiens, with so great and extraordinary a traine, as it seemed plainly, not to be done to honour the King, but rather to strike some feare or admiration into the French, of his great Forces. To check this bold brauado, *Philip* shewed himselfe a King at his first enteruew with *Edward*, who euen then champt vpon the bit, and smothered his choller. *Edward* appears at the place and time prefixed, royally attired, with a long robe of crimlon velvet, powdered with Leopards of gold, a Crowne vpon his head, a sword by his side, and golden spurs on his heeles. Hee presents himselfe standing before *Philip* sitting in his royall throne, attired with a long robe of purple velvet, powdered with flowers-de-luces of gold, a Crowne on his head, and a scepter in his hand, holding a Royall Maiesty, accompanied with his Constable, Chancellor and great Chamberlaine. The Vicount of Melun, great Chamberlaine of France, commands *Edward* to take off his Crowne, sword, and spurs, and to kneele downe: the which he doth.

The oath of  
Edward King of  
England to  
Philip.

Then hee tooke both his hands, and hauing ioyned them together, he spake vnto him in this manner, *Thou become a Liege man vnto the King, my Lord, who is here present, as Duke of Guienne, and Peere of France: and you promise to be faithfull vnto him and loyal. Say yea.* And *Edward* answered, yea. In like sort hee did him homage for the County of Ponthieu, intreating *Philip* to restore him all those places in Guienne, which his Predecessors had inioined. *Philip* answered him with great grauity, that he would consider thereof. This was the homage which *Edward* King of England did vnto *Philip* the French King, the which I haue particularly noted, as the first act of a notable tragedy. The event will shew, that *Philip* had done farre better (without preiudice to his authority, lawfully purchased by the law of State) to pacifie *Edward* by all ciuill meanes obseruable betwixt Kings, and not to braue him vpon an inferiour quality, the which is no blemish to the other, for in the end he shewed himselfe his equall in dignity. A furious bait of hatred among Princes which cannot be reconciled.

The cause of  
Edward's dis-  
content against  
Philip.

*Edward* departed discontented from *Philip*, resolute to attempt all meanes to crosse him, and to ruine him. Hee seeks out all instruments fit for this designe, both in Flanders, Brittain and Germany, whereof followed mournfull euents, both for the King and his Realme. I will note euery thing in order, referring the Estate of the Church and Empire to the end of his reigne, lest I should interrupt the order of this discourse. *Philip* was otherwise affected then *Edward*, (as commonly desire makes shew of that which is not; pleasing men with vaine imaginations) for supposing that he had tamed *Edward* with his imperious homage, he presumed that he had well sealed his affaires, to be obeyed by him without any contradiction, and to haue his Realme enioy an assured peace, without any disturbance, vnder his command. Vpon this conceit he intends a voyage to the East, desirous to be nothing inferior to the glorious and renowned zeale of his predecessors. In this deuotion he easily yeelds to the perswasions of *Pope Benedict* the cleuenth, borne at Tholoufa, then resident at Auignon.

Philip resolves  
to goe into the  
East.

His fleet was then preparing at Aiguesmortes, (a sea towne of Languedoc) whilft that he provides for the regency of the Realme, giuing it to *John* Duke of Normandy his eldest sonne (being foureteen yeeres old) leaving him a graue and learned counsell. And seeking

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The Pope dis-  
contented with  
the King.

A seeking to found *Edward's* mind, if he would accompany him in this holy war, imitating the example of his predecessors, he learns by certain intelligence, that he watched his departure, to invade France. This new occasion gaue him a reasonable subiect to change his resolution, and not willingly to expose his new inheritance to his enemy. But this satisfied not *Pope Benedict*, who grew so bitter vpon this alteration, that (exclaiming generally of *Philip's* disloyall), he fought all meanes to annoy him. There was capitall hatred betwixt the Emperour *Lewis* of Bawaria, and the sea of Rome, hauing excommunicated him as an hereticke. *Benedict* absoules him, and becomes his friend, seeking to oppose him against *Philip*: who (disliking of this proceeding) sends *Entragues* a gentleman of Viuzare to Auignon, to let *Benedict* vnderstand, that if hee did not forbear to speak ill of him, he would force him to silence, after the example of his predecessor, whose name he bare, and who had left so famous a remembrance of his rathnesse to posterity.

Edward re-  
solves to make  
warre against  
Philip.

*Edward* being returned into England sleeps not. A Prince of an excellent iudgement, great courage, and of a resolute and active spirit, high minded, and a fatal instrument to chastise France. His repulse, his homage, and his great meanes, were both the bait and the spur to this generous resolution, which thrust him on to disquiet the possession of that by force, which hee could not obtaine by reason. But for so great a proiect hee needed a great Councillor, to direct and fortifie him in the execution of an enterprise of so great import. *Robert* Earle of Arthois, a Prince of the blood of France, (descended from another *Robert* son of *Lewis* the eight, and brother to *Saint Lewis*) had a great suite with his Aunt *Mahault* Countesse of Bourgogne, for the Earldome of Arthois. *Robert* had laboured much for *Philip* in his great question for the Crowne, against *Edward* King of England before mentioned, assuring himselfe, that *Philip* would requite him in his vniust pretention: but *Philip* preferred the Countesses right before *Robert's* wrong: so as leaving the course of Iustice free, the County of Arthois was adiu'dged to *Mahault*, by a decree of the Court of Parliament of Paris. This losse did so discontent *Robert*, as hee presumed to brag openly, that he would dispossesse *Philip* of the Crown, by the same meanes that he had raised him vnto it. But this presumptuous threat, deliuered rashly before many witnesses, cost both the Realme and himselfe deare, who in the end smarted for his malicious and vnreasonable discontent. Hee flies into England, carying nothing with him, but a mind transported with passion, and armed with policy. *Philip* proclaimes him guilty of high treason, and seizeth vpon his lands. *Edward* receiues him with all shewes of loue, and giues him the first place in his councill.

War begun in  
Guienne and  
Scotland.

Behold, these two great Kings banded one against another, entring into a dangerous warre, which shall much afflict their Estates: as commonly the subiects pay for the follies of Princes: The first breach began in the easiest places. Guienne was the first checker of this long and dangerous game. The Earles of Foix and Armagnac were for the King in Guienne, the Earle of Albret for *Edward*. The King of Scotland is a formal partaker for France against *Edward*. *Edward* begins to spoile *Philip's* Country, and *Philip* takes from *Edward* the Castle of Xaintes, by *Charles* Earle of Alanfon his brother. *Edward* on the other side, makes warre against *David* King of Scots, and *Philip* sends him succours. These were the first drops of that cloud which darkned the Heauens, attending the storme which shall fall after these thunder-crackes: but what is all this in regard of that which shall presently succeed? By the aduice of *Robert* of Arthois, *Edward* makes a proclamation against *Philip* of Valois, as a vnterper of the Realme of France, and labours to stirre vp both the French and the Flemings to maintaine his tide as the lawfull heyre, being the sonne of a daughter of France, against an vnlawfull King, pretending the Realme to appertaine vnto him.

Edward sends  
Ambassadors  
into Flandre  
and Germany.

Moreover, he sends an honorable and stately Ambassage into Flanders and Germany, to incense those Princes against *Philip*. These Ambassadors went with a goodly and an honorable traine, great expences, shew, bankers, and presents. They beganne in Hainault, to take directions there from Count *William* father in law to *Edward*. The Earle doth caule them to be accompanied throughout all the Cities of Flanders and Brabant, and doth countenance them with the fauor of his friends in all those Cities. They spare nothing in good cheere, nor goodly presents, according to the popular humour of this nation. One of the chiefe Tribunes, or Colonels of this people, was *James* of Artois, a brewer, but in effect he had more credit with the Flemings then the Earle himselfe.

James of Ar-  
tois, a brewer,  
der to the  
ous Flemings.

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selfe. They begin to vndermine the flanke of this fort, by the meanes of this Artisan. Hee becomes an Englishman, by vertue of the Angels of England. He shall act his part in this tragedy, but in the end he shall leaue his skin in this peoples hands, whom he had incanted; as after many turnes the keeper is deuoured by his Lion.

*Lewis* Earle of Flanders stood stiffly for the King his souereigne Lord: but he prevailed nothing in exclaiming against this ringleader of the multitude, who were the more incensed by *Lewis* his choller against his capitaine. For *Arteuille* making it knowne to all men that he was hated, tooke occasion to demand a guard, the which hee chose among the most seditious, being entertained by him at the charge of England: and so he maintained and augmented his seisure of this confused authority, the which hee had vsurped ouer the Flemings, in *Edwards* fauour. There was an occasion which made this popular humour to breake forth (being yet somewhat restrained by the respect of souereigne authority, a bridle for the most audacious.) A French Gentleman being at *Gant*, was too familiar with this multitude. The Earle suspects him to bee a Traitor: and without any other proofes, but only the deuotion he had to the Kings seruice, hee curs off his head. The common people were so incensed with this execution, as the Earle could hardly recouer France, to auoide the outrageous cruelty of this furious multitude, which pursued him to the death without any respect. *Arteuille* being then without controule, sets vp his ensigne openly for *Edward*, who presently lends a flecte into Flanders. He comes himselfe to Antwerpe with his wife and children, and giues his sister in mariage to the Duke of Gueldres, the better to confirme his loue. And leauing his wife in Flanders for a gage of his faith, he comes to Cologne, where he is honourably receiued by *Lewis* of Bawaria, Emperour: by whom (hauing made an offensive & defensie league) he is declared Vicar of the holy Empire, both in Germany & France, to haue thereby a title to force the Vassals & subiects of that Empire to succor him, both with men and money, against *Philip* of Valois, as an vsurper of the Realme of France, and sworne enemy to the Empire. In his absence the Queene his wife had so politickly managed his affaires, as at his returne he did but passe, and with an incredible celerity sent an Army (the which he found ready) vnder the conduct of the Earle of Salisbury.

But it chanced, as this Earle (hauing ioyned with the Flemings) went inconsiderately to the siege of Lisle, he was defeated by the Lord of Rombais, who surprisid him in disorder, being drawne into an ambuscadoe. This first checke did import *Edwards* affaires very much, euen with the Flemings, being subiect to alterations. To repaire this error, he departs presently from England with his flecte: yet hee must fight for the passage with *Philips* Navy, the which attends him with great forces, and with a resolute intent to stop him. The English army was not lesse, neither were their courages any thing daunted with this first losse. The combat was fierce, but the victory remained to *Edward*. Who notwithstanding bought it dear, by a great losse of his Nobility, and an honorable hurt which hee receiued, for a testimony of his valor. *Philip* lost 30000. men, French and Flemish, and his Admirall *Hugh* of Quiquet, with the aduantage of a good beginning. This battell was out in the year 1337. in the month of May, noted by the name of *Scuse*, where it was giuen. It was seconded with a greater losse, the which made the way open to *Edwards* signes, who (being receiued with great ioy by the Flemings) resolved to try his fortune, to invade France, by *Tournay* & *S. Omer*, measuring the courage and not the number of his victorious army, ordained to greater and more famous exploits. *Philip* was nothing amazed at this first check, but relying in his great Forces, he thought himselfe assured of a victory against *Edward*, to the end that hee might haue no competitor in his hereditary Kingdome, nor France any English Prince to trouble it againe: He had leauied an army (worthy the possession of this new inheritance) of 100000. fighting men, and many great personages: The Kings of Bohemia, Nauarre, and Scotland. The Dukes of Normandy, Brittain, Lorraine. The Earles of Alanfon, Sauoy, Flanders, Armagnac, Eu, and others, the number of 26. with an infinit number of the Nobility. He diuides his army into three, to answer the enemy in all places. One part for *Tournay*, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Eu, Constable of France, and the Marshall of Montmorancy: the other for *S. Omer*, vnder the Duke of Bourgongne, and Earle of Armagnac: and he himselfe remains with the battell, betwix them and Arras. The English Army had neither so many men, nor so great personages, being but threecore thousand men: but the tryall made prooffe, that

An vnicionable execution.

Edwards practices in Flanders and Germany.

Battel of Scuse in fauour of the English.

Philips Army.

The English Army.

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that it was nothing inferior to the French, neither in courage, nor valour. It consisted of English, Flemings and Germanes: this was the fruit of his Bonitadage and voyage. The Imperiall Eagle appeared in the foremost ranks in great shew, and the title of Vicar of the sacred Empire, sounded out in all their military proclamations. *Edward* desires nothing more then to fight. All his men had the same will, being nothing amazed with the number, nor brauery of the French Army, nor with the fame of their commanders. Such is the force of the great God of Armies, who disposeth of the hearts of such as shall be Conquerors or conquered, and draws the motions that are in them to his wife and irrevocable decree, the which neuer failes to execute things in their due season. *Philip* had the like desire to fight, although his counsell was other wise affected. The like aduantage was giuen from all parts, and reason it selfe, did wish him not to expose his new Crowne to the hazard of a generall and doubtfull battell. So the armies stand some daies at the gaze. In the end *Edward* (to draw him to fight) besieged *Tournay*. Some skirmishes were made, in the which, the English were beaten. The place is victualled by *Philip*: but the English Army stands firme in the same quarter, watching a fit opportunity for their designe. All Europe stoodgazing at this great and dangerous spectacle. The friends of both parts were greatly perplexed with so doubtfull an event, the which brought the estate of two Realmes into question. But God who reserved the victory, and leuied to another season, dispersed this storme, being in shew ready to fall, by this occasion. *Jane* of Valois, sister to *Philip*, widow to *William* Duke of Hainaut, and mother to *Marguerite* the wife of *Edward*, a Princess of excellent vertues (hauing since her widowhood willingly giuen ouer all affaires of State) had professed her selfe a Nun of Fontenelles, to attend her deuotion and fasting. She resolues to imploy all her credit (as sister and a mother in law) with *Philip* and *Edward*, to keepe them from so dangerous a battell. She runnes to the one, and to the other, but findes them both so resolute in their designes, as she is often reiectid: Yet is she nothing daunted. In the end she incommeneth their violent passions with such patience and dexterity, as shee obtaines a day and place for a parlee: although *Jane* of Arteuille (a dangerous bye in a State) tickled *Edwards* eares, to crosse so commendable a resolution: An example of a woman worthy of great all praise, euen in this iron age, whereas women haue become miserable instruments of civil dissensions, and hellish firebrands to consume France with the fire of confusion and misery.

A parlee being concluded, deputies were chosen on either side to treat: and by their a truce was made. *Tournay* is deliuered, and the armies dismissed, and so the storme preserued for this time, the which threatened both Realmes. All good men reioyced, none but *Jane* of Arteuille, and his faction were grieved. So as (not able to auoide it) yet to feed *Edwards* humor, he aduiseeth him to take vpon him the name of King of France: by the which both he and his complices should auoide the infamy of Rebellion, and the punishment of high treason: as hauing done nothing, but by the commandement of their Souereigne. The date of this title of France was in the year 1337. The which England holds to this day, and our Kings the Realme in effect. *Edward* left his wife at *Gant*, to keepe the Flemings at his deuotion, being a wife & a vigilant Princess: and he himselfe returned into England, extremely grieved: for being vnable to satisfie his Germanes for want of money, who expected a great bootie by this warre, from which they scarce returned with their pay; there sprung vp a new combustion from this discontent, the fire being onely smothered in the embers, but not quenched. *Philip* makes his proff of the Germanes discontent, and by the meanes of *Jane*, the wife of *Lewis* of Bawaria, Emperour, being his neece, hee winnes them to leaue *Edwards* part, and to embrace that of France. *Edward* in like sort, strives to haue his reuenge on *Philip*. But to what end? All this, but to disquiet their Estates, the which they ought to maintaine in peace. Thus the passions of Princes are bad Counsellors for the good of their subiects. This was the occasion of this new breach betwix the two Kings. *Arthur* Duke of Brittain, (sonne to that *John* second Duke of Brittain, who, as wee haue said, had beene slaine at *Lewes*, at the coronation of Pope *Clement* 3.) had two wiues, and by either of them children, of the first named *Beatrice*, Vicountesse of Limosin, he had two sonnes, *John* and *Guy*, and of his second wife *Yolande*, Countesse of Montfort & Amalric, hee had *John* of Montfort, who contended for the Duchie of Brittain. *John* the third, the sonne of *Arthur*, dying with-

Jane of Valois labours to buy them off shedding of blood. Note.

The great Armies of France and England retire without fighting.

Edward and Philip are reconciled.

A new quarrell for the Duchy of Brittain.

1346

without issue, he made his neece *Iane* the daughter of his brother *Guy*, (who died before him) his heire in the succession of the said Duchy.

In regard of this prerogative giuen to *Iane*, *Charles* of Blois, nephew to King *Philip*, married her vpon condition, That those children which should be borne of this marriage, should be lawfull heires to the Duchy of Brittain, whereof *Charles* was inuested, after the consummation of the marriage: all homages done vnto him, and he was put in recall and full possession of the said Country, in the life of *Iohn*.

After whose decease, behold *Iohn* of Montfort, halfe brother to *Iane* (as we haue said) pretending to the said Duchy, surprizeth Nantes, and then Rennes, Vannes, Brest, the Castle of Aulroy, with many other places: and hauing receiued the homages of the Brittons, hee comes to Paris to doe his souereigne homage to the King for the said Duchie, and to be inuested therein. *Charles* of Blois opposeth in the right of his wife, and hereupon they are both sent by the King to the Court of Parliament at Paris, to doe them Iustice.

The Court with the Kings authority, sitting in his seat of Iustice, and in the presence of many Princes, decrees that *Charles* of Blois, in the name of *Iane* his wife (the lawfull heire of the Duchie of Brittain, as succeeding the second sonne of the first bed,) should be receiued by the King to fealty and homage, for the Country of Brittain, and *Iohn* of Montfort the third sonne of *Arthur*, of the second bed, should be acknowledged in his degree, to enioy his right when it should fall vnto him. *Iohn* of Montfort disliking this order, resolues to win that by force, which hee could not recover by reason: and in this humour, he goes into England, craving aide from *Edward*, who receiues him very graciously: but from thence he returns into Brittain. *Philip* aduertised of these practices, pursueth *Iohn* of Montfort with such successe, as hauing taken him prisoner with the Castell of Nantes, (whither he was retired) he confined him to the Loure. While these difficulties fall out in Brittain, there growes a new trouble, by a strange accident at Naples, in the family of our Princes of France, of whom we haue spoken. Wee haue said, that *Charles* the Lame had many sonnes, *Charles*, *Robert*, *Lewis*, and *Philip*. *Robert* after this losse of Sicily had for his part the Realme of Naples, and the Earldome of Pouence: and left one sonne named *Charles*, who had two daughters, *Iane* and *Magdalen*. *Iane* by the death of her sister, remained sole heire of these two great Estates, and was married to *Andrew* the son of *Charles* King of Hungarie. The subject of our discourse will not suffer me to speake of the other children. *Philip* the yongest son of *Charles* the Lame, had one sonne, named *Lewis* Prince of Tarentum, very faire, but of a violent spirit. *Iane* began to loath her husband, and preferring the filthy loue of her Cousin before the honour of marriage, she caused her husband *Andrew* of Hungarie to be slaine, cloaking this horrible and tragick deed with an impudent hypocritie: for shee takes vpon her the habite of mourning after the death of her husband, whom shee herselfe had slaine: and writ letters to *Lewis* King of Hungarie, brother to *Andrew*, full of lamentations.

*Lewis* knowing the detestable dissembling of this maistie, prepares his Forces against these fained reares: and without any dissembling, he marcheth towards Italy, with a mighty army, selfe to take an exemplary punishment of these wretched heads: but *Iane* and *Lewis* flee into Prouence before the forme. *Lewis* (fauoured by the reuenging Iustice of God) takes the Realme of Naples easily, with *Charles* duke of Durazzo, left for the guard thereof, and *Lewis*, *Robert*, and *Charles*, Princes of the blood. The first he beheads, the best he sends into Hungarie to perpetual banishment: and leauing *Stephen* *Vauquidar* Governor of his new conquest, he returns victorious to his Realme.

In the meane time the hatred betwix the two Princes growes violent, both by force of iustice and by open force. *Philip* makes diligent search, both in Normandy, Picardy, and Guienne, for all the Nobility which fauoured *Edwards* faction. Hee caused *Thomas* *Clifford* to lose his head, whose son shall be Constable vnder *Charles* the 6. with *Bacon*, *Percy*, and *Tessroy* of Maki-troict, Knights of marke, in whom hee notes no other crimes, but that they were Englishmen. *Tessroy* of Harcourt was summoned, but in stead of appearing at Paris, he retired himselfe to London, to kindle the fire in France. Yet in these preparations of warre, *Edward* gaue scope to his loues, for in the beginning of this warre, he instituted the order of the Garter, with this Motto, HONORI SIT QVI MALI PRINCES, in honour of the Countesse of Salisbury, honouring in her the chastity which hee could not

Troubles  
at Naples

Warre renewed  
betweene the  
two Kings.

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In Guienne.

In Normandy.

A vanquish by all his amorous practices. He armed on both sides, in Guienne and Normandy. The duke of Lancaster, Generall of the Army in Guienne, takes Villefranch of Age, Angouleme, Rions, Saint Basile, with many other Townes and castles, to whom *Philip* opposeth his eldest sonne, *Iohn* Duke of Normandy, who recouers Angouleme and Villefranch from the English. But the greatest burthen of the warre fell vpon Normandy, whither *Edward* led the flower of all his Nobility, landing in the country of Carentan, with about a thousand Sails. At his entry he puts all to fire and sword, takes the towne of Carentan by force, kills all hee finds armed or disarmed, spoiles, burnes, and razeth the towne. In the champion country hee puts all to the sword, saying, that hee did offer those sacrifices to *Bacon*, *Percy*, and his other seruants, being vniuilly massacred by *Philip*. The reason was, for that the heads of these men stood vpon the chiefe gate of Carentan. Then he takes and spoiles Saint Lo, and (after a great fight) he becomes Master of Caen, with such a terror, as Falaife, Liseux, and Honfleur yielded vnto him without any resistance. These townes being taken, hee marcheth into the Ile of France, to draw *Philip* to battell, proclaiming generally that hee called him to fight in the view of all France, at the great Theatre of his chiefe Citie of Paris. At the same time, by the like practices, Flanders rebelled, by means of *Janes* of Arteuille, who was more then a passionate partaker of *Edwards*. So the disordered passion of this desperate seditious man, was a trap for his own ruine. For as hee not onely laboured by all means to shake off the French yoke, but also grew so audacious, as to perswade the Flemings to leaue their naturall obedience to their Bate, and to receiue a new Lord, such as one as the King of England should appoint: the Flemings much displeased with this insolent proposition of *Arteuille*, (as the blood of a faithfull subject can neuer deny his Prince) they fall furiously vpon him in an open Assembly, & without any further processe, they kill him, reuenging vpon him the mischiefes they had committed by his pernicious counsels. Thus in the end, this tribune receiued the guerdon due to such as abuse the fury of an enchanted multitude, making them the instruments of their passions against their Superiours. This iust execution crossed *Edwards* designs in Flanders, and gaue the Earle means to repaire to *Philip* with his Forces, and to consecrate his life to him, the which hee lost in this voyage.

*Philip* slept not during these proceedings of *Edwards*: hee had gathered together one of the goodliest armies that euer was seene in France, consisting of French, Louaines, Germanes, and Genouois: the which he led towards Meulan, where *Edward* laid he attended a fight with him. *Edward* retires vpon this alarm: they imagined that he fled for feare, but the issue will shew that the great God of armies had appointed his victory in another place. He retires, and *Philip* followes, who in the end ouertakes him at a village called *Avenches*, a remarkable name, to shew, that all the trust of humane forces, and all the designs of mans policy are like vnto a quicksand. *Philip* great army hauing the aduantage, being at home, presumed of an assured victory. *Edward* retired to get the riuier of *Somme* a Blanquetaque, but hee must fight for the passage. *Philip* had already seized thereon by *Gondemar* of Fay, with a thousand Horse, and 6000 Foot, the most part of them crosse-bowmen: yet *Edward* resolued to passe, or dye. With this resolution he leapes into the water, and cries out, *He that loues me, let him follow mee*. At this speech they all plunge into the riuier without any stay, so as presently the English recouer the bankes. *Gondemar* was troubled at this gallant resolution, amazeth his men with his terrified countenance. All give way to the English, who (incountering our men in disorder) charge the rare-ward, where the retreat was neere, at Abbeville, and S. Riquier, places vnder our obedience. The losse was not so great as the disgrace, yet was it a presage of a greater mischief which followed France. These poore men ariue at Abbeville in a throng, all dispersed with the amazement of this shamefull and vnfortunate flight. *Philip* exceedingly transported with this disgracefull retreat, resolues to be reuenged of *Edward*, to follow him, & to draw him to battell. His Councell aduised him rather to rest his troops some time, & to take breath, that they might recouer their spirits, and in the meane time to let *Edward* alone, and to observe his countenance: but hardly had hee the patience to stay one day at Abbeville, to repaire the bridge, ouer which his army was to passe, but his drummes found a march, going to seek *Edward* (like a Stagge that flies) and to giue him battell at what place hee list: put vp with a certaine hope of an infallible and triumphant victory. But hee had not made his account with God, who is not called the God of armies in vaine, who

Arteuille slaine  
by the Flemings.

The French defeated at  
Blanquetaque.

Edward  
retires  
to Meulan.

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who rules combats, and disposeth of the victories of great Monarches, notwithstanding all their counsels, designs, courage and endeavours.

The Armies were in view one of another. *Edward* had lodged his army, and stood upon his guard, with a wonderfull care, being in the Countrey of Ponthieu, (a Countrey belonging unto himselfe, by the right of his mother) incamped in a village named *Crecy*, the which he intrenched and fortified carefully, both with trees cut out of the neighbour Forest, and trenches, wherewith he had strengthened his campe. His Army was about thirty thousand men, but their order, industry, and resolution made them double. Hee gaue the fore-ward to Prince *Edward* his sonne, being yet very yong, and for a guide, that *Jeffrey* of Harcourt, who (as we haue said) was retired unto him: to whom he had giuen the office of Constable of England. The battell he giues to the Duke of Suffolke, and reserved the reere-ward to himselfe, hauing placed his crossebow-men in the front, and next ranked his horse, putting in the foremost ranks his battell-axes and maces, and behinde his lances: so as euery part of the Army should fight, when as they came to ioyne, to their best aduantage. So much may order and foresight doe vnder that great God of battels, without whom it is in vaine to order Armies. *Philips* Army was farre greater, of a goodlier shew, and more aduantage: consisting of about threescore thousand fighting men, well armed with an infinit number of Noblemen, as *Charles* Earle of Alanfon, brother to the King, *Lewis* King of Bohemia, and Duke of Luxembourg, *Charles* Earle of Blois, Nephew to the King, *Raoul* Duke of Loraine, the Earles of Flanders, Neuers, and Sancerre, the Dauphine of Viennois, and many Barons and Gentlemen, in number about three thousand, who were come at the call of this new King, to the first fruits of his new possession, against him who contended for the Crowne.

His aduantage was farre greater than that of *Edwards*, who fought in another man's Countrey. But in truth the commodities and titles he had in France, did balance this aduantage, but with a different consideration. Vpon the Eue of this battell, *Amr* Earle of Sauoy arriues with a thousand men at armes: as if all things had conspired to make *Philip* a conquerour.

*Philip* full of hope of an assured victory, desires to fight, placing his army in this order. He giues the fore-ward to his brother *Charles* Earle of Alanfon, the reere-ward to the Earle of Sauoy: and he himselfe commands the battell. But his desire to fight was so greene, he held euery little stay for a great delay. They gaue it out in the army, that the English fled: so as they now vaunted of a victory, euery one disposing of the English, according to his humour: but in searching out the reason of this brute, *Philip* thinks it good to discover his enemies countenance.

Behold suddenly he receiues a contrary aduice. His scouts report, that *Edward* had already taken the field, and ordered his Army, attending the battell. Then there was no hold; *Philip* will needs fight, hardly can they hold a counsell standing about him, to advise what they had to doe in so notable an occurrent: and euen haste (the stepdame of better affaires) would not suffer them to resolute. For at the same instant, as the King had aduertisement of *Edwards* readinesse to fight, *Philip* (without any breathing) would haue led forth his army to battell.

Disposition of  
the battell of  
Crecy.

The King of Bohemia aduised him to refresh his men before the fight, and that his foot (consisting of crosse-bowes, and a good part of them Geneuois, which were held to be resolute men) should make the front, and the horse should follow according to the appointed order. At the last they obtained so much respite of the King, as to feed their men with all speed.

Remarkable  
circumstances  
in this great  
battell.

This done, they all prepare to another feast. The fore-ward made the first head, when *Charles* Earle of Alanfon the Kings brother commanded. But behold presently an vnexpected occasion of a ruinous disorder. The Earle of Alanfon (against the order decreed by counsell) mistook that the Geneuois footmen were in the first ranks, and makes them to change their places with some disgrace, saying that it belonged not unto them: and yet this push depended all on their side. The Geneuois discontented with their repulse, and only fainting in courage, but also set into a rage, so as changing their places, they cryed out for anger, as giuing a signe to the enemy of their bitter discontent. This was seconded with another accident, as if heauen had fauoured the English. Suddenly there fell a great shower of raine, and then the burning sun appeared out of a cloud with a rainbow.

A In this forced & despitfull changing of places, the Geneuois couered not their bows, so as the strings being presently wet, they yielded: and to increase the mischiefe, this alteration made them to change the order of their battell, so as the sunne lay in the Frenchmens faces, and on the Englishmens backs: and to make their misfortune absolute, euery one was more incensed against his commander then against the enemy, as a signe of some check at hand. Dangerous imaginations, they being ready to fight. *Philip* was sufficiently aduertised of the armies disdain against his brother, yet must he needs fight: he held himselfe lost, if all were not lost. *Edward* (who stood vpon a high eminent place, as it were in sentinell, to discover with iudgement the countenance of the enemy) sees this change; heares the shout, and markes the place, resolving to charge it as the weakest part. The euent fauours his designe, he embraceth this occasion, not suffering them to take breath, or to repair this error: he sends forth a troope of crossebow-men, chosen out of the foremost ranks: they suddenly discharge a shoure of arrowes, so thick and violent, as at this first charge the Geneuois (who were transported with choler, and surprised with this sudden storme) brake their ranks and gaue way to the enemy: their wet strings being vnfit to serue, and their minds not yet pacified, could not resist so great a force.

The battell of  
Crecy.

The Earle of Alanfon, incensed much against the Geneuois for thus giuing back, doubles his choler against them, crying out like a desperat man. *Go, go* (saies he) *my friends, let vs charge these English horse, making our way ouer the bellies of these Geneuois, who doe but hinder vs.* And without any longer stay he gallops through the Geneuois foot, who began to gather themselves againe together, according to their discipline. The Geneuois finding themselves wronged with this new affront, cry out againe, like desperate men, being impatient of any disgrace, so as striving to break their bowes in a rage, they make way for the horse, who passe through them. The Earle of Alanfon (being followed by the Dukes of Loraine and Sauoy, and by the Dauphine of Viennois) ran with such fury and haste, as they were out of breath, before they came to charge the enemy: whom they found in better order, his horse being flanked on the one side, with a good troope of foot, with bowes and crossebowes, whose strings had not felt the raine like to the Geneuois. This troope of French horse (being very violent at the first charge) was to be feared, but they were suddenly stayed by a storme of English arrowes, which galled both horse and men: and for a supply, behold anew troope of English comes to succor them that were engaged in the fight; and to increase the mischiefe, young *Edward* chargeth the French with another band of horse-men, and his crossebow-men in flanke, being placed on the one side to fauor their horse, and to ioyne their arrowes (which played continually) with the courtleaxes, maces, and lances of their horse-men.

The which, not only prolonged the fight, but also encreased the losse of the French being charged on all sides. The combat grows hot, being very equal in valour & courage, but not in force, by reason of the troopes of reserve, which *Edward* kept for the last charge. *Philip* seeing his brother engaged among so many enemies, runs to his rescue. At this arriuall the fight is doubled, the English bending their Forces against *Philip*, and the French against yong *Edward*. *Philip* is ouerthrown vnder his horse (the which was slaine with many arrowes) but he was presently rescued, by *John* Earle of Beaumont: and then all the French cry out, that the King should retire himselfe out of the battell.

This cry (proceeding from loyall and well affected Frenchmen) gaue courage to the English being in fight, seeing the King in this danger. Yong *Edward* was in no lesse perill, being compassed in on all sides, by the French, and assisted by his owne: so as they (feearing the euent of this charge) send to his father to succor him: who presently demanded of the messenger, *What blow, what wound hath my son receiued? hath he bene ouerthrowne? But* *Edward* (saies he) *unto him, with this charge. Let him either vanquish or die: and I will be a witness of his valour, to second him when need shall require.*

Prince *Edward* & his men encouraged with this message, doubled both their courage and their blowes, & behold they are relieved with a fresh supply. Then the party became unequal: these men being fresh & lusty, charge the wearied, and tired, who see no hope of succors, but discovered a great groue of horse of rescue: wherein *Edward* the father beheld the sport, and kept the stakes. Despaire should haue made our French troopes re- blue to hazard all (as it hath chaunted in other times) but their hearts fauoured with their

bodies.

Q3



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A horrible defeat of the French.

Philip saves himself.

The number of the dead.

The causes of this losse.

Edward proceeds after the battell France.

He besiegeth Calais.

bodies. For this last battallion (where *Edward* remained) coming from the hill, and charging our men without any great resistance, gave the last blow, as cheeke and mate to our men already much disordered. Then they all giue way, all are disordered, all dispersed. The slaughter is general without respect of persons, the butchery is so bloody, as in the end *Edward* (having compassion of so great effusion of blood) cries out to spare the rest: yet he was not able by these first cries to stay the fouldiers from so easie an execution; who cut in peeces those poore runaways here and there, like scattered sheepe. In the end *Edward* sounds a retreat, and riding vp & downe, he doubles his command to kill no more, although in effect, the night and the wearinesse of the victors made an end of this execution. So all were no flaine, but all overcome. Some troopes saved themselves in this general ouerthrow, hauing neere places for a fauorable retreat. *Philip* after this unexpected defeat of so goodly an Army, being false from his hope, followed with a small troope, saved himself at Bray: whither coming by night, & approaching neer the wals, the *Gouernor* (being in Armes vpon so notable an occasion) cries out, *Who is there?* *Philip* answers, *The fortune of France*. Being known by his voice, the gates were presently opened, but not without terrible cries and lamentations of his poore subiects, flocking about him like his poore children. Shall it in like fort be lawfull for me to weep in the remembrance hereof, being moued by the bitter apprehension of our present losses? O my Country! is it not at this day alone that we mourne for thy miseries. King *Philip* then comfort them with a resolute countenance, and intreats them to hope for better. Hee was to be commended in this, that he despaired not in the apparent despaire of his affaires. Having stayed at Bray some houre to take breath, he retires with all speed to Amiens. The number of the dead was great, they hold for certain, that there were flaine about 30000. men vpon the place: and the floure of all the French Nobility died or was taken there: as *Charles* Earle of Alanson the Kings brother, *Lewis* of Luxembourg King of Bohemia, *Charles* Earle of Blois the Kings Nephew, *Raoul* Duke of Lorraine, *Lewis* Earle of Flanders, *James* Dauphin of Viennois the son of *Imbert*, the Earles of Sancerre and Harcourt, with many Earles, Barons and Gentlemen, to the number of fiftene hundred. This miserable defeat happened in the yeare 1346. the 26. of August. A moneth famous by the euent of many miseries within this Realme.

*Edward* King of England had all the tokens of an absolute victory, as the place of battel, the ensignes, many of the greatest commanders his prisoners, and in a manner all, except the Soueraign (whom the bounty of God referred for this Realme) the campe, the spoiles, the bodies of the vanquished, which could not be buried but by his mercy.

Some examine the causes and motives of this great defeat, the which they attribute to the choler, haste and rashnesse of the King and his brother. Truly hasty and rash heart is the stepdame of great actions, especially in warre, where the Captaines judgement is more auailable then the fouldiers force. But why ascend wee not from these second causes (true in that which doth concerne vs) vnto the first and soueraign cause? The arme of the Eternall, purging this Realme, full of vicious and corrupted humors, letting it blood, but not suffering it to die, this blood-letting shall be the beginning of a stronger medicine prescribed by the same Physician, and ministred vnto France, in the following reigns, but in the end we shall finde the operation, to the recovery of our Estate. Let vs now see the progreffe of our miseries.

*Edward* did all he could to manage this victory wisely, and *Philip* to prevent him: *Edward* without any stay passeth on, and without attempting the great Cities of Amiens, and Abbeville, although neerer, he makes shew to set vpon Montreuil and Bologne, but he posted to Calais, a fit place for the passage of England. *John* of Vienne Marshall of France, and with him the Lord of Andreghan, great personages in those daies, commanded there, with a strong French garison, being assisted with the faithfull resolution of the inhabitants. Presently after the battell of Cressie, *Edward* did bessege the towne of Calais. A long siege, painfull, and of remarkable successe. *Philip* amazed with these bitter crosses false out beyond his hopes of ease, slept not; although it were with much paine, and lesse fruit. But his whole care was not for the ouerthrow at Cressie, hee had a further reach, following the trace of this vnfortunate losse. Hee was entered in a new inheritance: this new losse was to him a new checke. Affliction is a great crime both in great and small, and opens their mouthes which haue their hearts ill affected. The people

1346

Philip calls a Parliament.

Bankers and vintners are fined.

Calais taken.

A of France were in extreame poverty, and yet the necessity of the kings affaires forced them to a new charge. The ill government of the publike treasure, the fallshood of Treasurers (enriching themselves by the poverty of the miserable people) the fall of money imbedded, the decay of trafficke, the increase of taxes, imposts, and subsidies, were the causes of this general want, the which drew the people into despaire in this surcharge of troubles falling vpon the King. This burthen grew the more heavy by a great Famine, being followed by a strange general Plague throughout the whole Realme, as if heauen and earth had conspired to the ruine of France.

*Philip* enuioured with so many and so great difficulties, continues constant with a valourous resolution against them all. He prouides for the guard of the Cities of Picardy, lying neerest vnto danger, and (to driue off the time vsfor for armes) he calls a great Assembly of his Estates, to take counsell, aid, and comfort in the perplexity of so many dangerous occurrences.

In this Assembly it was decreed, to call the Treasurers to an account, and to referre the government of the Treasure to Clergy-men and to the Nobility, thereby to free the people from all icalousie of ill employing it. The Abbots of Marmoutier and Corby are chosen for this Intendancy, & to assist them there are ioined foure Bishops, and foure knights. *Peter* of Essars Treasurer of France is committed to prison, and condemned in a great fine to the King. Many Treasurers being condemned (justly or vniustly) yeeld that at once

C which they had been long in gathering, the sponge being then pressed by necessity. The Bankers, Lombards, and other vsurers, are then called to strict account; by reason of their vniust exactions. The interests are proued to exceed the principall, the which is forfeited to the King. The interest is remitted to the debtor, which paid the principall. But the chief fruit of this Assembly was, that the whole body was well inclined to succour the King in so vrgent a necessity, without any alteration for the new difficulties of State. Thus the winter was spent without any memorable act on either side. In the Spring, *Philip* goes to Field with a great army, and approacheth neere vnto Calais, to draw *Edward* to fight; but it was in vaine: for *Edward* contenting himselfe with his victory, and not willing to run the hazard of a second battell, kept himselfe within his trenches: and to manifest his resolution vnto *Philip*, he built houses about Calais to lodge his army dry, and sends for his wife, protesting publicly by a solemne oath, not to rise vntill hee did see an end, and make the inhabitants pay for their obstinate resolution. On the other side, *Philip* laboured to crosse *Edwards* designs, but with small successe. To worke a diuersion of this siege, hee makes warre in England by the King of Scotlands meanes, and in Flanders by his sonne *John*, then Duke of Normandy, and afterwards King of France: but all this succeeded ill.

*David* King of Scotland (having by *Philips* perswasion, entred and spoiled England) was defeated, taken and brought prisoner to London, through the happinesse of *Edwards* fortune, and the diligence of his Officers. *John* Duke of Normandy having left Guienne by his fathers command, comes into Flanders, besiegeth the towne of Cassel, held by the English faction: but hee is forced to rise by them within the towne. Then hee falls vpon Lile, where he hath a new repulse, so as hardly could hee retire himselfe to his father *Philip*, who sees his subiects in danger of shipwracke, yet could hee not releue them.

Guienne abandoned by *John*, for the action of Flanders, suffered much: for *Henry* of Lancaster, Lieutenant for *Edward* in Guienne (seeing the Country left weak by *Johns* departure) issues out of Bourdeaux with an army, and finding no enemy, hee doth easily surpise many townes of Xantonge and Poitou, and laden with spoile, hee retournes home.

In the end Calais yeelds to *Edward*, standing to his mercy, after a long and cruell famine, and almost a whole yeares siege: for the siege began the 30 of September 1346, and the towne was yeelded vp in August, 1347.

The French Garison was put to ranfome, and so set at liberty. The Inhabitants were worse intreated, the baser sort onely were suffered to depart with what they could carry about them; and in their stead *Edward* sends a Colony of English, to whom he distributed all the goods of the vanquished, and fortified the towne, especially towards France: to leave this place hereditary to his posterity, who held it 200 yeares; that is, from the yeare 1346, vnto the reign of *Henry* 2. father to King *Henry* 3.

The integrity of these poore Inhabitants is remarkable in their extreame affliction.

Edward

A notable fare-  
well of the  
Calicians.

Troubles in  
Brittaine.

New troubles  
in Flanders.

*Edward* had referred fixe of the chiefe Citizens, to be at his disposition, for the satisfying his oath : having vowed to make the blood to flow in Calais. He demands them for this end, according to the conventions. This charge being deliuered in the Towne-houle, (where these miserable Burgeses were assembled, by his permission, to give their Country their last farewell) they gaze one on another, terrified with so pittifull a condition. As they all stood mute in this common calamity, one of the troope breaking his mournfull silence : *Saying* (saith he) *I haue so often employed my life for my Countries good, should I now feare to sacrifice it for my last oblation? O my Countrymen! I doe cheerfully offer my head to the King of Englands victory, and will liue no longer in my Countries miserie.* This he spake without teares, and with so resolute a countenance, and a brow so manly big, as he moued the whole company : so as all with one generall voice cry : *Let vs goe to the death, it is the last duty we can performe to our poore Country.* Immediately there was pressing among this great multitude, who should be of the fixe, to carry their heads to *Edwards* triumph. They were chosen out, drawne, bound and led to execution. The Queene hauing notice thereof, desired to see them, who were brought bound into the executioners hands. This spectacle moued her to weepe, and compassion caused her to beg a pardon of the King, beseeching him to giue liue to these men worthy to liue after so constant a loyalty. She obtains her request, and leaue for them to remaine still in Calais, esteemed to continue faithfull to their deliuerer, who had shewed themselves so constant in the faithfull loue of their lost Country. The History did owe this digression to so commendable an act. The same Summer brought *Edward* a wished successe in Brittain, touching the quarrell of the Duchie. Hee had taken *John* Montfort, and *Joane* the wife of *Charles* of Blois, whom he led into England, and still weakeneth *Philips* authority in Brittain, and seales his own. Thus passe the affaires of this world, every one hath his turne. The two Duchesses of Brittain, *Joane* the wife of *John* of Montfort, and *Joane* the wife of *Charles* of Blois, did wonders in keeping those places they had in their possessions, during the imprisonments of their husbands : without entering further into the discourse of the female warres of these Amazons, worthy yet of eternal memory, hauing so courageously relieved the afflictions of their imprisoned husbands, & neuer yeelded to necessity. Flanders likewise grew mutinous by *Edwards* practices, being then greatly respected for the successe of his victorious armes. The Flemings received their Earle *Lewis* of Male without any opposition, being sonne to that *Lewis* which was slaine at Cressie, but the Kings of France and England contended who should winne him. *Lewis* was in heart a Frenchman; the Cities were generally affected to England : The marriage of this young Prince was great : *Edward* desired him for his daughter; but especially the opportunity of this rich County for his affaires. He comes himselfe to Gand to compass his desire, but the queene was not answerable : for although the Earle made shew to embrace this alliance, at the great instance of his subjects : yet his heart was otherwise affected, who (under color to go fly at the Heron) goes out of Gand with a small traine, and fliesto Paris. *Philip*, who hauing receiued him graciously, perswades him to espouse *Marguerite* the Daughter of the Duke of Brabant, thereby to cut off all hope of marrying with England. Thus the hatred of these two Princes continued : which in the end must breake forth into hostile effects: Picardy was the stage of their lamentable tragedies : & from thence the misery was dispersed ouer the whole Realme. *Philip* giues the government to *Jeffrey* Earle of Charnie, and the Lieutenancy to *Anthony* of Montmorency. They fortifie the townes, and bridle Calais, being assisted by a great number of voluntary Nobility, louing the command of these two great Captaines as a schoole of military Discipline, to shew that the French did not faint in their afflictions. These losses were then repaired by the gaine of the Country of Dauphine, one of the noblest and goodliest Provinces of the Realme. And this was the occasion. *Imbert* or *Imbert*, Dauphine of Viennois, hauing the eldest son in the battell of Cressie, (as I haue said) and his youngest being two or three yeares old, by a strange accident, they say that himselfe let him fall out of his armes, as he played with him at a window, thinking to feare him) and moreover hauing *Amé*, the 6. Earle of Sauoy, an irreconcilable and deadly enemy, being two weake to resist him, nor able to make choice of a kinsman to repaire his estate (being weary of the world, & decaying in iudgement) he resolues to cast himselfe into the King of France his protection, to oppose him against his enemy, and to put this goodly inheritance into his hands, there-

Dauphine in-  
corporate to  
the Crowne.

The townes of  
Montpellier  
purchased to  
the Crowne.

Queene *Joane*  
of France.

*Philips* death.

and disposition.

Estate of the  
Empire and  
Church.

A thereby to preuent the Earles greedy desire. Forthwith hauing aduertised *Philip* of his intention, and being graciously entertained by him, he giues all the country of Dauphine to him and his successors Kings of France, vpon condition, that the first son of the house of France should cary the name of Dauphine of Viennois, and the Armes of the Country of Dauphine should be quartered with the armes of France, and that the Nobility and whole Country should be receiued with their priuiledges. *Amé* Earle of Sauoy (otherwise a deare friend to *Philip*) sends his Ambassadors to make his benefit of this exchange, but it was not for him : all that he could obtaine, was to exchange some land with that which lay intermixt within his territories adioyning, the better to liue in quiet afterwards. Dauphine was thus incorporated to the Crowne of France. For we cannot without any reason doubt, but in old time it was a member of this our Monarchy, as likewise Sauoy was : but in these diuersities of portions, vnder the children of *Lewis* the Gentile, as we haue noted before, the Realme and Empire, swallowing vp both the effect and the name of the Realme of Arles (in the which these Estates were comprehended) haue maintained themselves by a remarkable distinction : and so vnder the authority of the Empire, they haue since held their souerainty, not acknowledging any Emperor but their Princes. Dauphine is returned to his first original, and Sauoy maintaines it selfe vnder the obedience of his soueraine Prince vnto this day. As for the name of Dauphine giuen to the first sonne of France, the execution of Prince *Imberts* Will was not put in practice, before *Charles* the fift sonne to *John* then Duke of Normandy, in the life of his father *Philip*, and not giuen to *John* in the year 1348. The year following, the City of Montpellier, one of the goodliest of the prouince of Languedoc, was purchased by *Philip*, of *James* King of Maiorca, to whom it belonged. The obseruations of this first authority of the Kings of Maiorca are yet remarkable in the priuiledges of the Commonalty of this goodly City, delectable for the fertile situation, and famous, being the goodliest Theater for physicke in Europe. Thus in the affaires of this world, there is time to lose, and time to winne, that men might season their spirits with this temperature, neither to be drowned with aduersity, nor drunke with prosperity.

In the flowing and ebbing of these gaintes and losses, one balancing another, *Joane* Queene of France, wife to *Philip*, dyed, leaving him two sonnes, for gages of her loue, most worthy to be noted in the mariages of our Kings, *John* Duke of Normandy, and *Philip* Earle of Valois, whereof the first (already of yeares) gouerned the affaires of the Realm in his fathers life, and shall succed him in the Crowne, and *Philip* shall be Duke of Orleans. This issue might haue contented *Philip*, being very old and broken : yet before the year was ended, he married *Blanche* the daughter of *Philip* of Euxreux, King of Nauarre, who had another daughter, *Marguerite*, married to *Gaston* of Foix, from whom shall spring *Charles* of Nauarre, the scourge of this Realme, in the succeeding reignes.

But *Philip* did not long enioy this vnecessary marriage : the which was a second burden to his yeares and toyles, so as he fell extremely sicke at Nogent, and having recommended concord and the care of his Realme to his two sons, leaving the Crowne to *John* his eldest, he yeelded vp his soule to God, the 65 yeare of his age, and of Grace 1350. in the moeth of August, hauing reigned 23 yeares. A Prince whose great vertues were balanced with great vices : for he was deuout, quick, hardy, valiant, resolute in danger, courageous in affliction, losing order, iustice, and the people. But the presumption of his rauiour, and his resolution, often inclining to rashness, chollier, and impatientie, counterpoysed these vertues, and were the causes of great miseries, both to him and his subjects, truly he could not auoid it, but in taking possession of so great and enuied an inheritance, and hauing so strong an aduersary in front, he must endure many crosses : but those inextinguishable imperfections caused him to suffer much more then he had done, if he had sedled his authority with iudgement and patience, and encountered his aduersary already vanquished, with modesty and wisdom.

During the forepassed reignes, since the yeare 1300. neither the Empire, nor the Church of Rome were in any better estate, by the strange alteration of diuers changes which happened in these two States : seeking to ruine one another vnto the end of this reigne. We haue left this discourse at the Empire of *Alberr*, the tenth Duke of Austria, to whom Pope *Boniface* the 8. gaue the title and the Armes of France, in disdaine of *Philip* the Faire, who caused him to be inuested after another sort, by *Felix* of Nogaret, then he would

An Emperour  
poisoned very  
treaguely.

Dissention be-  
twixt the Em-  
perour and  
Popps.

would doe the Emperour of his Realme. *Albert* liued not long after the imagination of this new Royalty, for he was slain soone after by his nephew *John* Duke of Sucuia, whom he had spoiled of his Duchy, vnder colour that (being too prodigall) he could not gouerne it as was requisite. *Henry* the 7. Duke of Luxembourg, succeeded *Albert*, being chosen with great affection of the Germane Princes, when a Frenchman, both by nation and disposition, and resident at Auignon. But hauing vexed himselfe with those inueterate dissensions of Guelphes and Gibelins, in the end he was poisoned by a Monke called *Bernard*, a Iacobin, vnder colour of giuing him the Sacrament in the Communion, at Beneuice in the year 1313. To encrease this confusion, *Lewis* of Bawaria, and *Fredericke* of Austria the son of *Albert*, contend for the Empire by open force: but they agreed to hold it by equall authority. Yet this dissention was soone reuiued by the meanes of Pope *John* the 22 borne at Cahors in Quercy, resident likewise at Auignon: who (seeking to hold a soueraigne authority ouer both, and to dispose the Empire to whom he pleased) entertained this hatred betwixt these two Princes, which burst out into open warre. *Fredericke* was taken by *Lewis* in the year 1323. who (supposing to be now absolute in the Empire) suddenly fals into new troubles by the same Pope *John*, who did excommunicate him, for that he would not resigne the Imperiall dignity into his hand to dispose souerainly thereof at his pleasure. This new affront gaue *Lewis* of Bawaria occasion to examine the Popes authority, by the learned, and to raise a mighty army to suppress him. So hee came into Italy to oppose the force of the Empire against the Popes excommunications, and to giue a law to the Sea of Rome, which sought to controulle him. *John* fled at this Alarme. The Colledge of Cardinals assemblé, and vpon the Emperours complaint they depose *John* as a fugitiue, and create *Nicholas* the 4 in his place. But there follows a strange perteration. *John* retournes, and doth dispossesse *Nicholas*, but in the end death surpriseth *John*, whom *Benedict* the 12 doth succeed, a Tholouan, and to *Benedict*, *Clement* the 6, a Limesin, who begins more violently against the Emperour then his predecessor *John*: for hee caused *Charles* Marquis of Moravia, to be chosen in his place, being sonne to *Lewis* King of Bohemia, and Duke of Luxembourg, of whom wee haue spoken in this reigne. So the world was tumultued with a general confusion in this age, which drawes after it a long traine of strange calamities.

## JOHN, The 51. French King.



Very considerable observations in this reigne.

THE difficulties following in the reigne of *Philip* of Valois, (which we haue represented) are but trifles in regard of the horrible tragick confusions, where with the following reigne haue beene afflicted, vnder *John*, *Charles* the 5, *Charles* the 6, and *Charles* the seventh. I will adde also vnder *Lewis* the 11 into the warre of the Common-wealth it selfe, the last of this intestine disafe, the which shall cease for that time, wee will reckon a hundred and twelue yeares, of the most wretched time, that ciuill warres could breed in the bowels of this miserable State. The which begins not in our time, but to doe penance, either for the weaknesse of Kings, or the folly of subiects, or by the means of such as haue abused both the one and the other to serue their execrable passions. By effects, we shall obserue what a good King is in an Estate, and how pernicious the command of many is in a Common-wealth, who (hauing power in the soueraigne authority) abuse the people with a shew of the common good, an ordinary cloake for such as are troubled waters.

We shall see by the vnruly euents of the contempt of royall authority (the King being either a prisoner, or sicke in iudgement) what a body is without a head, a Realme without a King well obeyed, and a multitude governed by it selfe: a subiect susceptible of impressions (but of bad rather then good, though alwaies couered with a shew of good) an instrument of all mischiefs in an Estate, when as (transported by violent and disorder

A ordered passions, couered with a shew of common good) it is not restrained with the reines of a lawfull authority: I meane a multitude, a dangerous beast with many heads, doing commonly more harme then good. We shall see here what Councillors of State, the ambition and couetousnesse of great men bee: especially when women intermeddle, armed with the shew of publike authority: and to conclude, we shall confesse by a sound iudgement of this discourse, that all things done in our age were done before. A briefe preface for the greatnesse of the subiect, yet necessary for that which is represented in their reignes, which we will note according to their occurrences.

*John* the eldest son of *Philip* of Valois, succeeded his father in the year 1350. and reigned fourteen yeares. He had made a long apprenticeship in managing the affaires of the Realm vnder his father *Philip*: but he neither ruled better nor more happily. His manners shall be knowne by his actions. He had 4 sonnes by *Joane* Countesse of Bologne: *Charles*, *Lewis*, *John*, *Philip*, and one daughter named *Joane*. *Charles* his eldest sonne was Dauphin of Viennois in his fathers life, and Duke of Normandy, and after him King of France. *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, *John* Duke of Berry, and *Philip* called the Hardy, first hee was Earle of Touraine, and after (through his brothers fauour) Duke of Bourgogne, and Earle of Flanders, in the right of his wife. *Joane* was married to *Charles* King of Nauarre and Earle of Burcux: Princes which shall play their parts vpon this Theater, in euery Scene of the Tragedy that I am to represent, and for this reason they are to bee obserued in the beginning.

This *Charles* King of Nauarre, was sonne to *Lewis* Earle of Eureux, and of *Joane* daughter to King *Lewis* *Hutin*, who by the sufferance of *Philip* the Long, her vnckle, succeeding to the Crowne, remained Queene of Nauarre, and by this right *Charles* her sonne caried both the title and effect of the Realme, with many other great inheritances: A Prince of the blood Royall both by father and mother, and sonne in law to King *John*, hauing married *Joane* his only daughter. A man of a subill spirit, eloquent, active, vigilant, but ambitious, vnfaithfull, malicious, reuengefull, armed with the prerogative of his blood, and the great meanes he enioyed, to be a pernitious instrument to trouble the King and his Realm beyond all measure, but in the end hee shall receiue a due reward for his actions, by a death worthy of his life.

After *John*s coronation at Rheims, with his wife *Joane*, being returned to Paris, he beganne his reigne by a famous act of an vnfortunate preface: for hee caused *Raoul* Earle of Eu and of Guines to bee beheaded in prison, vpon light accusations, as hauing intelligence with the English, and that hee betrayed his affaires, for that hee had passed and repassed into France vpon his faith giuen during his imprisonment. Hee was Constable of France.

*John* aduanced *Charles* of Spaine to his place, grandchild to the King of Castile, and son in law to the Earle of Blois, and so allied to the King, and exceedingly beloued of him amongst all his greatest Fauourites. Hee shall be the first fruits of many miseries, when as this reigne promised some rest, vnder a King of age and experience, fit to gouerne a Realm: For as *John* was busie to institute the order of the Knights of the Starre (in the end growne so common) as it remains a badge for the Knight of the Watch and his Archers vnto this day) there chanced a great misfortune to this Constable.

*Charles* of Nauarre complained that the King detained from him the Countie of Champagne and Bry, belonging to his mother by the same title that the King himselfe of Nauarre did. This was true, but by reason of their nearnesse vnto Paris, the Kings Countie had vnto these Earledomes vnto the Crowne, and giuen in exchange the townes of Montre and Meulan, with a Pension answerable to the reuenues of the said Earledomes, without any prejudice to the Nauarrois. But he sought an occasion for a cause, in which his miserieous pretence in his heart, the which hee discovered by many effects. Not being to complaine directly of the King, hee quarrelled with the Constable, as the chief of the Countie, of whom hee was exceeding zealous, for the private fauour the King did beare him. Hauing taken counsell with his passion, hee caused the Constable to bee hanged in a bed, at Aigle in Normandy, but with so great a presumption, as hee himselfe came vnto the place accompanied with his brother *Philip* of Nauarre, *John* Earle of Harcourt, and his brethren, and with many Gentlemen his followers. This murder thus audaciously committed, hee retires himselfe easily to Eurcux (where of hee was Earle) from whence hee

*Charles* King of  
Nauarre the  
scourge of this  
Realme, and  
his business.

A mournfull  
beginning of  
his reigne.

His discontent.

he writes to the good Cities of the Realme, avouching this murder as done by his command, & iustifying it as lawfull and reasonable. King *John* found himselfe much wronged, but not able then to redresse it, he promised to remit the fact, so as he would aske pardon with the respect due to his royall Maesty. The which *Charles* is content to doe, but vpon good gages, holding the Kings word insufficient to secure his person: so as *John* gives him *Lewis* his second son for hostage.

The Nauarrois comes to Paris, he presents himselfe to the Kings Councell, and seeks to give some reason for this murder: yet the Councell condemnes him as guilty of high treason, and decrees that he should be committed to prison. *Lames* of Bourbon Earle of March (newly advanced to the office of Constable) layes hold on him, and puts him in guard; but all this was but for a shew, to maintaine the publike respect, for presently the three Queenes goe to the King, (*Joane* daughter to *Lewis* *Hutin* his mother in law, *Blanche* widow to *Philip* of Valois, and *Joane* daughter to King *John*, Queene of Nauarre, his wife) *Charles* likewise came himselfe, and fals vpon his knees before the King: both he and they seeme to weepe, and to sue for mercy of King *John*; who had already granted his pardon, vpon good assurance: *John* grants his request, yet could hee not command his heart to leave this malicious ieaousie, which made him seek new occasions daily to crosse his father in lawes actions. He then offers his seruice to the King of England, who fails not to embrace this occasion, hauing the heart and hand of a Prince of the blood, whose power was great in the State. Vpon this assurance he sends *Edward* his eldest son Prince of Wales into Guienne, with a goodly army: a yong man of an exceeding hope, and gives him for Councell, *John* *Sbandos*, *Robert* *Knowles*, *Francis* *Hul*, and *John* of Arondele, great men in their times, and which shall be famous in those actions which shall follow.

New warre by the King of Nauarre practices

He attended the end of the truce, the which being expired, he enters Guienne, and passes into Languedoc, to Tholous, Narbonne, and ouer all, he spoiles, sacks, kills, and finds no resistance, and returns without difficulty to Bourdeaux, being laden with spoiles.

At the same instant another cloud of Englishmen breakes out of Calais, and spoiles the Country of Picardy; but *John* by these Alarmes foreseees the tempest of a greater warre, measuring the forces of England by the will of King *Edward* his assured and tried enemy. He therefore seeks a remedy by an ordinary course: hee calls a generall Parliament, to take counsell and comfort from them in these new occurrences. *Charles* of Nauarre assists, but with an intent to crosse the Kings proceedings by indirect practices, and to withdraw the subjects affections from assisting the King with their means in this necessity: but it was in vaine, for in regard of *John*'s promise to better the coyns, they granted him a reasonable ayd to rayse and entertaine a great army. This faithfull resolution of the French, did for that time suppress the violence of the English, but not the furious malice of the Nauarrois: for hauing laboured in vaine to disswade the people from their promised succours, and hauing raised by these practices, seditions in diuers parts of the Realme, hee lands at Cherbourg with 2000. men, robs and spoyles the country, and takes the Castle of Conches in Normandy from the King. An intolerable presumption of a subject against his Prince, after the murder of a Constable.

But *John* dissembles this affront, and by the mediation of his sonne *Charles*, Dauphine of Viennois, he remits this second fault, and receiues the King of Nauarre his son in law againe into fauour: but in effect hee doth it to frustrate his purposes, and to punish such as had assisted him.

*John* did then give the Duchy of Normandy to the Dauphine for his portion: so as he must take possession thereof. An apparent cause to draw him thither: but in effect *John*'s intention was to draw the Nauarrois into a place of easie surprisall, to make him and his adherents giue an account of their wicked actions, and to prevent them hereafter. The Duke of Normandy arrives at Roan, whither all the good townes of the country runne to doe him homage. The King of Nauarre (who held Barreux and many great Lordships in the country, with one of the greatest dignities in the Realme) comes to doe him homage well accompanied, but better receiued by *Charles* his brother in law.

The King aduertised that the Nauarrois was at Roan with his son, goes speedily into Paris, accompanied with his brother *Philip* Duke of Orleans, *Lewis* his second son Duke of Anjou, the Earle of Tancarville, and *Arnaud* of Endreghen Marshall of France, and posts to Roan with this great traine:

Arriving

A. Arriving about dinner time, he presently goes to his sons lodging, where he finds him at table, accompanied with the King of Nauarre, and the most of them which had assisted him at the Constables murder, where (without any more deliberation or delay) he causeth them all to be apprehended. And then (not pausing any longer) hee made choice of foure out of this number, the two brethren of Harcourt, the Lord of Manbuc, and *Colinet* *Doabler*, chief actors in the forefaid murder, and without any other forme of proceeding, (as a matter long before determined) hee causeth their heads to be cut off, setting them vpon stakes, and drawing their carcasses to the gibbet. The next day he made choice of prisoners, and sends the Nauarrois with *Friquet* and *Bonrabu*, his domestick and most trusty seruants, to Arras, with a good guard, and presently dismisseth all the rest to their houses, enioyning them expressly vnto fidelity and loyalty to his seruice, binding them by a new oath.

This unexpected execution amazed the whole Country, like to a cracke of thunder; but it rouzed vp the Nauarrois faction, especially *Philip* of Nauarre, brother to *Charles*, and *Jessy* of Harcourt Vncle to the two brethren beheaded, the which opened the gates to a strange confusion, which shall cast *John* into miserable captiuitie, and draw the Nauarrois out of prison, with a flaming Torch in his hand to fire the whole Realme. Behold *Philip* and the House of Harcourt presently in England, crying out against murder. They entreat *Edward* to stretch forth his hand to be reuenged of so notable an iniustice and disloyalty. They offer him their hearts, persons, goods, townes, and hauens, to land in Normandy without any difficulty, and there to make warre commodiously against so treacherous and truell a Prince.

*Edward* a wife and vigilant Prince, who had his eyes open to all occasions that might annoy his enemy, embraceth this offer: hee assembles his troopes to send them speedily into Normandy. And, to doe nothing by halves, he employs all hee can to leaue a great army, which he sends into Guienne, to make worke for *John* in diuers places, and not to suffer this first heat of the discontented French to coole, he then without any delay sends the Duke of Gloucester into Normandy with 4000 choice men, who lands easily and safely with *Philip* of Nauarre, and so they ouer-runne and spoile the Champion country. The terror of these new Forces spreads presently ouer all. The townes of Lizieux, Orbes, Bacheloin and Ponteau on the Sea, yeeld presently. And (not staying to besiege any great Cities) he goes to Breteuil and Tuillieres, and from thence to Verneuil in Perche: whither he takes easily, giuing it out in all places, that it was to reuenge the wrong done to the King of Nauarre and his seruants: a duty of humanity which Kings ought not to refuse one to another in their greatest necessity.

King *John* hasteth thither with his Army, and recouers Breteuil and Tuillieres, and had easily repossessed all the rest, if a new occasion had not drawne him elsewhere, and the secret decree of God, to his ruine. *Edward* Prince of Wales, the eldest sonne of *Edward* King of England, was then in Guienne to gouerne the Country vnder his fathers authority. *Edward* sends him two thousand horse, and eight thousand English Archers, with commission to assemble all he can in the Country of Guienne, vnder his obedience, where he was followed by a great number of the Nobility, and Houses of marke. The chiefe were *Capal de Buch*, and the Lord of Grail; (some thinke that out of these two Houses vniued, the race of *Candale* is issued) with the Lords of *Espaire*, of *Mucidan*, of *Montfermeil*, of *Duras*, and of *Segur*. All prepares for a great hurly-burly; *John* hauing leasued a goodly army, turns head to the place, whither the greatest burthen of the warre did call him: Hauing therefore left sufficient Forces in Normandy to make head against the Duke of Gloucester, he marcheth towards Poitou, whither the Prince of Wales was now come. Pope *Clement* the 6. a Limosin, resident at Auignon, sends the Cardinall of Peregorst his Legat to these two Princes (being ready to fight) to calme this storme. But the preparation of *John*'s great Forces, was the chiefe motive to make *Edward* willing to giue ouer: who began to stay and to thinke of his retreat, and of a reasonable composition by the Legats means, who goes from one to another to make this accord: *John* demanded, That *Edward* should giue him sure hostages, and as one vanquished should remaine at his mercy and discretion: *Edward* was content to yeeld vp all that hee had taken from him, but without any blemish to his honour, whereof hee said he was accomptable to God and his country. *John* would not accept of this offer (notwithstanding all the entreaties and perswasions the

*Charles* of Nauarre taken prisoner by the King. Foure of his complines beheaded.

Warre in Guienne where the Prince of Wales commanded.

Unreasonable conditions proposed by *John*.



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John's forerch  
Edward to de-  
fend himselfe.  
The error of  
King John.

the Legate could vfe) finding himselfe farre stronger then his enemy: saying, it was his aduantage to prescribe him lawes. But his fathers experience, so dearly bought, should haue taught him wit, and not so willingly to runne into a mischief. Oh miserable France! which art neuer wife but too late!

This King flouts his eyes to Presidents, stops his eares to all admonitions of reason, seeing his owne ruine wilfully, as if the time had beene too short for his perdition. He defies any hand to fight presently, to whip this young warrior, hauing forgotten that hee had plaid his prize at Crecy; and learned not to bee rash in a matter of so great consequence. But what followed? The onely meanes to preferue the vanquished, is to hope for his helpe.

So Edward seeing himselfe reduced to this extremity, either to lose his honour or his life, hee resolues to employ his life courageously, to save his honour veruiously, and the enent fauoured his resolution. John had all aduantages ouer Edward, both of number, force, shew, country, and conceit, (which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall the choice of all his horsemen (chosen then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Capitaines of his whole Realme. Being well aduersed of the number and estate of the English army, (which consisted for the most part of footmen) his meaning was to draw him to battell: presuming easily to defeat this troop of English bowmen with so great a number of Lances and Battle-axes well armed. Some putting all hope of victory in his horse, he makes the forme of his battell according to his designe. But he had forgotten, that neither horse nor horseman saues the man in the day of battell. He resolues therefore to charge onely with his horse, and to giue his Nobility the honour of the victory, the which he held confidently in his hands, before the battell. Vpon this proiect he arranges his foot apart in one battalion, and diuides his horse into three squadrons, whereof hee giues the first to his Constable (some name the Duke of Arthenes, the steele of the house of Tremouille, and some write, that he was of the house of Breime) accompanied with two Marshalls of France, *Arnould* of Endreghen, and *John* of Clermont. The second was giuen to *Charles* his eldest sonne, and the third with his son *Philip*, he reserves to himselfe. In this confidence of his horsemen, he beuinkles himselfe of a new stratagem: out of euery Squadron he chooseth an hundred horse, and so make one body of three hundred, meaning therewith to breake the first ranks of the enemy's army, which for the most part were foot.

The Prince of Wales prest by necessity, had another designe. Standing vpon his defence, he resolues to encourage himselfe, and by courage to animate his army with another stinate resolution, to fight desperately against so strong an enemy, and so to gouerne his Forces, as the combat might proue difficult to the enemy, whom he sees ready to charge. He lodgeth his Army in a place of aduantage for defence against the horse, hauing both behind them, and on their flanks, Vines, Bushes, Hedge-rows, and Vnder-woods, all of hard approach for the horse. But he adds industry, and makes the place more inaccessible, causing the souldiers to cast vp great trenches with wonderful expedition. Hauing provided for his camp, he doth place his archers vpon the approaches so politickly, as they might succour the horse, and bee relieved by them, and likewise resist the enemy: when they should be charged. But about all he labours to animate his souldiers, so as the courage of his small troop did equal the number of the greater, in this firme resolution, either to yinquish or to dye together, to maintain their honours and good fortunes: and in this order the English attend the French army confidently, whom they see preparing to fight. Whilest that Edward provides thus for his defence, there befall a great contention in the French Army, the which sways much in this dayes fight: For coming to make choice of an hundred horse out of euery battalion, there were some discontented, (the place being giuen rather by fauour then merit) so as such as were left behind, finding themselves grieved as with a repulse, were more ready to double their despight, then their courage to fight. Impressions which import much in these great occurrences, when the mind is still be present with that we doe, and not be distracted with any other affections: but when they are ready to fight. Behold this troop of 300 horse aduanceth, commanded by *English* of Ribemont. The Trumpets sound to battell, they all runne to the easiest approach of the English trenches, to draw forth their footmen, and to prouoke them to fight. This was anothers error of *John*, that being stronger then *Edward*, besieging him in the vines, and cutting

The order of  
the French  
army.

The English  
army.

A disson in  
the French  
army very pre-  
judiciall.

The French  
charge the  
English.

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Battell of  
Poitiers.

A cutting off his victuals, in few dayes he might haue vanquished him without blowes. But our weening impatience and haste, drew him to his ouerthrow. This great Squadron forceth into the Vines, and enters fight with the English foot: but the issue of *John*'s new stratagem was contrary to his expectation: for in this first charge they find resistance.

The Archers planted in the Vines with aduantage, galled them in the first ranks, with their arrowes, whilest that others (lying vncene in the rows adioynning) ayne at them at their pleasures, shooting forth a dangerous storme of arrowes, and vpon their flanke riseth another shower, which passeth through these horsemen, whereas neither lance nor battle-axe could preuaile. Hauing made this first charge with so great losse, they seek to retire, and to charge the enemy in some other place; but they fall into a greater perplexity, for the horses sinke in this miry ground, and are entangled among the stubs, stakes, and trees: some fall, some rise againe, all are in confusion; they lye plunging in the ditches and trenches, and the English arrowes flye from all sides. This troope hauing drawne downe the rest by degrees, like to a current of water which disperfeth it selfe by a channell, the more men, the more disorder: and our Frenchmen grow amazed at this repulse.

The English seeing them giue backe in confusion, cry victory, and follow their aduantage, striking on all sides, as they lay wallowing one vpon another. King *John* runnes to repaire this disorder. He performs the duty both of a good Capitaine, in gathering together his disperfed men, and of a valiant Souldier, in fighting courageously: but the blow was already giuen, all was lost. The Duke of Athens Constable, and *John* of Clermont Marshall, were slaine at the first charge. The Standard Royall appears no more, by the fall of the Earle of Charnie, who caried it in this dayes fight. The greatest part of the commanders, and of this braue Nobility (who sought to be in the front) are vnhorfed.

This rampart ouerthrowne, and the rest shaken and broken in pieces, the Prince of Wales preuailes the more easily. King *John* is farre engaged in the conflict. The English cry, *To the King, to the King*. Being charged on all sides, he defends himselfe admirably, and his sonne *Philip* (being neerer him) surmounted the ordinary courage of the most resolute souldiers, in defending his father from blowes, (his generous valour did first purchase him the name of Hardy, and the course of his life did confirme it in diuers worthy actions) but in the end they are prisoners.

Wherevpon there grew some controuerse (not without extreame danger to his person) for hauing yielded vnto *Denis* of Morbee, his owne subiect, (borne in the Country of Archois, banished for some fact) he was halied by other souldiers, who pretended an interest in this prize. But the Prince of Wales vnderstanding thereof, sent him an honorable guard of some of his most trusty seruants whilest that he made the victory absolute. The head being taken, all are surprisid with feare: all are disperfed, and the slaughter is general without resistance. *Edward* content to haue the head, sounds a retreat, and forbids them to pursue the victory. Many saue themselves in *Poitiers*, which stands vpon her guard, lest the enemy should enter with them that head.

The victorious Prince remaining vpon the place of battell, sends a troope of Noble men Falcons, to receiue the King prisoner, and to conduct him to his pavilion, the which they doe with great respect. *Edward* seeing him approach, meets him with great reuerences, honours him, comforts him, entertaines him with a louing discourse, and promisseth him all the good visage a great King could expect in his aduersity: A young Prince twice a conqueror, hauing vanquished his enemy, both by valour and courtesie, leaving an honorable trophee of his humanity and wisdom to posterity. *John* (seeing his countenance shewed a courageous mind in his misfortune. A notable example for Princes to shew an inuincible constancy, against the most dangerous losses, amongst which the losse of liberty holds the most mournfull rank, and is of the bitterest digestion).

Our losse was very great, and the sequell very pernicious. They number fiftene hundred Gentlemen slaine in this battell, amongst the which there were fifty two Lords. The chiefest of name were *Peter* of Bourbon, the Duke of Athens Constable of France, *John* of Clermont Marshall of France, *George* of Charny great Chamberlaine, *Antoine* of Champeil Bishop of Chalons, the Lords of Pont, and Fayette; and of the common sort five or six thousand. A hundred Ensignes were brought away in triumph, the spoile was red away, the place of battell free, the dead bodies at the conquerors merry. The King

The number  
of the dead,  
which was  
about  
fifteen  
hundred.



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And prisoners.

was taken (the chiefeft part of the victory) and with him he drawes into the fame prison *A Philip* his fourth fonne (afterwards Duke of Burgogne) *James* of Bourbon Earle of Ponthieu, *John* of Arthois Earle of Eu, *Charles* of Arthois his brother, Earle of Longueville, *Charles* Earle of Tancarville, *John* of Melun, and his sonne Archbishop of Sens, the Earles of Vendome, Salbruch, Nassau, Dampmartin, la Roche, and many other of account. This ouerthrow hapned in the year 1356, the 19 day of September, continued with many confusions, whereof I tremble to discourse.

But let vs continue the order of our History. *John* (falling into his enemies hands is brought to Bourdeaux, and from thence safely conducted into England to *Edward*, who shewed himselfe as courteous to his capitall enemy being his captiue, as glad of his sonnes victory. Some say, he commended him more to haue receiued *John* with humanity, then to haue conquered him by his valour. A lesson for great Princes to learne, that vertue doth equall valour, and that he is rightly a Conqueror, that can vanquish himselfe. Hee doth lodge him honourably in the City of London, in the Duke of Lancasters house, with his sonne *Philip* vnder a sure guard. The other prisoners are disperfed into diuers places, according to their qualities, to draw a reasonable ranfome from them; the which as they paid, he sent them free to their houses with much honor, and at that instant he gaue liberty vpon the Kings word, being captiue, to all such as he would answer for. In this great calamity, God looked vpon France with his eye of pity, willing to chastise it, but not to ruine it. For he refused (during the Kings captiuitie) royall heads, to saue this Estate from shipwracke, being almost ruined, both by the great afflictions passed, as also by the imprisonment of their foueraigne head, and the death of so many great personages, necessary instruments for the preservation and greatnesse of the State. As *Charles* eldest sonne to *John*, *Dauphin* and Duke of Normandy, *Lewie* Duke of Aniou, and *John* Duke of Berry escaped in this defeat. *Charles* was of so wise and temperate a spirit, as he seemed capable to gouerne this great Barke in the most horrible stormes of confusion, which hapned in this Realme during his fathers imprisonment. *John* continued five yeares a prisoner, for he was taken in the year 1356, in September, and was deliuered in the year 1361 in the Moneth of May. But let vs describe in order the disorders which chanced in his captiuitie.

Estates assembled for the Kings deliuey.

As soone as the *Dauphine* (so called vntill hee be Regent) came to Paris, he employes all his wits to procure his fathers liberty, and to maintaine the Kings free authority in the Realme, which was as much restrained as the Kings person. But in this good and commendable resolution he found strange difficulties. He presently calls a generall assembly of the Estates at Paris, in October following; an expedient remedy for the greatest affaires of this Monarchy, profitably practised in the most vrgent causes of our Kings. There *Charles* layeth before them, not onely the misery wherunto the King his father was brought, but also the whole Realme in his person: he entreates them to giue him counsell and assistance in this so great an extremity. The cause spake of it selfe: his person was an excellent Orator. Moreover, hee failed in no point of his duty: for his mournfull countenance expressed his sorrow naturally, and he did well vrge the necessity of his demand, with so wise and modest an eloquence, as it would haue moued and dissolued even the hardest Rockes of the Pyrenean mountains. But the answer which was then made him, and the long continuance of crosses giuen him in so commendable an action, shew well what an ill counselled people is, and how dangerous it is to let slip the reines of restraint to so furious a beast, which grows then most outrageous, when there is greatest need of mildnesse and modesty. Without doubt there had beene many disorders in former reignes; and in this new controuersie for the Crowne, *Philip* had made great breaches. But it is now time to complain of the sicke, when he lies at the point of death, and to represent vnto him his forepassed errors, in stead of applying fit remedies for his griefe. So do the people (bring witty and eloquent) complain of the errors of their superiours, and are more ready to increase the disease (by remedies worse then the disease it selfe) rather then to cure it; as shall appeare by the popular actions, during King *Johns* imprisonment, who from complaints haue exceeded to audacious seditions: and then in the end to cruell and tragick massacres; not onely to tread vnder foot, but to ouerthrow the lawfull authority of this Monarchy.

The peoples insolvency during King Johns imprisonment.

The Parliament consisted of all the best Cities of the Realme: but as Paris is the chiefe,

As to hauing among the rest the first degree and greatest meanes, it was also the chiefe in credit. So as when order is well obserued, it brings the greatest benefit to this Estate: but when as disorder reignes, the greatest confusion comes from thence. The Church holds the first ranke in Parliament: and then the Prouost of Merchants in the City of Paris, whereas the Vniuersity had then great credit. All parts shall play vpon this Theater, either for good or euill, by strange accidents. But let vs returne to our *Dauphin*. After that he had made his proposition, the Estates being assembled in one body resolu'd; That to auoid confusion, there should be fifty chosen out of all the Prouinces, to determine of things necessary, according to the instructions & remembrances deliuered to them. These fifty Deputies assembl'd in the Gray-Friers, where by a common consent they resolu'd what to say vnto the *Dauphin*: who being entreated to come vnto their assembly, and set to hear some notable offer of assistance, conformable to the necessity of the time, *Robert le Cocq* Bishop of Laon, spake thus vnto him in the behalfe of the company; That the Assembly beseeched him to sweare to keepe secret what should be deliuered vnto him by the Estates. This young Prince being nothing amazed in this perplexity, answers them presently with a resolution: That he should greatly forget the degree he held in the State, in receiving a law from his fathers subjects: and therefore he did command them, by the natural authority he had ouer them, to speake freely what their hearts conceiued. Then the Bishop in all their names made knowne vnto him the ill government of the Treasure, demanding reformation thereof, with a commission to call the Receiueurs to an account; that all such as had managed the Kings money, should be displaced; and that hereafter both the treasure, and the affaires of State should be gouerned by foure Prelates, and twelue Bourgeois, among the which the City of Paris should haue the first degree and credit, and that without this Councell the *Dauphin* should attempt nothing. And for the conclusion of all their demands, they require him most instantly to set the King of Nauarre at liberty. And vpon this condition they promise the *Dauphin* ayde and succour for his fathers deliuerie.

The Deputies of Parliament make unreasonable demands vnto the Dauphin.

The *Dauphin* noting plainly both the intention of this ill-aduised people, and that it was now out of season to take exception at the violence of these popular furies; demands respit to giue them an answer: the next day passeth in this sort, without answer to the deputies, who entreat him to resolu'd. He makes his excuse vpon the importancy of these affaires, and demands a new day to consider thereof. And as they pressed him daily to make his answer, so he still prolonged the time by many subtill delays, grounded vpon sundry excuses, of purpose to disperse them, and to dissolue their Councels: the which he sees were practised by his enemies. And hauing caused the deputies to attend many daies, this plot (so hotly pursued) grew cold, and (tired with tediousnesse) they returne home to their houses, without any other fruit, then great fiewes: leauing the King languishing in prison, and the Realme in pitifull disorder. But they parted not without leauing the chiefe leuaine of their intended mischief at Paris, and too many hands to worke in this masse of confusion, to the great preiudice of France.

An ill-aduised people hath this humour: To complaine still of the present estate, and to seeke the future with hope of better. The Parisians who had seized vpon authority, (more careful for the deliuey of the King of Nauarre, then of their lawfull King) summon the *Dauphin* to set the Nauarrois at liberty, according to the decree of the Estates: and taking his delays for a denial; they practise with *John* of Piqueny, Gouernor of the Countrey of Arthois (to whom King *John* going to the vnsfortunate battell of Poitiers, had giuen it in keeping) to deliuer him out of the Castell of Allex in Cambresis, where hee had remained nineteene moneths a prisoner. This young Prince, enuironed with all these difficulties, had yet one which exceeded the rest. The Bishop of Laon the chiefe of his Councell betrayed him, being a priuate and passionate partaker of the Nauarrois. *Charles* of Nauarre is deliuered, meaning to come to Paris, and therefore hee demands a safe conduct from the *Dauphin*, who grants it, will hee or no; that is, hee puts a sword into the hands of his most malicious and furious enemy; and lodgeth him in his owne house. These were bitter pills, but hee must digest them, even the *Dauphin* and all good men that did assist him. But many of them looth to allow of these confusions by their freed consents) restore themselves to their houses.

The King of Nauarre set at liberty comes to Paris.

The Nauarrois hauing his passport from the *Dauphin*, not onely as a gage of the publike

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like faith, but as a sentence against king *John* being prisoner, goes to Paris with a stately train, where they all prepare for his entertainment. The Bishop of Laon, and the Prouost of Merchants, with a great troope of his Parisians meet him, who went to lodge in the Abbey of S. Germaine. He lets the people vnderstand, that he desires to speake publicly vnto them. A scaffold is built, and the people throng in great troopes, bringing both hearts and eares. The Nauarrois (a subtil and an eloquent man) represents vnto them the wrong of his imprisonment, and his interest to the Crowne: hee desires iustice might be done him according to his desert and quality, but about all, he spares not to touch the string which should advance him to the Royalty. The people applaud him, and give charge to the Prouost of Merchants to make the Dauphin acquainted therewith: which he performs with insolency. The Bishop of Laon (a trecherous seruant to his master) answers for him (being silent in this necessity). *That the Dauphin should shew grace and fauour to the King of Nauarre, as one good brother ought to another.* Hee makes the Dauphine so humble, as he prevents the Nauarrois (who kept his lodging but to preach to this seditious multitude) and doth visit him first, whom he doth scarce meet at the doore with a cold welcome. He requires audience of his demands. They are read in Councell, which consisted for the most part of men corrupted: where it was decreed, *That all which the King of Nauarre and his complices had done against the King and his Realme, should be forgotten as neuer done: his goods seized and in the Kings hands, should be restored both to him and his, with their honours, which had beene beheaded by the commandements of King Iohn: their bones should be gathered together, and honourably interred: all acts of condemnation disannulled, and an act of their iustificacion authentically drawne, to free them and theirs hereafter from all ignomy.* The demand of the King of Nauaires pretended title was remitted to another time.

The Bishop of Laon a traitor to his Maiesty.

The Dauphin yields to the Nauarrois.

But the Nauarrois brings in the King of England, of whom the Dauphine demanded a truce; the which he grants vpon condition, that he might succour the King of Nauarre and *Iohn* of Montfort Duke of Britaine in their pretensions. Thus the seeds of warre were sowne during the confused calamity of this poore Realme, by the meanes of *Charles* of Nauarre. At the same instant *Edward* makes rigorous demands of his prisoner *John*, on whom (for all his good countenance) he meant to make a benefitt by his captivity. He required homage of him for the Realme of France, as holding it of the Realme of England, and vpon this condition he would set him at liberty. King *John* being of a courageous spirit, though a prisoner in his person, answers him freely, *That he must not speake to him of that which he neither ought nor would doe, so alienate a right inalienable. That he was resolved at what price soeuer, to leaue it to his children, as he had receiued it from his Ancestors. That affliction might well ingage his person, but not the inuolable right of the Crowne, where he had the honour to be borne: ouer the which neither prison nor death had any power, and especially in him, who should alwayes hold his life well employed, sacrificing it for the immortall preferment of France.*

The generous answer of King Iohn to Edward's demands.

This generous resolution of King *John*, gaue as great occasion to pittie his calamity, as the strange conditions of the English (being victor) ministred matter of griefe and disdain to all true-hearted Frenchmen: but all this could neither temper the malice of the Nauarrois, nor the furious impudency of this inchanting people. Hereupon the Dauphin incites the Parisians, to take pity of his poore father, who not able to auoid the inevitable crosses of fortune, common to all degrees, could well shew his constancy in greatest afflictions. But these brutish minds, will not be moued by any apparent reasons: so as after this poore Prince had vied all the submissions necessity could inuent, to win the people, in the expectation the losse of his paines, he fought to his other Cities of France.

The Dauphine solicits the other Cities for the Kings liberty.

Having left *Lewis* Duke of Aniou his brother at Paris, to supply his place, and to maintain some shew of authority, the effect whereof crept hourly into the Nauarrois power, he went from City to City, craving ayd of the French, for the deliuey of his father and the restoring of his Estate. The History doth much honour the Prouince of Languedoc to haue made great shewes of duty to their King being prisoner: for it obsequies. That the three Estates of the Country (assembled in one body at Tholouse) vnder the authority of the Earle of Armagnac their gouernor, did freely grant a great ayd to the King, for the performance whereof, they would not only employ their revenues, but their most precious moueables, yea their viues Jewels: And to stiffe their generall heauiness, they aban-

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A abandoned all sumptuous apparell and banquets, especially all dances, maskes, playes, and other pleasures, during the Captiuitie of their King.

Champaigne followed this commendable example. But examples did no more moue the Parisians hearts, then reason had done, who answer the Dauphin roughly, when he entreates them most humbly, that he should call another Parliament, where they would aduise what was to be done. Their intent was to take all authority from the Dauphin, and to vlturp it themselves: to dispose of the treasure, of honours and dignities, of peace and warre, and of the life and death of the Kings subiects at their pleasures. To this end they made this young Prince contemptible and odious, assembling together both without his priuaty and against his will, in Churches and publicke places, in priuate houses, in great and small troopes, without any feare or respect of the royall dignity.

Horrible insolencies of the Parisians against their Prince.

The Dauphin more a prisoner then his father, durst not repine against these disorders, which increased hourly, like to a violent streame which falls from a high mountaine through the force of much raine. This furious multitude (puffed vp daily by the practices of the Nauarrois, who employed both heart and hand to ruine the Dauphine) falls in the end from threats to blowes. The Apostume is ripe, it must needs breake. An Exchanger named *Peter Maré* pickt a quarrell with the Dauphins Treasurer, and kills him in Saint Maries street. Having slaine him, hee flies into Saint Iames of the Butchery, and no man pursues him. The Dauphin seeing his authority too much blemished, in suffering himselfe to be thus braued, caused the murderer to be drawne out of the church, and to be executed: his hand to be cut off in the place where the murder was committed, and from thence to be drawne to the gibbet and hanged. And to the end the people should not mutine, he went accompanied with a guard of Souldiers, led by *Robert* of Cleremont Marshall of France.

The same day arriued the Ambassadors of King *John*, being prisoner, to sollicite his deliuey, after many voyages made for the space of two yeares, that is to say, two ages for a poore prisoner, to whom delay is a double languishing. But they were too true witnesses both of the fruitlesse reares of this poore Prince, and of the barbarous cruelties of these Cannibals. They beheld the Bishop of Paris, in the Dauphins sight, and in the view of all the world, to take this murderers carcase from the gibbet, and to carry it to the Church, from whence he was drawne, and there to be honourably interred. But this was not all, *Iohn* of Piqueny comes to the Dauphin from the Nauarrois, to summon him to hold his promise concerning the demands which were granted him in Councell. And as the Chanceller replied, that they had beene performed; he answered (the Dauphin being present, and the two Queenes) That whoeuer would maintaine the contrary, had lyed. And to heape one mischief vpon another: the Prouost of Merchants, with some of the Vniuersity, come vnto the Dauphin, who by a Iacobin Orator called *Simon* of Langres (for it is not at this day alone that Monkes haue beene meddlers in State) require him to performe the promises made to the King of Nauarre, or else the people would rise against him, if he refused so apparent and reasonable a duty.

The insolency of Iohn of Piqueny in the Dauphins presence.

A Parliament was likewise called for the Kings deliuey, whereunto the blood of France, (which cannot degenerate) caused the Cities to be encinded, so as things seemed in the end to promise some redresse. Being assembled at the Augustins, the Prouost of Paris gathered together three thousand men of the basest artizans, and comes armed to the house of Saint Pol, where the Dauphin was lodged; having seized vpon the gate, and stoppt all the passages, hee ascends to the Princes chamber, being followed by his armed men. The Dauphin was therewith much amazed. *Feare not* (sayes the Prouost) for any thing you shall see: for what shall be done, hath beene decreed, and it must be so. The watchword being giuen, behold *Iohn* of Constans, and *Robert* of Cleremont, Marshalls of France (two trusty seruants to the Dauphin) are slaine before his eyes, and so neare vnto him, as the blood rebounded vpon his face. *Ha* (cries this poore Prince) what is this? will you attempt against the blood of France? No my Lord (sayes the Prouost vnto him) feare nothing, it is not against your person wee pretend, they be your disloyall seruants wee seek, who haue ill aduised you. Then he tooke his hood, and put his vpon the Dauphins head, being halfe red, and halfe skye-coloured, the City Luty; and hee did weare the Dauphins all that day being of a browne blacke, embroidered with gold, in token of his Disgrace.

Horrible murders committed in the Dauphins presence.

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This done, their bodies are drawne to the Marble table, and from thence cast into the Palace yard, for a spectacle to this furious people, which flocke thither from all parts, with shouting and clapping of hands. He presently sends to the Dauphin cloth both red and sky coloured, to make him a hood, and calls the people to the towne-house at the Greue, where he makes them to approue this massacre: and afterwards both the Dauphin and the Estates to doe the like, which were then assembled for very contrary effects. And to confirme and iustifie his vnbridled impudency, he writes Letters in the name of the City of Paris, to all the good townes of the Realme, exhorting them to ioyne with the chiefe Cities, and to take their liuery as the Dauphin had done, the better to reforme the disorder of the Realme. As these confusions increased daily and hourly, William of Mounten, Bishop of Terouenne Chancellor of France, with many other officers of the Crowne, fled from Paris, and for the most part retire into Germany, as a shelter to auoid these stormes, expecting a better season.

The Chancellor had left the great seale with King John, being prisoner, so as then they used none but the small seale of the Chastellet, as well in the decrees of Parliament, as in all other publicke acts. The Parisians likewise erect a Councell of State, composed of *Steuco Cocq* Bishop of Laon (the cocke of this confusion) of *Renauld* of Corby the first President, *Steuco Marcel* Prouost of Merchants, (who in the end shall receiue the reward of his wickednesse) *John Rouillac*, *John Lisle*, with many of the Vniuersity, who had not the least voice in this new Common-weale. Affliction is good for something: As the Parisians (whom their furious ring-leaders had fed with an imagination of the soueraine government of the State, to dispose of all things at their pleasures) had assured themselves of a willing obedience from all the Cities of the Realme, to whom (as we haue said) they had written, to ioyne with them in a common league: so greatly were they amazed, when answer to their imperious Letters, they received a generall deniall from all parts of the Realme; the Cities refusing to hearken to any priuate league, and detesting the execrable example of so audacious a rebellion: standing more carefully vpon their guard, for feare of a surprisall by the Nauarrois, whom they confidently beleeued to be the cause of Parisians frenzy and confusions.

The Dauphin  
leaves Paris.

The Dauphine being thus vnwillingly entreated by the Parisians, retires himselfe out of this great furell of Paris, into Champagne, to the towne of Vertu, where he assembles the Estates of the Country, and according to the honourable offers they had made him, he obtained all he could desire, answerable to their meanes and faculties. But the greatest benefit he did receive, was the good example they gaue to other Prouinces, who employed all their meanes not to yeeld to Languedoc or Champagne, in the honour of their loyalty, whereunto God and Nature bound all good subjects to their King, especially being in necessity. Thus the Dauphines courage beganne to reuiue, seeing by effect (in his extreame danger) that all good Frenchmen were not dead. A lesson for great men, neuer to despair in most desperate extremities.

The Nauarrois  
leaves all  
comes to  
the  
Dauphin.

Edward de  
the  
Nauarrois.

The Nauarrois had no other care but to ruine the Dauphin. Not satisfied with his practices in Paris, he solicits the King of England instantly, and represents vnto him by sundry messages, that a fit opportunity is now offered to make himselfe master of this goodly Estate. There was great likelihood the King being a prisoner, and the affaires brought to that extremity, that the English should soone haue preuailed ouer this Realme. But God had otherwise decreed, who shewed the rood, but staied his arme, holding in his hands, both the hearts of men, and the euent of things. Edward obserued well the meanes to effect his designs in this confusion, but knowing the ambitious and disloyall humour of the Nauarrois, he could not trust him. Yet not to contemne so plausible an occasion, he affits him with some helpees, by degrees, onely to balance what force should be offered, expecting some better and more safe opportunity, the which he promised himselfe rather by treaty with his prisoner, then by all the intelligences and practices of this Prince, importunately disloyall against his owne blood and the State: which he should haue maintained with the hazard of his life. This turbulent spirit, not able to containe it selfe within the limits of duty, assembles all his forces, to begin the game by open hostility against the Dauphin, and to this end labours to corrupt the Capitaines of places; but he could no more moue their loyalty, then the Parisians had done the Cities.

The Dauphin seeing the Nauarrois in armes, vnder the command of his brother Phi-

lip,

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lip, doth likewise arme, and very lawfully against so vnjust a violence. But herein hee did wisely draw profit from his enemy, & maintaine his authority, not duely respected without force of armes, nor pleasing, if armes had not bene taken by necessity: And fro hence there grew a great occasion to confirme his authority, in the reasonable and necessary employment of his Forces. The disorder and confusion of times had wonderfully incensed the Nobility against the people, by reason that the Nauarrois (hauing employed them two yeares to make himselfe redoubtable and fearfull, and keeping certaine troopes in field, which were abandoned to all licentiousnesse, for want of pay:) they had no other enemy, but the Oxe and the Asse of *James the Good man* (for so did these fouldiers of confusion call the countryman in derision,) whom they had long tormented with all impunity. But patience too much moued turnes into fury.

The poore countryman thus tortured, in the end resolues to shew his teeth to this deuourer of the people, and to fall on them with open force, who had so often oppressed them without any resistance. Vpon this occasion they make a popular league in the country of Beauuois: the people being armed in great troopes skimmish in diuers places, and fall vpon the gentlemen, by whom they had bene wronged: they kill them, their wives and children without respect: spoile, sack, burne, and pull down their houses. This armed multitude in the beginning did much harme, like to a fire suddenly kindled. A dangerous course and of great consequence, but it was happily suppressed by the Dauphine, repaying the fault, for the which the Nauarrois was blamed.

This popular frenzie quencht in the breeding, was called the *Jaquery*, of *Jaques*, or *James* the Good man, too common in the fouldiers mouthes, as we haue said, more ready to deuoure the countryman then to looke vpon an armed enemy. Thus it was suppressed by the Dauphines diligence, who opposing himselfe of war to this seditious multitude, vanquished them easily: as the peoples rage moued against reason cannot long continue: dangerous fits of ciuill warre, when as such a haue the government in hand, neither can nor will do iustice to the subject vnjustly oppressed, who haue reason alwaies to demand it, and can complain when it is denied them. But they seeke a remedy worse then the disease, when as being culpable of the insolencies they reprehend in such as oppresseth, they will take vpon themselves to seek reuenge, the which they may not expect but from the hands of such as may lawfully take it, that is, from such as haue the publicke authority vnder the law. The Dauphine (hauing repaired this confusion) assembles the Estates at Compaigne, to the great dislike of the Parisians, being partisans to the Nauarrois. They sought (as it were by especial priuiledge) to hold the possession of the Estates still at Paris, and were much discontented they should bee held in any place else. But the Parliament proceeds without regard of their complaints and decrees, That Charles the Kings Sonne, Dauphin of Viennois; (who till then had been called but lieutenant to his father being prisoner) should be acknowledged and called Regent of the Realme of France, and that all good Frenchmen should obey him as the King himselfe. This new title purchased great authority to this young Prince throughout all France, and (making him to appeare in these obscure times of afflictions, as a lanchorne during the tempest of a cloudy night) it reuiued his courage: seeing himselfe at liberty without the wals of Paris, whereas *Marcel* should not braue him, nor murder his seruantes in his chamber, yea in his bosome. Thus did he settle his authority by degrees, wonderfully shaken by the audacious credit of the Nauarrois, who hauing another intent, did runne a contrary course. For as the Nauarrois designe was to vsurpe the State against all order, so he troade it vnder his feete, hauing recourse to vnjust violence. So as in the field he had armed troopes, in the City of Paris a seditious multitude, and generally passion and fury. The two pillars of his designs were iniustice and violence, supported by the peoples fauour, who may doe much being well aduised: but what mischief can we imagine in an Estate, which a multitude will not attempt, being bewitched by such as abuse them, like a brute beast which goes where hee is driuen? The proiect of this Prince (otherwise great both by blood and meanes) had an vnfortunate issue, as wicked attempts must haue a ruinous end. The mischief fell first on him by the people, in whom he had relyed, and after by him vpon the people, whom hee had deceiued, to make them an instrument of many disorders, yet was the people lesse punished then himselfe, as lesse culpable.

But he who hath disloyally abused this brutish multitude, felt in the end the reuenging

A Parliament  
called at  
Compaigne.

The Dauphine  
declared Re-  
gent.

hand

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The Nauarrois  
begins to grow  
odious to the  
Parisians.

Two French  
armies, one  
against ano-  
ther.

Isane desires to  
make peace.

The Parisians  
grow jealous of  
the Nauarrois.

hand of God, not only in seeing all his practices proue vaine, but also feeling in his body the fire of Gods wrath iustly kindled against such as confound the society of mankind, and the lawes of States vnder which they are borne. Without doubt had counsell is alwaies dangerous to the giuer. This Prince preached peace, and made war: reformation of State, and nourished confusion: liberty, and yet brought those Cities which obeyed him, into cruell slavery. He abused the people with a shadow of liberty, and sought to win them by deuices, but the contrary effect made him so odious, as hauing plaid the bankrupt of his credit, he fell into the hatred and detestation of all the world, as the following discourse will testifie. To teach all men, *That the greatest policie is to be an honest man.*

The Regent countenanced with this new title, and the faithfull loue of the French, testified by the former effects, not fought for by practices, but bred in their hearts, and increasing daily in experience of affaires, began to amaze the Nauarrois, and to terrifie the heads of this Parisian multitude: he seized vpon Bois de Vincennes, and Pont Charceton. And not to lose any opportunity, hee accompanied the City of Paris, and burned and sacked the Parisians houses, in reuenge of that which the Nauarrois had done to the Kings seruants. Thus both armies were in field, and doing much harme generally, they multiplied the losses on either side vnder colour of reuenge. The Parisians thus tyred, chose the King of Nauarre for their Capitaine, suffering him to bring souldiers, yea Englishmen, into the City, of whom the most of his troopes consisted. The armies approach: the Regents Forces incampe at Conflans, and those of the Nauarrois at Saint Denis. The Parisians heat began to coole amidst so many miseries, and without their commanders it had beene quite frozen.

Isane the widow of King Charles the Faire, and by that meanes Aunt to the Nauarrois, desired infinitely to see these two Princes at peace. Her degree and age gave her free access to both. She visits them, and perswades them to concord, with all the best reason she could. In the end, after many journeyes, she obtains an enteruiew, to parlee themselves of their affaires, without any mediators. The Regent (a young Prince, wise and temperate) would not at the first be intruded, but in his heart he desired nothing more, foreseeing it to be the onely meanes to bring the Nauarrois in ialousie with the Parisians, who relented daily, growing weary of his actions. The successe was answerable to his designe, for behold the people are presently incensed against the King of Nauarre, and the prouost, who had accompanied him to this parlee. They suddenly make publicke and priuate Assemblies to prevent the practices of these two traitors (as they terme them) which would make their peace without them. *John Rouillac* and others (jealous, for that they were not employed) run from shop to shop, to set fire to this flax, shewing that priuate treaties are very preiudiciall to the generall good of the City.

The Nauarrois amazed at these newes, he leaves his Army, and runnes to Paris with the Prouost of Merchants, to pacifie these new tumults, the which hee found to be practised against him. Being arrived hee employes all his Partisans to prevent it; and by their meanes he renews the league with the Parisians, protesting to liue and die together. He sweares the Regents death with them, and perswades them to admit a new supply of Englishmen for the safety of the City. And to shew that he had his heart free from all intercellence with the Regent (as they had suspected) hee makes a braue fall, vpon his troopes by Saint Anthoines Gate, but hee soone found a stop, for as hee charged boldly, so was he repulsed valiantly, being charged and beaten by the Regent, so as with difficulty he recovered the Gate. Within few dayes after, hee tries by the other gates if he might speed any better, in diuers resolute attempts, but all is in vaine; hee is chafed, shot at and beaten with losse and shame. This charge did so alter the mind of this inconstant beast with many heads, I mean of this Parisian multitude, who of late had so much loued, honoured and supported him in all his wrongs, as now there is nothing but cries against him, as against a disturber, an ambitious and disloyall man, a prater, a deceiver and teller of lyes. That it is no longer time to depend on him, but the City must provide seriously for their owne affaires, and ioyne with their lawfull Lord. During these popular humours, the Nauarrois appears not, nor any man for him, being so odious to the Parisians, as it was very dangerous euen to talke of him. It was in vaine to hide himselfe at Saint Denis, during the heat of this popular rage. But to bring words to effects, the Parisians by a common consent in their Towne-house,

resolue

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The Parisians  
submit them-  
selves vnto the  
Dauphine.

The Parisians  
mutiny against  
the English  
that had serued  
them.

The English  
bear backe the  
Parisians in  
view of the  
Nauarrois.

A resolute to treat with the Regent: and to this end they send a messenger vnto him, beseeching him to grant a safe conduct for their deputies to come vnto him. The Regent imbraceth this occasion, and giues them an ample passport, vpon which grant and assurance, the Parisians send a troope of their grauest Citizens to the Regent with this petition.

*That it would please the Regent to pardon the Parisians (being ill aduised) what was passed, and to grant them free trafficke, vntill a peace might be made to his content.* The Regent hauing receiued them gratefully, grants their requests, and makes his troopes retire from about Paris, to the Contesses Vallee, expecting this peoples course, being newly reclaimed to their duty, the which might as suddenly returne to their fury, suffering them to taste of peace, and to see the rod ready, being like vnto a furious beast, not to be trusted but vpon good warrant.

The Nauarrois and the Prouost of Merchants labour to repaire their credit at Paris, supposing (if this fury were once euaporated) they should returne into credit, hauing both the Bastill and the Louure at their deuotion. But they are deceived. The chance was cast, and the hour of their ruine was at hand, the people being resolute to giue an apparant testimony of their intent; and a fit occasion was offered. The English nation was the chiefe support wheron the Nauarrois relied, hauing lodged them in great troopes both within and without the City, for his owne strength; the which did much harme in all places. The Parisians cry out, that there was no more need of any souldiers, seeing that a peace was concluded, and then they began with them within the City, which were in their power. The occasion was small.

Behold a troope of English come from dinner at the King of Nauars lodging: the multitude (without any other cause, but that they were English) falls furiously vpon them, they kill 25. at the first, and take 47. whom they drag into prison. Then every man seized on his guest at one instant, so as there were 400. cast into the prison of the Louure, without Magistrate and without order. Onely a tumultuous cry was heard in the streets, That they must punish these wicked Englishmen, which had committed so many disorders, and that the prisoners should answer the spoiles their companions did abroad. The Nauarrois, the bishop of Laon, and the prouost of Merchants, accompanied with their followers, run to this alarm: they intreate the people to assemble and to doe things by order and reason. The multitude comes to the Greue. The Nauarrois (hauing wherted his natural eloquence, with a long and artificiall discourse) makes knowne his loue, and the good succors the English had giuen him in his necessity. The multitude at this name of English, cries out. That they must kill them without any further speech, and then goe speedily to Saint Denis to dispatch the rest.

So without any more speech they command the prouost to leade them thither. The assembly being thus confusedly dissolved (the Nauarrois, nor prouost nor daring to reply) every man runs to armes, especially such as were best furnished, so as in few houres there were sixteen hundred horse, and ten thousand foot resolute to charge the English, which spoiled the Country with all impunity. The Nauarrois and the prouost make a good shew at this sudden mutiny of the people, and seeme more buie then the rest, to remaine still commanders of this multitude: but they dispatch sundry messengers vnder hand, to wish the Englishmen to stand vpon their guard, & to attend resolutely this multitude of Parisians, which came against them without all order. The troope is in the field, the drummes sound, and the ensignes are displayed; but the King of Nauarre made a stand betwixt Montmartre and the windmills, to giue the English breath, who did lay a strong ambuscado at Bois de Bolongne, and sent forth some of their best horsemen to draw this ywarlike and ill gouerned multitude into danger. These scouts appearing, they are hotly pursued by the Parisians, but with such disorder, as is incident to people couragious in the streets, but cowards in the sight of an enemy that vnderstands his profession. They runne into this ambuscado, who charge of all hands vpon this disordered multitude, and followes them flying euen to the gates of Paris: in sight of the Nauarrois and the prouost, who are beholders of this defeat, and relieue them not. The Nauarrois retire himselfe to Saint Denis, where the body of this army was lodged; and the prouost of Merchants to the City, the which is filled with cries, lamentations, and iniurious speeches against them both. The prouost fearing the peoples fury goes guarded with a troope of

two



two hundred men : and left all should be lost, hee seeks to assure himselfe of the Louvre and Bastile. The maske is now vncovered, and the people runnes to armes. *Iohn d'ailard* (Capitaine of a quarter at Saint *Antonie* gate) takes a banner with the armes of France, and running through the City, cries *Mourray Saint Denis*. At this cry, and the sight of standard, all flock together on heaps. The prouost seeks to saue himselfe in the Bastile, to auoid the fury of this multitude, whom he had so often imploied to shed innocent blood : and with him *Simon Palmier*, and *Philip Guyphart*, two torches of popular sedition. They enter, but (oh the iudgement of God ! which the wicked cannot flye, at such times, and by such meanes as he hath prescribed for their ruine) the place they had chosen for their safety, was the pitfall of their misery : for being entred, they will be masters, vnder colour of certaine letters from the King of Nauarre, who gaue the chiefe command of that place to the prouost.

They fall to great words with them which commanded the place : and from words to blowes : where without any great difficulty they are all massacred, to the peoples great content, who flock to the Bastile to see the end of their prouost. They require the carcasses, the which are presently deliuered vnto them, and drawne from thence with all sorts or ignominy before Saint Catherins Church : whither the prouost had dragd the bodies of the Marshalls of France, by him so vnworthily murdered : to the end we should honour God, who appoints the punishment according to the offence, with an equall ballance : & punisheth faults with answerable paines. Thus the citie of Paris was freed from the seditious leuaine of confusion, and restored to the lawfull obedience of their King, in the yeere 1358. the second day of August, remarkable for so notable an act.

This iust execution thus made, the citie (as it were recovered of a deadly disease) sends deputies to the Regent : beseeching him to come and take possession of the authority due vnto him. The Regent comes, and is receiued with as much affectionate ioy, as before he had bene odious and contemptible. Such are the people, such they haue bene, and such they shall be, that great men may learne by these examples, how to gouerne a multitude. This happy successe troubled the Nauarrois, who imagining the crowne of France vpon his owne head, did (to his great griefe) see him settled in the State, who had bene almost ruined. Vntill then he had the Kings seruice alwayes in his mouth, as his good Kinsman and subject, but now passions driue him into such fury and despaire, as he resolues to cast off the maske of humility and obedience, and all other ciuill respects : and to make warre against the Regent with all violence, not onely by secret practices, but by open force. The Nauarrois seeing the Parisians to grow affectionate to the Regent, fought by all meanes to torment them, making strange spoiles of their houses, especially of such as were his most deuoted seruants, but in general all that belonged to Paris was abandoned to the spoile. The Regent assembles his army, the which he had retired to ease the people. But the remedy proues often very hurtfull to the Champian country, vpon the first application. Behold two French armies are in field in the heart of France, committing that which we haue seene with our owne eyes in the bosome of our miserable country : for what better commentary can there bee then our owne experience ? Thus harmes grow both from the enemy which assailes, and the friend that defends : so as we may truly say, that in ciuill warres, the cure is oftentimes more hurtfull then the disease. The Nauarrois finding himselfe too weake alone, calls in the English to the sack of France, without a heart, and almost without a soule. *Edward* aduertised from the Nauarrois, by sundry messengers, of the Estate of France, and the Regents happy successe, condemned himselfe, at hauing failed his owne good fortune, taking the King of Nauarres complaint in no better part : who sayd that he had not bene assisted as the cause required, applying all his wit to the ruine of his country, holding it a gaine to take from his owne blood : so blind are passionate counsels.

Hereupon *Edward* sends new forces to the Nauarrois : who fortified with these succors, and with his goody promises, begins the war more fiercely then before. He takes the castle of Melun with halfe the citie by the meanes of *Queene Blanch*, whilst that the Kings souldiers fight for the rest : he burnes the abbey of Lis, and all other places along the forest of Brie and Gastennois. Then crossing the Isle of France (to annoy the Parisians, and to strike a terror by his forces) he takes Saint Germaine in Laie, Creil vpon Oise, Poissy and many other places, with great booties and many prisoners, running daily to the gates

The Regent  
receiued into  
Paris.

The new at-  
tempts of the  
Nauarrois  
against the  
Regent.

*Edward* re-  
pents an op-  
portunity  
neglected.

The exploits  
of the Nauar-  
rois.

A gates of Paris. Having staid some daies at Mans, hee goes to meet with the succours fro England (taking Chastre vnder Montehery as they passe, the which he spoiles, sacks, and burnes) led by *Capit de Buch* in Medoc, a Country in Bérudelais, a great and mighty Lord : who resignes them to his brother *Philip* of Nauarre. With these Forces he takes Clermont in Beauuoisin. On the other side *Robert Knowles*, a valiant English Capitaine, with a troop of theues, rather then souldiers, runs vp the riuier of Loire into the Country of Auxerre, spoiling, sacking, burning, and carrying away both men and beasts into his forts, bringing the Country to a miserable desolation. This was rather a robbing then a war, as commonly ciuill warres be : the which with more reason we may call vnciuill. The cattell taken, houses burnt, men being dead or beggered, the land remained desolate, vntilled and vnplowne. So as there fell so great a famine, as halfe the people died for hunger, lamentable troopes of poore families wandred vp and downe, creeping into townes, like desperate folkes, to beg bread of them which had it not.

The desolate  
estate of  
France.

The Parisians seeing that this alteration did nothing repaire their estates, grew mad : and as the common sort values no friendship but for their profit, they abated much of the loue and respect which in the beginning of their reduction they did beare vnto the Regent : who was not onely troubled to encounter armed men in field, but also with mens humors growne bitter by affliction, especially in Paris. A sea, subiect to the ebbing and flowing of mens sundry humors and affections.

The Parisians  
mutine againe.

The Parisians (who was still watchfull to embrace all occasions to annoy the Regent) seeks meanes to nourish the seeds of his ancient credit with the Parisians, by some of his faction, giuing them to vnderstand by diuers writings spread abroad, that hee lamented to see France vndermined with this desolation, whereof the Regent was the originall cause. He sounded forth the vaine name of libertie and reformation of State, vexing the Regent more by his practices, then by open force, although he were supported by the succours of England. The Regent was thus perplexed with many difficulties, finding himselfe as it were besieged not onely within the wals, but also within the humours of this great City, being ignorant how to counterbalance force with mildnesse, in the perplexity of so many miseries, and the diuersity of such contrary humors, wherein hee fees himselfe ingaged.

Amidst all these difficulties, the wisdom and courage of this Prince is very considerable, for he seemed to the people of a resolute countenance, and in the managing of affaires hee had alwayes a care to their reliefe, so as they could not but loue him for his amiable and sweet behauiour, yet for the maintenance of his authority (being come within the City) he causeth some notable executions to be done, of certaine desperate and seditious men, and committed others to prison. This was done with the peoples liking, incensed against the Nauarrois : but seeing themselves to fall out of one mischief into another, the Parisians began to returne to their old waywardnesse. The Regent hauing works for both hands, encounters his enemy in field by force, and in the City by cloquence, causing the people to assemble at the Grene, sitting vpon that crosse which wee see this day. His tongue preuailed more then his souldiers armes, whereof we obserue no great successe : but his eloquence was so happy, as the people regarded it as an Oracle, giuing him the title of wise, hauing ioyned a wise cariage to his admirable eloquence : as appears in those goodly discourses.

The Dauphine  
executes some  
within Paris.

Three yeeres passed thus, during the imprisonment of our King *Iohn*, whom it know time to visit in England. *Edward* had caused *Iohn* to be conducted from London to the Castle of Windsor, with his sonne *Philip*. There he propounded vnto him new conditions of peace, not so rigorous as the former, but yet so hard, as (being deliuered to the Regent, and by him to the Estates then assembled at Paris) al the Kings good subsidies (though very desirous to redeeme him) did not allow thereof, for that they did import the honour of the King and Realme too much, making too preiudicial a breach in the Souerainety.

Conditions for  
the Kings deli-  
uery not gra-  
ted.

The extremities were notable in the Kings languishing, being a prisoner, and the present warre : but lest they should suffer all to runne to ruine, in so great a suspence of affaires, the Estates resolve to comfort the King by aduice, to attend another time for his liberty, and to labour by all meanes to maintain the warres.

The Provinces did their best endeouours to furnish money for this necessity : and euen Paris



1359

Preparation to defend the Realme.

Paris promised to maintaine 600. Lances, 400. Archers, and 1000. Corselets, that is, 1000 foot armed with Brigandines, a kind of armour then much vied. The Nobility, notwithstanding their priuiledges, offered to contribute toward the charges, and restored the orders for martiall affaires, in a manner forgotten through the indulgency of our Kings. The Clergy shewed a notable zeal, and all those officers which had managed the publicke treasure made a great and extraordinary summe of money, by means whereof they were discharged from further accounts, and the Realme much eased. This prouision came happily for the preferuation of France, against the which *Edward* made then great preparation, on at the instance of the Nauarrois. The truce expired, hee did forbid the French to traffike into England: in the meane time his army lands at Calais, and himselfe followes in person with a goodly traine. Being landed and resolved to take possession of the Realme of France, or by force to ruine it, he marcheth directly to Arras, the which hee takes in 14 daies: hauing assured it with a strong garison, he goes towards Champagne, where passing onely, he besiegeth Sens, which yeeldes without resistance, and by their example Nevers. All Bourgongne was strooke into such a terror, as they redeemed their Country from spoile with a summe of money. Hauing thus found meanes to entertaine his army at his enemies charge, and enriched his souldiers with an insatiable booty, hee marcheth towards Paris, as the head City of the whole Realme, and the chiefe end of his designe, the certaine triumph of his conquest, and the goodly Theater of his victories. Our Regent was nothing amazed at these threats of *Edward*, for (having leaued a goodly armie with great expedition) he attends him at Paris, where the whole burthen of this warre did lie. He lodgeth his army in the suburbs, and fortifyeth against his approaches, being taught by the examples of his grandfather and father, not to hazard any thing, resolving onely to defend himselfe within his trenches. This resolution succeeded happily, for *Edward* seeing the impossibility to draw the Regent to fight (notwithstanding all his alarms) setteth his siege, and marcheth into Britany, to refresh his armie, to the great content of the Parisians, who could not sufficiently commend the wisdom of their Regent, hauing so politickly auoyded this storme. The Regent imbraceth this occasion, he furnished Paris with abundance of victuals, and commands the souldiers to liue orderly without oppression of the inhabitants: he fortifies the weakest places with all speed, & doth so incourage the people, as they are ready to sacrifice themselves for the preferuation of the State. *Edward* (supposing the great waste caused by the men of war resident in this great city, would haue taken from them all meanes to continue, and haue bred an impatience in the minds of this vnconstant people, giuing him the better meanes to enter it) hee returnes with his Army being strong and lusty, by this good refreshing of Britany. Being returned, he findeth things better ordered then before: so as pretailing nothing, but walking about the City, and beholding a far off the great towers, and the admirable masse of so many buildings, as a brieffe of the whole world, hee resolues to leaue the siege and returne no more. This experience teaching him, what the strength of our chiefe City was, he packes all vp, and goes towards Chartres, meaning to besiege it. But whilest hee lodged there, his Army making a horrible spoile of the whole Country, there chanced an occasion (as the word of heauen) which suddenly quailed his ambitious designe to ruine France, for beholding a horrible & extraordinary tempest of haile, thunder and lightning fall with such violence as many horses and men in the army perished, as if that God had stretched forth his hand from heauen to stay his course. This amazement causeth *Edward* to vow to make a peace with King *John*, and the Regent his son, vpon reasonable conditions. He which had thundered, did likewise open the Duke of Lancasters mouth; shewing how reasonable it was to limit humane attempts within restrained bounds: and not to attend an infinite and perpetual prosperity in worldly affaires, being more safe to content himselfe with a moderate successe, then to bee transported with the violent course of humane hopes, cast in the mould of indiscreet desires. He likewise layed before him the impossibility of extraordinary designe, as to make himselfe master of all France, a notable example for Princes to behold their owne infirmities, and the greatnesse of God to whom they owe the bottom of their enterprises: being then most happy, when they are most sober and temperate, without imagining an infinit power in the short weaknesse of this mortall life, where they are subiect like other men. This lesson mollified *Edwards* heart inclining to the deliury of King *John* his prisoner, and to a generall peace: the which was concluded at

A peace concluded at Breteigny.

1360

The Articles.

At Breteigny, in the yeare 1360. the 8. day of May, vpon these conditions; That the Countrey of Poitou, the Fiefs of Thouars and Belleuue, the Countreys of Gacony, Agenois, Percegot, Limosin, Cahors, Tarbe, Bigor, Rouergne and Angoulmois, with the homages of the Signieuries lying in them; Monstruail vpon the sea, Ponthieu, Calais, Guines, Mers, Sangar, Bologne, Humes, Vales and Onis, should remaine in souerignty to the King of England. To whom moreover should be paid three millions of Crownes (euery two being worth an English Noble) that is to say 600000 ready downe, and 400000, the year following, and the rest within two next yeares after, at reasonable payments. And for this consideration, the said King of England, and the Prince of Wales his son, both for themselves and their successors, should renounce all rights pretended to the Crowne of France, the Duchy of Normandy, the countreys of Touraine, Aniou and Maine: the souerignty and homage of Britany, and the Earldome of Flanders, and within 3 weekes they should deliuer King *John* at Calais at their charge, the expences of the Kings house only excepted. For assurance of which agreement, there should bee deliuered into the King of Englands hands, these hostages: *Lewis* duke of Aniou, *John* duke of Berry, sons to the French King: *Philip* duke of Orleans, the Kings brother: *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, the Earles of Blois, Alanfon, Saint Pol, Harcourt, Porcian, Valentinois, Grandpre, Brenne, and Forest, the Lords of Vaudemont, Couilly, Pyennes, Saint Venant, Preaus, Montmorency, Garencieres, Rochequien, Estouteville, the Dauphin of Auvergne, Andrejel and Craon. A choise of well selected personages, to bee a sufficient caution for the money and conditions that were to be performed. The deputies for King *John*, were *John* of Dourmans Bishop of Beauuois, and Chancellor of France, *John* of Melun Earle of Tancarville: the Lord of Bouciquart Marshall of France: the Lords of Montmorency & Vigny: *John* Groslee, *Simon* of Boffly, *John* Marets Lawiers, and *John* Maillard, and *Stephen* of Paris, Bourges of Paris. For the King of England were, *John* Duke of Lancaster, the Earles of Northampton, Warwick & Suffolke, *Renauld* of Celestin, *Gualter* of Mauny, Knights, with certaine learned men for their counsell. This treaty of a generall peace, signed by the two Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sons, *Charles* & *Edward*, and proclaimed by Heralds: first at the windowes of the Kings & Princes lodgings, and then at the corners of the streets in great solemnity. The hostages were deliuered to *Edward* the father, who imbarqued at Homsleur, and led them into England, leauing the Earle of Warwick in France, to see the execution of the peace.

King *John* (hauing long expected the time of his deliury) parts from England with a strong guard, and is conducted to Calais, attending the money promised, the first pawne of his liberty. The Regent his sonne labours earnestly: the City of Paris did contribute willingly a hundred thousand Royalls, and after their example all other Cities payed the portions. Of such power is our head City both to do good and euill: so by this they made amends for all former errors. The money is brought to Saint Omer, whither the Regent comes to see the deliury: *Edward* returnes to Calais, he is wonderfully kinde to *John*, and they sweare a league of friendship, and comprehended *Charles* King of Nauarre (being absent) in this peace; his brother *Philip* undertaking for him, to the end that all quarrells might be troden vnder foot, and all men liue in peace, vinity and concord. So *John* being set at liberty, after a languishing imprisonment of foure yeares, he takes his leaue of *Edward* with all the shewes of loue that might bee betwixt brethren and confident friends.

Being parted from Calais, hee finds his sonne *Charles* comming to meet him, with a great and stately traine. I cannot well expresse the ioy of this first encounter: this good King embracing his sonne (as his redeemer) with ioy mixt with teares, and full of fatherly affection, with the content of his sweet recovered liberty, seeing himselfe in his sons armes, who had giuen him so many testimonies of his faithfull loue in his necessity, and set in the middle of his subiects with his first authority, depending no more vpon anothers will. And contrariwise, what ioy was it for this wife sonne to enioy his father, so precious a gage of the authority, order and obedience of a State, and a great discharge for him of this painfull burthen.

Thus discourfing of what had beene done during his imprisonment, and of what was to be done, they ariue at Hedin: whither not onely the whole Countrey repaires, but also the Deputies of Paris, and of all the prouinces of the Realme, to congratulate their good

King John received by his sonne with great ioy.

1364

good Kings delivery, where hee disposed of the government of his house.

The King of Nauarre meets him at Champagne, hauing first sent backe his hostages, to shew that he relied only on his word, and put himselfe into his power. Thus passeth the world; and after a storme comes a calme. King *John* made his entry into Paris with this goodly traine, being receiued with an incredible ioy of all his subiects. The Parisians going to kisse his hands, offer him their hearts, with a goodly cubbord of plate, worth 1000 markes, for homage of their fidelity and obedience.

The Parliament had surceased aboue a whole year: *John*, for the first fruits of his recovered authority, would honour the opening of the Court with his presence: being in the seat of Iustice, in the midst of all his officers, to the incredible content of all men who beheld the cheerfull countenance of this Prince, like the Sun-beames after a troubled skie. Such was the returne of King *John* into his Realme after his imprisonment, as the Catastrophe of a Comedy, in the which after mourning they reioyce. This hapned the beginning of the year 1361.

Some moneths were spent in these publike ioyes, but they must seeke to recover their hostages in the effecting whereof, they found many difficulties: for neither the priuie Lords (whose homage he had bound to the King of England,) nor the countries (whose fouerainties he had yielded by this accord) would obey. They argue with the King in Councell, and demand an act, shewing, that the King cannot dispose of the fouerainty of his Realme, no alienate the reuenues of the Crowne. *John* on the other side (feareless *Edward* should reproach this vnto him, as a practice betwixt him and his subiects) made them sundry commandements to obey. He went to Auignon, to visit Pope *Innocent*, who died at this time, and *Urban* the sixth succeeded in his place, both Limosins. He hailell *John* recovered liberty, and to ease him minde, afflicted with long imprisonment, *Urban* exhorts him to vndertake the voyage of the holy Land, as generall of the action. *John* (not remembering the examples of Kings his predecessors, *Lewis* the seventh, and ninth, nor apprehending the present burthen of his great affaires; nor the danger of so mighty and watchfull an enemy, who had so long, and with so great paine kept him prisoner) accepts the charge, and makes a solempne promise: and to hasten the execution thereof, hee returnes into England. Some say, the loue of the Countesse of Salisbury (whose husband had the guard of the King being a prisoner) was the principall motive of his returne. The which I cannot beleue vpon the report of the English: being vniuersally that his age, his afflictions, his great affaires, and the voyage whereunto hee prepared, should suffer this Prince to follow so vnseasonable a vanity. But whatsoever moued him therunto, he dyed there, leauing his life in England, where had so long languished, the preface of his death.

Thus *John* dyed in England, in the year 1364. the eight day of Aprill, leauing *Charles* his eldest sonne heire to the Crowne of France. A good man he was, but an vnfortunate Prince; wise in ordinary things, but ill aduised in great affaires: iust to all men, but too wary how or whom he trusted in matters of consequence: temperate in priuate, but too violent in publike. To conclude, a good Prince, but not considerate: more fit to obey than to command. Truly these heroicke vertues are the proper Jewels of Crownes, and wisdom is a companion to the most excellent vertues, especially in Princes, who are vnto the Theater of mans life, to gouerne the rest.

We haue noted that Bourgongne had bene giuen to *Robert* the grand-child of *Henry Capet* for his portion. A little before the decease of King *John*, it was vnto the crown of France by the death of Duke *Philip*, a yong man of the age of fifteene yeares, sonne to that *John* which died in the battell of *Murais*. He was bequeathed to the heire of *Flanders*, but both the Duchy, and the daughter were for another *Philip*, the sonne of *John*: to whom the father gaue this new succession, in recompence of the faithfull seruice he had done him the day of his taking, and had continued it in prison.

Difficulties in the performance of the conditions of peace.

*John* dies in England. His disposition.

Bourgongne the Crowne.

1364

CHARLES the Fifth, called the Wise,

The 52. French King.



HIS *Charles*, during the life of his father *John*, had giuen so many testimonies of his sufficiency to gouerne well, that hee was held for King before hee tooke the Crown, the which he receiued at Rheims the 19 of May 1364, hauing before his coronation provided honorably for his fathers funerals.

Hee reigned fixteene yeares, being called and knowne by the name of Wise. In his youth he did taste the bitter rootes, and in his age the sweet fruits of vertue, beloued, honoured, feared, and respected, both of his owne subiects, and of strangers. A deuout Prince, wife, temperate, chaste, vigilant, louing Iustice, order, and the people, hauing as great authority as any Prince that euer reigned ouer this Monarchie, accompanied with other vertues fit for those times, to preferre a State, the which had more need of counsell then of force, too ventrourly hazarded by his Grand-father and father. He was well assisted by the Princes of his blood, and the officers of the Crowne: very wished and worthy aduantages for a King, who being the head of an Estate, ought to be well serued by the principall members, to guide and gouerne the whole body.

We haue said, that he had three brethren: *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, *John* Duke of Berry, and *Philip* Earle of Touraine: to whom according to his fathers testament, hee resigned the Duchy of Bourgongne, with a marriage of great aduancement. He gaue to *Lewis* the Duchy of Orleans, and to *John* he gaue Auvergne, Poitou and Xaintonge, (besides Berry) for his portion, and Languedoc for his gouernment. He was likewise well serued for Military actions, by *Bertrand* of Guesclin a Britton, an excellent Captain, whom he honored with the dignity of Constable, in the place of *Mauriel de Fierres* (hauing disposed him for sundry crimes) and for affaires of the State, he had *John Dourmans* bishop of Beauuois, and Chancellor of France, and in the end Cardinall, whom his brother succeeded in the same charge. With these helps of counsell and force, hee soone restored the Realme, being distressed by the strange confusions of the forepassed reignes. In his youth (during these former broiles) he was poisoned by the practices of the Nauarrois, of whom we haue so often spoken. This was prevented by counterpoisons, yet left it a great infirmity in his body, the which forced him to a quiet life, more profitable both for himselfe and his whole Realme, then if hee had bene a man of action: for hee dispatched affaires in his closet without danger, and incourted his enemies with a happy successe.

In the beginning of his reigne, hee married with *Joane* the daughter of *Charles* Duke of Bourbon: a Princesse of excellent beauty: the which he preferred before the great wealth of the heire of Flanders, and the benefit of his owne Realme: he had three sonnes and one daughter. In the former reigne there was nothing but war, desolation, teares, cries, lamentations, despaire, and generally the mournfull image of death. After these long and insupportable calamities, the wisdom of *Charles* (reducing things to their first beginning, by his happy dexterities) gaue France a new forme: like vnto a man who hauing a long and dangerous sicknesse, recouers himselfe by careful keeping. But there remained an insupportable number of men accustomed to liue dissolutely, through the licentiousness of the war, the which if hee had sought to reforme by any good order, it had bred some tumult in the State, according to the violent and head-strong or restless humour of the French, who must be doing at home, if they be not employed abroad.

The English provided worke for these warriors, in Britany, in Flanders, in the heart of France, and in Castile: but the wisdom of *Charles* prevented all. I will note what happened, rather according to the subiect, then the order of times, for that matters are so con-

*Charles* his reigne.

His manners.

He auerment his brethrens portions.

His marriage & his children.

1359

Preparation to defend the Realme.

Edward enters France with an army.

He besiegeth Paris, but in vaine.

Edward amazed with a thunder, resolves to conclude a peace with King Iohn.

A peace concluded at Breteigny.

Paris promised to maintaine 600. Lances, 400. Archers, and 1000. Corsiclers, that is, 1000. A foot armed with Brigandines, a kind of armour then much vled. The Nobility, notwithstanding their priuiledges, offered to contribute toward the charges, and restored the orders for martiall affaires, in a manner forgotten through the indulgency of our Kings. The Clergy shewed a notable zeale, and all those officers which had managed the publike treasure made a great and extraordinary summe of money, by meanes whereof they were discharged from further accounts, and the Realme much eased. This prouision came happily for the prerseruacion of France, against the which *Edward* made then great preparation at the instance of the Nauarrois. The truce expired, hee did forbid the French to traficke into England: in the meane time his army lands at Calais, and himselfe followes in person with a goodly traine. Being landed and resolved to take possession of the Realme of France, or by force to ruine it, he marcheth directly to Arras, the which hee takes in 3. daies: hauing assured it with a strong garison, he goes towards Champagne, where passing onely, he besiegeth Sens, which yeeldes without resistance, and by their example Nevers. All Bourgongne was strooke into such a terrour, as they redeemed their Country from spoile with a summe of money. Hauing thus found meanes to entertaine his army at his enemies charge, and enriched his souldiers with an inestimable booty, hee marcheth towards Paris, as the head City of the whole Realme, and the chiefe end of his designe, the certaine triumph of his conquest, and the goodly Theater of his victories. Our Regent was nothing amazed at these threats of *Edward*, for (hauing leauied a goodly armie with great expedition) he attends him at Paris, where the whole burthen of this warre did lye. He lodgeth his army in the suburbs, and fortifyeth against his approaches, being taught by the examples of his grandfather and father, not to hazard any thing, resolving onely to defend himselfe within his trenches. This resolution succeeded happily, for *Edward* seeing the impossibility to draw the Regent to fight (notwithstanding all his alarms) raiseth his siege, and marcheth into Britany, to refresh his armie, to the great content of the Parisians, who could not sufficiently commend the wisdom of their Regent, hauing so politickly auoyded this storme. The Regent imbraceth this occasion, he furnished Paris with abundance of victuals, and commands the souldiers to liue orderly without oppression of the inhabitants: he fortifies the weakest places with all speed, & doth so encourage the people, as they are ready to sacrifice themselves for the prerseruacion of the State. *Edward* (supposing the great waste caused by the men of war resident in this great city, would haue taken from them all meanes to continue, and haue bred an impatiency in the mindes of this vnconstant people, giuing him the better meanes to enter it) hee returnes with his Army being strong and lusty, by this good refreshing of Britany. Being returned, he finds things better ordered then before: so as preuailing nothing, but walking about the City, and beholding a far off the great towers, and the admirable masse of so many buildings, as a bricfe of the whole world, hee resolues to leaue the siege and returne no more. Thus experience teaching him, what the strength of our chiefe City was, he packes all vp, and goes towards Chartres, meaning to besiege it. But whilst hee lodged there, his Army making a horrible spoile of the whole Country, there chanced an occasion (as the worke of heauen) which suddenly quailed his ambitious designe to ruine France, for behold a horrible & extraordinary tempest of haile, thunder and lightning fells with such violence, as many horses and men in the army perished, as if that God had stretched forth his hand, from heauen to stay his course. This amazement causeth *Edward* to vow to make a peace with King *Iohn*, and the Regent his son, vpon reasonable conditions. He which had thus thundered, did likewise open the Duke of Lancasters mouth; shewing how reasonable it was to limit humane attempts within restrained bounds: and not to attend an infinit and perpetuall prosperitie in worldly affaires, being more safe to content himselfe with a mean successe, then to bee transported with the violent course of humane hopes, cast in the mould of indiscreet desires. He likewise layed before him the impossibility of so extraordinary a designe, as to make himselfe master of all France, a notable example for Princes to, binydary their owne infirmities, and the greatnesse of God to whom they owe the homage of their enterprises: being then most happy, when they are most sober and temperate, without imagining an infinit power in the short weaknesse of this mortal life, whereunto they are subiect like other men. This lesson mollified *Edwards* heart inclining to the deliuey of King *Iohn* his prisoner, and to a generall peace: the which was concluded at Breteigny,

1360

The Articles,

The hostages given for the performance of the conditions.

The Deputies that treated.

King Iohn brought to Calais.

The two Kings sweare a mutual league of friendship.

King Iohn received by his sonne with great ioy.

**A** Breteigny, in the year 1360. the 8. day of May, vpon these conditions; That the Countrey of Poitou, the Fiefs of Thouars and Belleuile, the Countreys of Gascony, Agenois, Perigord, Limosin, Cahors, Tarbe, Bigor, Rouergne and Angoulmois, with the homages of the Signieuries lying in them; Monstruill vpon the sea, Ponthieu, Calais, Guines, Merg, Sangat, Bologne, Humes, Vales and Onis, should remaine in souerainty to the King of England. To whom moreouer should be paid three millions of Crownes (every two being worth an English Noble) that is to say 600000. ready downe, and 400000. the year following, and the rest within two next years after, at reasonable payments. And for this consideration, the said King of England, and the Prince of Wales his son, both for themselves and their successors, should renounce all rights pretended to the Crowne of France, the Duchy of Normandy, the countreys of Touraine, Aniou and Maine: the souerainty and homage of Britany, and the Earldome of Flanders, and within 3. weekes they should deliuer King *Iohn* at Calais at their charge, the expences of the Kings house only excepted. For assurance of which agreement, there should be deliuered into the King of Englands hands, these hostages: *Lewis* duke of Aniou, *Iohn* duke of Berry, sons to the French King: *Philip* duke of Orleans, the Kings brother: *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, the Earles of Blois, Alanfon, Saint Pol, Harcourt, Porcian, Valentinois, Grandpre, Brenne, and Forest, the Lords of Vaudemont, Coufly, Pycennes, Saint Venant, Preaux, Montmorency, Garencieres, Rochegeuon, Eltouteville, the Dauphin of Auvergne, Andregeal and Craon. A choise of well selected personages, to bee a sufficient caution for the money and conditions that were to be performed. The deputies for King *Iohn*, were *Iohn* of Dourmans Bishop of Beauuois, and Chancellor of France, *Iohn* of Melun Earle of Tancarville: the Lord of Bouciquart Marshall of France: the Lords of Montmorency & Vigny: *Iohn* Grosselee, *Simon* of Boffly, *Iohn* Marais Lawiers, and *Iohn* Maillard, and *Stephen* of Paris, Bourges of Paris. For the King of England were, *Iohn* Duke of Lancaster, the Earles of Northampton, Warwick & Suffolke, *Renauld* of Celestan, *Gualter* of Mauny, Knights, with certaine learned men for their counsell. This treaty of a generall peace, signed by the two Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sons, *Charles* & *Edward*, and proclaimed by Heralds: first at the windowes of the Kings & Princes lodgings, and then at the corners of the streets in great solemnity. The hostages were deliuered to *Edward* the father, who imbarqued at Homfleur, and led them into England, leauing the Earle of Warwick in France, to see the execution of the peace.

King *Iohn* (hauing long expected the time of his deliuey) parts from England with a strong guard, and is conducted to Calais, attending the money promised, the first pawning of his liberty. The Regent his sonne labours earnestly: the City of Paris did contribute willingly a hundred thousand Royalls, and after their example all other Cities payed the portions. Of such power is our head City both to do good and euill: so by this end they made amends for all former errors. The money is brought to Saint Omer, whither the Regent comes to see the deliuey: *Edward* returnes to Calais, he is wonderfully kind to *Iohn*, and they sweare a league of friendship, and comprehended *Charles* King of Nauarre (being absent) in this peace; his brother *Philip* undertaking for him, to the end that all quarrells might be troden vnder foot, and all men liue in peace, vinity and concord. So *Iohn* being set at liberty, after a languishing imprisonment of foure yeares, he takes his leaue of *Edward* with all the shewes of loue that might bee betwixt bretheren and confident friends.

Being parted from Calais, hee finds his sonne *Charles* comming to meet him, with a great and stately traine. I cannot well expresse the ioy of this first encounter: this good King embracing his sonne (as his redeemer) with ioy mixt with teares, and full of fatherly affection, with the content of his sweet recovered liberty, seeing himselfe in his sons

**F** arms, who had giuen him so many testimonies of his faithfull loue in his necessity, and set in the middle of his subiects with his first authority, depending no more vpon others will. And contrariwise, what ioy was it for this wife sonne to enioy his father, so precious a gage of the authority, order and obedience of a State, and a great discharge for him of this painful burthen.

Thus discoufing of what had beene done during his imprisonment, and of what was to bee done, they arriue at Hedin: whither not onely the whole Country repaires, but also the Deputies of Paris, and of all the prouinces of the Realme, to congratulate their

1364

good Kings deliuey, where hee disposed of the government of his house.

The King of Nauarre meets him at Champagne, hauing first sent backe his hostages, to shew that he relied only on his word, and put himselfe into his power. Thus passeth the world; and after a storme comes a calme. King *John* made his entry into Paris with this goodly traine, being receiued with an incredible ioy of all his subiects. The Parisians going to kisse his hands, offer him their hearts, with a goodly cubbord of plate, worth 1000. markes, for homage of their fidelity and obedience.

The Parliament had surceased about a whole yeare: *John*, for the first fruits of his recovered authority, would honour the opening of the Court with his presence: being first in the seat of Iustice, in the midst of all his officers, to the incredible content of all men, who beheld the cheerefull countenance of this Prince, like the Sun-beames after a troubled skie. Such was the returne of King *John* into his Realme after his imprisonment, as the Catastrophe of a Comedy, in the which after mourning they reioyce. This hapned in the beginning of the yeare 1361.

Some moneths were spent in these publike ioyes, but they must seeke to recouer his hostages in the effecting whereof, they found many difficulties: for neither the priuate Lords (whose homage he had bound to the King of England,) nor the countries (whose soveraignties he had yielded by this accord) would obey. They argue with the King in Councell, and demand an act, shewing, that the King cannot dispose of the soveraignty of his Realme, no alienate the reuennues of the Crowne. *John* on the other side (fearing *Edward* should reproach this vnto him, as a practice betwixt him and his subiects,) made them sundry commandements to obey. He went to Auignon, to visit Pope *Innocent*, who died at this time, and *Urban* the sixth succeeded in his place, both Limosins. To haue *John* recovered liberty, and to ease him minde, afflicted with long imprisonment, *Urban* exhorts him to vndertake the voyage of the holy Land, as generall of the action. *John* (not remembering the examples of Kings his predecessors, *Lewis* the seventh, and ninth, nor apprehending the present burthen of his great affaires; nor the danger of so mighty and watchfull an enemy, who had so long, and with so great paine kept him prisoner) accepts the charge, and makes a solemne promise: and to hasten the execution thereof, hee returns into England. Some say, the loue of the Countesse of Salisbury, (whose husband had the guard of the King being a prisoner) was the principall motive of his returne. The which I cannot beleue vpon the report of the English: being vnkely that his age, his afflictions, his great affaires, and the voyage whereunto hee prepared, should suffer this Prince to follow so vnseasonable a vanity. But whatsoever moued him thereunto, he dyed there, leauing his life in England, where had so long languished, as presage of his death.

Thus *John* dyed in England, in the yeare 1364. the eight day of Aprill, leauing *Charles* his eldest sonne heire to the Crowne of France. A good man he was, but an unfortunate Prince, wise in ordinary things, but ill aduised in great affaires: iust to all men, but not wary how or whom he trusted in matters of consequence: temperate in priuate, but too violent in publike. To conclude a good Prince, but not considerate: more fit to obey than to command. Truly these heroicke vertues are the proper Jewels of Crownes, and wisdom is a companion to the most excellent vertues, especially in Princes, who are aduanced vpon the Theater of mans life, to gouerne the rest.

We haue noted that Bourgongne had bene giuen to *Robert* the grand-child of *Hugh Capet* for his portion. A little before the decease of King *John*, it was vnitied to the crown of France, by the death of Duke *Philip*, a yong man of the age of fifteene yeares, sonne to that *John* which died in the battell of Poitiers. He was betroathed to the heire of Flanders, but both the Duchy, and the daughter were for another *Philip*, the sonne of *John*: to whom the father gaue this new succession, in recompence of the faithfull seruice he had done him the day of his taking, and had continued it in prison.

CHARLES

A

## CHARLES the Fift, called the Wife,

1364

## The 52. French King.



HIS *Charles*, during the life of his father *John*, had giuen so many testimonies of his sufficiency to gouerne well, that hee was held for King before hee tooke the Crown, the which he receiued at Rheims the 19 of May 1364, hauing before his coronation provided honorably for his fathers funerals.

Charles his reign.

Hee reigned sixteene yeares, being called and knowne by the name of Wife. In his youth he did taste the bitter rootes, and in his age the sweet fruits of vertue; beloued, honoured, feared, and respected, both of his owne subiects, and of strangers. A deuout Prince, wife, temperate, chaste, vigilant, louing Iustice, order, and the people, hauing as great authority as any Prince that euer reigned ouer this Monarchie, accompanied with other vertues fit for those times, to preferre a State, the which had more need of counsell then of force, too ventrously hazarded by his Grand-father and father. He was well assisted by the Princes of his blood, and the officers of the Crowne: very wise and worthy aduantages for a King, who being the head of an Estate, ought to be well serued by the principall members, to guide and gouerne the whole body.

His manners.

We haue said, that he had three brethren: *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, *John* Duke of Berry, and *Philip* Earle of Touraine: to whom according to his fathers testament, hee resigned the Duchy of Bourgongne, with a mariage of great aduancement. He gaue to *Lewis* the Duchy of Orleans, and to *John* he gaue Auvergne, Poitou and Xaintonge, (besides Berry) for his portion, and Languedoc for his government. He was likewise well serued for Military actions, by *Bertrand* of Guesclin a Britton, an excellent Captain, whom he honored with the dignity of Constable, in the place of *Maurel de Fiennes* (hauing deposed him for sundry crimes) and for affaires of the State, he had *John Dourmans* bishop of Beauuois, and Chancellor of France, and in the end Cardinal, whom his brother succeeded in the same charge. With these helps of counsell and force, hee soone restored the Realme, being disturbed by the strange confusions of the forepassed reignes. In his youth (during these former broiles) he was poisoned by the practices of the Nauarrois, of whom we haue so often spoken. This was prevented by counterpoisons, yet left it a great infirmity in his body, the which forced him to a quiet life, more profitable both for himselfe and his whole Realme, then if hee had bene a man of action: for hee dispatched affaires in his closet without danger, and incountred his enemies with a happy successe.

He augmented his brethrens portions.

In the beginning of his reign, hee married with *Isabe* the daughter of *Charles* Duke of Bourbon: a Princesse of excellent beauty: the which he preferred before the great wealth of the heire of Flanders, and the benefit of his owne Realme: he had three sonnes and one daughter. In the former reign there was nothing but war, desolation, teares, cries, lamentations, despaire, and generally the mournfull image of death. After these long and insupportable calamities, the wisdom of *Charles* (reducing things to their first beginning, by his happy dexterities) gaue France a new forme: like vnto a man who hauing a long and dangerous sickness, recouers himselfe by careful keeping. But there remained an infinit number of men accustomed to liue dissolutely, through the licentiousness of the war, the which if hee had sought to reforme by any good order, it had bred some tumult in the State, according to the violent and head-strong or restless humour of the French, who must be doing at home, if they be not employed abroad.

His marriages &amp; his children.

The English provided worke for these warriors in Britany, in Flanders, in the heart of France, and in Castile: but the wisdom of *Charles* prevented all. I will note what happened, rather according to the subiect, then the order of times; for that matters are so confused, as I cannot represent the dates distinctly, without repetition and tediousness. Britany was the first hit to try our men of war: there might they make war without breach

Difficulties in the performance of the conditions of peace.

John dies in England. His disposition.

Bourgongne annexed vnto the Crowne.

1364

of truce, and the quarrell betwixt *Charles* of Blois, and *John* of Montfort, continued more violent then before: for that *John* of Montfort had married the daughter of the King of England, and *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, the daughter of *Charles* of Blois, who imbraced their private quarrels, by these new occasions.

*Bertrand* of Guecllin a Gentleman of Britany (of whom we haue before made mention) had done the King good seruice, during the war with the Neuarrois. *Charles* relying vpon his fidelity and valor, giues him the charge of the war, to assist *Charles* of Blois, being old and broken; who was pressed by his enemy, being supported with Forces from England. *Guecllin* being aided, the Nobility of Britany (which were of *Charles* his faction) repaire vnto him, to the number of 1500. lances. The History names the houses Rohan, Laual, Leon, Dinan, Rieux, Chateau-Briand, Tourne-mire, Raiz, Malefroit, Quintin, Auagour, Lohcaz, Ancenis, Pont, and many others.

This notable occasion was ministred to employ these Forces (seeing that *Joane* the heire, the Duchesse of Britany, would not end this controuersie by composition, as her husband *Charles* of Blois desired.) *John* of Montfort besieged the Castle of Aulroy, well defended by the contrary faction. *John Chandois* an Englishman, a wife and well experienced captain, commanded the English troops. He had an aduersary in front, no lesse valiant then himselfe, *Guecllin*, who fought for his Countie, and the despair of *Charles* of Blois (much grieved with the tediousnesse of so painfull a proccesse,) was a new spurre to animate him to fight. They ioyne with their troops, the encounter is furious, well charged, well defended. The two commanders made great prooffe of their valour. *Guecllin* and *Cliffon* are noted to haue omitted nothing of their duties: but God, who holds victories in his hand, gaue it to *John* of Montfort, and the English Army. The overthrow was great, for *Charles* of Blois, (the head of the army) with *John* his bastard brother, the Lords of Dinan, Auagour, Lohcaz, Malefroit, Pont, Quergourlay, and many others were slaine: the Lords of Rohan, Leon, Raiz, Mauny, Tonerre, Rouille, Frainville, Reneual, and Rochfort, were taken prisoners, and so were *John* and *Guy* the sonnes of *Charles* of Blois, with *Bertrand* of Guecllin, the which did greatly preiudice our Kings reputation. The place of battell, the engines, and the dead bodies, remained in the power of *John* of Montfort, who sent the body of *Charles* of Blois, with an honorable conveyoy to his widow. The Castle of Aulroy (the cause of this battell) yielded to the conqueror. This happned the 29. of September, 1364.

This great defeat troubled *Charles*, as a thing beyond his expectation. *John* of Montfort sends his ambassadors, beseeching him (as his Soueraigne) to receiue homage of him and his for the Duchy of Britany, won by rightfull armes, by the defeat of his enemy, as God adiudging vnto him this right and possession.

*Charles* imbraceth this occasion: hee assignes him a day for the performance thereof, and to do right and iustice to both parties being heard, the widow of *Charles* of Blois being called, and the matter debated, he reconciles them vpon these conditions: That for the interest which *Joane* pretended for her and hers, to the Duchy of Britanie, he should haue the Earldome of Ponthiue, the Seigneuries of Auagour, Guello, Gincamp, Rochedorie, Lannou, Chasteaulin in Cornuaille, Duall, Vbelgost and Rospreden, to the value of twenty thousand liuers or frankes of rent: and if *John* of Montfort died without lawfull heires, the Duchy of Britanie should returne to *Joane* and her issue male or female.

This accord drew *John* of Montfort to Paris, where hauing done his fealty and homage, as well for the Duchy of Britanie, as the Earldome of Montfort, and other lands he had in France, the widow of *Charles* of Blois ratified it by vertue of the decree. *Oliver* of Cliffon at the same Treatie was restored to the possession of his lands, forfeited when his father was beheaded, (as wee haue said.) Hee shall bee Constable, and giue vs good cause to speake of his life.

This accord was made in the towne of Guerande, in the yeare 1365. but it continued not long. for *Lewis* of Anjou the Kings brother, (son in law to the Duchesse of Britanie) was not pleased with this agreement, whereby he said he was greatly wronged, & *John* of Montfort distrusting king *Charles*, had his recourse to the King of England, to whom he went in person, to require aid against the forces which he pretended would come against him: leaving *Robert Knowles* an Englishman in Britany, who not attending *John*'s returne, began to make war vpon the French, with all violence. *Charles* being pressed (both by the

King Charles  
copies the  
pretensions for  
Britanie.  
2000. pound  
sterling.

The war  
ended in Britany.

1365

A Duchesse *Joane*, and by *Lewis* of Anjou his brother) declares *John* guilty of high treason: for that he had broken the accord, and would not appeare vpon sundry summons dayly made vnto him. So the war began againe: the successe whereof we will note hereafter. Thus there passed six or seven yeares, with variety of accidents in Britanie.

Whilst that Britanie was thus shaken with sundry stormes, Flanders was not without trouble, by the accustomed practices of the English. *Lewis* Earle of Flanders, son to that *Lewis* which was slaine at the battell of Cressie, had one only daughter named *Marguerit*, who remaining heire of this great and rich estate, was the leuaine of the ancient iealousie betwixt the two Kings *Charles* and *Edward*, strutting who should haue her.

B The Cities of Flanders, of greatest power in this pursuite, held stoutly for the English, Count *Lewis* father to the maid, was in suspence: fearing both the English & the French, for diuers respects: and yet he loued the first, and feared the last: but in the end, by the meanes of *Marguerite* of Arthois, mother to the Earle, a mariage was concluded in fauor of *Philip* the Hardy, brother to *Charles* the French King, to *Edward*'s great grieffe, both father and sonne, who in disdain of this refusal, fought all meanes to breed new troubles in France.

The Treatie of Bretigny ministred a new subiect, and apparent cause of discontent to the King of England, who complained that he had beene deceiued by *Charles*, vnder a shew of faithfullnesse, hauing restored vnto him all his hostages, receiuing onely the sums promised for the ranfome, leauing vpon his simple word, the reuenues of those Seigneuries granted him by the treaty.

*Charles* had retired all his hostages, in good time paying ready money: and making knowne vnto *Edward*, the sundry charges he had giuen to the Countiees and places comprehended in the treatie, to yeeld themselves wholly into his power: he likewise signified vnto him his subiects answers, who in the beginning excused themselves ciuilly, by honest delays, but in the end the generall Estates giue *Charles* to vnderstand, That the question being for the generall interest of the States, they were not to be forced to yeeld to an unlawfull action, directly contrary to the fundamētall Law of the Realm, which suffers not the King to preiudice the Crowne; nor to alienate the reuenues thereof, which were not to be alienated. D That this accord made in prison, for the Kings redemption, was forced, and so by consequence, vnciuill, and not to be allowed by the Law of Nations.

The effects followed this resolution, with such an obstinacie of the Countiees, Cities and Noblemen, which were charged by this treatie to yeeld, as they protest freely to *Charles*, that they will willingly spend goods and liues, rather then fall into the King of Englands hands: and contrariwise, would employ all their meanes to liue vnder the subiection of the king of France. This faithful constancy of the interessed subiects, muft needs be pleasing vnto *Charles*: but for that he himselfe had made this treaty, his honour was greatly engaged, the which he muft iustifie by good and auailable reasons: and make it knowne vnto all Europe, who had their eyes fixed vpon these two Princes, playing their parts vpon so famous a Theater. *Edward* complains by a solemne Ambassage to the Emperor *Charles* the 4. who took the paines to come into France, with an intent to employ his authority & counsell to reconcile these two Princes: but it was in vaine. The cause of this fruitlesse paine, proceeded from *Edward*, being resolute to haue his part tryed by armes, being emboldned by his victorious successe in the former reignes.

*Charles* had alwaies protested to obserue the treaty of Bretigny inuiolable. But hauing vnderstood the generall resolution of the States, and of the countiees & Noblemen, interested by the said Treaty, he resolues to protect them: and hauing excused himselfe both to the Emperor and foraine Princes, by a publike declaration, hee sends a Gentleman of Bouffle called *Chappeneau*, to the Prince of Wales being at Bourdeaux, summoning him to appeare before him at Paris, at the instance of the Nobility and commons of Guienne, complaining of him. He also sent a Herald to the king of England, to proclaim war against him. The Earle of Armagnac, the Lord of Albret (who had newly married *Isabel* of Bourbon, and by this alliance was become French) the Earles of Perigot, Cominges, and Carmaigne: the Lords of Barde, Condon, Pinconer, Pardailan and Agenois, began this protestation against the king of England, followed by all those Provinces, professing for the Crowne of France. At this example all the townes of the Countie of Ponthiue, yielded to *Guy* Earle of S. Pol, and to *Guy* of Chastillon Master of the Croffe-bowes.

In Flanders

The cause of  
new warre be-  
twixt France  
and England.

Charles pro-  
claims warre  
against the king  
of England.



1366

The successe of  
the French  
army in Gui-  
enne.The exploits of  
the Prince of  
Wales.

Then the Kings armies march into diuers parts, vnder the commands of the Dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the Constable *Guesclin*, to whose wisdome, (and especially to the Chancellor *Dourmans*) they attribute the obedience of the people of Guienne, discretely practised by them. Limoges and Cahors yeeld at the sight of the Kings armie. Castar, Bergerac, S. Seuer, and in the end Rochel by siege; and by the successe of these Cities (reduced to the Kings obedience by force) S. Ian d'Angely, Angouleme, Xaintes, Fontenay, Parthenay, and many other townes obey voluntarily. The fortresses of Mortaigne, Lusignan and Sanzay, are added to this conquest, and in the end Tours stretcheth forth her hands to the King, and shakes off the English yoke. Whilest the Kings armie performed these happy exploits in Guienne: the Prince of Wales (a hardy and generous warrior) to turne aside this deluge, (the which he fees filling vpon the Country of Bourdeaux) resolves to enter by another quarter, which (fearing no enemy) should be found without defence. Hauiug made a flying campe of English and Gascons, well armed, hee slips into Auergne, from thence into Bourbonnois and Berry: where hauing refreshed his troopes some dayes, hee passeth into Foret; and gathering together the boates vpon the Riuer of Loire, hee passeth ouer at Marigny of Nunnes, and crossing Malconnois, hee comes into Bourgogne: where finding all desert without victuals, (all being caried into walled Townes, by the care of *Philip* the Kings brother,) he marcheth into Auxerrois, and from thence into Gassinois: in the end hee Bayes before Elpernay, with an armie of twenty thousand men, which terrifies the whole country, and takes the Towne easily, being not releued.

*Charles* recalls his army out of Guienne, giuing the Constable *Guesclin* commission to stop this frame, the which he executes so happily, as all this cloud was presently dispersed: so as the Prince of Wales could hardly retire himselfe to Bourdeaux, nor laden with spoiles as in former times, but with shame and losse.

This was the successe of the first passage the English made through France. But what is become of our Nauarrois? Wee haue obserued how hee made his peace with King *John*, when as he returned from prison. He thence retired himselfe quietly into his Realme of Nauarre, dissembling his ialousie, and watching all opportunities to crosse the affaires of *Charles*, who spared him with so great respect. The needernes of Bourdeaux was a fit meane for him to continue his practices with the English vnder-hand: although by meanes of the Queenes, he entertained a shew of friendship with *Charles* his brother in law.

Castile ministred matter of employment for our warriors, with a very notable successe. *Peter* King of Castile, sonne to *Alphonso* (making great profession of loue to the French) married *Blanche* the daughter of *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, and sister to *Joane* the wife of our *Charles* the Wife, and so brother in law to the King. Whilest the Castilian loued his wife, the alliance and friendship of our King was his greatest honour: but abandoning himselfe to a trumpet named *Padille*, hee forooke all duty to his Wife, left France, and linckt himselfe with the English, against his sworne faith to his allies. To this treachery hee adds the murder of his wife, and a cruell tyranny against his subiects.

These execrable proceedings procured the wrath of God against him, with the hatred both of great and small, which drew him headlong to his ruine. *Alphonso* his father making him his heire and successor of his realme of Castile, had bequeathed a legacy by testament to *Henry* his bastard sonne, a vertuous man, that is to say, as lawfull by his vertue, as *Peter* was growne degenerate by his vices: and as greatly beloued of the people, as *Peter* was hated in generall by reason of his abominable life. Hee spoiled *Henry* his brother of this legacie, the which his father had left him: but thinking to take from another, he lost his owne. For *Henry* thus ill intreated, flies to Pope *Vrbans*, then resident at Auignon, beseeching him to vse his authority by admonitions to his brother, advising him to restore that which his father had giuen him. *Vrbans* inclining to his iust request, cites them both to appeare before the Conffitory, to draw them to their duties: *Peter* not onely refuseth to obey the Pope, but doth outrage to his Nuncio. *Henry* thus repulsed, repaires to *Charles*, by the meanes of *Peter* of Bourbon, brother to the Queene of Castile, whom her husband *Peter* had murdered. The indignitie of this fact procured *Henry* great succours from King *Charles*, euen at such a time as he wanted worke for his men of war. The command of this army was giuen to *Peter* of Bourbon a Prince of the blood, with the counsell and direction of the Constable *Guesclin*, who also bare the name, as he tooke the greatest pains. The

Peter King of  
Castile mur-  
ders his owne  
wife.Charles sends an  
armie into  
Castile.

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The Castilians  
reuel: graunt  
*Peter*, and expel  
him.The King of  
England suc-  
cours *Peter*, and  
restores him.Peter forsaken  
by the English,  
is taken priso-  
ner.

and behended.

The army is leaued in Languedoe by the kings command, and the exceeding care of the Duke of Berry Governour of that Country, to the incredible joy of many voluntaries, who went cheerfully to so iust a warre: the successe was both happy and speedy. Suddenly as the French army appeared for the succour of *Henry*, all the Castilians repelt against *Peter*, who with great difficulty saues himselfe with his concubine and three daughters he had by her, and one onely seruant, carying nothing with him but a little ready money, and the misery of a dispossessed Prince.

This his calamity did not moue the Prince of Wales to compassion, and then his father *Edward*, commanding his sonne to succour him with all his forces; the which hee performed speedily with a goodly army, meaning to crosse the designs of our *Charles*: but (on the patience of God, which giues a sinner so long a time of repentance, that in the end (without any excuse) he might pay both the principall and interest) the successe of this English army was such, in fauour of *Peter* of Castile, as hauing vanquished the French army, by a notable defeat of foue and twenty thousand men; taken *Guesclin* the Constable, *Arnaud* of Andreghen Marshall of France, and many other great men prisoners, *Peter* was restored to the possession of his Realme, and *Henry* dispossessed, who escaped hardly in this great danger, and retires himselfe into Languedoe, to *John* Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and Governour of that Country. But after this gracious assistance of Gods mercy, his iustice must take place, as it did against *Peter* by this meanes, *Henry* being courtously received by the Pope and the Duke of Berry; and the Constable *Guesclin* set at liberty with all his companions, hauing payed their ransomes to the Prince of Wales, he recouers a second ayd by the bounty of our wife *Charles*, and the diligence of the Duke of Berry, to attempt anew the recovery of the Realme of Castile. The Constable *Guesclin* was appointed to this charge, to withstand the first checke, if it were possible. The euent answered the proiect, and by an admirable meanes, the which ruined *Peter* through his owne folly.

This tyrant (growne proud by the wishfull successe of the English forces) makes no regard to satisfie the Prince of Wales for the charges of this warre (although the successe were for his good) but busying himselfe to take reuenge on such as had risen against him, he contemned such as had succoured him: yea treading all piety vnder foot, hee allied himselfe with the King of Belle-marine a Sarazin, (and marrying his daughter) hee abjured the Christian Religion, holding the neighbourhood of so mighty a King, to be more certaine and profitable, then all the forces of England. But it fell out contrary to his conceit, for *Henry* assisted by the Constable *Guesclin*, and the French Forces, hauing wonne five battels against *Peter*, in the end he was quite defeated and taken prisoner.

Hauing him in his power, at the Castilians suite (wonderfully incensed against this tyrant) hee caused his head to be cut off, reaping the fruits of his impiety, the which made him to forsake the true religion: of his vanity, trusting to a rotten plancke, with the losse of his conscience; and of his exceeding cruely, hauing murdered his wife, tyrannized ouer his subjects, and spoyled his brother of his Estate against all right. Hee that writes the History of Spaine, reports that hee was slaine by his brother Duke *Henry* in *Guesclin* Tent, being come out of Montiel vpon his assurance. An excellent lesson for all men, especially for great Princes, not to dally with God, who punisheth heynous crimes with heynous punishments euen in this life, attending the euertlasting paine in the life to come.

*Charles* King of Nauarre was much perplexed, seeing himselfe betwixt two armies, for desiring to be a neuter, and to please both, he knew not how to gouerne himselfe. He seeks to entertaine both *Charles* and *Edward*, although hee were more engaged to the English, and could not well trust his brother in law, hauing greatly offended him. So he lets the English armie to passe through his dominions when it marched into Castile, to succour *Peter*, and suffered himselfe to be taken prisoner by *Oliver* of Mauny, a Gentleman of Britaine, who led him into Castile, to make the English think he had bene forsworn; and the French, that he did willingly employ himselfe for them, being in their troopes.

A miserable hypocritie, which of a master makes himselfe a slave, who might haue bene one of the chiefe of the army, without this wretched dissembling. The good and wise King, taught by the example of his father *John*, that an Ele is lost by ouer-gripping it, desired onely to pacifie his brother in law, although hee were well acquainted with his

bad

1366

The Nauarrais  
seekes to poi-  
son King  
Charles.

bad disposition, and the practices he continued with England. So he gaue him a safe conduct to come vnto him, and restored vnto him Mantes and Meulan, and the free possession of his lands in Normandy: but this Prince fraught with malice, could not bee reclaimed, neither by the Kings prosperity, nor by his clemency: for (not trusting him) hee returns to his Realme of Nauarre, where he continues his old practices with the English: he helps the Britton with men out of Normandy, and attempted against the Kings person, seeking to poyson him by *Jaquet Rue* and *Petr* of Terre, his domestical servants: who were executed, and the Nauarrais places seized on, as guilty of high treason. Thus *Charles* was forced to fight against his owne blood, and to haue the malice of his kinsmen and allies. No small combat for a great Prince.

The death of  
both Edwards.

We haue discoursed at large of the valour and happy success both of *Edward* the third King of England, and of *Edward* his sonne Prince of Wales. But as humane things are not durable, so there chanced a great accident vpon his returne from the warre of Castile, which brought them both to the graue. The Prince of Wales finding himselfe threatened with a droopie, passed from Bourdeaux into England, to take the ayre of his native country, but he died soon after his arrival, the 46 yeare of his age. A Prince of great hope, not only lamented of his friends, but commended of his enemies. *Edward* the father, seeing his right arme (as it were) cut off, died for griefe: leaving *Richard* the sonne of his sonne *Edward* in his place, who was received (without any question made by his vncles) as the first by right of succession.

The English  
second passage  
through  
France.

*Richard* (not to degenerate from the example of his grandfather and father, being crowned King) vnder takes a warre in France: whether he sends a goodly army vnder the command of the Duke of Clarence his vncle, who (having landed at Calais) passeth the Riuer of Somme at Clery neere vnto Peronne, and bending towards Soisson, hee crosseth the Riuer of Oise and Ain. Then marching towards Chaalons, hee passeth Marne, and shewing himselfe before Troyes in Champagne, hee spoiles the Country, and so goeth ouer Seine, betwixt Ville-neufue and Souley, and bending towards Beaulieu and Gastoins hee crosseth into Britany, thereto reuiue the warre in fauour of *Iohn* of Montfort, spoyling the Country with a strange desolation. On the other side there lands another army at Bourdeaux, the which hauing entred the Country, fortified such places as held for the English, to nourish the seeds of this new warre. In the Country of Guenaudan (a diocesse in that large Prouince of Languedoc) there was a Castle neere to Mande named Randon, whereas the English maintained a strong garison, a retreat for theuees, which did infinite harme in the country. The country hauing sued vnto the King, to free them of this emburance, he granted them *Gusclin* the Constable, a man of great reputation, but the armie should be defrayed at their charges. Hee comes into Languedoc, besiegeth Randon, and brings them to the last extremity, but as the besieged (not able to hold out) were entered into composition, beheld the Constable (sicke to the death) yeelds vp the ghost. At the same instant the place was yeelded vnto the King: so as in signe that the honour of this prize was due to *Gusclin*, the Capitaine caried the keyes of the Castle vpon his herts. Thus died *Gusclin*, leauing an honourable testimony of his valour and loyalty: and to *Charles* an extreame sorrow for his death, who honoured him with a notable Obsequy, causing his body to be interred with the Kings at Saint Denis: and at the foot of his owne Tombe was that of *Gusclin*, with a burning lampe, maintained by foundation, called the *Lampe of Gusclin* vnto this day. King *Charles* had giuen all Bourgongne to his brother *Philip* for his portion, according to the will of his father *Iohn*, as we haue said, and had married him with *Marguerite* the rich heiress of Flanders. Being in possession of Bourgongne, there hapned another occasion in Flanders, which won him great credit with those people whom he should command after the death of *Lewis* his father in law, who was yet liuing.

The death of  
the Constable  
*Gusclin*.

Troubles in  
Flanders paci-  
fied by *Philip*.

The inhabitants of Gand, a malicious people by nature, who neuer want matter to mutine, had then a great discontent, both against their Earle in generally, (by reason of some new impositions) and against them of Bruges, in particular (jealous to see them in so great fauour with their Prince) by reason of a channell which they had drawne from the Riuer of Lis, for the commodity of the Country: which Riuer crossing the Riuer of Gand, the Gantois supposed it was all theirs in proper: so as none else might vse it without their liking. This lealousie grew so great, that this great City (as big with their wayward and contentious humors, as it was populous and rich) being thus moued, resolves to make

A

shew thereof: and in this fury they make a league, and choose a head, bearing a marke or token of their faction, and from words they goe to blowes. One called *Leon* (a bold praefier of popular seditions) was found fit to be the Ring-leader of this tumult: their marke was a white cap for all the rooqe. These Gantois gather together, they hinder the work of this channell, and the gathering of the custome, being the cause of this quarrell: they kill Collectors and Receiueurs, and in the end the Gouernor of the City called *Roger*, who being there for the Earle, laboured to teach them their duties. Their fury exceeded so far, as they spoile the Earles Palace, fire it, and in their rage pull it downe to the ground. They runne in great troopes to other townes, to draw them to their league. They besiege Ypre, held by the Earles men, crying in all places, Liberty, as hauing a meaning to change their Lord, and then to seize vpon Flanders. This cruell disorder amazed the Earle, when as beheld *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, his sonne in law, flies vnto him to quench this fire: and as men admire rather the Sunne rising then setting, and that the name of the House of France, and the greatnesse of his goodly portion gaue him great authority: so it chanced that he pacified this rebellion, to the content both of the Earle and Cities, taking a happy possession of this great inheritance, by a famous and profitable occasion. But Flanders alone was not subiect to these mad mutinies: for those of Montpellier, newly reduced to the obedience of our King, grew into so great a fury, as they slue *James Pontet* a Knight of the Order, and Chancellor to *Iohn* Duke of Berry, Gouernor of the Country, Guy of Scery Seneschall of Rouergue, *Arnald* of Montclair, Gouernour of the said City, and other officers of the Kings and Dukes, to the number of fourescore, and cast their bodies into a well. As the outrage was odious, so the punishment was memorable. The Duke of Berry comes with his forces, assisted by the whole Prouince, detestful so foule an infolency, so as the inhabitants (calling to mind their audacious frenzy) resolve to submit themselves to punishment, and not to stand desperately against force.

Se'ition at  
Montpellier.

The Consuls of the City hauing halters about their neckes, and torne clothes, the keyes of the Citie in one hand, and a red cap (the marke of their office) in the other, met with the Duke their Gouernor, being followed by the Clergy (carying a Crosse) all crying for mercy, and weeping with a lamentable noise.

In this mournfull sort the Duke enters the Citie gates, being without any guard, hee finds the streets full of poore and desolate people, vpon their knees, men and women, old and young, crying for mercy, and redoubling their pitifull cries, as witnesses of their repentance. Then the Duke commands they should presently bring all their armes into one place neere vnto his lodging, placing a guard at the gates, and vpon the wals. The next day he caused a scaffold to be made in the market place, where hauing sharply rebuked the people for their rebellion, he pronounced a sentence in the Kings name, whereby he declares, That all their priuiledges were taken from them, their Consullship, Townehoufe, common Arches, Vniuersity, their Bels, Salt-pannes, and all Iurisdiccions of the Citie, either of soueraigne Courts, or of the Commonalty: six hundred inhabitants to be chosen at aduenture, condemned to die; that is, two hundred to lose their heads, two hundred to be hanged, and two hundred burnt, their children declared infamous and slauers for euer, and their goods confiscate: The Commonaltie should pay sixefcore thousand Frankes of gold, and the charges of the Dukes voyage, and his armies: The Consuls with certaine Councillers that were named, should draw the bodies of such as had bene massacred out of the Well, and bury them: A Chappell should bee built for their obsequies, with the same Bell which did found the Alarm: The gates and Citie wals should be beaten downe, and their armes burnt publicly.

The sentence  
pronounced  
against them,

This was their doome: but it was moderated at the intercession of Pope *Clement* then resident in Auignon, by the means of Cardinall de la *Lune*. The summe was qualified, the priuiledges restored, the gates and wals preferred: but the authors of this sedition were put to death, that the rest of the inhabitants might liue in safety.

is moderated.

A notable precedent for subiects to suppress their fury, even when they thinke to haue a iust cause of complaint, feeling themselves surcharged or otherwise grieved: considering that errors are sooner committed then repaired: And for Commanders, that it is a dangerous resolution to let loose the reins to a mad multitude, which augments the mischief, supposing to cure it.

Queene *Joane* wife to our wife *Charles*, daughter to *Peter* of Bourbon, dies about this time,

1380

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time, to the great griefe of her husband, to whom she left two sonnes, *Charles* and *Lewis*, both very young: for *Charles* was borne the 3 of December 1371, and was caried to the Font by *Charles* of Montmorency, and baptised by *Dourmans* Bishop of Beauuois, and Chancellor of France. *Lewis* was Duke of Orleans. She left him also one daughter, *Jehet*, married afterwards to *Richard* King of England. Necessary obseruations for the course of our History.

This good Prince after his wiues death, was nothing healthfull, so as broken with poyson, the which had much weakened him, and with the tedious toyles of his youth, more then with age, he decayed daily, and he himselfe perceiued it; so as feeling the end of his life to approach, remembering what troubles he had past, during the mournfull imprisonment of his father, by the contempt of his young age, lest the like should happen to his sonne *Charles*, vader colour of his minority, gouerned by Tutors, he decreed in a generall assembly of the States, by a Law, and an irreuoicable Edict, *That after the deceasse of the King of France, his eldest sonne should succeed him presently, and at the age of foureteene years should be declared capable to gouerne the Estate alone, and be freed from Tutors.* But (oh the weaknesse of mans wisedome!) he did not foresee that his sonne should be ill gouerned by his Tutors in his minority, that the age of foureteene should not free him from Tutors; and that euen his sonne, comming to mans estate, should giue more scope to the ambition of his owne Vnckles (more worthily to bee called murtherers then tutors) then his weakest youth had done.

He had a Fistula in one arme, by the which those ill humors were drawne away, which grew by poyson, and gaue great ease when it did runne. It chanced this Fistula stop, and then his malady encreas'd much.

*Charles* (resembling by this sharpe alarm, to goe the common way of all flesh) cald for his three brethren, *Lewis*, *Iohn*, and *Philip*; and hauing recommended his children and subiects vnto them, he giues them particular addece for the gouernment of the Realme: leaving the custody of his sonne, and the Regency of the Realme vnto them. Hee died the 16 of September 1380, in the Castle of Beauty, seated vnder the River of Marne. He commanded that *Oliuer* of Clifton should bee Constable, hauing commended his fidelity and sufficiency, and that they should carefully preferue the amity of Germany.

Charles dies.

Thus died *Charles* the wife, wonderfully beloued and lamented of his subiects, leaving his Realme in good estate, after so horrible a desolation. And although the confusions passed had wonderfully impoucrished the subiects, and wasted the Kings treasure, (neither was his reigne free from war) yet did he leaue the Provinces of his Realme very weaklie, and an infinite treasure in his coffers: although he had built the Loure, Saint Germaine in Lay, Montargis, Creil, the Celestines, and some other Churches. Of such power is good husbandry in this Realme, as in riches it yeelds not to the treasures of Peru, nor in fertility to any Country vnder heauen, to subsist amidst so many stormes, and to be presently restored by good husbandry.

His disposition.

An example for Princes to imitate, and not to despaire in like confusions, but to hope for all that may be wished for in the restoring of an Estate, by patience and dexterity, vertues proper to our wife *Charles*. A Prince so much the more praise-worthy, hauing preferred this Estate when it seemed lost; religious, wise, modest, patient, stirring and fained, when need required; able to entertaine euery man according to his humour: hauing by these vertues wonne a great reputation both within and without the Realme, and honourable to his posterity, as to haue saved France from shipwracke.

He loued learning and learned men: *Nicholas Oresme* was his Schoolemaster, whom he honoured with great preferments. He caused the Bible to be translated into French, imitating Saint *Lewis*. I haue scene the Originall in the Kings lodging at the Loure, signed by King *Charles* and his brother the Duke of Berry. A goodly obseruation of the ancient simplicity of those royall characters. I haue likewise scene a Manuscript of the translation made by the commandement of Saint *Lewis*. He delighted in the reading of the holy Scripture and Philophy: hauing likewise caused the *Ethikes* and *Politiques* of *Aristotle*, with many bookes of *Tully*, to be translated into French. The fauour he shewed to learned men, stirred vp many good wits, who beganne to draw the Muses from their graues both in France and Italy.

The

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The History doth particularly note, that he did often visit his Court of Parliament, and his Chamber of accompts: gaue audience vnto suitors, read their petitions, and heard their complaints and reasons, employing some dayes of the weeke, euen in his greatesse affaires, to doe those fatherly and royall workes of iustice. Hee tooke great delight to aduance his household seruants, giuing them meanes secretly (and without the priuity of any) to instruct their sonnes, and to marrie their daughters. A testimony of a good confidence, and of a wife man. This bond of loyalty could haue no better foundation, then in transporting it from the father to the sonne, nor almes be better employed then from the master to the seruant.

Royall vertues, and worthy of eternall memory. But alas! what shall be the successe of this bounty and wisedome? The reigne of his sonne *Charles* shall be most miserable. He hath done the part of a good brother, of a good master, a good father, and a good King: but God the Soueraigne of Kings, had limited the euent of his cares: to reach vs; (by a notable example) *That unless the Lord build the house the workmen labour but in vaine: if the Lord keepe not the City, the watchman watcheth but in vaine: for an eternall Maxim of gouernment and State, Whoseuer glories, let him glory in the Lord.* But vertues are not hereditary. *Iohn* not very wise, begat *Charles* a wife and happy Prince, and hee begets a frantick man, vnhappy both in youth and age. We may on the other side oppose other considerations very disputable. Profit aduised him to marrie the heyre of Flanders, not onely to pacifie that Country, but also to enlarge his owne dominions, adding thereunto that great and rich Estate of Flanders, from whence so many mischiefes haue sprung to France, but his delight made him preferre the faire before the rich. Moreover, the rules of State did not permit him so to aduance his brother, making him in a manner equal to himselfe in power, the which must needs be the cause of many inconueniences, as it after hapned. The cause of his brother *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, is ordered by the same rule, for who can with reason mislike, that *Charles* giues a portion to his brother by his fathers will; and that in the rich marriage of a Prince his vassall, and of a heire Estate (whereby his Realme was daily annoyed) he preferres his brother before his capital enemy? But God had reserved the honour to himselfe. Bourgongne since *Robert*, the grandchild of *Hugh Capet*, had beene successiue in the power of Princes, who had alwaies done faithfull seruice to the Crowne, and now it shall be a scourge vnto it: yet in the end it shall be wited vnto the Crowne againe, and taken from such as had abused it. Experience doth teach, that in matters of State, the end is not alwaies answerable to the beginning, nor the successe to the designe, to the end that Princes may depend on him who is greater then themselves, who hath made them, and can marre them: and without whom they cannot doe any thing.

Behold the life, death, race, reigne, and manners of *Charles* the fifth called the Wife. But before we enter into the troublefome reigne of *Charles* the sixth, let vs obserue the estate of the Empire and of the Church. We haue said that *Charles* the sonne of *Iohn* King of Bohemia had beene chosen Emperour, and called *Charles* the fourth. He held the Empire two and thirty yeares, beginning in the yeare 1350. So the reignes of *Iohn* and *Charles* his sonne, is contained in this Empire: for he died in the yeare 1378. Before his death he provided that *Winceslas* his sonne should succeed him in the Imperiall dignity. At the first he married *Blanche* Countesse of Valois, daughter to *Charles* Earle of Valois, and sister to *Philip* of Valois the French King, being very young, (for shee was but seuen yeares old when she was betroathed vnto him) hee had beene bred vp in the Court of France, and leamed the French humors: he loued our Crowne better then our lawes. A Prince wholly inclined to his owne particular, making shew to loue our Kings, but vnder-hand hee supported their enemies against them.

The estate of the Empire.

This was the principall reason why his comming into France proued fruitlesse, after so long a voyage and so great expences, ministring a sufficient cause of icalousy to our *Charles*, who gaue him the best entertainment he could, to make him know, that the souerainty which he pretended to haue ouer France, was but a dreame. Yet he suffered the Country of Dauphin (which they called the Empire, as a member of the ancient Realme of Arles) to be wholly infranchised from that subiection, to cut off all pretensions from his successors, embracing the commodity to settle his affaires euen by their meanes whom he knew were not his friends.

This

1380

The Emperours  
disposition:Original of the  
Cantons in  
Switzerland.Estate of the  
Church.Division at  
Rome for the  
election of a  
new Pope.An Antipope  
elected.

This Emperour *Charles* the fourth, did all he could both in Italy and Germany to apply vnto himselfe the rights of the Empire, being wholly inclined to his owne profit, for the which he vled the name of iustice and good order, being more learned in law then in doing right, and hauing more knowledge then conscience. It is he which made the Golden Bull, both to rule the Election of the Emperour, and the rights and dignitie of the Empire. The former confusions of the Empire had so dispensed all priuate gouernours of Countries and Cities as euery one played the Emperour in his gouernment.

These tyrannicall disorders were the cause of the Cantons in Switzerland, who haue established a goodly Common-weale, consisting of thirteene Cantons, who maintaine themselves with great order and force, hauing the amitie and alliance of the neighbour Monarchs, and an honourable place among the Estates of Christendome vnto this day. Their particular history belongs not to our subject, it sufficeth to haue noted the beginning, and the occasion of their common-weale, newly erected in the disorders of that age. The Church of Rome was in a very poore estate, first by the continuall factions of the Guephens and Gibelins, and of it selfe by a distraction bred by an open schisme hauing two Popes, two chaires, two Seas, and a deadly hatred, the which troubled all the Kings and Princes of Christendome, some defending the Pope, others the Antipope his oppositor.

We haue said, that in the reigne of *Philip* of Valois the Pontificall Sea was transfused from Rome to Auignon, where it continued about 70 yeares, *Clement* the sixth hauing bought this Citie for his successors, being a pleasant and fruitfull seat. These quarrels (continued with such violent passions) had tired mens minds like as a long proccesse doth weary the most obstinate pleaders. The Popes being absent from Rome, gouerned the estate of Italy by three Cardinals, their Legats, but all went to ruine. *Gregory* the fifth Limosin, being chosen Pope at Auignon, went to Rome to redresse these confusions, wherein there was small helpe. Being receiued with an incredible ioy of the Romans, and of all Italy, he returnes no more to Auignon, but passeth the rest of his dayes at Rome. After his death the people with all vehemency require a Roman borne, or an Italian for Pope: but there was some difficulty in the election, for the Colledge consisted for the most part of French Cardinals, who desired to haue one of their owne nation. They were much diuided: but the Cardinals (fearing the peoples fury, armed with an intent to murder them if they did not choose one of their nation) yielded to the election of Neopolitane, named *Bartolomeus*, who was receiued and proclaimed by the name of *Vrbane* the sixth.

But within few dayes after, the malecontents retired from Rome (vnder colour to fly the plague) to Fundy, a towne in the Realme of Naples (of the French faction) by means of *Queen Isabe*, where they did choose *Clement* the 7, a Limosin, who retired to Auignon, and was opposite to *Vrbane* the sixth, with open defiance one of another: which schisme continued vntill the Councell of Constance, each Pope with his faction. *Clement* had him the Kings of France, Castile, and Scotland. *Vrbane* had the Emperour, the Kings of England and Hungary: *Clement* held his seat at Auignon, and *Vrbane* at Rome. In this dayes liues *Barthol*, *Baldus*, *Petrarch*, *Boccace*, *Planudes* a Greeke by nation, *Bonaventura* and *Iohn Wickliffe*. These hurly-burlys touched the hearts, and opened the mouthes of many good men, wonderfully grieved to see such diuision in the Church, apparently growne by the ambition of such as had greatest authority in the same. The writings open to their reasonable complaints, which euery one may reade, without any further discourse.

CHARLES

1380

CHARLES THE SIXT,  
The 53. French King.

It is necessary to haue some direction to passe through a labyrinth, so this crooked reigne hath need of some order to guide vs in the disorder of so many obscure confusions, which we are to represent. I will first obserue the most famous acts and worthiest personages of this reigne, and then will I distinguish the subject according to the occurrences. This miserable reigne continued 42 yeares, beginning in the yeare 1380, and ending in the yeare 1422. *Charles* the sixth succeeded his father *Charles* the fifth, at the age of 12 yeares, (being borne in the yeare 1368) he was crowned in the yeare 80, married in 84, dismissed his Tutors to reigne alone in 87, falls into a frenzy in 93, and dies in the yeare 1422. So being vnder age with his Tutors, and of age in perfect sence, he reigned thirteen yeares, and liued in his frenzy twenty nine yeares. Who sees not then the iust calculation of forty two yeares in this reigne?

*Charles* the fifth his father, had three brethren, *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, *Iohn* Duke of Berry, & *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne. *Queen Isabe*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, wife to *Charles* the fifth, and mother to *Charles* the sixth, had one brother, *James* Duke of Bourbon. These foure Vncles shall play their parts vpon this stage in diuers occurrences, but let vs adde the rest, euery one shall haue his turne.

We haue said that *Charles* the Wise left two sonnes, this *Charles* the 6, whose reigne we now describe, and *Lewis* Duke of Orleans. And our *Charles* had three sonnes, *Lewis*, *Iohn*, and *Charles*, and one daughter named *Katherine*: all by *Elizabeth* of Bauiaria, one of the chiefe fire brands of this Tragedie: an outrageous woman, an vnnatural mother, and altogether vnworthy of this Crowne. These three sonnes were Dauphins one after another in their fathers life: but *Charles* succeeded him, notwithstanding all crosses and difficulties: and *Katherine* his sister was married to *Henry* the fifth, King of England; a mournfull age of a horrible confusion for this Realme. But alas, how many cruell acts of ambition, vanity, and treacherie of such as held the helme of this Estate, being either royall persons, or seated in the highest dignities? How many changes and reuolutions of these fiordward humors, daring any thing vnder the liberty of this reigne: the King being either a child, or sicke, and alwayes weak and vnable to gouerne so great a charge? In the first scene of this Tragedie, we shall see the Vncles of this young King in diuision one against another. *Lewis* Duke of Aniou (declared Regent, as first Prince of the blood) is crossed by his brethren, the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, and he abuserh his authority imperiously. *Lewis* Duke of Aniou being dead, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, brother to King *Charles* the 6, shall take his place, as the first Prince, and shall fall to quarrell with *Philip* the Hardy Duke of Bourgongne, his Vncle, who dying, shall leaue *Iohn* his sonne successor of his ieaousie, against *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his cousin. *Iohn* shall exceed all humanitie, and kill him, but the hatred shall not die, being transplanted into *Charles* Duke of Orleans, sonne to *Lewis* massacred, the which shall breed infinite troubles. The Dauphins shall play their parts, sometimes friends, and sometimes enemies one to another. *Iohn* who had murdered *Lewis* of Orleans, shall be slaine by *Charles* the Dauphin, who shall be King: but from *Iohn* shall spring another *Philip* of Bourgongne, who shall kindle a new fire, to be reuenged of his fathers death. The stranger is engaged in these ciuill warres: women augment it by their furies. On the one side *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans: on the other *Isabel* Queene of France. The Constables of Clifton and Armagnac are likewise drawne in: and the subject grows licentious in these disorders. Passion preuailes with such a fury, as the mother forgets the birth of her owne wombe, and so abuserh her authority, as she dares attempt against the fundamentall law of State) to giue the Realme to a stranger, who was crowned and proclaimed King in the heart of France, by her boldnesse.

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T

The

Necessary observations for the vnderstanding of this reigne

Charles vinctually married.

Strange events

Detailed of the content of the last paragraph

1380

The Emperours  
disposition.Original of the  
Cantons in  
Switzerland.Estate of the  
Church.Division at  
Rome for the  
election of a  
new Pope.An Antipope  
chosen.

This Emperour *Charles* the fourth, did all he could both in Italy and Germany to apply vnto himselfe the rights of the Empire, being wholly enclined to his owne profit, the which he vsed the name of iustice and good order, being more learned in law then doing right, and hauing more knowledge then conscience. It is he which made the den Bill, both to rule the Election of the Emperour, and the rights and dignitie of Empire. The former confusions of the Empire had so dispensed all priuate gouernment Countieys and Cities, as euery one played the Emperour in his gouernment.

These tyrannicall disorders were the cause of the Cantons in Switzerland, who haue established a goodly Common-weale, consisting of thirteene Cantons, who maintaine themselves with great order and force, hauing the amitie and alliance of the neigbour Monarches, and an honourable place among the Estates of Christendome vnto day. Their particular history belongs not to our subiect, it sufficeth to haue noted beginning, and the occasion of their common-weale, newly erected in the disorders that age. The Church of Rome was in a very poore estate, first by the continuall faction of the Guelphes and Gibelins, and of it selfe by a distraction bred by an open Church hauing two Popes, two chaires, two Seas, and a deadly hatred, the which troubled all Kings and Princes of Christendome, some defending the Pope, others the Antipope, his opposite.

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CHARLES

1380

# CHARLES THE SIXT, The 53. French King.



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Necessary ob-  
servations for  
the vnderstand-  
ing of this  
reigneCharles vnwar-  
dly married.

Strange events

To be read off  
with care and  
attention

T

The



1380

## The Minoritie of King CHARLES the sixt:

*From the yeare 1380, when as CHARLES received the Crowne by the decease of his Father, unto the yeare 37, that he dismissed his Vncles, to rule alone with absolute authority.*

Lewis of Anjou  
Regent.

A controuersie  
for precedence  
betwixt the  
Kings vncles at  
his coronation.

THE Generall Estates assemble at Paris presently after the death of *Charles the V* to provide for the government of the King and Realme; and to auoid all apphealoufie betwixt the Kings Vncles, they decreed, *That according to the Declaration by their good King deceased, Charles his sonne should be anointed and crowned King, and he should be of competent age to gouerne so great an Estate, Lewis Duke of Anjou (as eldest of the House of France, and so the first Prince of the blood) should be Regent, and haue the shority of Councell and royall Command.* And likewise by vertue of King *Charles* his will, *Oliuer of Clifton* (a braue and valiant Knight borne in Britany) was made Constable of France. *Oliuer of Clifton* tooke possession of his charge, preparing for the Kings Coronation: and the Duke of Anjou receiuing the Kings Treasure, which they say was eigheteen hundred thousand Crownes. A very great summe for those times, and after so watched a season. He forced *Sawys* the head Treasurer, to deliuer those summes into his hands, and by this excelsse laid the ground of a great presumption which followed.

*Charles* is anointed at Rheims, and crowned after the custome of France, the 27<sup>th</sup> October, in the yeare 1380, in a solempne assembly of his Princes of the blood, Princes allied, and officers of this Crowne. The Dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Bourgongne the Kings Vncles, *Wencelin* Duke of Brabant, the Dukes of Lorraine and Barre, the Earles of Auoy, of Marche, and Eu (friends and confederates to our Kings) did assist. At this solempny there was some question for place, whether should take it, the Duke of Anjou as Regent of the Realme, or the Duke of Bourgongne as first Peere of France and Deane of the Peeres: distinguishing the degrees according to their qualities, to whom the one was giuen.

The King to crowne his instalment by some notable act, tooke vpon him to decide this controuersie, and decreed, *That for as much as as the Kings anointing, the Peeres of France ought to hold the first ranke, in all ceremonies: the Duke of Bourgongne as the first should take place of the Duke of Anjou: and so Philip* was preferred before his elder brother continuing the possession of the name of Hardy, the which he purchased in defending his father *Iohn* so stoutly at the battell of Poitiers. But he encreased this name of Hardy so much in his cariage, leauing it hereditary to his children, conuerting this stoutnesse into an imperious presumption, which bred a huge deluge of miseries to the great perill of the whole Realme. The day after the coronation, the States beseech the Regent to provide for the reliefe of the poore people, whose burthen was too heauy for the great charges they were to pay of debts growne in former reignes, and the rather for that there was no warre which imposed the necessity of so great a charge.

The Regent did not yeeld thereunto, but continued these leaues of money more and more, which was the occasion of tumults in diuers Prouinces of France, as if this popular humor had beene like vnto a pestilent feuer, or an infectious disease. Flanders likewise kindred great fires vpon sundry occasions, which were quenched with much trouble, and memorable combustions. Flanders shall embarke first in this storme, and shall last to land not without danger by strange accidents; to teach Princes how farre they should presse their subiects; and for subiects, with what respect they should reuerence their superiors, in seeking out remedies for their afflictions; for in the end (amidst these tumults) the victors weepe and lament in the ruine and notable losse and overthrow of the vanquished.

We haue sayd that *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, made a composition for the Gantois with the Earle of Flanders his father in law. But this accord lasted not long: for the Earle disdainning the indignities hee had digested, during the sedition, could not forget them; but vnder fained quarrels, (to the end they should haue no cause of complaint, as breaking the accord) he pincheth some, and ruines others: and for that the Gantois stood vnder their guard, nor suffering the Earles men to attempt any thing within the limits of the

City,

1380

A City, he made a search in the Citie of Bruges (where he commanded absolutely) for such as had been of the faction of White-caps, where he executed about 500. This execution kindled a new fire: Gant falls to armes, and Ypre follows; to whose succour the Gantois send three thousand men. The Earle being the stronger, cutteth them in pieces betwixt Courtray and Pourpaigny, as they march: Ypre yeelds vnto him; being entred the towne, he cuts off seauen hundred of the chiefe men heads: and then without any stay, hee marcheth to Gand, and besiegeth it. But his forces were too small in regard of that great and spacious Citie, so as hauing employed all his meanes, they had still the liberty of foure gates.

B The Gantois loth to be shut vp, and to endure the discommodities of a siege, hauing a wonderfull aduantage by the numbers of their people, resolute to provide well for the guard of the City, and then to draw forth a good troope to spoyle the Country, and to force some of the Earles places, thereby to make a diuersion of the siege. They goe to the field with sixe thousand choice men, vnder the command of *Iohn de Launoy* one of their Tribunes. They take and burne Tenremonde and Gramont, townes belonging to the Earle, committing infinite spoiles in the Country. The Earle leaues the siege, and marcheth away with an intent to fight with them. He finds them neare to Niuelle, chargeth them, defeats them, and purs them to flight: They recover the gates of Niuelle, and the Earle enters with them pell mell; some of them (led by *Launoy*) recover the Fort of the towne: the Earle besiegeth them, and causeth many fagots and bauns to be brought about this Tower, and to be set on fire. All these poore wretches are burnt, making most horrible cries. This Tribune entreateth, that they might be receiued to ranfome, and shewing his pite, but receiuing no answer from them, but scornes and mockes, he casts himselfe from the top of the Tower vpon their Halberds and Pikes, and so he dies very valiantly. This sight was horrible, and truly vnworthy of a Lord displeased with his subiects, and yet he continued it with a new slaughter of this poore people, who being amazed with this great defeat, had neither feet to runne, nor hands to defend themselves. All are put to the sword, so as of sixe thousand, there hardly escaped three hundred. But the Gantois shall soone haue their reuenge. At the brute hereof, they were as much amazed, as the Earle was put vpon with pride to pursue his victory, being in so ready a way for the execution and pursuit thereof.

In this disorder, the Gantois choose another head, *Philip* of Arteuille, sonne to *Iames* of Arteuille, (who (as we sayd) was slaine by the people) who aduise them to humble themselves vnto their Earle, and to craue pardon. They are resolute, hauing necessity for their chiefe Councillor, praying and beseeching their Earle, *To haue pitié of the blood of his subiects, who submitted their liues and goods to his mercy, to dispose at his pleasure, either in pardoning them, or suffering them to depart, in abandoning their native Country, as a perpetual banishment, that it would please him onely to grant them their liues.* The Earle was greatly incensed against them, and in such a choler, as they could receiue no other answer. E But that all sorts within the City, men and women above the age of fifteene yeares, should bare-foot and bare-headed submit themselves to his mercy, and bring in this estate, hee would advise what to doe.

The people of Gant seeing him transported with wrath, and no meanes to pacifie it, they resolute (by the aduice of *Philip* of Arteuille, their leader, in this extreme necessity) to hazard all, and not to hope for any safety but in despaire: being the least of two mischiefs, to dye courageously, for the liberty of their country, and defending themselves against the vniust violence of so inexorable a man; then hauing sene their wives & daughters deslowred, they should either suruiue their infamie, or be slaine and massacred without any defence, like dogges, at the mercy of so cruell an enemy. The event, or rather God the protector of the afflicted, fauoured this courageous resolution. For the effecting hereof, they make choise of sixe thousand of their most resolute and best armed men, to try their fortunes against the Earle, and provide the best they can for the guard of the City: with a generall resolution and consent, That if these sixe thousand men should be defeated, to the end they should not attend the doubtfull euent of a siege, nor fall into the hands of so irreconcilable an enemy, they would set fire of the City, and euery one saue himselfe as he could.

This being concluded, *Philip* of Arteuille parts from Gant, with his desperate troop,

T 2

and

The Gantois  
goe to field  
with an army  
and are defeated.

They sue for  
mercy.

The Earle  
makes the  
Gantois des-  
perate.

The Earle of  
Flanders seeks  
revenge of his  
subiects.

1380

The Earle of  
Flanders de-  
feated by the  
Gantois.

and marcheth directly to Bruges, takes a feat of advantage, and intrencheth himselfe, attending the opportunity, either to defend themselves with advantage, or to fall vpon the enemy. The Earle putt vp with his first successe, imagining them too few for the Lacquesies belonging to the Gentlemen of his traine, came to charge them within their trenches, and to force them to fight. *Arteuille* not like a Brewer of beere, as he was, but as a great Captaine, ordered his troopes with such dexterity, as the Earles army had the Sun in their eyes: vpon this sudden change, hauing a full view of the Earles men, he goes resolutely to the charge, leading forth this desperate troope, which fell vpon them like a great streame of water, breaking forth suddenly, hauing found a passage. The first ranks (troubled with the Sun-beames which dazled their eyes, and not able to withstand so violent a charge) giue way, and turning their backs, they disorder all the rest.

The Gantois vpon this advantage, reare all in pieces they encounter; as famished wolues doe in a flocke of sheepe. This braue Nobility flies, as astonied, and is put to the sword. The Earle cries, entreats, and runnes, but all in vaine: he that had the swiftest horse, and the best legges to flye, was the most valiant. The retreat from thence to Bruges was neere the multitude flies thither, like a current of water. The Earle enters with the rest, not able to gather his men againe together, and thrusts himselfe into his Castle.

The Gantois following, and killing them that fled, enter pel mel, and seized vpon the gates. *Arteuille* hauing speedily provided for the guard thereof, the Gantois (being victors) dispersed themselves throughout the City, crying against the vanquished. *C. The City is wonne*: and liberty proclaimed for the good Citizens, killing all such as they found to fauour the Earle, searching all houses for his seruants, and commanding to spare the good Citizens. The Earle foreseeing by this brute that the enemy would presently pursue him, he suddenly leaues his rich attire, and takes the simplest of one of his Grooms, and so forsakes the Castle, to seek some corner to hide his head in. Hee was scarce gone out, but his Castle was beset, and easily taken and spoyled, whilest that he saues himselfe in a poore womans house: where in her silly cottage she had only one room beneath, and about a garret, to the which they mounted by a ladder. The Earle creeps into this cabin, and the woman hides him in the bed-straw, where her children did lie, and coming downe, tooke away the ladder. The Gantois hauing made search in euery corner for the Earle, they came to the house where the Earle was, and searching it, they went vpon to the place where hee lay hidden. He that could haue read the secrets of this poore princes heart, in this amazement, should haue seene a remorse of conscience, for that hee had not intreated his subiects with more mildnesse. Being thus freed, he creeps out of this cottage, and gets forth of the towne, being alone, and on foot: running from bush to bush, and from ditch to ditch, fearing euery one that passed: when as behold (lying hidden in a ditch) he discouers a household seruant of his owne, named *Robert Marshal*, who takes him vp on horse-backe behind him, and in this order he recouers Life.

This vnexpected successe bred new designs in the franticke braine of this Tribune: and of this furious multitude, who should haue bene satisfied to haue auoided shipwrack, and (returning to their houses) should haue fallen to their vsuall trades, and haue vied this profitable successe to good purpose, and made their peace with their lawfull Lord, being sufficiently chastised. But vanity thrusts them on, and the certaintie of Gods threats sheweth it selfe in the following punishment: to teach vs, *That man hath but the misery which he seekes by his owne folly*. A generall lesson for great and small, both for men, Families, and States.

*Arteuille* with his Gantois (hauing glutted themselves with the sacke and blood of such as were any way affected to the Earle, hauing spoiled his Castle, and left it desolate, beaten downe the gates of Bruges, and filled vp the ditches) from thence they goe to conquer the other cities of Flanders, where he conceived a new Empire. Presently all obey him: Ypre, Dam, Bergues, Bourbourg, Furnes, Sluse, Pourprigne, Courtray and the lesser townes, Audenard resists: It is presently besieged. At the brute of this successe, all Flanders flies thither, so as in few dayes there were about a hundred thousand men assembled before the towne. The Earle amazed with so violent a reuolt of all his subiects, hath recourse to his son in law *Philip Duke of Bourgogne*, that by his meanes he might be liued from the King: although he were more affected to the English then French, hauing bene too much respected by our Kings. A proud Prince in prosperity, and too much de-

The Earle of  
Flanders in  
great per-  
plexity.

All Flanders  
rushes and  
joynes with  
the Gantois.

1382

King Charles  
succours the  
Earle of Fla-  
nders contrary  
to the aduice  
of the Regent  
and Councell.

A iested in aduersity. The Regent and the Councell refused to venture the King with this man in so dangerous a cause: but two reasons moued the King thereunto, and made him ouerrule both the Duke of Aniou his Vncle, and his whole Councell by the perswasions of the Duke of Bourgogne. The one was *Arteuille* himselfe, who during the siege of Audenard (not content to haue ruined the Noblemens houses of the country) had made some roades vpon the frontiers of France.

The other was, King Charles dreamed that hee was mounted vpon a flying Hart, which caried him gently through the ayre, and a Heron vnder him, which did beat downe all other birds, came then flying to his fist, and the Hart brought him to the place from whence he caried him, to his great content. As the King conceived a delight to report this dreame, as preface of some good successe, so the Duke of Bourgogne laboured to draw him into Flanders. The King vpon these motives doth presently leaue an armie, and goes to field. *Arteuille* to avoid this storme, fortifies the passages of Flanders, especially Pont du Lis, neere vnto Comines. The French surpriseth this passage politely, hauing attended all night in the dirtie marsh vp to the ancles, expecting the commoditie of the passage. Their patience was the more commendable, for that it was in the depth of a sharp winter, in December. Comines and Verrain being taken, sackt and burnt, the towne of Ypre kills their Governour, who would not suffer them to obey the King, and yeeld themselves, paying fortie thousand franks for a composition. By their example, Cassel, Bergues, Bourbourg, Graue, Lin, Furnes, Dunckerke, Pourprigne, Tourmont, Vaillant, Messine, and other neighbour townes resolute to seaze vpon their Gouvernours, being *Gantois*: and so send them bound hands and feet vnto the King, as a testimonie that they had yeelded vpon force.

Charles receiues the townes to mercie, and cuts off the heads of these vnlawfull Gouvernours. *Arteuille* fearing the reuolt of other Cities, and that his forces (which were great) would fall from him, resolues to preuent Charles, and to force him to fight, promising himselfe the like successe as he had against the Earle before Bruges. With this resolution he chargeth the French armie betwixt Corray and Rosebecque, vpon the Mount of gold, which at the first shocke did somewhat amaze them, they recoyling a little, but without any disorder: yet supported by the Bataille and reere-ward, they breathe, and all together charge this multitude with so great a furie, as all are put to flight, and cut in peeces, or taken with a strange disorder. They number about threecore thousand men slaine, and an infinite number of prisoners taken: after the Nobilitie had glutted their choller vpon this seditious rabble, who had made rebellion, a vertue, *Philip* of *Arteuille* their leader was slaine: hee was found breathing among the dead carcases, whom the King commanded to be hanged, and so he had the reward of his imagined Empire.

This double euent may serue as a lesson, both for great and small, for great men, in the Earles person; for small, in that of this Tribune. For the first, to command well, for the others to obey well: and for all, not to passe the bounds of their duties. God punishing the great for their tyranny and crueltye, and the lesser for their disobedience: dangerous plagues of mankind, the which cannot stand but by order and authoritie well gouerned, and well applied.

They call this overthrow the battaile of Rosebecque, which chanced in the yeare 1382. in December. It was the more remarkable, for that the vanquished had soon their reuenge. Charles thus victorious, could not manage his victorie; for in stead of surprisng the Gantois in this amazement, he lingers too long at Corray, to seek out the remainder of those miserable mutines, which remained in this defeat: whereas, in pardoning the vanquished, the Victor gets a double victorie.

This place also (being infamous by a great overthrow which chanced in the yeare 1312) moued him to choler, for that this ill aduised people, to note the memorie of that day, did celebrate a solemne feast yeafely, and had reserved 500 paire of gilt spurres, which they had taken from the French in that battell. Charles was so transported with the memory of this audacious indignitie, as he caused this poore Towne to be burnt. An vnworthy reuenge of so great a Monarch, who should hold it the greatest reuenge vpon his enemies, to pardon when he may reuenge. The duke of Bourgogne in all this confusion, did not forget to seeke for goodly moueables, whereof there was abundance. He caried away that goodly clocke, and that exquisite tapistrie, which is now at Dijon in the Kings house.

The Gantois seeing their ruine, fle to *Richard King of England*: they choole *Francis Arretman*,

1384

Gantois seeks  
succour from  
England.

*Arteman*, one of their Citizens, for their head, and renew the league of white caps, more obstinately then before, being resolved to die, rather then to trust their Eale, to whom they imputed the cause of all their miseries, the which had continued five yeares, and deuoured two hundred thousand men. So farall are ciuill dissentions betwixt the Lord and his subjects. *Lewis* their Earle hauing laboured to settle his affaires both by the French and English, against the Gantois, feeling daily the inconueniences of this rebellious people, as thornes in his sides, fell into such a melancholie, as he died, leauing his whole estate much troubled, to his sonne in law, *Philip Duke* of Bourgongne, who being farre engaged in his father in lawes quarrell, was nothing pleasing to this his people.

A strange  
meanes to pa-  
cifie Gant.

The warre was renewed, both by practices of the English, and by the meanes of *Arteman*, the head of that faction, who hauing tasted the sweet of popular command, desired nothing more then to maintain this diuision: but there fell out a sodaine accident, which pacified all this great trouble, as a little raine doth a great winde. Two citizens of Gant (whose names deserued well to be registered in this history) discoursing one day of their common miseries, and noting the true causes of these calamities within their city, as feeling the wound, they fought the meanes to cure it, the which had continued so long, and cost their miserable country so deare. The Kings pleasure, and the Duke of Bourgongnes must be knowne: they were not ignorant of the peoples humour, being very wearie of so many miseries.

Their enterprise was not without exceeding danger, by the absolute authority of three or foure, who had most credit with the people, being susceptible of any mischief, whom they are thrust forward with a shew of good. It was requisite in the managing of so important a businesse to vse wisdom and secrecy, vntill the foundation were well laid: and for the execution thereof, there needed one which had both credit and authority with both parties. The God of peace presented one vnto them, which gouerned this action discreetly. *Iohn Delle*, a gentleman of Gant, but bred vp in the court of France. He that seeks peace, findes it. This *Delle* goes to the King, & the Duke of Bourgongne; he laies open his designe, and is well entertained. He returns with a good answer, both by letters of credit, and priuate instructions, to the Gantois. At his returne the matter is so well furthered by those two citizens (who were in great reputation with the people) as without the pteuoy of *Arteman*, or the English Negotiators, the banner of Flanders (the signall of that popular power) is solemly planted in the great Market place. All the people flocke thither, where hauing signified vnto the chiefe Magistrates, that they would haue peace, and obey the Duke of Bourgongne their Prince; Deputies are appointed with power to negotiate and conclude a peace with him. This was effected after a long confusion, to the content, both of the Earle and Flemings. Of a light beginning, God performs a great worke, when it pleaseth him. Thus the Duke of Bourgongne pacified Flanders in the year 1384, when as he feared greatest tumults by meanes of some seditious persons: to whose great griefe a peace was proclaimed throughout all the Estates of Flanders, which gave an incredible content to all the people after so many miseries.

Peace in Fland-  
ers.Charles mar-  
ries with Is-  
abel of Bawaria.

Now King *Charles* grew great, and although he were but sixteen yeeres of age, yet was he desirous to marry. The Duke of Aniou his Vncle, according to the aduice which King *Charles* the wife had giuen on his death bed, thought good to seeke him out a *Mariage* in Germany, in the house of Bawaria, to counterballance the credit of the Emperours *Mariage*, no friend to the House of France, what few sooner he made. Hee therefore matcht with *Isabel* the daughter of *Stephen* Duke of Bawaria, a Princesse from whom they expected much good: but the brought infinit troubles to France, as wee shall see hereafter. Thus mans wilddome is deceived, when as he hopes for best: that God might be knowne for the author of all good, both in the family and State. This imperious *Proserpina*, possessed the preuerbe, *That a woman raiseth, or ruines a house*. She had almost ouerthrowne the State. But shortly there shall an Italian woman be ioyned to this Germane, to augment the confusions of this reigne, reasonable good in the beginning, but very miserable at the end. This yeere likewise concluded a peace in Britany, after many troubles, *John* Montfort hauing renewed his homage to the King, and sworne fealty, which shall not continue, to the great preiudice of the King and his realme.

Peace in Bri-  
tany.

The truce was continued in shew betwixt France and England, but with no more intent of the two Kings, then betwixt capitall enemies, who fought to annoy one another by all attempts.

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Charles sends  
men and mu-  
nition into  
Scotland.

*Charles* hauing pacified Flanders & Britany, resolves to be reuenged of *Richard*, who had fought all meanes to annoy him in either prouince, besides the ordinary brauadoes hee gaue him within the heart of his realme. Hee therefore sends a thousand men at armes to *David* King of Scots, and threecore Ships well appointed with furniture to arme twelve thousand men of his country, vnder the command of *Iohn* of Vienne, Admirall of France. Their entry into Scotland was pleasing, but the Scottishmen grew loone discontented with our men, either through their fault or ours, they accusing vs of infolency and loofenesse, and wee them of barbarousnesse and cruelty to their friend a stranger, who came to succour them.

This diuision caused *David* to make a peace with *Richard*, and our Admirall of Vienne to returne speedily home with his Frenchmen: but not without obstruing the manners, strength and commodities of this Island, diuided into two kingdomes. And lest hee should seeme to haue made a fruitlesse voiage, yelding an account vnto the King of what he had done, seen and learned in Scotland, he lets him vnderstand, that the strength of Scotland consisted but in five thousand horse, and thirty thousand foote halfe armed. And that of England in eight thousand horsemen, and 60000. footmen. This relation (were it true or false) gaue aduice to assaile the King of England in his owne country, where he might be vanquished with more facility then abroad, the which so moued the minde of this young prince (transported with the great harmes suffered with much indignity by the English) as it was easie for the Duke of Bourgongne whom it much concerned to haue the English molested, being often disquieted by them in his country of Flanders, to perswade the King to vndertake this warre. Opportunity did likewise seeme to iouine him, for that the Duke of Lancaster (pretending right to the realme of Castile by his Wife) had exhausted England, both of men and money, and the Gantois being pacified, all Flanders would be held in subiection by this check.

Charles re-  
solves to  
make warre  
in England.

The Regent acquainted with the Duke of Bourgongnes humour being his brother, (who for his priuate interest would hazard the whole) and noting the eminent dangers in the Kings person (who would imbarke himselfe in this action) the great want of money, the peoples exclamations, the great danger of tumults by the great exactions which must be made, and in the action it selfe, the inconueniency so apparent to any one that would open his eyes, the impossibility of so great an enterprise, to assaile a great King (so oft a Conquerour) within his owne Realme, not holding any land there; hee was vterly against it, yet he spake soberly, lest hee should offend the King, who greatly affected it.

*Lewis* Earle of Touraine the Kings brother (who soone shall be Duke of Orleans) the Constable *Cliffon*, the Earle of Saint Pol, the Lord of Coufly, and others in whom *Charles* had most trust, had beene so perswaded by the Duke of Bourgongne, as they had nothing els in their mouths, nothing founded in this young Princes eares, but the necessity, profit, honour and facility of this voiage. What my Liege (say they) are you lesse then the King of England? shall the French yeeld to the English in valour, courage or force? what an indignity is it to haue this people alwaies at our gates, to nourish them in our bosomes, and to furnish them with armes to beat vs? what a benefit will it be to take their nest from them, and leaue them no place of retreat? The Countries of Guienne, Normandy, Picardy and Flanders, are wholly yours. How much doth that import for the honour of your Majesty, and the good of your Realme, to returne them their owne, who haue so often defeated your armies, taken your ancestors, spoiled your Estate, braued it in your townes, & besieged your chiefe City of Paris: As for the facility of the execution, who fees not but you may effect it if you please? The Saxons conquered England with a handful of men, farre from their owne home, and with small meanes; and *William* the Conquerour with his sword alone. And you my Liege hauing a realme full of men, victuals and money, euen at your enemies gate, shall not you preuaile? England opens her armes vnto you: your Realme inuities you, which without doubt will employ both heart and purse for so great and generous a designe, the which imports both the honour and quiet of your Majesty.

Such and like speeches they did continually buzze into *Charles* his eares, but from his Chamber they were published in the Court, and so throughout the whole realme, as that which pleaseth the King doth commonly please all. The designe was to be wished against a capitall enemy of the State, and the proceeding had a faire shew. At the general instance of all the French, the King decrees in Councell, to leauy a great army, for the voiage of

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Preparation  
for the warre  
of England.A strong fort  
of wood  
made.The prepara-  
tion of the  
English for  
their defence.

of England: letters are sent out to all parts, subsidies, taxes, loans imposed, greater than during the imprisonment of King *John*, but all was shadowed with this reason: That they must endeavour once for all, to roote out the English, who vndermined this Estate, and sought to ruine it. This decree was put in execution with great applause of all men, as if France had laid new foundations of her greatness, both to warrant it selfe from danger at hand, to have a reuenge of former losses, and to build a new Estate at the cost of the common enemy of the French nation. The Navy is prepared at Sculuse and Blanbergue in the great content of the Flemings. They armed foure hundred eighty seuen ships for war, with an infinite quantity of victuals, the which came from all parts like to a flowing stream. The Nobility strives who shalbe best appointed. Strange Princes are invited. The King of Spaine (then a friend to our King) the Earle of Sauoy, the Dukes of Saxony and Bawarie send men. Our Princes will not yeeld one to another in costly shewes: they adde superfluous curiosity to necessity. They paint and gild their Ships, all glisters with goodly flagges, Penons, Banners, Standards, and Streamers. The Masts painted with rich ground shining with leaues of gold, gaue notice to all men, that they went not onely to a certaine victory, but to some ioyfull nuptials. But all this feast was made without any reckoning with God, who laughs from heauen at these ants, that strue to climbe without a ladder and at princes, who made these brauadoes at the poore peoples cost, who remembered not that God hath a soueraine court, and a register to controll their actions, and to oppose against their Vanities. The Army was prepared in two places, in Flanders, and in Britany. It consisted of twenty thousand Knights and Squires, as many Genouois archers on foot, and fise hundred men at armes Britains, vnder the command of the Constable *Cliffon*, who was with the Fleet in Britany. They had a care safely to lodge this great Army after their descent in England, expecting with safety the variable euent of warre, against a King and people, whom they came to fight with, on their owne dunghill. To prevent all inconueniences, they build a great frame or engine (some attribute this inuention to the Constable *Cliffon*, others to *John* of Viennne, Admirall of France, who had laid the first plot of this enterprise) like to a towne of warre, with towers, bastions, bulwarks, flanks, and other defences, according to the manner of that age. There was a lodging for the King and his court, according to the degrees of princes, officers, and noblemen of mark: lodgings for the chiefe of the army, according to their quarters, and space to set vp their tents and pavillions, halls and common places for the munition and victuals which followed the army, and to conclude, conuenient roome to imbattell a great number of men of warre.

This inclosure or frame was round, and made of many peeces with admirable art, and so great abundance of stiffe, as if they had cut downe a whole Forrest: it was finished with wonderfull speed, by the great number of workemen which came from all parts. To the men, ships, victuals, and this engine, the Kings court gaue an extraordinary beauty, being accompanied with the Dukes of Lorraine and Bar, the Earles of Sauoy, Armagnac, Geneue, Saint Pol, Longueuille, Eu, Dauphin of Auvergne, the Lord Cousily, Mahe *William* of Namur, with all the great Barons of France, and an infinite number of nobility who imbarcked themselves more willingly then in the voyage to the Holy Land. Thus was the preparation made in France for England, where they remained in great perplexity, to see so great a storme ready to fall vpon them. They provide the best they can, first by deuotion, (hauing recourse vnto God) then they fortifie their Ports and all passages with great diligence, both with men of warre, and all sorts of incombers, to helpe those places which nature had made of hard access to this Island. They say that *Richard* leaued a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, which was not answerable in the Admirals relation, the first Architect of this ridiculous attempt. But thus are Princes oftentimes abused, imbarcking themselves in dangerous actions without reason, whose ends are not answerable to their beginnings.

All was ready in the end of September: the King had provided for the government of the realme in his absence, leauing his brother *Lewis* Earle of Tourain, assisted with the duke of Berry his vnckle, and the bishop of Beauuais his Chancellor. Thus he parts from Paris, and comes to Sculuse with great speed, to recover the time lost. The Regent (should not abandon his person in so long and important a voyage, but he staies behind the King, promising to follow presently, but his meaning was to bring this enterprise to nothing. The King being ariued, the houres of stay are tedious, hee tels the minutes, and complains

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A of the time lost: hee sollicites his vnckle to come by sundry letters, and sends poste after poste, hee stampes, hee chafes by reason of his stay. The whole Court is of the same humor. The Duke of Aniou answers the King, that he will part to morrow, but he staies at Paris to make good cheere at leisure, of purpose to draw on winter, to make the voyage impossible, and so to ouerthrow the action, the which was neuer pleasing vnto him, either for that it was pleasing to the Duke of Bourgongne his brother, and so to crosse him, or for that he held it preiudiciall to the King and his Realme.

But seeing himselfe prest by importunity, and impatient letters from the King, he parts from Paris, and the same day the Constable *Cliffon* weighs anchor at Lantriguer in Britany, with his great Towne of wood, and 72. ships of warre, meaning to ioiune with the whole body of the army at Sculuse: but it fell out contrary to his designe, and otherwise then the facility of his supposed victory had represented vnto him.

For hauing run his course towards Flanders, to take port at Sculuse, behold a contrary wind casts him vpon the coast of England, where (knowwithstanding all the diligence of his Mariners) his fleet was disperfed into diuers parts, three ships (wherein this great Engine was) are driuen into England, and runne on ground at the mouth of the Riuer of Thames. Behold our Argonauts as much amazed to see themselves taken in a weire, as the English were glad, who with ioy and admiration see themselves possessed (beyond all hope, & without any paine) of that which had cost their enemies so much to ruine them.

C These newes flie speedily to King *Richard*, who commands this great booty to bee brought vp the riuer vnto him, whither all the Country flockes to so strange a spectacle, and euery one holds it for a presage of good successe, to haue taken their City, which should haue taken them. Another part of the fleet is driuen into Zealand, and the Constable of Cliffon with the rest ariues at Sculuse, much amazed at this first disaster.

All their ioy of an assured victory, is conuerted into a generall feare, lest some new losse should follow this vnfortunate beginning. But whilst this amazement troubled most of the French, the Duke of Bourgongne and those of his faction (who desired the performance of this voyage at any rate) made these difficulties light, as common accidents which should not hinder great enterprises, the which cannot bee executed with-

D out some crosse, for the which they must seek a remedy, and not despair: He had perswaded the King againe, easie to be drawne to what he desired. Hereupon the Regent ariues, who (seeing the King resolved to imbarque) vailles his maske, speakes plainly, and tels the King in his Councell; That he will neuer consent hee should expose his person and estate to the hazard of the sea, of weather, and of warre, and vpon an aduice which seemed apparently false: being most certaine that the King of England had assembled aboue a hundred thousand fighting men. That these first losses were aduertisements from heauen to bridle those vaine hopes, which are sooner conceiued then brought forth. He had alwayes sufficiently declared, that it was not his aduice, yet for that hee would not seeme to contradict the Kings will, and crosse such as gaue him this counsell, as honorable to himselfe, and profitable to his Realme, he would not rashly oppose himselfe. But seeing now that God spake, he did open his mouth the more boldly, bearing in his heart a faithfull zeale vnto the Kings seruice, and the good of the State. That shortest errors being best, it were better to retire in time, then to make an absolute shipwracke of the Kings person, and the honor and good of the Realme, too much dismembred by former afflictions. This check from heauen which God hath sent, Winter, and the feare of worse, made the Regents aduice to be allowed, both by the King and his counsell, who changed opinion for their voyage to England. So this great enterprise was disappointed, being very preiudiciall to the poore people, who endured the warre that their enemy should haue felt, by an vnreasonable and excessive charge.

I haue quoted this action in the year 1381. vnder the Regency of the Duke of Aniou. I know some attribute it to the Duke of Berry, but I haue followed the first opinion, vpon the relation of true Authors, and as it shall appeare by the progresse of this report most likely. This action was the cause of seditions at Paris and Rouen, bred without doubt by the discontent of this bad government: for this great shew so incensed the people (being weary and grieved to haue borne so great a burthen for so vaine an enterprise) as they rise at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Poitiers, Lions, and many other Cities, by this new occasion, which presently succeeded the first folly.

The

Part of the  
French nauie  
disperfed at sea.The Regent  
opposed him-  
selfe directly  
against this  
voyage.



1382

Sedition at  
Paris.Naples offered  
to the Regent.

The Regent was blamed by the people, to haue been too slack in his opposition against this preparation for England, and the chiefe in Court hated him for being so hasty, so that he was the only stay thereof. This ill thought of by both, hee was maligned of all hands. It chanced the Realme of Naples was offered vnto him by *Queene Ioane & Pope Clement the 7.* This was his whole desire, but he must conquer it by dint of sword. The title only was offered him, both by her that might giue it as being heire, and by him that might confirme the donation as being Pope. All the Kings counsell (being weary of the Regents command) wished to see him gone, but they must fly to the people for money, the which was hard to get, as experience did witness.

Presently, as they hear talk at Paris of a new imposition (although they sweetned these bitter pilles with the goodly name of subsidies) all the world begins to cry out, and from Paris the brute flies through the whole Realme. The people runne tumultuously to the Greue, they desire the Prouost of Merchants to bring them to the Regent, the which delays from day to day by excuses, but in the end he cannot retaine them. A great multitude runs to the Regents lodging, they giue him to vnderstand by their prouost, into what extremity they were brought, and vrge the late superfluous expences. To what end then (say they) serueth a new war to conquer a new kingdome in the ayre with the ruine of the widow and the Orphelin? This was not decreed, nor practised by the good & wise King *Charles*, whereunto he had bound his son, who should not suffer the memory of his fathers ashes to bee taxed with this dishonor. The Chancellor *Dourmans* speaks at the Regents request, hee laies before their eyes the necessity of this voyage, whereby both the King and Realme might reape profit and honor, promising the King should provide for the reliefe of the people. This was gently put off, to makethem lose this humour in diuiding them, but the people continue more obstinate, they require a plaine and resolute answer to their demand, so as the next day, they come in troopes before the Kings lodgings, where the whole counsell was assembled with the Regent.

The King giues audience to the prouost of Merchants in the peoples name, who delivers the same complaints. Then *Iohn de Marais* an aduocate in Parliament, an eloquent and popular man, prepared carefully for the purpose, makes a goodly & artificiall oration to diuert the people from this bitterness, laying before them their duties, the necessity of the Kings affaires, and the good which should redound by the enterprise of this foreign warre. Hee omitted nothing of the office of a good Orator, but he prevailed not, for the people going from thence, without respect of the King or his counsell, runne presently to the Iewes, Lombards, & such other Merchants houses as had been accustomed to gather all publike exactions, they break vp their shops & counting-houses, they take away what was good, and ill intreat all such as they meet of their profession, yet they kill no man in this first tumult. The Regent winking at this insolency, and fearing lest it should increase by mouing the people already in choller, thinkes it best to referre the matter to another time, vntill the fume of this bitter discontent were blowne ouer, aduertisements coming from all parts of the realme, that the Cities grew into the like humour.

But all this dissuades him not from his enterprise, he employs all such as he thinkes fit to win the people. *Iohn de Marais*, *Peter de la Riviere*, *James Andelle*, & such like Tribunes, who seemed to be in credit with the people, in shewing themselves affected to the common good: And to lose no time, he prepares his army, being resolute to leauy this imposition by force, whatsoeuer it cost. The farmers of this leauy, haue charge to begin it. A Collector at the Halles requiring a denier from a poore woman, for a basket of herbs, she crying out, a great troope flocke about this Collector and reare him in peeces.

But this is not all, in this tumult all runne together on heapes: Porters, Pedlers, Carriers, Butchers, Taverners, and such like, the scumme of the baser sort, they goe in troopes to the towne-houfe, they breake open the doores, and take such armes as they finde. By the Constables command they had made beetles or axes to arme their men withall, they take them, and so yse them, as this sedition was afterwards called, by the name of *Mulins*. Being thus armed, they goe to the Farmers lodgings, beat downe the doores, breake open cofers, cubboards, and counting-houses, they draw forth their bookes and papers, they teare and burne them, they take away money and mouebles, and in the end they kill and massacre all the Farmers they can finde, searching all corners of their houses. They cry that one had saued himselfe in Saint *Iames* Church at the Butchery, they runne thither,

The cruel  
insolency of the  
Parisians.

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A thither, and murder him holding the Image of the blessed Virgin in his armes. Some faue themselves in S. Germaines Abbey, where they are presently besieged. But whilst that some labour after this siege, the rest run to the prisons of the Chasteler and Fourl' Euefque where they release the prisoners and arme them. They bethinke themselves of a head, there was a very sufficient man in prison named *Hugh Aubriot*, who in former times had beene Prouost of the Merchants, and had with honour executed great charges; both in the Treasury and State, but for certaine dislikes of the Vniuersitie, (which was then in great credit at Paris) hee was condemned to perpetual prison. This multitude drawes him forth, vpon promise to be their leader, but being at liberty he slips away and retires wisely to Dijon: being loth to ingage himselfe in these popular confusions; the which discreet men doe flie as plagues in a common-weale. This rabble finding themselves countenanced with a Commander so well experienced, presume farther, yet seeing themselves abandoned by the departure of *Aubriot*, and recalling themselves from this phrensie, their hearts faint, and euery one bethinkes himselfe how to yeeld an account of that which had chanced, all this zeale of publike good vanishing away with the consideration of priuate danger. Such as had most to lose (finding themselves actors in these insolencies) seeke for counsell of *Iohn de Marais* a popular Aduocate, intreating him to be intercessor for them vnto the King. The Vniuersity is also requested to employ their credit with the Prouost of Merchants and other notable Citizens, which were not guilty of these phrenesies.

There is a number chosen to goe to the King, and to sue for pardon. These deputies, in their habits, countenances and words, shew the greatest sorrow that may bee, for an offence committed. *Iohn de Marais* is their Aduocate, the King hauing heard them, sends them away, vntill his Counsell had aduised what answer to make: who decrees, That for punishment of this popular insolency, the City of Paris should pay a hundred thousand Franks, and the heads of this sedition (with such as had broke the prisons,) should bee at the Kings discretion.

They sue to the  
King for par-  
don.

This decree is deliuered to *Iohn de Marais* to make knowne vnto the Parisians, in whose name he had spoken to the Kings Counsell. He acquaints them with the Article for the defence, and conceales the punishing of the Authors of this sedition: whether it were by commandement, or otherwise, the History makes no mention: yet he kept their heads and his owne for the Scaffold, as we shall presently see, to reape the deserved punishment for dealing in these dangerous affaires, and to pay a deare interest of their popular brokerage. The Parisians tamed by this reprehension, pay the hundred thousand Franks, as a fine for their folly, and the whole taxation imposed for the warre of Naples, without any question.

These summes are giuen to the Regent for his voyage into Italy, where his brethren, the Constable of Clifton, and the greatest part of the Counsell wished him, rather then in France (the Chancellor *Dourmans* only excepted, who soone shall reape the fruit of his departure) notwithstanding any shew they made him, to see him in good way to settle his greatnesse. He parts from Paris taking an honourable leaue of the King, of his brethren, and of the whole Court, leauing the Regency to the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, vntill his returne. But taking the way of Italy, he takes the way of much paine, and the Rendezvous of death, which soone swallowes vp both his life and all his designs. His army was goodly, some say 30000 horse, and an infinit number of foot: others 30000 men, without specifying horse or foot, but all agree that he went to the conquest of this Realme, not only well accompanied, but also well furnished with siluer, the necessary finewes of a long war. They gaue out, that it was the Treasure of *Charles the 5.* the which he caused *Sansy* to deliuer in the beginning of his Regency.

The order of the History commands me now to set downe the titles of the Realme of Naples, for the which our *Lewis* of Aniou marcheth into Italy with his army, and the success of this voyage. We haue said that *Charles* (brother to the King S. *Lewis* Duke of Aniou and Earle of Prouence by his wife *Beatrice*, was called to the Realme of Naples by Pope *Vrbane the 4.* and conquered the possession by his sword, hauing defeated *Manfred* and *Conradin* of Sueuia.

That he was dispossessed of Sicilia at the Sicilian Euen-song, by *Peter* of Arragon, sonne in law to *Manfred*, fauoured by *Nicholas the 4.* taking from *Charles* what his predecessor

Vrbane

Lewis of Aniou  
crowned King  
of Naples goes  
to take posses-  
sion.



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*Vrbane* had giuen him, so as after hee had contended long with *Peter* of Arragon, the Realme of Naples remained vnto him, leauing it to his children with more trouble the content. This *Charles* of Aniou brother to *S. Lewis*, had many children, *Charles*, *Robert*, *Lewis*, and *Philip*. *Lewis* furnished the Lame, married *Mary* daughter of *Stephen* King of Hungary. *Charles Martel* had two sons, *Lewis* and *Andrew*, *Lewis* was Prince of Durazzo or Durachium, and *Philip* Prince of Tarentum. All appeared on this Theater in some fort, but *Robert* second son to *Charles*, was King of Naples, and Earle of Prouence: he had one sonne named *Charles*, who succeeded him in these two Estates, and he had but two daughters, *Joane* and *Marguerite*.

*Joane* as the eldest, was Queene of Naples & Countesse of Prouence, and was married to *Andrew* brother of *Lewis* King of Hungary, a loose and an audacious Princeesse, who fled her husband (as we haue said) and married with *Lewis* son to *Philip* Prince of Tarentum her cousin against all order. *Lewis* King of Hungary, son to *Charles Martel*, comes to Naples, to reuenge the murder and adultery of this mastiue bitch: who flies with her incestuous husband into Prouence, yielding him the free possession of the City of Naples, and that of the greatest part of the Realm, some places remaining in Apulia, in the guard of certain Captaines, confident seruants vnto *Joane*, who were the means to put her again speedily in possession of that Estate, soone won and soone lost. It is manifest that the inheritance of the Realme of Naples belongs to the Sea of Rome. *Lewis* King of Hungary being victor, hauing performed the duty of a good brother, and done all hee could against this villanous murderesse, returns home, leauing all his new conquest to the disposition of Pope *Clement* the 6, a Limosin, then resident in Auignon.

*Joane* means  
to recouer  
Naples.

*Joane* who was neer vnto him, and to whom Auignon (where the Popes had now long held their Sea) belonged, had no great labour, for yielding Auignon vnto him she recouered Naples, both by the Popes fauour (who had the chiefe authority,) as also by money, wherewith she did both win the Gonernors of places most easie to corrupt, and also leaued an army to force them that were most affected to the King of Hungary. Now she is settled againe in the Realme of Naples, with her adulterer *Lewis* of Tarentum, who surruined not long after this exploit of Naples and the sale of Auignon. After his death she maries presently with *Lames* of Arragon, Duke of Calabria of whom shee was soone weary, falling in loue with *Otho* of Brunwicke, a yong Germane Prince, of a good house, but not of ability to support *Joane*, so as she held him not as a husband, but vsed him as a Stallion. Amiddest these alterations of Naples, the Sea of Rome, was not quiet, for after the death of Pope *Gregory* the 11, who retired from Auignon to Rome, the Colledge of Cardinals fell to a horrible contention for the Popes election: the Romanes being relucate to haue one of their owne nation, and the French one of theirs, from whence sprung that strange Schisme whereof we shall speake.

*Vrbane* the sixt, was chosen at Rome, after the decease of *Gregory* the eleuenth, and the French Cardinals yielded to this election, but for that they said they had been forced by the Romanes, who had them in their power and threatened to kill them, vnder colour to change the aire, hauing obtained leaue to go to Anagnia, they retire to Fundi, a City of the realme of Naples, fauoured by Queene *Joane*, French by stocke and humor, and then they choose *Clement* the 7, for Pope, to oppose him against *Vrbane*. *Clement* retired to Auignon, and *Vrbane* keeps at Rome.

A Schisme in  
the Church.

Two Popes, two Seas, two Factions, which trouble all Christendome with horrible confusions. *Clement* seeks to fortifie himselfe, and as France held for him, so did he labour to haue Naples wholly at his deuotion, by reason of the neereresse, much importing for the City of Rome, where the chiefe quarrell was debated. Contrariwise *Vrbane* the sixt to bee reuenged on *Joane*, (a partisan to *Clement* the seuenth his enemy) hath recourse to *Lewis* King of Hungary the first interested, being brother to him whom this trumpet had slaine, that hee might oppose the same scourge which had already corrected her. But *Lewis* excusing himselfe by his age, and the infirmity of his body, sent him *Charles* issued from that *Lewis* Prince of Durazzo, who wee said, was sonne to *Charles* of Aniou, seeking euen in the race it selfe, a man to punish this wicked woman giuing him a goodly army to that end. *Joane* seeing this great storme ready to fall on her, flies to Pope *Clement* the 7, and by his aduice adops our *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, of whom we now treat.

*Lewis*

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*Lewis* having prepared his army and being crowned King of Naples & Sicilie by Pope *Clement* the seuenth in Auignon, hee lands at Naples, to take possession of the Realme, whereunto the lawfull heire and the Popes authority did call him. But he came too late, for *Charles* of Durazzo (being parted from Hungary with his army, and happily landed) entered the Countrey, ouer-came *Otho*, the pretended husband of *Joane*, and holding him prisoner, hee forced this miserable woman to yield vnto his mercy, the which was too great, for that hee only caused her to bee smothered betwix two pillows, desfering as cruel a death as her life had bene execrable. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, *Lewis* of Aniou (thrust forward by his owne ambition,) proceeded hauing giuen such order to his affaires (after the adoption made by *Joane* in his fauour, and the Popes coronation) as hee procured all the Captaines of places to hold for him, hauing ingaged them by money and golden promises, so as many places held good for him: and the people desired him, being glad to be freed from *Joane*, and to haue so mighty a Lord, to maintaine them in peace.

Queene *Joane*  
taken and  
smothered.

*Lewis* enters the Realme of Naples: at the first he wins Tarentum and Beri, but whilest he determines to proceed in his designs, death surpriseth him, making an end of his insinuation and of all his toyles: but not of his childrens, *Lewis* & *Charles*, nor of their posterities. Thus *Charles* Prince of Durazzo, of the race of Aniou (called the Hungariens, for that he had bene borne and bred in Hungary, and brought vp by King *Lewis*) remained peaceable King of Naples, leauing two children, *Ladislaus* and *Joane*, who shall prepare a new stage, whereon our Princes shall soone play their parts, as you shall vnderstand. Let vs now returne to France: The Duke of Anious departure put all authority into the hands of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, who began to manage the affaire of State at their pleasures. There was no great loue betwix them, although they were brethren, but onely to maintaine themselves against such as might hinder their ambitious projects. And for that they had knowne the Chancellor *Dourmann*, to bee wholy affected to the Regent, they perswaded the yong King to dismisse him, for some reasons, the which are not specified in the History. But Princes want no colours when they will disgrace their seruants. *Peter Orgerius* was appointed in his place, after the seale had remained some time in the hands of *Robert* of Corby first president of the Court of Parliament at Paris, and of *Philip Moulins* a Chanoin of the said City. But Flanders (which alwaies bred some monsters in that age) stirred vp by the English, and putt vp by the ridiculous conclusion of this great and vaine preparation, began new troubles, and had practices with them of Paris, to draw the rest of the Cities of the Realme into some popular league. These newes put the King into great perplexity, the rather for that he had surprisid certain letters from the Mailloins of Paris, to the white caps of Gant, to make a correspondence betwix them, the accustomed leuaine of rebellion with ill aduised people.

The Chan-  
celor *Dourmann*  
disgraced.

As these things amaze both the King and his vncles, behold *Richard* lands at Calais, with an army vnder the command of the duke of Lancaster, who at the first spoiles Picardy, and then plants himselfe before Ypre, and besiegeth it. The Gantois had made a good lew, both to the King, and Duke of Bourgogne, vntill that time, seeming resolute to obserue their former accord: but the English army being entred into Flanders, they goe to field, and ioyned with them before Ypre. The Kings vncles muster men in all places with great diligence, and intreat their neerest friends to come speedily to their succour. The Dukes of Loraine and Bar make haste, the Duke of Britanie comes with a goodly troupe. They haue suddenly assembled 20000 Frenchmen at armes, besides the succors of Loraine and Britanie, the number of foot is not specified.

The English  
enter Picardy

*Charles* (thus accompanied) comes to Saint Denis in France, and hauing leaue of the *Maryrs* (according to the ancient custome of Kings) and giuen the foreward of his Army to the leading of the Constable *Cliffon*, and the Duke of Britanie. (the Constable marching before the Duke, by reason of his place) the ground of a dislike fell out betwix them, which being nourished by diuers occasions, shall bee the subiect of a great disaster for the King and Realme.

A great quarrel  
grows betwix  
these two  
commanders.

The King followed (accompanied with the Dukes of Berry, Bourgogne and Bourbon vncles, and the dukes of Loraine and Bar: hee lodgeth at Blandelle, two leagues from Calais, with an intent to charge the English, who presently leaue the siege of Ypre, Calais and Grauelins, and retire to Bergues, where *Charles* presently besiegeth them. The Eng-

*Charles* makes a  
truce with the  
English.

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lish demands a parlee with the Duke of Britany, they put him in mind of the benefite he had receiued from their nation, and demand requittall in this occurrent. The duke of Lancaster remains at Calais, by reason of his weaknesse: the English Capitaines require respit to vnderstand his pleasure.

Charles makes  
a trace with  
the English.

The King con-  
fide what  
course to take  
with the multi-  
tudeous Parisians.

In the end the King receiues them vpon honest conditions, to depart with baggage and to leave Flanders, the which they performe. Being returned into England, they are accused to haue sold the Earldome of Flanders to the French, so as by *Richard* command they are beheaded. The Gantois made a durisfull answer, and promised obedience and loyalty to the King. A truce was concluded for one yeare with the English, by meanes of the Duke of Lancaster for King *Richard*, and the Duke of Berry for our King *Charles*. Such was the issue of this sudden voyage of Flanders, being a meane to settle businesse of a deeper consultation and more dangerous consequence; seeing it concerned not only the heart, but the whole body of State. They fought how to suppress the sedition, which was apparently bred in Paris, and by their example, in many great Cities of the Realme. To this end *Charles* vpon his returne from this voyage, staid at *S. Denis* with his Vncle, the Constable, Chancellor, and his whole Councell: they were all troubled to resolve in so important a cause. For what should they doe? To punish the poore people tired with the wars, thrased with losses, halfe dead by the feeling of so great calamities, that were to beat one lying sicke in his bed for his waywardnesse, and not cure him of the paine which is the cause thereof. It were a meane to driue him to despair, to apply a remedy worse then the disease. And not to punish them, would argue feare, and make them grow more proud and insolent, a meane to animate them to all iniquity, and to lay the way open to a disordered rebellion.

But the last aduice prevailed, being well verified, that since the paiement of the fine, the Parisians were growne worse, and more bitter: hauing had conference with the Gantois audacious mutines, and the right artisans of rebellion, holding it a vertue to play the men against their naturall Lords: and also had so farre abused the Kings bounty, as they had presumed to sollicite the best Cities of the Realme to the like disorder. It did greatly import for the good of the Kings seruice and of the State, that such phrenesies should be suppressed by an exemplary punishment done vpon the chiefe authors. *John de Meun* was very deepe engaged in these tumults, and the more dangerously, for that hee cast a stone, and withdrew his arme, and making a shew of seruice to the King, he fed the people in these mad humors, very torches of sedition, vnder a colour of the common weale, for who can beleue they would put so famous a person to death without some iust cause. I know they write diuersly, and euery man hath his iudgment free: yet is it not true, but likely, that in pardoning a whole multitude offending, they would punish him in whom there were no shew of offence. If he were not culpable at the least, he was accused of the which was the subiect of a publike condemnation.

*Charles* being aduised to punish the Parisians for the insolencies they had committed in his presence, caused his army to lodge about the City, and on a certaine day hee came for the Prouost of Merchants and the Sherifffs, who come vnto him to *Saint Denis*, a countenance full of humility, and shew of amendment. The King gaue them to vnderstand, by *Peter Orgement* his Chancellor, that he meant to go to his City of Paris, to nish the rebels and seditious, who had not respected his presence. The prouost answered: That the whole body of the City was wonderfully grieved for that which had bene committed by men in despaire, worthy to be severely punished, but the Citizens had no community with these rascals, and that the whole City was ready to doe him faithfull seruice.

The King en-  
ters Paris with  
his army.

There were many about the King which made all odious that concerned the Parisians, but *Charles* made them no other answer, but that he would be soone at Paris, and what reason and the duty of a good King required. Hee caused his foreward to be led by the Constable *Cliffon* and the Marshall of Sancerre, who seize vpon the which they found open without any guards. The King accompanied with the Duke of Berry, Bourgongne, and Bourbon, with other Lords of his Councell, and an infinite number of Noblemen and Gentlemen in great shew, terrible to the people, marched to the City. Being come to *S. Denis* gate, hee caught the barres to be beaten downe. The Prouost of Merchants, the Sherifffs, with the chiefe Inhabitants of the City, cry-

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ing the keyes, beseech the King to giue them audience: he denyeth them, and passeth on to the house of *Saint Pol*, but the army is dispersed throughout all the quarters of the City. Presently they take away all the chaines, and send them to Bois de Vincennes. They search all houses for armes, the which are instantly caried to the Louure and the Bastille. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, with the Prouost and his Archers, goe through out the City, causing 300 of the most seditious to be apprehended.

The next day many heads were stricken off at the Halles, and amongst the rest, that of *John de Meun*, whom all men had heard of late discourse so eloquently with admiration, being held for the Oracle of France. These executions were done by fits, with such a shew of grauity, as the seat of Iustice did more terrifie, then the executioners arme vpon the scaffold. A whole day was spent in these flow proceedings, the City gates being kept so straitly, as no man might issue forth: houses and shops were shut vp, with so great a silence, as if all had bene dead, euery man being hidden in his house, or else so amazed as he durst not looke into the streets. The Vniuersity (which then was in great credit with the King) becometh sutor for the people, and beseecheth him not to include the innocent with the culpable. The King answereth coldly, that he would aduise what to doe, willing them to retire. In the meane time a great scaffold is made on the highest staire of the Palace, before the great image of *Philip* the Faire, with great shew and pompe: in the midst was a royall Throne, and seats on either side.

*John de Meun*  
a famous aduoc-  
ate, with many  
others, excepted.

The Heralds giue commandment throughout the City in the Kings name, that euery man should repaire to the Palace at a certaine houre. The King sitting in his seat of iustice hauing on either side of him, the Dukes of Berry, Bourgongne and Bourbon his Vncles, with all the rest of his Councell in order, he commanded *Peter Orgement* his Chancellor, to deliuer his mind to the people of Paris. The multitude being disarmed, compassed in round about with armed men, being bare-headed, they sal vpon their knees, seeing *Orgement* rise from his chaire: who hauing made a great obeysance to the King, hee turnes to the multitude. If thou hadst (quoth he) O City, as much care of thy duty, as thy Kings haue,

*Orgement*  
speech to the  
Parisians.

thou wouldst remember the soueraigne bounty and clemency of our late King of happy memory, *Charles* truly wife, who (despising errors which thou hadst committed against his father being a prisoner, without any respect, afflicting the afflicted, and supporting his capitall enemy against him, with all treachery and infoleny. Thou canst not deny, ingratefull people, how much thou wert indebted to that good Prince: duty did binde thee to sacrifice thy selfe cheerfully for him in his afflictions. But all these things being troden vnder foot, hee vied towards thee all humanity, which the most affectionate and faithfull subiect may hope for of his Prince. His sonne our King seated at this day in the royall throne, and heyre to his vertues, hath followed his fathers steps in this mildnesse and clemency, hauing supported thee more then a father could doe his child. But thou hast followed being mad and ingratefully thy wretched disposition, suffering thy selfe to be furiously transported by thy wicked Councillors (the fire-brands of sedition and disobedience) and by the vnruly passions of thy blind fury. The goodly worke thou hast made of late, the disloyall intelligences thou hast with those mutines, enemies of all command and policy: the audacious practices thou hast presumed to make in the Cities of this Realme: and the blood which thou hast spilt in the bowels of this thy Country, whereof she hath horror, feeling her bosome polluted with the blood vniuilly shed by thy violent hands. All these horrible and tragick effects are knowne to the world: for the which thou canst yeeld no excuse, which doth not double the offence. O wretched people! be not these authentick testimonies to the whole Realme, yea to all nations, of thy ingratitude, disloyalty, cruelty, villany, and fury? Misable, what hast thou deserued? The Kings bounty? But thou hast treacherously abused it. Thou hast made shew to contemne publike authority, drunke with thine owne frenzie, and of thy wicked Councillors. The King, the King I say, shall make thee feeble, that hath one arme to support and maintaine the good, and another to punish and reuege the wicked. Thou hast seene examples vpon these wicked heads, which made thee forget thy duty; but the punishment is light in regard of the offence: neither dost thou see any smart, whereof thou thy selfe art not the cause. *Orgement* hauing thus ended, comes vnto the King: My Liege (sayth he) is this it which your Majesty commanded me

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nee to say vnto the people. It is (answered the King) but this sufficeth not, in regard of what they haue deserued. This short and rough answer from the King, the Chancellors speech, vttered with great vehemency, and especially the blood freshly spilt, which they did see as it were rebound vpon the place of execution: the fearful armies wherewith the people were compassed in, had brought them into extreame perplexity, like men already in the graue: so as euery one bethought himselfe, according to his offences he had committed: and such as had wealth, according to the enemies which did maligne them, being terrified with the tragick spectacle of *Iohn de Marsis*.

They stand all mute, their eyes fixed on the ground, prostrate before his throne, men and women, yong & old, infant in number. In this great silence the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne rise from their seats with a very mournfull countenance, and fall at the Kings feet, beseeching him to haue pity of his poore City of Paris, and not to comprehend the innocent with the culpable, good men with rascals vnworthy of his grace. Presently after their speech, without expecting any answer from the King, the sorrowed this miserable people, suppressed during these complaints and threats, burst forth into lamentable a cry, as if the whole City had beene lost. All cryed for mercy: there was nothing but cries, lamentations and howlings of women & men, old and yong. The Ladies and Gentlewomen of the City, with their heire hanging downe, full of teares, cry out: *Liege Lord, will you ruine your City of Paris for some rascals? let it begin by vs and ours, we desire not to suruiue this misery: take pity (Liege Lord) of your people, who sue for pity.* The people cry out againe with a fearful voyce, *Mercy, Mercy.*

The Parisians  
cry for mercy.

This spectacle was pitifull to behold: there was no heart so hard but relented. The King in the end answered, (the noise being quieted,) *That he would not punish the goods for the bad, and that he did pardon the people, vpon condition, they should be better aduised hereafter, and not suffer themselves to be seduced by these wicked ring-leaders of sedition. That for Gods sake, and as his Vncles suit, hee gaue life vnto the prisoners, paying such fines as his Councell should decree.* Those to whom the prisoners belonged, cryed out, *God save the King:* and the people freed from their feare, redouble their cries with great ioy, all so they all depart. The Councell decrees, *That forasmuch as the City of Paris had been engaged in this sedition, they should be deprived of their Magistrates, chaires, and armes: and should lose all priuiledges vntill the King had otherwise determined. That for recompence of this capitall crime, as well the prisoners, as all others guilty of the sedition, according to information duly made, should pay the moeyie of their goods.* The which was speedily put in execution, to send home the men of war, by means of the great summes of money which they leauied by this exaction. Thus the sedition at Paris was suppressed, and afterwards at Rouen and Orleans, but with farre more rigour then at Paris. An example for all subjects, how to oppose themselves against their Lords: who soone or late make them to reape the fruits of their rashnesse and insolency. Their Magistrates, chaires, armes, and all priuiledges, were soone restored to the Parisians, by means of the D. of Bourgongne, who from that time sought all means to creepe into the peoples fauour, which hee did as well as the sonne shall vie no lesse then the Nauarrois had done: this happened in the year of our Lord God 1387. in the month of December. This iust execution did greatly comend the yong age of *Charles*, for that in so follemne an act, he had caried a countenance worthy of a Royall Maiesty: His age and the name of a King, made him know that he was a King, together with the daily instructions which did sound in his cares, by his inward and truethy seruants: yet his Vncles kept him still in his minority, disposing matters in Councell by their authority. *Charles* was much discontented with this proceeding of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, who should rather haue preuented them: hee them, experience hauing taught all Frenchmen what hee was. Hee therefore seeks a remedy for their error.

Hee caused a Councell to be held at Rhemes, where it was decreed, *That Charles should be free from the government of his Vncles: for that both his age and the proofe of his iudgment did testifie plainly that hee was worthy to gouerne his Realme.* This resolution greatly displeased the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, who would gladly haue had longer possession of this Royall authority which they enioyed, being discontented with such as had put this spirit into the yong King. The Cardinall of Laon (one of the authors of this Councell) enioyed it not long, for hee dyed (not without suspicion of poyson)

He pardons  
these.

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A poyson *Iohn* of Montague shall pay both principall and interest in his time. *Iohn Mortier* and the Lord of Noiant shall haue their parts, these shall now enter into quarter, and haue all the credit. It is this Noiant which caused the golden Hart in the Palace to be made for a modell of that which he would make of gold, of the Ingots he had gathered together in the Treasury, hauing reduced the coyned money into this forme. Left *Charles* a yong Prince and very bountifull, should giue it away prodigally. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne retire themselves quietly to their houles, making a shew to be very well satisfied, although they hatched a great discontent, and especially *Philip*, being a man of an imperious and insupportable spirit.

We haue drawne *Charles* out of his Minority, the first parcell of our discourse: let vs now see his Maioyrie, into the which I tremble to enter, foreseeing so happy a beginning to haue so lamentable an end. But alas! what shall we see therein, which wee haue not scene in our miserable age. Our experience shall bee vnto vs a mournfull commentary, most true in the reigne which we are to represent.

### The Maioyrie of King CHARLES the sixt:

Remarkable in two respects: Of Health, and Sickness.

HE reigned thirteene yeares, either with his Vncles, or alone in his good sense, and 29 in phrensie, not ruling but ruled, or rather rauished by the sundry passions of others. So wee will distinguish his Maioyrie, according to the calculation of these two seasons, and in either of them the most famous acts of these home-bred confusions.

### The first time of the Kings Health,

From the year 1388, vnto 1393.

FRANCE enioyed a long rest, the tempest of these popular tumults being pacified. Flanders subdued, and the English forced to hold a truce (by reason of their homebred quarrels, the which brought forth strange effects, as wee shall hereafter see) *Charles* then undertook the charge of his Realme, to gouerne alone, without any Tutor. The flower of his youth, framed to great affaires, and commendable for his mild disposition, promised the fruits of a reigne both wise, moderate, peacefull, and most happy. But oh the vanity of mans hopes! a dreame of him that wakes a fruitlesse pipe which hunts and gets nothing.

Being freed from the government of others, hauing absolute authority, he was desirous to marry *Lewis* his onely brother, and to giue him authority: neither would he abandon his cousins of Anjou, *Lewis* and *Charles*, in their pretensions to the Realme of Naples. The Estate of Milan did wonderfully import to aduance this action, for the countditties in hath in Italy: To this end he married his brother *Lewis* with *Valentina* the daughter of *Iohn Galeas* Duke of Milan, a marriage which succeeded not according to his desire, no more then his owne. An Italian woman ioyned with a Germane, shall make strange work: to shew, that all is not gold that glisters: for both these marriages were built vpon grounds of apparent good, as farre as humane reason could comprehend, to the end they might haue great intelligences both in Germany and Italy, alliances which import much for the good of France. *Philip* of Valois, the kings brother, & *Iohn* Duke of Orleans, were dead without children, and the Duchy returned to the Crowne. *Charles* giues this Duchy to his brother *Lewis*, who was but Earle of Touraine, and now shall be Duke of Orleans, and by this name shall be much spoken of.

In this profound peace, it was necessary for *Charles* to make himselfe knowne to his subjects, after so many confusions. He makes a progresse into Languedoc, one of the remotest Provinces from his chiefe City, lying vpon the Mediterranean Sea, and yet one of the most fertile and best affected to the Crowne. He had especial reasons to visit this goodly Province, for the great complaints they made against the Duke of Berry their Gouernour, who committed great extortions by his officers, vnder colour of authority. *Charles* passeth by Dijon to see his Vncle the Duke of Bourgongne, who accompanys him to Avignon. The Earle of Sauoy comes vnto him, the people of Dauphine and

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Viarez shew a wonderfull ioy to see their King after so troublesome a time. So he comes to Auignon, being kindly received, and much made of by Pope *Clement* the 7, who could not stand without him, having *Frabane* the 6, for his competitor. The widow of *Lewis* Duke of Aniou repaired thither, who by the fauour of *Charles* caused *Lewis* the second, her eldest sonne to bee crowned King of Naples. This course wee must hold for the continuance of our History.

From Auignon he went into Languedoc to settle his authority, the which was much respected by the people of that Country, but had been greatly blemished by the government of the Dukes of Aniou & Berry his Vncles, Gouvernors of that goodly Prouince one after another. He staies at Montpellier, a City of a goodly & pleasant situation; where he heard many complaints against the Duke of Berry his Vncle, for his great oppression of the country. But the absence of this Prince, and the authority of his name staied the remedy to another season. The Estates of the country made sure to haue the Earle of Foix for their gouernor, hauing heretofore liued quietly vnder him; but he would not accept of this gouernment, without the good liking of the Duke of Berry, so as all the punishment fell vpon *Betizac*, his chiefe Treasurer, who was burnt at Beziers, purging in the fire the extortions he had committed vnder his masters authority.

Bring the  
Dukes trea-  
surer burnt.

The tragical  
death of the  
Nauarrois.

At that time *Charles* King of Nauarre died, so often blemished in the truth of this History: we haue noted how he had retired himselfe from Court, into his Realme of Nauarre. As this retreat was vnto him a reproachfull banishment, so this shamefull folitarie was a ciuill death. But the Catastrophe of his tragicall life was a famous proof that God doth often reuenge notable sins by notable punishment euen in this life. He was much broken by the excess of venvy, and all sorts of dissolutions, the which he had exceedingly vsed with his wonderfull tyranny & cruelty. As they did anoint him with medicines fit to warme & comfort his benumbed members (some say they had chafed him with *Aqua viua*, and wrapt him in a sheet) behold, fire takes hold of this sheete with such violence, as (being vnable to quench it) he was consumed by degrees, liuing some daies, a suffering his paine; and that which increased the horror of Gods iudgment, his death made both great and small to reioyce, and was received in France with as great content as the winning of a great and famous battell. There was a general truce betwixt the French and English. So as the garisons lying still, the souldiers bred vp and nourished in armes, fighting no more by order vnder their ensignes, sought now their prey by disorder vpon the labourer and Merchant. The Countries of Rouergue, Perigord, Limosin, Auvergne, and La Marche, had English garisons, who spoiled these Countries and did runne vp into the neerest parts of Languedoc, Velai, Gvaudan, Viarez, and Suenna, where the villages are for the most part walled in, to prevent these sudden incursions. There were many theues amongst them: *Teste noire* or *Black-pate* in the Castle of Ventador, *Amerigo Marcel* at Roch-Vandais, who breaking the truce, sought to be supported by the King of England, but in the end they all fell into the hangmans hands, punished miserably by some strange death, an Image of our late confusions. Liberty break vp these warriors with so great abundance, as the English passed the sea to make highways, and to fight at barriers, as they vie at great triumphs. There was a Tike betwixt Calais and Saint Inqueluert, where the Nobility made triall of their valour in a schoole of Fence. To take away this troublesome abundance, they tooke occasion to make long voyages into Castile and Italy, but in the end there was a very famous offered against the miscreants of Barbary, at the Geneuois request, who suffered in commodities in their trafficke, by these barbarous Africans. *Charles* granted them, willingly, and gaue the charge of this war to *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, assisted with Earles of Auvergne and Foix, the Lords of Coucy, *Guy* of Tremouille, *John* of Vienne, Admiral of France, *Philip* of Arthois Earle of Eu, *Philip* of Bar, *Harcourt*, *Anioi*, *Linge*, *Pyquiny*, and many other great men from all parts of the Realme, which made so famous an action, vnder so worthy a Commander, and at so great a losse, painful then the toyle of warre to men that desired nothing but employment. The King of England, to imitate *Charles*, granted succour to the Geneuois, vnder the command of the Earle of Salisbury, accompanied with many Noblemen and English souldiers, moued with desire like vnto the French, in the enterprise of this plecting warre. The Deputies of the kings of France and England assembled to treat of a general peace,

A voyage into  
Africke by the  
French & Eng-  
lish together.

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A but not able to effect it, they continue a truce for foure yeares, with goodly prouisions against robberies, for the safety and quiet of their Estates. *Charles* gaue free passage to the English, by the Countries of Languedoc and Dauphin, to passe the Alpes safely.

All come to Genoa, to the great ioy of the Geneuois. Being shipt, they land within few dayes in Barbary. Presently they besiege the City of Africke (so our History termes it) as bearing the name of all the worst and barbarous Country. They call the African commanders *Agadinquor* of Olfierne, and *Brabadist* of Thunes. But our Argonauts found them which stayed their fury. The Barbarians defended themselves with an obstinate resolution. But their force did them lesse harme then the ayre, and died, being very contrarie to their complexions; so as our army decreased daily, especially of men of accompt. This siege continued fixe weekes with much losse and no hope to preuaile. The Geneuois hauing conceived a hope of a sudden victory, began to grow cold and slacke in furnishing of the army. The Duke of Bourbon foreseeing the difficulties which might grow in continuing obdurate at this siege, fearing the winter, and not trusting the Geneuois (who are famous for that they haue no faith) remembering the example of the King Saint *Lewis*, resolved to returne, without any greater losse. He trusteth vp his baggage, and brings backe his troopes into France, continuing the example to all such as are capable of reason, how difficult it is for Christians to performe these strange attempts, after the experience of many ages. The French and English hauing liued louingly together in this voyage, returned to their houses without doing any memorable act, but to haue endeauoured to doe something worthy of memory to avoid idleness during so peacefull a time.

The Geneuois  
abuses *Charles*  
little.

Britany did then conceiue, and afterwards bring forth more preiudicall effects then Barbary it selfe: and the way was made by light occasions to horrible and monstrous effects, to the great preiudice both of the King and Realme: for a notable testimony to posterity, what Councillors, enuy, and ambition, be in a State: wee like wretches seeke for peace, and when God giues it, we flye from it; we maligne another mans good, and deprive our selues of our owne. But alas! it were a small matter for a great personage to hurt himselfe by his owne passions, if this poyson did not spread abroad to the preiudice of the Common-weale.

D We haue said that *John* of Montfort remained peaceably Duke of Britany: by the death of *Charles* of Blois, and the agreement he made with his widow, whose eldest sonne *John* of Britany, Earle of Ponthieure, was redeemed from prison from England by the Constable *Clifton*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage and payed his ranfome. The Constable was a Britton, and so a subiect to *John* of Montfort Duke of Britany, his ancient and capital enemy, and yet by this successe was become his Lord.

Doubleless in this quality *Clifton* could not but yeeld vnto him as his vassall, but as Constable of France and dearly beloued of his master, the greatest Monarch in Europe, and Soueraigne to the Duke of Britany, herein the Duke must needs respect him, his place giuing him authority in many notable actions, ouer the greatest personages within the Realme. This was the ground of their hate, which not onely embarked King *Charles*, Lord vnto them both, but caried him so farre into the maine, as hee could not avoid a notable shipwracke by their meanes. By the former accord, *John* of Montfort was to yeeld vnto *Clifton* all his patrimony, whereon he had seized vnder colour of a confiscation, reuoked by *Charles*, which he had not yet performed. And although he had promised the King, and giuen him a new assurance, yet did he not trust the King, but continued his intelligence with the English, fortified his places, and coyned both gold and silver against the lawes of State. He refused likewise to acknowledge *Clement* the seventh for lawfull Pope, whom France approued: not to suffer the Earle of Ponthieure aforesaid to beare the name and armes of Britany. These were the chiefe causes of their complaints and differences. The King and his most secret Councill, *Mercier*, *Montagu*, and *la Riviere*, held for the Constable. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, and the Chancellor *Ogerment*, for the Duke of Britany, a cunning dissembling Prince, and high minded. He spake proudly, by reason of his intelligence with England, which could not faile him: and mildly when as he found meanes to doe his businesse vnder-hand, and not to breake with the King. Hee comeste *Toucy* vnto *Charles*, where after many discourses their quarrels are ended by marriages: the Kings daughter (being yet young) is promised to the Dukes sonne, and the sonne of *John* Earle of Ponthieure (borne of the Constables daughter) to the Dukes daughter,

Complaints  
against the  
Duke of Bri-  
tany.

He is recon-  
ciled to the King  
and Constable.



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ter, who promifeth likewife to reftore *Cliffon* his lands; in fnew friends, but in their heart irreconcilable enemies. Hereupon *Cliffon* goes into Britany to receive his lands. The Duke held a Parliament at Vannes, whither he called his Nobility. The Conftable comes, fearing no enemy. The Duke had built a caſtle called the *Hermine*, where he feaſts the States. The Conftable is called, and welcomed with the firſt: the countenance did not ſhew who was prepared for the end of the banquet againſt the Conftable. After dinner the Duke took him by the hand, vnder colour to ſhew him his building, and to haue his aduice, as if a great Captaine and well ſcene in Architecture, he leads him from place to place, through halls, chambers, and cloſets, untill he had brought him to a great Tower, hauing an inner doore, wherein were armed men. The Duke enters firſt, the Conftable follows him, viewing the proportion of this worke, and the thickeſſe of the wals by the window. But behold the Duke flips out of the Tower, where he leaues the Conftable, and ſhuts the doore after him.

The Duke of Britanie ſeizeth treacherouſly on the Conftable,

This ſigne giuen, the armed men ſeize vpon the Conſtables ſword, and keepe him priſoner, putting irons on his legges. The Conſtable was not ſo much amazed at this ſtrange viſage, as the Duke reioyced at this ſweet content of reuenge, thinking to attaine the end of his deſires, to be reuenged of a capital and cruell enemy, and in the heat of his fury commands a faithfull ſeruant of his called *Iohn Banalan*, to diſpatch the Conſtable preſently. *Banalán* accepts this charge, but hee doth not execute it. He goes to the Tower and affures himſelfe of the Conſtables perſon, retaining the ſouldiers, whom the Duke commanded to obey him, and ſo he paſſeth the night with the Conſtable. But the night gaue him counſell. The Duke tranſported with ioy in the heat of his choler, goes to his reſt, but care awaked him, and reaſon (of more force then his paſſion) lets him know the fault he had committed, and repentance followed this firſt act. A wife ſeruant in not obeying his maſters paſſion. The Duke lying reſtleſſe a great part of the night, riſeth early the morning, calleth *Banalán*, and demands what is become of the Conſtable; his paſſion bewrayes his mind before he ſpake, witneſſing the ſhame he had of his choler, & his grief for this furious charge. *Banalán* comforts him, and affures him that the Conſtable is well. The Duke wonderfully glad of this newes, which freed him from ſo cruell a torment, commands he ſhould be well entreated and with reſpect, attending newes from the King, from whom there comes poſte vpon poſte with complaints and commandements to the Duke.

And repents what he had done.

The Duke without any great delay excuſeth himſelfe of his imprifonment, and ſends the Conſtable to the King. It had beene more auailable for him to haue ſuppreſſed his choler, in committing this error. But he did verſifie, *That he which offends doth neuer forgive*. The Conſtable goes to the King to Blois, he thanks him for his care in his deſire: the Duke doth likewiſe ſend vnto him, to craue a ſafe conduct to come himſelfe to make his iuſt excuſes, and to ſhew what reaſon had moued him to put the Conſtable in priſon. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne holding openly for the Britton, obſtinate for him to come vpon the Kings word. He comes well accompanied, and notably iuſtifies the taking of *Cliffon*, being his ſubiect, & in his owne country, but alſo he ſheweth the King beholding vnto him for the reſpect he bare vnto his officer, whom once he might iuſtly haue put to death. It is an eaſie matter for great men to manage theſe affairs at their ſeruants coſt! The Conſtable digeſted quietly this new affront, being ſo haue recouered his liberty: but the Duke of Britanies malice ſhall bee the cauſe of great miſery both to the King and Realme, ſeeking new deuices to ſariſſie his choler, a furious beaſt which can neuer be tamed by flattery. It burſt forth vpon a light and ridiculous ſubiect, which bred a horrible Chaos of ſundry confuſions.

*Peter Craona* Nobleman of the Country of Aniou, had great credit with the King, and with *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his brother, who loued him ſo dearly, that hee truſted him with his greateſt ſecrets, euen with his amorous paſſions, whereunto his looſe diſpoſition, his age, eaſe, and Court, made him too prone, to the great diſcontent of *Valentin* his wife, who exceeding iealous of her husband, and an Italian, ſeeking by all meanes to learne how he was affected, feeling him ſo cold to her, ſhee finds no better expedient then to gaine *Craona*, whom ſhee handled ſo cunningly, as ſhee drew the wordes from his noſe.

Hauing ſpeciall aduerſement of her husbands loues, ſhe threatens the Lady that was beloued,

A beloued, and complains to her husband, naming the reporter. The Duke of Orleans finding himſelfe wronged by this diſloyall affront done him by *Craona*, in a very light ſubiect, but a prooſe of his rash trechery, vnworthy of ſo ſtrict a frienſhip wherewith he had honoured him, he complained to the King his brother, who loued him exceedingly. Both of them deteſting this diſloyall raſhneſſe of *Craona*, as a trecherous and an inſufficient man, holding him vnworthy of their ſeruiſe, diſmiſſe him with great diſgrace, reſuſing to ſee him, or to heare his pretended excuſes.

Thus *Craona* retires to his houſe wonderfully perplexed with this diſgrace, and finding himſelfe not greatly ſafe, he retires to the Duke of Britany his kinſman and more friend, to whom he reports his miſfortune. The Duke embraceth this occaſion, and with a deeper reach, perſwades him that the Conſtable is the cauſe of this diſgrace, making his proſe of the paſſions of theſe young Princes, and proceeding in his diſcourſe, (truſt on by the inueterate hatred he bare him) he perſwades *Craona* to kill him, to rid the world of ſo pernicious a man: and thereupon offers him his meanes, vpon all occaſions.

This was that miſerable counſell which hatred and malice gaue him, two bad counſellers: for if choler be a ſhort fury, who ſees not by the effect, that hatred is a continuing rage, the mother of reuenges, the ſeed of all miſery to mankind.

As it was ſimply concluded betwixt them, ſo was it vainly executed by *Peter* of Craon. He had a houſe at Paris, whither he finds meanes to ſend men fit for this murder, and follows himſelfe ſecretly: (an eaſie matter in this great foreſt of Paris) who knowing the houres of Court, and hauing ſet ſpies to obſerue when the Conſtable ſhould goe from the King at night to his lodging, he attends him with his murderers in a little houſe where he ſhould paſſe, and ſets vpon him with twenty armed men.

The Conſtable thinking at the firſt, that the Duke of Orleans had done it in ieſt, made no great regard thereof, but vnderſtanding it was *Craona*, he defends himſelfe with a great ſkime (ſuch as they did vſually weare in thoſe dayes) who being charged on all ſides by theſe twenty murderers, and crying for ayd, he ſaues himſelfe (all wounded) in a Bakers ſhop.

The people that were neare, came running at this noiſe: *Craona* ſaues himſelfe on horſebacke by Saint *Anthoines* gate, with the greateſt part of theſe murderers: three onely were taken in this diſorder.

The Conſtable was caried to his lodging, called the houſe of Mercy (it is now the houſe of Guife, as the Hiſtory obſerues) all wounded. The King and Court (diſquieted by ſo audacious an attempt,) are all the night in tumult. Theſe murderers being examined, confeſſe that *Peter* of Craon had not onely cauſed them to commit this act, but was alſo preſent at the execution, and ſo they are beheaded.

The King comes to viſit the Conſtable lying in bed: he doth comfort him, and affures him, that he will not leaue ſo execrable an act vnpiſhiſhed. But in effect this affront ſo impudently done to his Conſtable in the boſome of the head City, in the view of all his Court, and in his preſence, together with the ſcorne of his audacious imprifonment, and the piniſhment of *Cliffon*, who keeping ſilence, the indignities he had ſo oft receiued of the Duke of Britanie, pleaded for him, being ſealed by theſe outrageous wounds. All theſe things put *Charles* into ſuch a choler, and made ſo great an impreſſion in his heart offered hatred againſt the Duke, as he was farre more ſicke then the Conſtable himſelfe.

King *Charles* aſſiſted by his Councell, declares *Peter* of Craon guilty of high Treason, and enemy to the Crowne of France, hauing attempted againſt his chiefe officer, and doth ſee him to come and iuſtifie himſelfe ſpeedily. He is called, and (not appearing) is condemned for his contempt: he is declared a baniſhed man, and his body and goods confiscated. And in the execution of this ſentence, his houſe at Paris was razed. The Tragedy began by this act, in the yeare 1393, in the month of May, but it ſhall continue with many other mournfull acts, and ſhall cauſe new Sceneyes vpon this Stage. This ſentence thus executed at Paris, it went into Aniou and Britany. All *Craona* places and houſes were ſeized on, and put into the Kings hands: and the Duke of Britany was commanded by the ſame Commiſſioners to deliuer him. The Duke of Britany excuſeth himſelfe, ſwearing that he hath him not in his power, diſcouers the place where he is, makes offer of all his meanes for the execution of iuſtice: he ſends to the King to reiterate his excuſes, affuring him that he was not priuy to this murder. *Craona* was fled to the towne of Sable in Maine, which

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*Peter* of Craon diſgraced.

The Duke perſwades him to murder *Cliffon*.

The Conſtable aſſaulted by *Craona*.

*Craona* condemned for attempting againſt the Conſtable.



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which appertained vnto him. *Charles* (transported with choler) lost both meat and rest, incensed by the Duke of Orleans his brother, and his most trusty seruants, *Noyant, Montaigne*, and *Montague*, dreaming of nothing more then to be reuenged of the Duke of Britanie, whom he held to be the very cause of this attempt. Such as were of iudgement and without passion, thought no otherwise. But alas! how weak is mans vnderstanding, even in the best things, wherein there often wants a good proceeding. *Charles* had great cause to be grieved with the Duke of Britanie, but he should moderate the heat of his choler by the temper of wisdom, expecting wisely a fit opportunity to punish, not troubling the quiet of his mind with such violence, in seeking reuenge of his enemy.

We may well say, *That Charles had a good cause, but it was ill managed: and the Duke of Britanie a bad, the which he gouerned with policy.* Wherein our *Charles* should haue vncunning to crosse his enemies cunning, following the example of his wife father *Charles* the fifth, who vanquished the Nauarrois with patience, and flying the vntempered rage, neffe of *Iohn* his grandfather, who seeking hastily a reuenge of the same Nauarrois his enemy, did thrust himselfe into a mortall prison.

The children are neither heires of their fathers vertues, nor of their happinesse, whole bodies they haue by the wil of God, being the instruments of their essence, but he referres to himselfe the foueraignty of vertue and happinesse, to gouerne them in the difficult Labyrinths of this world. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne aduise the King their Nephew, to leaue the deciding of this quarrell to the Constable and Craon, and not to attempt any thing against the Duke of Britanie, who disauowed the fact, who feeling himselfe oppressed, would seeke for extraordinary remedies to defend himselfe, whereby strange inconueniences might ensue.

But the King was resolute at any hand to make warre against the Duke of Britanie. All are sent for, euery man doth march, the Rendezvous is at Mans. *Peter* of Craon retires from Sable, whilst this storme riseth: but the King marcheth on, assuring himselfe that he was in Britanie, although some say that he was in Arragon, and that the *Queene* of Arragon had giuen him intelligence, that she held a French Knight prisoner at Perpignan, who would not discouer his name. This dis tempered choler had much impaired the Kings health, who caried in his face the disease of his mind.

His Physicians dissuaded him from this voyage, as most preiudiciall for his health: and the Duke of Britanie by a new excuse, beseeched him to beleue, that hee had no dealing with *Peter* of Craon.

The King could not be diuerted by all these difficulties, from passing on in this journey, so wilfully vndertaken by him: although his Vncles found new deuices to stay him, both at Chartres and at Mans, employing his Physitians, to tell him, how dangerous it was to march in Summer, being extremely hot, considering the debility of his health, much impaired since his burning choler, the which had altered his blood, whereof he had prooffe by daily Feuers. But this passion of choler had so possessed his poore affected spirits, that such as were about him, besides himselfe, perceived his grieffe to be the greater, in that he was insensible of what he suffered: and his seruants cried that which they could not but see in him, by the excreame apprehension they had of the harme which was at hand.

Moreover, the Duke of Britanie, to calme this great storme, which was ready to fall vpon him, (although in truth he had hidden *Peter* of Craon at Sufnet, and was loyall that he had not slaine the Constable *Cliffon*) sends a certaine Bishop of his Country to the King, called the *Beard*, a very famous man for the integrity of his life, to beseech him to beleue that he was nothing guilty of this attempt, neither did he know what was become of *Peter* of Craon, whom he would send vnto him with his hands and feet bound, if he were in his power: That he should not make warre against his owne Country, and against a poore people, which must suffer for another mans folly. In the end this man pronounced the threats of Gods iudgement against *Charles*, if hee should proceed in this warre, so lightly vndertaken against his vassals and subiects, and against the articles of mariage concluded betwix his daughter and the Dukes sonne, as a seale of their loyallty. This Bishop was heard in Councell, and the Duke of Berry speaking more boldly then the rest (for the authority which his degree and white haies gaue him) laid open all that might hinder this voyage. But *Charles* kept his eares to all good counsell, hauing his

The Kings  
vncles dissuade  
him from the  
war of Britanie.

The King marcheth  
against the Duke of  
Britanie.

The Duke of  
Britanie labours  
to pacifie the  
King.

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A braine disposed to the distemperature which shall presently seize vpon him, running headlong into the mischief which should afflict him and all France. He parts from Mans in July, (in an exceeding hot day, as the History sayes, as if all things had conspired to afflict this poore Prince) at fiftie of the clocke in the morning, to receiue the coolnesse of the greatest heat at noone tide, weak in head and mind, dis tempered with choler, grieffe, de-  
light, and languishing: his body wearied with watching and distaste, not able to eate nor sleep, hauing his head muffled with a great hood of scarlet, and his body couered with a thicke, Ierkint of Veluet, (too waighy for a sharpe winter) marching on a landy plaine, so fast with the Sunne-beames, as the strongest did melt in sweat, and were out of breath: being entred the forest of Mans, behold a man bare-headed and bare-legged, attired in a coat of white rugge, steps suddenly forth betwixt two trees, taking hold of the reins of his horse, he stayes him, and sayes vnto him; *King, ride no further, but returne backe, for thou art betrayed.*

*Charles* (whose spirits were otherwise dulled) was amazed at this voice, and his blood greatly dis tempered. His seruants run to this man, and with blowes make him leaue the reins of his horse, and so without any further search the man vanished. After this accident there presently follows another. *Charles* and his Noblemen did ride in troopes di-  
uided by reason of the dust, and he himselfe all alone persue, with the Pages of his chamber, who were so neare vnto him, as they trode on his horses heeles. He that was nearest caried his helmet vpon his head, and the next his lance, being garnished with crimson filke: As the heat of the noone day makes men drouzy on horseback, it chanced the Page which caried his lance, (being very sleepey) let it fall vpon him which caried the helmet, making a great noise, like the rushing of atmes: the King starts with amazement at this noise, and seeing the crimson banderolle of the lance, hauing his spirits weakened with the former distemperatures, transported with the imagination of this voice, sleepey with labour and heat, he imagined himselfe to be compassed in with many armed men which pursued him to the death.

A strange accident  
befalls the  
King.

## The second season, from the time of the Kings sickness.

From the yeare 1393, to the yeare 1412.

This time of his infirmity is distinguished into many Acts, whereof this is the first.  
*Scene of a long and mournfull Tragedie.*

Thus *Charles* transported with this frenzy, layes hold on his sword, drawes it, and runs violently after his Pages, and cries amaine, *At these Traytors.* The Pages concealing at the first, that he had bene displeased for the disorder of the Lance, flye from him. The King followes after, doubling his cry. At this noise the Duke of Orleans runs towards him, to vnderstand the cause. The King layes at him, not knowing him: the Duke flies, and the King followes. The Duke of Bourgongne rides to him: all gather together with a great outcry: Squires and Knights compass in the King, till that being wearied, and his horse out of breath, his most trusty Chamberlaine takes hold of him gently behind, and stayes him, chearing him with flattering words, and speaking vnto him with that familiarity that befits a faithfull seruant to a good master. Then all draw neare vnto him, they take his sword from him, they lay him on the ground, and disrobe him of his thicke veluet linnen, and his scarlet cap, to giue him breath.

His brother and vncles salute him: but he knowes them not, neither makes he any shew to moue, being pensieue, his eyes troubled, turning vp and downe, mute, sighing, panting, mouing both body and head with great amazement. All signes of frenzy appeared in this poore Prince. The Physitians are sent for in haste: they come, but he knowes them not. Brother, Vncles, Lords, Physitians, all sigh: all lift vp their eyes to heauen. Teares fall from the Duke of Orleans eyes: he bears his brest, and crosse his armes, he approacheth neerer to his poore brother, and he recules from him. All are amazed, all confounded.

O my Country! what trouble shall this poore Head giue vnto thy body, but may I lawfully sigh with my Countreymen who sighed then, forgetting the miseries that should befall them by this frenzy, as if my selfe had bene (in this disorder) a witness of so great

an

The pitifull  
estate of the  
Court.

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A general en-  
sue of this ac-  
cident.

an affliction, both to this poore Prince and to his Estate. The History doth very fide-  
lly downe the diuers Censures that were giuen of this accident, both at Rome and Auignon  
(famous places being then the seats of Popes) and also in England and in France.

The poore subiects (as men whom it concerned) spake soberly, and with what griefe  
some blaming the duke of Britanie, and Peter of Craon and others the Constable of Cle-  
mon, and Mignons of his chamber, who had drawne the King into this action; but all in  
generall lamented bitterly this great disaster. England was amazed at this report, and for  
for intrespecially the Duke of Lancaster, who had conferred with our Charles very priuately  
in the treaty of peace which they had at Amiens. He wept, commending this good  
wife Prince, being desirous of the good of all Christendome. Rome & Auignon (being  
then banded one against the other, by reason of the Schism of Antipopes) reioiced at the  
calamity befalling vnto our poore King. *Vrbane* (as his professed enemy) triumphed in his  
misery, whereinto he said he was false by a iust iudgment of God, hauing supported  
ment his competitor against him. *Clement* reioiced, for that hee was not fully confirmed  
in his authority by him: the King hauing busied himselfe with his subiects quarrells,  
wheras his greatest charge was to restore the dignity of the holy See to her ancient beau-  
tie. This the History obserueth of the Censures of these Antipopes.

But the diuine Oracle saies, *O how happy is hee that iudgeth wisely of the afflicted*, repre-  
senting an admirable example in the person of *Iob*, to gouerne themselves discretely in  
their Censures. *Iob* hath the testimony of a very good man, and yet he had great afflictions,  
hauing lost goods, children, house and health, tormented by his wife, and not onely  
abandoned, but also persecuted by all his friends, in that which was more deare vnto him  
then his goods, life and credit, whereof they seeked to deprive him, accusing him that he  
had lined wickedly like an hypocrite, hauing but the shew of a good man, and not the  
regritie of a good life whereof he made profession. Such is the vaine iudgement of the  
world, which holds aduersity for a vice, and prosperitie for a vertue; measuring things ac-  
cording to their passions, and not with reason, but the truth doth teach vs another les-  
son. *O Lord how great are thy workes; thy thoughts are very deepe; the ignorant man doth not know  
them, nor the foole doth not understand them.* That wee might know the chastisements of  
God to be awaies iust, although the causes be vknowne vnto vs.

We cannot denie but there were errors in Charles; but yet we must confesse, (in ac-  
knowledging things as they be,) that he was one of the least vicious Kings of France, and  
if we shall examine the zeale he had to the government of his Estate, hee must hold an ho-  
norable rancke among the most vertuous Princes that haue at any time deserued well  
this Monarchy. Many nearer causes of his infirmity, may be truly and soberly obserued  
the disposition of his body, his manner of life, the surcharge of affaires, the weaknesse  
of his braine, the abounding of choller, griefe, and waywardnesse, the want of rest and food,  
the importunity of his voyage, the terror of his voice, and the noise of armes; to weigh  
downe the balance ouer-charged with so heauy a burthen. But why from man doe we  
ascend to God?

Truly God doth hold and gouerne this rod: and as Charles was the head of this great  
Estate by his wife decree, so hee not onely punished the person of Charles, but the whole  
body of this Realme: that both great and small might learne by this pittifull spectacle  
humble themselves vnder the mighty hand of God, who hath created the spirit of man  
to worke according to his good and wife will; and disposeth absolutely of men and their  
affaires, as he pleaseth: and that this saying may be the seale of a true and sober hu-  
militie, *I haue haue held my peace O Lord, for thou hast done it*, drawne from this Maxim  
*God doth all well, what heeuer he doth.* O kings! this famous example belongs to you, in  
famous a King. O subiects! you must learne by the head of Charles, of what price  
head is, whom God hath giuen you for King: that you may pray vnto him with all your  
hearts, to make him fit for the government of the whole body without the which it can  
not subsist. But I will retume to our Charles. Pardon courteous Reader this digression,  
for the search of the vse of so famous an Accident.

This new and strange accident made them presently to dismiss the troopes, haue  
other worke in hand then to make war in Britanie. All the Court is wholly affected to  
the Kings health. He is presently caried back to Mans: his sicknesse increaseth, hee must  
be transported to a better aire. The Physitians aduise it should bee to Creil vpon Oise.

The second  
cause of his  
pleasurie.The way to  
Creil.

one

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A one of the royall Houses, in the Country of Beauuoisin, betwixt Beauuais and Senlis, a  
pleasant and wholesome seat vpon the riuier. He is conducted thither with great care; but  
his franticke feuer continues still. They seeked to concale it, left the same thereof should be  
dishonourable: but truth speaks generally. *James Harfely* an excellent Physitian of Laon  
is sent for, and performeth his duty happily, as shall appeare by the event. Nothing want-  
ed that mans wit could deuise to helpe and cure the infirmity of so great a King. Let vs  
leau Charles in the Physitians hands, and retume to the Crowne as sicke as the head, ha-  
uing as great need of a good and speedy remedy.

A Parliament is presently called: they assemble at Paris with all speed: all France  
mournes for the affliction of their King, whom they loued dearly for his mildnesse, and  
the singular hope they conceiued of his reigne: whereby Charles purchased the name of  
*Wellbeloued*. The Estates assemble to resolute what was necessary for the government of  
the Realme in this accident. They determine first, what might be fittest for the forme of  
government, hoping verely of the Kings speedy recovery, being loath to seeke a remedy  
that might any way preiudice his authority. It was therefore let downe for a law, *That  
they should abstaine from the name of Regent, vnfit in this sudden accident, the King being  
dead and of yeares.* And they concluded, *That during the Kings infirmity, and without any  
preiudice to his authority, the soueraigne government of the Crowne of France should be giuen  
to the Prince of his blood.* But this point being decided, there was another of no lesse dif-

An order for  
the govern-  
ment of the  
Realme.

ficultie, *To what Prince?* The order of the Fundamentall law, called *Lewis* of Orleans the  
Kings brother, as first Prince of the blood: but neither his age, nor the present necessity  
could allow thereof. The States yeelding vnto reason, decree, *That being apparently ne-  
cessary to prouide for the State, by reason of the Kings weaknesse, being very sicke, it were not con-  
uenient to lay so heauy a burthen vpon so weake shoulders, as the Kings brother, a young Prince:  
but that the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, his Vncles, next to his brother, should haue the go-  
uernment of the Realme vntill the Kings recovery.* *John Duke of Berry* was elder then *Philip*,  
but hauing purchased an ill fame in Languedoc, to be couetous and violent, hee was no-  
thing pleasing, so as the French were better affected to *Philip* the Hardy, Duke of Bour-  
gongne, a cunning, cold, temperate, milde, patient, and popular Prince, but ambitious,  
disolous, reuengefull, & malicious. Being therefore pleasing to the States, the chiefe charge  
was imposed on him: the title was common to both brethren, but the effect of the autho-  
rity was proper to him alone. The Estates adde to their decree (especially in his fauour)  
that the Duchesse of Bourgongne should haue the first place next to *Queene Isabel* our  
sike Kings wife, and by consequence they giue her access to her chamber, and the go-  
uernment of the children at all euents. This was *Marguerite* the heyre of Flanders, a wo-  
man of a manly courage, raised for her great possessions, and wholly bred to ambition.  
This new precedence displeased *Valentine* the Duchesse of Orleans, who yeelded nothing  
more in greatnesse of courage. We stand now vpon good termes, that must be gou-  
erned by three women, a Germane, an Italian, and a Fleming, all which had absolute autho-  
rity ouer their husbands: whose distaffes did cut like swords, whereof they will giue vs  
presently a sufficient proofe.

Contention  
for the govern-  
ment.

*Philip Duke of Bourgongne* aduanced to the government of the Realme  
by a decree of the States.

Behold the Kings Vncles now at the helme, to the great discontent of the Duke of Or-  
leans, and of *James* of Bourbon his Vncle by the mother side. The winde changeth,  
and the scales turne, the Court is transformed. There are two factions: but that of *Berry*  
and Bourgongne is the stronger. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon make the other,  
but there is no equality. The authority of the whole government, and of the treasure, is in  
their hands to whom the States had decreed it. Such force hath this solemne consent of  
the French in matter of State.

Two factions  
in Court.

Such as had bene of Charles his most secret Councell, were out of fauour: the Con-  
stable, *Beuge de Villaines*, *Montague*, *la Riviere*, and *Mercier*, they are all in bad estate for  
their overthrow is plotted, by what meanes soeuer. The Dukes authority must beginne  
with them, yet there was no loue betwixt the two brethren (for who can beleeue that  
bition

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The minions of Charles are ill increased.

bition and couetousnesse are fit to vnite friendships) but onely to ruine their common enemies, and to suppress their authority. Such as were in their rowle, had their turnes, but diuersly. The Duke of Bourgogne standing vpon his guard restrained his imperious wife, who at his first aduancement to this great command, would haue turned all topsie turuy: but he seekes all meanes to prevent his enemies, being resolu'd to begin with the Constable, as with the strongest, and this he concluded with his brother of Berry. *Montague* cunningly smells out this practice, and with all the best he could carry away, saues himselfe at Auzignon, attending some better opportunity: but he shall returne too soone to lose his head on a scaffold. The Constable *Cliffon*, at his first speech with the Duke of Bourgogne, is so checkt and threatned by him, as swallowing this pill quietly, he steals out of Paris, and retires to his house at Montlehermy, from whence with extreame danger he saues himselfe in Britany, hauing the Duke for his capitall enemy. But he had his son in law there, the Duke of Aniou, the Earle of Ponthieure, and so many friends within the Country, as in the end the equity of his cause shall draw the Duke of Britany to reason, being his most dangerous enemy. After notice that the Constable was fled, *Begone de Vilaines*, a Gentleman of Beaulieu (who had married the Countesse of Rebele in Castile) *la Riviere* and *Mercier* were coopt vp, but all escaped by sundry meanes, onely *Montague* in the end shall lose the mould of his doublet, although he seemed to haue better provided for his safety then all the rest. That we may hold for an vndoubted Maxime in all these resolutions which mans reason can set downe in greatest dangers, *That what God keeps is well kept*. Yet not rashly to omit the lawfull meanes of our preseruacion, neither to relye ouer much vpon our owne wisdomes, no more then to a rotten planke in passing of a great Riuer.

The Duke of Bourgogne had nothing lesse in his heart, nor more in his mouth then the sacred name of Iustice. Hauing the Court of Parliament of Paris at his deuotion, he begins to plant his artillery against the Constable, by this authority. The Kings Aduocate hauing framed a complaint against him, commissions are sent into Britany to summon him, who not finding him, they proceed against him by exceptions: all formalities being obserued, they condemne him by a decree of the Court of Parliament (in the presence of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne) *as guilty of high treason, hauing attempted against the Kings person by poison, and against the State by theft and treason: That as guilty of these crimes he was degraded of the office of Constable, condemned in a hundred markes of silver to the King, and banished the Realme.*

A strange alteration, the which the History represents in these verses:

*Inconstant Fortune neuer stayes,  
her motions turning are alwayes:  
The biggest mounted on the wheele,  
is strangely cast behind the heele.*

But truth corrects the vanity of this popular opinion. *God is Iudge, he raiseth one, and casts downe another. Aduancement comes not from the East, nor from the West; but God doth raise up and pull downe by his wise providence:* for God that hath made the world, should not be gouerne the world: the eye sees not the Sunne through a thicke cloud, and yette is in heauen, notwithstanding the weaknesse of our sight. That which the ignorant call Fortune in diuers euents of worldly things, is a secret operation of the wisdom of God, alwayes iust, euen when it is most vnkowne vnto vs: the which is no more polluted with humane passions, then the Sun beames with the most infected carrion, whereon it works by his heat. Oh man! distinguish the rod from the hand that rules it: doe thou thy duty, and leaue the euents to God: feare God and thou shalt haue no need to feare Fortune. An assured passport not onely to avoid the strange alterations of Court, but all other accidents of mans life which hath nothing constant in it, but vnconstancy it selfe. But euery man treads on him that fals, saith the same History. Euery man speaks infamously of the disgraced Constable, they cry out against him, as hauing bewitched the King. Thus the afflicted is alwayes held culpable, according to the censure of this wise world, which iudgeth onely by outward circumstances. But who would beleue, that *Cliffon* and his companions (who had so great an interest in the Kings health) would make him sicke? The issue will shew the contrary; verifying, that as slander is the touchstone of vertue, so there is nothing

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Philip of Es made Constable.

A nothing more couragious then a good cause, nor more victorious then the truth. *Cliffon* stirs not at all this brute, he stands vpon his guard, purchaseth friends, and attends the time, which in the end brought him to a safe Port, as we shall see hereafter. After his condemnation, the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne hastned nothing so much, as to aduance one to this goodly charge, whereby they might tye some great person vnto them. They offer it to the Lord of Coufly, who refuseth it, whereupon *Philip of Eu* Earle of Arthois is aduanced; and for a confirmation of this new league, he giues his sonne to the Duke of Berries daughter.

Thus passed the beginning of this new authority, when as *Charles*, by rest, a good ayre, the coolnesse of the winter, and good vylage, beganne daily to recover his health, comming first to the knowledge of such as were ordinarily about him, and of his wife, children and brother, who parted not from his bed whilest his vnclies made this goodly worke at Paris. Hauing recovered his health, and *James Harvelly* dismissed with an honourable reward, all France was reuiued with incredible ioy, to see their King as it were taile'd out of the graue, and giuen deuoutly to his prayers: but he hath a greater relapse into this miserable discale by a new accident; and this was the occasion.

Charles recouers his health.

*Charles* returned to Paris to his subiects great comfort, who fought to delight him with all kinds of sports: euery man employed his wits thereto: So as there was a new inuention of a Maske of wilde men, attired in fine linnen cloath, all couered with very fine flaxe, from the foot to the head, being glued to the cloath so artificially, as if it had growne to the skin and that they which did weare it had beene naked. They were fix, and the King would make the seuenth to lead the dance. For the auoyding of all danger of fire, which might easily take the flaxe, commandement was giuen to put out all torches; but it chanced that the Duke of Orleans, vnacquainted with this Maske, came into the Hall, followed by his Pages, who caried Torchets (according to the vsual manner) euen as these Saueage men (tied one to another like prisoners) present themselves vnto the company: the King (who marched first) goes presently to the Duchesse of Berry, the holds him, and refuseth to let him goe without knowledge what he was.

And euen then the Duke of Orleans with an actiue resolutenesse answerable to his age and naturall wantonnesse, takes a Torch and comes neere to these Saueage men, to knowe them by the lifting vp of their maskes, when as fire takes hold of this flaxe so suddenly, as all were on a flame, notable to free themselves, being all tied to one line. The violence of the fire kindled with the rozen, caused a most horrible crie, but generally all men efferie out, *Sau the King*, whom they knew to be one of the Saueage men. The Duchesse of Berry wraps him in her gowne, being long and large, after the manner of those times, and so drawing him out of the Hall, they led him into the next chamber, without any hurt to his person. But the amazement was such, by the horrible cries of these poore men which burnt in the flames (not able to be helped wth so sudden an outcry, as the King could not be stayed in this amazement. They lay him on his bed, but his spirits could take no rest. Thus the night passed away, this poore Prince being much distempered in mind, and all his seruants distressed with griefe.

The King falls into a relapse by a strange accident.

There fell out another vnhappy accident. In the morning it was bruted through the City, that the King was dead, so as the people did runne in flockes to his vnclies lodgings, exclaiming against them for the ill guard they had kept of his person, whom they desired to see either dead or aliue, so as the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne yeelding to this violence, were forced (euen when as the King began to take some rest) to raise him out of his bed, and to lead him through the City to our Ladies Church, to pacifie the peoples fury. At this returne his spirits faile him, he falls into his former frenzy, and neuer after were they settled, notwithstanding all the helpes men could apply.

He languished two and twenty years in this pitifull estate, and in the condition of a long an infirmity the Realme was not without languishing. Sometimes hee was in good temper (as frenzies haue their resaits, and doe not alwayes distemper the faculties of the minde) but still hee fell, and euen when as he thought to doe best, hee recoored most, when as he sought to retaine the authority to himselfe, and that nothing should be done but by his command. Hence sprang the horrible confusions in this Realme, for that diuers passionate men ruled his weake braine diuersly, one vndoing what another had done, couering their passions with the Kings name and authority. And all the

The King falls into a relapse by a strange accident.

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liberty to doe ill, grew from this spring. But let vs turne to the end of our painfull we. The Duke of Orleans wonderfully perplexed to haue bene the cause of this scandall, cufeth himselfe presently in the hall, and to the King his brother, but all this did not satisfie. The Duke of Bourgongne reprehendeth him, and exceeds the censure of an Vnck for he layes hold on this occasion, to make him odious to the people, as if it had beene done of purpose to kill the King.

Iselaufie be-  
twixt the  
Dukes of Or-  
leans and Bour-  
gongne.

This maske of burning men (which chanced in the beginning of the yeare 1394) shal burne farther, and kindle a greater fire betwixt the Vnck and the Nephew, for the space of ten years, vntill the death of *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, leauing this hatred hereditary to his posterity. There is no meanes which the Bourguignon doth not attempt to wrong his Nephew of Orleans. Certaine Augultine Friars vndertake to cure the King by incisions in his head, whereby he was in great danger of his life. These counterfeits were brought forth publicly in their habits, and beheaded, but the scars of these wound will remaine in *Lewis* his face, who recommended them vnto the King.

The women are dealers in these actions. The Duchesse of Bourgongne perswade *Queene Isabel*, that *Lewis* his meaning was to kill the King her husband, and his children. These impressions are confirmed by the graue and sweet discourfes of the Duke her husband, who by degrees fedled a hatred in the *Queens* mind against her brother in law. This faction is much fortified by the authority of *Queene Isabel*, and by her, with her husbands name, whom she makes to speake what she pleaseth, sometimes as her will directed him, but not alwayes. Yet his weak braine is the checker of all these counly policies, by the meanes of women, who are continually about his bed or his chaire, to dispute per his braine with variety of newes springing from their wretched passions: and this poore Prince is sometimes wonne, sometimes lost, and alwayes tormented with these inpoigne discourfes.

*Valentine*, wife to the Duke of Orleans, an Italian, and daughter to *John Galeas* one of the cunningest and most subtil wits of her time, which subtilty some held the increase by coniuring) would not yeeld to the brauadoes of these two Princesses: against whom she opposed her selfe, not onely by her husbands degree, but also by so politicke countenance in her selfe, visiting the sicke King with such ciuill entertainment, as her greatest enemies could not finde any honest colour to deny her the doore. So as the King did not onely willingly see her, but did call for her, and in his greatest fits did know her onely among all the rest, refusing to take any thing but from the hands of his good sister of Orleans. The more the Kings loue kindled a caloufise in these two Princesses her enemies, the more it raised vp the mind of *Valentine*, and by her meanes, of her husband: who remembering (too hatefully) the degree whereunto he was borne, and the wrong done him in reiecting him, yet hauing neither dexterity, nor meanes to winne many seruants, he gaue the Duke of Bourgongne all aduantages, being graue, cold, pleasing, and modest: so as by his wife temper hee discoloured the heart of the Duke of Orleans immoderate vehemency, who trying himselfe with the shew of his greatnesse, makes it knowne by effects, that all the authority was in the Duke of Bourgongne for whosoeuer had need of any publicke helpe, he must passe through his hands, and what businesse soeuer chanced, either within or without the Realme, the true rendezvous was at his lodging. Thus the Vnck made his Nephew to walke horsesh (as they say) although he chafed and stamped beyond all measure. These diuisions troubled the whole Court, making them to neglect the affaires of State; and what can we observe more famous in so disordered an Estate? All busineses are done in the Kings names, yet without the King, vntill the parties would haue him to countenance some great passion. I doe purposely omit all that which passed in this reigne touching the schisme of the Church; and the House of Anjou, in the Realmes of Naples and Arragon, not to breake off the course of my intent, meaning to re-present in due place all that concerns this foraine History. *Richard* King of England sends his Ambassadors to *Charles*, to congratulate his recovery, offering him a general peace, and demanding his daughter in marriage. The Kings relapse delayed the conclusion for a time, but soone after, by the care of the Duke of Bourgongne, who had a great interest in this alliance, by reason of his Country of Flanders, it was concluded, in the yeare 1395.

*Charles* had some intermissions, by meanes whereof he could ride: *Richard* repaires to

*Richard* King  
of England mar-  
ries with *Isabel*  
of France.

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A to Calais, and *Charles* to Ardres, whither *Richard* came to ratifie the peace concluded betwixt their Ambassadors, and to receiue his new spouse. The Kings encountered one another with loue and kindnesse, making shewes of great good will: but it was a short ioy for either of them. For as it seemed that the quiet of these two realmes had bene ferled by this generall peace, sealed by this marriage, and leaened with so many reciprocall shewes of cordial affection betwixt these two great Kings, beheld a great combustion in England, which intangles both these Kings in this common calamity. *Richard* being of himselfe effeminate, carelesse, voluptuous and idle, grew more delicate by this profound rest built vpon the alliance of his enemy, who alone might haue quickened him. He is alwayes with his yong wife, embracing her, dallying with her, and attiring her, with such contempt of his authority, abasing himselfe too much to his subiects, so as he grew contemptible vnto his enemies, who presumed to attempt against his person. The ordinary warres of England against France, had caused many necessary impositions without any grudging of the subiects: but when as necessity ceased by this generall peace, the people require to be relieved: *William More* makes an Oration vnto the King in the name of the English in generall. *Richard* hauing no meane in these infinite exactions to supply the charges of his idle and voluptuous life, contemned his subiects request; and in the end pressed vpon the same matter by the Duke of Gloucester and the Earle of Arondell, in the name of them all, he puts them vniustly to death. The English mad with rage for the death of their deputies, flye to such remedies as despaire giues to necessity. From this generall discontent sprong a strange tragedy against *Richard*: for the English seeing themselues thus despised by their King, they cast their eyes vpon *Henry* of Lancaster his Cousin: and hauing called a Parliament, they put *Richard* (being forced in open Assembly) to resigne the Crowne, and to condemne himselfe to perpetuall prison, as hauing abused his royall Authority and his subiects. But this tragicke change concerns the history of England. This may briefly suffice for ours, in the conference of our Estate with theirs.

*Richard* King of  
England put  
from the crowne

*Charles* did greatly grieve at this deiection of *Richard* his sonne in law, from whom he expected great loue and quiet for his subiects. But who seeth not the vanity of this world, both in great and small, to feare a shower euen when the Sunne is hottest? Hee sends for *Isabel* his daughter of twelue yeares old, whom *Richard* had not yet toucht, being content to behold her (like a puppet) vntill she came to age, satisfying his humour by some other wayes: howsoeuer it were, it proued to the dislike of his subiects, and scorne of neighbour Nations. *Isabel* being returned to her father, shall be married vnto *Charles* Duke of Orleans, sonne to this *Lewis* who is now in quarter, and from her shall spring a goodly plant, which in the end shall giue vs many kings in their order to preferre this Monarchy.

But, as if France had bene the store-house, or rather the common Sanctuary of all Christendome, to whom the afflicted Christians might repaire in their greatest extremities, it happened in those dayes, that *Sigismund* King of Hungary intreated *Charles* to succour him against the Turke, the common enemy to the Christian name, who got footing in the Empire of the East. For, the schisme in the Church, the confusion of the Empire, and the daily warres betwixt France and England, had so mortified all Christians zeale from all care to support the affaires of the East, against the Turkes our sworn enemies, as the way was made easie for the planting of themselves there to our ruine. But all the fault was not wholly in the Westerne princes: the Christians of the East were in horrible confusions; and euen at Constantinople, whereas the *Paleologues* had in some sort maintained the name of the Empire of the East, since the bad government of our French.

The King of  
Hungary craveth succour of  
King *Charles*.

All the Lords of Greece, vassals to the Empire, ioyning with the Despoire of Bulgaria against the Emperour, did sturue to ruine one another. This Ciuill warre drew the Turke out of Asia (where hee was yet confined) into Europe, ouer-threw all the rest of the Empire, and in the end shall bury the whole body of this great Estate, with the Christian name, in the ignominy of our disordered passions, as in a common sepulchre. It sufficeth to note the motiue of this warre, which was to expell *Baiazet* (of the race of the *Ortomans*, who yet holds the Empire of the East) being called in by *John Paleolog* Emperour: but seeing so mighty an enemy entred within his dominions, vnder a colour to succour him, hee fought to be freed from him by the meanes of Christian Princes his friends.



1396

The nearest was *Sigismund* King of Hungary, who had reason himselfe to feare this overflowing deluge, the which in the end hath ouer-runne Hungary, being at this day for the most part vnder the Turkes tyranny. But the euent was not answerable to his desire. *Charles* being solicited for succours, granted them, as freely as his infirmity would suffer. But the Duke of Bourgongne made the prouision: the charge of the army was giuen to his sonne *Iohn* Earle of Neuers, being two and twenty yeeres old, and married to the daughter of *Albert* of Bauaria, Earle of Haieault, Holland and Zeland, by whom he had then one sonne, who shall succeed him. The army was goodly, beautified with the presence of many great personages, as *Philip* of Eu Constable of France, the Earles of La Marke, Saint Pol, and Bar, the Lords of Couffy, Tremouille, Vienne, Bouciquault, Roys, Monterel, Saint Py, and Brezay, to the number of a thousand Knights and Squires.

The French  
perfe into  
Hungary.

The French de-  
feated in Hun-  
gary.

Being ioyned to *Sigismunds* army, which consisted of many Hongariens, Bohemians and Germains, they desired at any hand to haue the vangard, and to march in the face of an vnknown enemy, of whose discipline they were ignorant; and to make prooffe of their valour, against the aduise of *Sigismund*, they cast themselves desperately into the midst of the Turkes auantcourours, all the Christian army being too far behind to second them; but it chanced, that *Baiazet* (followed by a farre greater troope then theirs) compassed them in easily as with a net, so as after they had fought valiantly, & made a great slaughter of Turkes, not able to withstand so great a force, they were all cut in peeces, or taken prisoners. *Iohn* of Bourgongne, and all the aboue-named Lords, were either slaine or taken, not one escaped the sword or slavery.

*Baiazet* moved with the great losse of his men, would haue slaine all the prisoners, but the greedy desire of ranfome was helpfull to some few of the Noblemen. The history of Germany notes but few, all the rest were murdered after their taking, by the commandement, and in the presence of this Barbarian, who hauing resolved to kill *Iohn* of Bourgongne as the head of the army, was disswayed by an old Turke a Necromancian, who said vnto him; *Preserue this young man, who shall kill more Christians then thine army.* A Prince borne to the spoile and ruine of his country, whereof he shall be shortly a more cruell scourge then the Turkes. They spared him, but he spared not the blood of his cousin German, to defile his incestuous hands, and to prophane the bosome of France, which had so greatly honoured him. *Enguerrand* of Couffy, a great man in his time, died in prison, and *Philip* of Eu Constable of France (by whose death the Earle of Sancerre was aduanced to this great dignity) but after him there shall be other Constables in this contested reigne. This defeat chanced in the yeare 1396, before Nicopolis a City in Misia, neere to the which Traian vanquished the Daciens. This victorie of the Turkes had proceeded farther, by the terror it gaue to those countries, but God gaue those Christians some time of breathing before the last stroke, the which came but too soon for the scorner of God; yet after this ouerthrow, as *Baiazet* prepared to pursue his victory against the Christians; *Tamberlan*, another scourge of mankind, ouerflowing Asia like a great deluge, ouerthrew him, and tooke him prisoner, and so God stayed the Ottomans power for that time, but the Christians malice (abusing the patience of God) pronoked his wrath, which being iustly kindled against them, he suffered the Turkes to take Constantinople, the capital city of the Esterne Empire, as we shall see else-where. But let vs returne to France.

The Kings chil-  
dren during his  
infirmity.

*Charles* had some truce with his infirmity, who notwithstanding this indisposition of his braine, was in reasonable good health of his body, so as he had children during this time. Before his sickness he had *Isabel* (of whom we haue made mention) and *Lewis* the Dauphin Duke of Guienne. But *Iohn* Duke of Touraine, and *Charles* Earle of Pontieu, *Michele*, *Mary* and *Marguerit*, two sonnes and three daughters (a goodly issue to keepe the Crowne from being an Orphelin) were borne to him by *Isabel* of Bauaria, during the weaknesse of his spirit. And much happinesse befell him.

After the taking of *Baiazet*, the Turkish Emperour, and the returne of *Iohn* of Bourgongne into France, hauing paid his ranfome, the Lord of Bouciquault (being sent to Genoa, to receiue it to the Kings obedience, to whom they had willingly giuen themselves) he made a voyage to Constantinople with a new army, more happy then the first, freeing the City, and returning victorious into Italy. Milan belonging to *Valentine* by the deceale of *Iohn Galeas* her father, had beene surprised by *Francis Sforce*, but at the returne of the Marshall *Bouciquault*, it yielded to the French obedience, and so did Placentia and

Paula,

1398

Paula, cities in Lombardy. But these conquests continued not long with them, no more then the rest of Italy, by the fatal influence which hath alwaies made it a Sepulcher for the French, so as this suddaine yeelding of those Italian cities to the French obedience, was like vnto a fire of straw.

Verdun being ill intreated by the Duke of Loraine (although it were an Imperiall towne) cast it selfe into *Charles* his protection. *Charles*, the sonne of *Charles* of Nauarre, rightly marked with the name of bad, made great instance for his Seigneuries of Eureux, Cherbourg, and other lands in Normandie, the which *Charles* the fifth had taken from his father, who resigned his interest by an agreement made with him for two hundred thousand franks that were giuen him, and the Seigneury of Nemours, then made a Duchy vpon that occasion. But in these happy euents the iacalouse betwixt the Dukes of Orleans and Bourgongne continued and encreased hourly, through the violent practices of their *proserpinas*, of whom we haue made mention, who failed not to bring fuell to this fire, not only making coales to searce one another, but also a burning flame to fire both their houses, and the whole Realme. The occasion and meanes was very strange, *Valentine* Duchess of Orleans (whom King *Charles* did know and loue during the sharpest fits of his infirmity, euen when as he knew not his owne wife *Isabel*) being in the Kings chamber, (whether she had brought her little sonne to play with the Kings children) she cast a faire apple, after the which the children did runne, but *Valentines* sonne caught it, and hauing eaten it, fell presently sicke, and within few daies after died. Thereupon they concluded directly, that this childe died of poyson, prepared for the Kings sonne, which confirmed the old opinion, that the King had beene bewitched by her, so as all respect laid aside, they cried out against her, as against a rauening Wolfe. There was no other talke in Court, Paris, and through all the Prouinces of France.

The Duke of Bourgongne seemed very busie, and sent all complaints to the Kings councill, who decreed, *That, to auoide a great scandall, Valentine should retire from Court*, the which she did to the Castle of Asniere, vpon the way from Paris, to Beauvais: the Duke of Orleans disdaining it much, who must needs be toucht with this ignominy, and the peoples hatred encreasing mightily against him by this new accident. Whilest this home-bred harred continued in Court, betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew, the Constable *Cliff* fortified himselfe in Britany, both with friends and meanes, hauing by his dexterity gained the greatest Noblemen of the Country, by whose meanes he made a profitable peace for himselfe with *Iohn* of Montfort, Duke of Britany, to whom he had been a capitall enemy. The manner of this vnlooked for reconciliation is worthy of memory, to giue ages the subiect of a notable iudgement in so famous an example. The Duke prickt in conscience, and moued by necessity, hauing banded all his Subjects against him, seeing apparently the notable wrong he had done to the Constable *Cliff*, he resolved to be reconciled vnto him, and to winne his loue. But foreseeing, that hauing so often deceiued him, he would no more trust him but vpon good assurance, he resolues to secure him by an extraordinary meanes, sending him his eldest sonne as a pledge of his faith. The Constable seeing himselfe possessed of this young Prince, without any other securitie then his fathers letters, stands amazed at so vnexpected a prooffe of the Dukes loue, and resolues to haue his reuenge by a courtesie not onely strange, but lesse expected: for although hee had all the reason in the world to distrust the Duke, who had detained him prisoner vnder colour of a banquer, and had fought all meanes to ruine him; yet taking a new aduice vpon this new occasion, hee parts from his house, and bringing backe this young man to his father, puts himselfe into his power. The Duke more amazed at this strange confidence of the Constable, fo changeth his mind, as after that time he became his most affectionate friend; hauing built a firme friendship vpon this foundation, the which continued betwixt them the rest of their dayes, to the mutual content of eyther, and the profitable quier of their subjects, verifying, That Courtesie is a wife & happy councillor of State; teaching great ment, that patience triumphs in a good cause; and that we must hate as if we should loue, euen in the greatest heat of passionate quarrels, being well said by the Ancients, *That hatred must be mortall, and loue immortal*.

The hatred betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew ended not so quietly. The Duke of Orleans hauing receiued this disgrace in the person of his wife *Valentine*, growing very impatient, redoubles his complaints, with great vehemency, saying, that it was no longer

The hatred be-  
twixt the Hou-  
se of Orleans  
& Bourgongne  
increaseth.

*Valentines*,  
Duchesse of  
Orleans for-  
bidden the  
Court.

The Duke of  
Britany and the  
Constable re-  
conciled.

Deadly hatred  
betwixt the  
Vncle and the  
Nephew.

time



1404

time now to obiect his age, against the degree whereunto both Nature and the fundamētall law of State had openly called him, seeing it was now ten years since this borrowed authority of the Duke of Bourgongne had given him respite to be of age to enjoy his right, the which they could not take from him without prejudice to the Crowne; that it is a visible usurpation, being no longer able to disguise his grosse practices. The Duke of Bourgongne did frustrate these complaints by his coldnes and authority: but the Duke of Orleans grew more vehement, falling from words to deeds; and having had conference with the Duke of Gueldres, hee raised a good number of men at armes by his meanes, and lodged them about Paris, where hee enters with the said Duke, having advertised no man thereof, but onely the King, who fauoured his brother exceedingly, when he came to his right sense. The Duke of Berry made shew to be a neuter: but seeing the Duke of Bourgongne to vsurpe all to himselfe, tyred with his ambitious dissimulation, he inclined more to the Duke of Orleans his Nephew, although in few he labored to reconcile them. The Dukes of Bourbon and Aniou Princes of the blood were of the like humor. The Kings Councell labours by all meanes to end this quarrell betwixt these Princes, disallowing the government of any one in particular, and confirming a command of all the Princes together, supporting it by alliances: for, *Charles* the eldest sonne of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, married *Isabel* of France, the eldest daughter to our King *Charles* the sixt. *Lewis* the Kings eldest sonne, Duke of Guienne, and Dauphin of Viennois, was betrothed to *Katherine* of Bourgongne, daughter to *Iohn* Earle of Nevers, sonne to *Philip*. To *Iohn* the Kings second sonne, Duke of Touraine, *Iaqueline* is promised, the onely daughter of *William* of Bauaria, Earle of Hainault, and so his heire. To *Philip* of Bourgongne, sonne to the aboue-named *Iohn*, *Michelle* the Kings second daughter is promised: for these mariages were all but future promises, by reason of the young age of the parties.

The Councell seeks to reconcile the Princes by alliances.

This was to ingage the faith to come, & now present to satisfie the discontented. *Queen Isabel* was twice pleased, both in her children and her race, which by this meanes was transplanted into the Royall blood of France, by her Cousin, who also caried the name of Bauaria. But what was ambition cannot be tamed, so in all these mariages, there was more alliance then friendship, and more dissembling then truth. God must needs reconcile them at last by a stronger conclusion.

*Philip* Duke of Bourgongne dyes, leaving his sonne *Iohn* the heire of his passions, against *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, in the year 1404.

The beginning of the Ciuill wars.

Thus *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, raised vp with a new hope to maintaine himselfe against his enemy *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, as well by the cement of this alliance, as by the increase of power, which his sonne *Iohn* brought him (being his right arme, the true Image of his great and haughty courage, and a new fire-brand of his ambition) did at this time, when as hee dreamt least thereof: for hee dyed at Hall, going to visit his townes in Flanders, and to crosse the practices of the Duke of Gueldres, who was a principal support to the Duke of Orleans. *Marguerit* his wife (a companion in his ambition) did not suruiue him a whole year, who fearing to finde her husband too farre indebted, renounced his moueable goods, laying downe her purse and girdle vpon the place appointed, according to the vsuall custome, and so required an act from a publike Notary. Griefe for her husband did not hasten her death, seeing that she feared not her liuing should fall after him. *Iohn* of Montfort Duke of Britany (who had kept such a fire vpon this Theater) dyed four yeares before him, yet more wise and happy in one thing, having manifested the hatred he bare to the Constable *Cliffon*, before his death, as hath bene before declared.

Thus Death doth suddenly stay mens designs, which else flye most violent. How wretched then are wee to be thus blinde in these goodly examples. But let vs returne to our Discourse.

*Philip* left three sons, *Iohn*, *Anthony*, and *Philip*: but *Iohn* Earle of Nevers his eldest sonne succeeded him in his great Seignouries of Bourgongne and Flanders; and the chief

Duke of Britany dyes.

*Philip* of Bourgongne and his wife dyes.

1404

heire of his hatred and other vices. Hee was equall to him in ambition, malice, dissembling, and policy, but herein hee did surmount him, that his father *Philip* hauing for the space of ten or eleuen yeares, crossed the designs of *Lewis* his Nephew, yet hee caried himselfe with such a cunning temper as holding the helme and making him to cary the bable, he made his vnlawfull government supportable by his modesty, and reasonable by the order which had confirmed him in this authority. But *Iohn* continues his practices with such violent fury, as within three yeares (hauing giuen the duke of Orleans a thousand crosses, and plunged France in a ciuill war) he murders his cousin germane most cruelly, defiles his Countie and his blood, and continues his furious designe with so great presumption, as countenancing this murder with a free confession, and seeking to maintain it by reason, he omitted no kind of mischicfe, but brought in all kind of disorderd confusions, as if France had bene the Rendezvous of villany and impiety. A text, the commentary whereof may be read at large in the following discourse: Behold the beginning of a ciuill war among the French, both long and furious, bred by the ill councell of the Princes of the blood, abusing their authority. A history the more worthy the noting, for that it serues vs to marke the fits, and accidents of diseases, where with wee haue bene afflicted, to apply the vse thereof to our owne experience.

After the death of *Philip*, all the government of publike affaires was without all controuersie deliuered into the hands of the Duke of Orleans. The King loued his onely brother dearly, and desired to grace him what he could. The Queene (to please her husband) made shew to reioyce thereat, hauing no more a Duchesse of Bourgongne to incense her, reason gaue him this preheminence, and the French obeyed him willingly, as the lawfull guardian of the French Monarchy. All things fauoured this yong Prince, if hee had not failed himselfe: but the choller hatched in his brest, hauing for so long a time swallowed vp so many indignities, the immoderate heat of command, so much desired, and the ambition and couetousnesse of his wife *Valentine*; all these plucked from him the fruit of these favourable occasions to settle his greatnesse, and gaue his enemy meanes to ruine him. These errors were accompanied with indiscretion, which commonly shakes the miserable. The Dukes of Berry and Bourbon his vncles, had fauoured him much, during the Bourgignons reigne, and their age had greatly countenanced his authority, if hee could haue vied them rightly. But this yong Prince was so pleased with the sweet command, as hee was loath to impart it to any: the which must needs discontent them, although (being wife) they dissembled it, yet this dislike encouraged the Bourgignon his enemy to attempt against him.

The Duke of Orleans advanced to the government.

The couetousnesse of *Valentine* prepared the way to these disorders. *Lewis* was desirous to purchase the Duchy of Luxembourg, his wife vrged him thereunto hourly, wishing him to deuise some meanes to make the King to pay for it. Vpon this aduice *Lewis* propounds in councell, that for the Kings important affaires there must bee a taxation made. There neuer wants some pretext to colour these exactions, but in effect it was for this purchase. *Iohn* duke of Bourgongne opposeth for the good of the common-wealth. On the one side it was a goodly meanes to shew both his loue to the people, and his zeale to the Kings seruice: and on the other, a reasonable subiect to make the Duke of Orleans odious. Yet this proposition passed in councell through the absolute authority of the duke of Orleans. The Bourgignon embraceth this occasion, and flatters the Parisians, to ioyne their loues, and to oppose them against his enemy, who could not be more odious then in this cause, and euen then they grew into such dislike of him, as they could neuer loue him. This was spread throughout the Realme, and the Duke of Bourgongne hauing protested that this charge was imposed vpon the subiects against his consent, laying a good foundation of firme correspondency with the Parisians, he retires into Flanders to take possession of his mother *Marguerit*s inheritance, and credit, with that rich people, but in effect it was to build vpon the hereditary hatred hee had against his cousin and capital enemy.

The Duke of Orleans grows odious to the subiect, by reason of an imposition.

To omit nothing that might auaile him against the duke of Orleans, being at Brussels he sent his Ambassadors to King *Charles*, beseeching him, with all affection to consummate the marriage betwixt *Lewis* his eldest son; duke of Guienne and Dauphin of Viennois, and *Katherine* of Bourgongne his daughter. *Charles* thought it fitt to content his cousin vpon this demand, but his brother *Lewis* crossed this marriage, as prejudiciall to the house

1406

House of France, being already weakened by the uniting of Bourgongne to Flanders, the which would bee much more fortified by this alliance with the Kings sonne. *John* Ambassadors (after long delays) returne home without any effect, making their master acquainted with the cold proceedings of the Court, the which required his presence. In the end, he resolves to goe in person, to sollicite a matter of so great importance. But being ready to march, behold the King of England sends an army into Flanders, to bessege *Seluse*, which makes him yeeld to necessity, and to demand succours of the King, as his souereigne, against the common enemy of the State, staying himselfe in Flanders, to prevent these practices of the English. *Lewis* of Orleans (pretending a truce betwixt France and England) causeth succours to bee denied him, as if they should draw a warre vpon France being already tired with so great and long troubles. *John* held himselfe much wronged by this denial, and to haue the better meanes to returne to Paris, he compounded with the English, being desirous to make it knowne, that hee would oppose himselfe against the Duke of Orleans designs, taking hold of the occasion which hee himselfe offered him to his great prejudice.

The inposition was leauied by the D. of Orleans his command, and commissions were brought into Flanders. At Paris it was exacted with all rigour, but *John* commands his subjects of Flanders not to pay it, and goes wel accompanied to Paris to assist the people, who greatly discontented with this burthen, durst not yet vtter their griefe, expecting the countenance of a great commander. The Parisians incensed against *Lewis* of Orleans, sollicite *John* of Bourgongne to come to Paris, being resolved to employ all their means in the defence of this cause, which they held to be very important for their reliefe. *John* desired nothing more; so as redoubling his courage at these calls, hee goes in haste to Paris, and staies at Louvre in Paris, giuing the Parisians notice to come vnto him. The King remained at Paris, as he was accustomed, the Queene and *Lewis* of Orleans hauing discouered the duke of Bourgongnes intent, and fearing lest (being the stronger, and hauing the Parisians at their deuotion) he should force the King to marry the Dauphine *Lewis*, made sure to his daughter: they thought it best to conueigh this young Prince into Germany, to some place of safety. And going together fro Paris they left the Dauphin with *Lewis* of Bawaria (his vncl by the mothers side) who should conduct him secretly in a litter to Corbeil, where a goodly troope attended him. The Bourguingons followed giue him present intelligence of their departure. *John* follows so speedily as he ouertakes the Dauphin *Lewis* at Ville. Ivisie, conducted in a litter by *Lewis* of Bawaria his vncl, and brings him backe gently to Paris, where they receiue the Duke of Bourgongne with great ioy, and are glad of the Dauphins returne, going to meet them in great pompe, at a ioyfull triumph. *John* being come to Paris, hath conference with them of this faction, and finds them at his deuotion. The Prouost of Merchants, and the Vniuersity, assure him of their faithfull seruice, they intreat him to undertake the reformation of the State, a charge which he doth willingly embrace, as a fit maske for his ambitious humor.

He then presents a petition to the King, beseeching him to reforme the State, France corrupted by the ill gouernment of the treasure, whereby the subjects were oppressed with insupportable charges, and sacred iustice ill administered, the ordinary subject of the peoples complaints: but in effect it was to araigne the Duke of Orleans. The King forbore to make any answer vnto his brothers returne, being president of the councill, and greatly interested in this complaint: but these were words without effect, if force had not followed this admonition.

The Bourguingon, had brought great troopes, vnder the conduct of *John* without Pique Bishop of Liege, and the Duke of Cleues. The Duke of Orleans had also assembled an Army from diuers parts, by the Lord of Harpendanne, fortified with the Forces of the D. of Loraine and the King of Sicily, being made ready for the voyage of Naples. The life of France is full of souldiers of one livery, but of contrary humours, as the manner is in ciuill warres, French against French, and kinsman against kinsman, all making profession to maintaine the good of their Country in ruining it.

*John* of Bourgongne in shew had the advantage, being in the capital City, and possessed of the peoples hearts: hee had the King in his power, and (for a gage of his authority, which men honor like the sun rising) the Dauphin of the house of France, whom hee pretended to bee his sonne in law. All these considerations made his heart

The Parisians  
sollicite *John* of  
Bourgongne to  
come.

*John* of Bour-  
gongne seizes  
on the Dau-  
phins person.

He flies to the  
King for refor-  
mation of the  
State.

Ciuitil warre  
begins.

1406

well, and his tongue to speake proudly. But *Lewis* Duke of Orleans sounds forth the name of publike authority, which then remained in his hands, as in a sacred guard. The most passionate make a stay at the name thereof, to attend the event of so great a quarrell. Such force hath the name of lawfull authority and order in a State, whereon it depends as on a firme foundation.

These armies thus lodged about Paris, the Generalls minds appeared in the deuices of their standards. In that of the duke of Orleans was written, *le Pénit*, with a staffe full of knots painted in it, signifying that hee would knocke him on the fingers that should presume to touch his authority. In the D. of Bourgongnes was written in Flemish, *ick Houde*, that is to say, *I hold it*, with a ioyners plane to make smooth the knotty staffe, and so to encounter the force that threatned him: yet these passions were suppressed by the only respect of authority, without the which all had tended to a violent spoile. The Princes of the blood (who were not engaged in these quarrells) labour to reconcile their cousins, seeing the Kings infirmity will not suffer him to vse his absolute authority.

*Lewis* of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicilia, and *Lewis* of Orleans, were with the Queene at Melun: the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and the King of Nauarre, are at Paris with the King, and all the faction of Bourgongne. The King of Sicilia comes to Paris, hee les the dukes of Berry and Bourbon vnderstand, how necessary it was to quench this fire in time. All these Princes are willing to mediate an accord, but the indiscretion of the duke of Orleans had almost spoiled all.

At the first he grew amazed, but seeing no man to stir, and hauing some feeling of his authority, he began to speak bigge, writing to Paris, and to the best Cities of the Realme, against such as had made this petition. And (contrary to the aduice which the Princes his cousins gaue him, not to part from Melun) hee resolves to come to Paris, and to oppose himselfe against the duke of Bourgongne. The City and Vniuersity of Paris send an honorable deputation vnto him, excusing themselves, beseeching him to hearken to a good reformation, but he so checkt the deputies, as they returned ill satisfied, to a people big with a seditious humour. He shewed himselfe indiscreet in two sorts, excusing himselfe when no man accused him, which was properly to accuse himselfe, and in waking of a sleeping dog, in censuring this mutinous people, who were then kept in awe by his only authority, not daring to mutter against him but in secret. The Bourguingon desired nothing more then to haue some apparent cause to draw this people into mutiny, giuing it out openly, that the duke of Orleans came in armes to spoile the City of Paris. Behold the Parisians are in armes, prepared both within and without, to withstand the Duke of Orleans coming: they beate downe pentifes within the City, to make the streets more free for to cast stones. The people troope with the Duke of Bourgongnes men, and issue forth armed about Mountfaucon, in view of the Orleanois, lying in great numbers vpon the place.

The Chancellor of France, accompanied with the Presidents and Councillors of the Court of Parliament, goe to the Princes, aduertising the Duke of Orleans of the danger of a great confusion, if he did not foresee it. Hereupon *Lewis* commands his troopes to retire, and staies at the Castle of Beauty vpon Marne, to haue the better meanes to heare from his Vncles, who (by the authority of reason and alliance, after many voyages) reconciled *Lewis* of Orleans, and *John* of Bourgongne, hauing scene and embraced one another like kinde Kinsmen, with all outward signes of perfect and cordiall loue. This was but a coloured peace, the which in the end was so heauy a burthen to them both, as it weighed them downe, and by their owne wilfull follies, as if they willingly sought their owne ruines, verifying this assured maxime: That man hath no harme, but what he seeks himselfe, confirmed by the truth of these Oracles; *They haue no harme, but by their owne iniquity*: and, *My people haue not obeyed my voice*: and, *Israel would none of me*, ratified likewise by the experience of all men, all Estates, and all ages. The duke of Orleans sought his owne death, in prouoking his enemy without reason, and the duke of Bourgongne in murdering him, erected a scaffold to shed his owne blood.

This agreement made, *John* of Bourgongne informs the King and his Councill, how much it did import to take the towne of Calais from the English, where the commodity of landing, and the neerthe of the Kings estates, gaue the common enemy great means to molest the Prouinces of Flanders and Picardy, requiring aid and succours from

The Duke of  
Orleans dis-  
contents the  
Parisians.

A peace be-  
tweene the duke  
of Orleans and  
Bourgongne.

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the King to besiege it; the which hee grants. Whereupon he with all his Cities, making great preparations to fortifie the French Army, the which enters into Picardy, sending a commandement to beleaguer Calais. The artillerie and munition was ready to goe to field, through the great diligence of the Duke of Bourgogne, stirred vp with hope to pull this thorne out of his foot, and to free the traffick betwixt his subiects and France, when as suddenly the Kings letters patents come to the heads of the army, commanding all men of warre, of what condition soeuer, not to passe any farther, vpon paine of the lines. This vnexpected countermand, accused the Duke of Orleans as the author thereof, and gaue occasion to all men that desired the good of France to detest him, as seruing his owne passions, to the preiudice of the common-weale: but aboue all, it gaue too important a cause of discontent to the Duke of Bourgogne, who infinitely grieved with so excusable an affront, and such inhumane circumstances of a cruell indignity (for where serueth it to discover in particular, the griefes of so apparant an iniury?) he resolues to haue his reuenge once for all. Thus farre the Duke of Bourgogne had reason to complaine at the Duke Orleans; but he exceeds, from reason he flies to passion, the which is a dangerous Councillor, which presented vnto him a pernicious remedy, being then pleasing his troubled minde, leauing him nothing but a late repentance, and his body taken in the trappe which he himselfe had made.

A new cause of discontent betwixt the Duke Orleans and Bourgogne.

The Duke of Bourgogne resolues to kill his cousin Orleans.

Thus *John* resolues to free himselfe of his cousin the Duke of Orleans, who he supposed would be a perpetuall and irreconcilable enemy. The motives of this cruell resolution, are visible by the forepassed actions. But they added ielousie herunto, an intestine fire, which consumes him that lodgeth it in his bosome. The original of the History speaks nothing herof, for this shamefull iniury (which the wife conceale) was not spoken of by those that were chiefly interested. But the learned obserue, that the Duke of Orleans had vied his cousin of Bourgognes wife too familiarly, when as her husband was in the voyage of Hungary. A yong Flemish Princesse and browne, of whom they had made a song, the which the duke of Orleans caused to be put into musick, and to be sung before the ielous husband, at a banquet which hee had made him, hauing the Princesse picture in his Cabinet, and vinting that it was the triumph of his loue. These are those which pierce the hearts of generous men with an incurable wound. This they set downe for one of the motives of the Bourgignons hatred against his cousin of Orleans. The vanity cost *Lewis* of Orleans deare, being iugen exceedingly vnto women, and as it was one of the causes of his death by the iust iudgement of God, so is it considerable, for being slaine by his enemy, amongst his other vices, he shall reproach him of luxury, to iustifie the murder. But let vs obserue the sequell of this Tragedy.

*Lewis Duke of Orleans is slaine by John Duke of Bourgogne, and in the end John makes a counterfeite peace with the children of Lewis, but it is the renuing of greater troubles.*

**J**OHn of Bourgogne hauing resolved to kill *Lewis* of Orleans his cousin German, went to Paris, with so good a shew, as if hee had no intent to breake the accord so solemnly made betwixt them. That which most troubled him, was to see his enemies authority confirmed by this reconciliation, hauing the absolute government of the State, respected as the Kings brother, and the first Prince of the blood. And (to giue him greater authority and power) the good King *Charles* had giuen him for a new yeares gift the yeare 1407, the Duchy of Guienne for his portion, whereof the Dauphin then carried the title. This new fauour and great aduancement, kindled the coale of ielousie in the Bourgignons braine, being already much transported, and holding it for certaine, that hee should neuer by any ordinary course preuaile against so passionate and powerfull an enemy, who as his means did increase, so would his desire augment to ruine him. He therefore thinks it convenient to prevent him, and draws vnto him men fit for so audacious a murder, *Raoules* of Artonuille a Norman, an ancient seruant of his house, and discontented with the Kings brother, for that he had taken from him the office of Generall of Normandy, and a souldier of Guines called *William Corteheuze*, with others of the same humour, to the number of eighteen. This *William* had a brother called *Sin* of Courtcheuze, a groom of the Kings chamber, who should be the insti-

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ment to draw this poore Prince into the pitfall. The Queene lay therein child-bed, the Duke of Orleans goes to visit her after supper, when as this *Sin* of Corteheuze goes to the Queenes chamber to tell him, that the king desired him to repaire, presently vnto him for very important affaires. The Murtherers were lodged secretly in a house by the which the Duke should passe. Being mounted vpon his mule, accompanied onely with two Squires vpon one horse, and one that followed on foot, his pages carrying torches both before and behind him, as the horse (which carried the two Squires) came before the house, where this ambuscadoe lay, hee began to short and to run. The murtherers issue forth in family and charge the Duke, at the first they cut off his hand which held the reignes of his horse. He cries out, *Amble Duke of Orleans*, and they answer, *It is you we seek for*. They double their blowes with such violence, as they beat him downe and cleaue his head, for as the braines lay scattered vpon the pavement.

The Duke of Orleans murdered by the Bourgignons.

The yong Squire that remained with him, runs desperately among their weapons, and is presently slaine vpon his poore master. The pages had already giuen the alarm at his lodging, and many came running to succour their Lord, whom they find thus massacred. There was nothing to be heard but cries and lamentations, whilest the murtherers (hauing fired a house, and cast Calthrops in the streets) get themselves into the Duke of Bourgognes house. Thus the night passeth in miserable lamentations. *Valentine* doubtles the terror of this horrible accident with fearefull outcries. The Princes his cousins are thus to participate in this sorrow. All weepe and lament all cry out in this mournfull house. When the day appears, they finde his hand on the one side, and his braines scattered on the other. The reliques of his head are gathered together with teares, and all kept for an honourable funeral.

O head! how many mischiefs attend thee? Oh murderer! thou shalt bee murthered: disloyall, thou shalt be disloyally slaine. I haue horror, yea I tremble to shew this blood againe by my report. The very enemies of *Lewis* were amazed at this audacious murder, foretelling the miseries that should follow. The Queene wonderfully passionate, caught herselfe to be removed to the Kings lodging, and doubles the guards. In the end the king hath notice thereof, and apprehends it according to the weaknesse of his braine, but the Princes provided presently for his safetie and their owne, euery man fearing for himselfe in so strange an accident.

Such was the violent death of *Lewis* duke of Orleans, traitorously slaine at Paris by *John* duke of Bourgogne, the twentieth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord 1407, who thinking to kill his enemies, slew himselfe, and left this blood prodigiously shed, as a mournfull Legacy to his posterity; and hoping in his ouerweening spirit, to vsurpe France from the lawfull heires, he lost Bourgogne for his posterity: neither could hee hinder his issue whom hee had so treacherously murdered, from the happy enioying of the whole Realme; for *Lewis* D. of Orleans left three Sonnes by *Valentine* the heire of Milan, *Charles*, *Philip* and *John*: from *Charles* the eldest (being duke of Orleans,) is issued directly King *Lewis* the twelfth, the father of the people, and of *John* Earle of Angoulesme, father to King *Francis* the first, the father of the Muses, who hath giuen foure Kings successively to our Monarchy. But of *John* of Bourgogne wee can reckon but two successors, *Philip* and *Charles*. *Philip* was his son, who by the patience of God left *Charles* in his place, but *Charles* suffered for his grandfathers errors and his owne, for he died in blood: his pride was entered in an vnknowne tombe, and Bourgogne was pluckt from the felonious hands of this murdering race, and vntied to the Crowne. Now *John* of Bourgogne shall commit strange disorders during 12. yeares, from the date of this massacre; and it seemes that blind Fortune hath adorned his temples with bayes and triumph: to guard on these execrable crimes; but he is not freed that drawes his halter after him. He shall soone pay both principall and interest to Gods iust iudgment, which slackes not, although it seeme slacke, but comes in due season, marching slowly, to take all excuse from the obstinate and impudent sinner, recompencing in the end this apparent slacknesse of punishment, by the greatnesse of eternall paine.

But let vs returne to this desolate house: *Valentine* widow to *Lewis*, with her 3. sons, and *Isabel* of France the Kings eldest daughter, wife to *Charles*, the eldest sonne of *Lewis*, now Duke of Orleans, by the decease of his father; come all to our poore King *Charles*, (being sicke) to demand iustice. All cast themselves at the Kings feet, as much discom-

*Valentine demands iustice for the death of her husband.*

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forted as themselves, for the cruell death of his only brother, whom he had alwaies loved dearly both found and sicke. *Lewis* of Anjou King of Sicily and Naples, the Duke of Berry and Bourbon, with all the Princes of the blood, accompany them in this lamentable state, wherein *Charles* promitteth to give them satisfaction.

The Kings Councell being assembled, they require an account of the Prouoff, which had done in search of these murderers. He answers, that having done his duty he could not find any thing. That there were no places vnsearcht, but Princes and great houses, where if he might be suffered to enter, he would doe his best, to discover the murderers. The Princes were all in Councell, and the Bourguignon amongst them, all misle if freely: *John* of Bourguigne (guilty of the crime) holds his peace: and as they beheld one another, hee rife, and drawing the King of Sicily and the Duke of Berry apart, hee confesseth, that through the deuils motion hee had committed this murder. These Princes (being amazed) conceale it for that day. The next day coming to Councell, the duke of Berry willed him to retire himselfe. Thus amazed hee returns to his lodging, and presently without any stay he flies with five more into Flanders, where the murderers likewise finde a sure retreat. That conscience which at the first had terrified him, is now hardened: and that which had moued him to confesse himselfe the author of this murder, doth now animate him with new motions, to become obstinate, and maintaine by vniust force, that which he had committed by furious violence. *Henry* sought the loue of all the Cities of Flanders, hee finds them willing to support him, right or wrong in his necessity: vpon this assurance hee calls an assembly at Gand, to which those succours whereof he stood in need.

At the newes hereof, the zeale of Iustice growes cold in Court, they seeke an account with him whom they should pursue the King of Sicily, and the Duke of Berry goe to him to Amiens, being prouder then if he had done a meritorious act, where making open profession of his pride, hee had placed ouer the doore of his lodging, a table wherein were painted two Lances acrosse, whereof the one had a well steeked head for the warre, and the other a bare head for the Tilt, as giuing the choice of warre and peace: publishing generally, that he not onely had done the murder, but that he would and ought to doe it, to the end he might be mad with reason, he findes Diuines in those dayes that comfort him in this passion, and protest to maintaine it by Scripture, as the sequell will presently shew. The Princes that were sent vnto him (not able to moue him to confesse his fault, and to humble himselfe) they command him in the Kings name not to come to Paris. He answers them boldly, that he would presently goe, to informe the King what reason moued him to punish the common enemy of France.

And having reuiued his practices at Paris, by means of his intelligences, hee gathers together a great army, and accompanied with his two brethren, and the Dukes of Lorraine and Cleues, he comes to Saint Denis, and lodgeth his troopes about this great City, who willingly stretch forth their hands vnto him, as to their redeemer, who should purchase them perpetuall rest. The Princes goe vnto him, and entreat him in the Kings name, not to enter into Paris, but with his ordinary traine of 200 men. *John* makes them answer, That for the fury of his person, he could doe no lesse then to goe well accompanied, and the next day hee arrives at Paris with all his troopes, being receiued by the Parisians with cries of ioy, as a new Monarch. He fortifies himselfe in Bourguigne house, where he is visited by the whole body of the Citie and the Vniuersity, who seeke to support this execrable murder. The next day the game is played with a strange prelude. *John* Preb, a Doctor of Diuinity, maintained (with wonderfull impudency) that the Duke of Bourguigne had caused the Duke of Orleans to be worthily slaine, by reason of many notable crimes, whereof he doth accuse him. The Originall of the History doth set downe these detestible frenzies, to shew how much disorder preuailes in an Estate without head. The Councell of *Consilians* shall condemne this Impostor, being accused by the Colledge of Sorbonne, who shall disauow this mercenary man, after the death of the Duke of Bourguigne.

The issue was answerable to his speech. The King being sicke in minde, and the Princes fainting, *John* of Bourguigne is absolved of the murder committed on the person of his cousin germane. The King (to couer this bad act) declares by his letters patents, That in case he died, he would that *Lewis* his eldest sonne, Dauphin of Piennois, should haue the govern-

*John* of Bourguigne confesseth the murder.  
Files from Paris.

Fortifies himselfe.

Offers to iustifie the murder by armes.

And is absolved by the murder.

A ment of the Realme, and after him *John* and *Charles* his younger sonnes one after another, without any Regent. But the Bourguignon was ignorant, that this decree gave him authority that should punish him: being also aduised (for some speciall considerations) not to deale any more with the affaires of France, but with his owne. So he retires into Flanders, not daring to attempt any thing, being thus iustified and absolved.

This insolency, accompanied with some indignities against the Kings maiesty, displeased the whole Court: and not iustifiable by the Bourguignon faction, it caused *Valentine* and her children to renew their complaints to the Kings Councell, who stoutly made a decree against *John* Duke of Bourguigne, for satisfaction of the murder committed by him on the person of the Duke of Orleans. But what auales it to report that which took no effect, but onely to proue, That when lawfull authority is suppressed, Iustice is of no force, and the stronger predaies under foot the right of the weaker. As it proued in this ridiculous and imaginaty sentence, giuen in fauour of the children of Orleans against the murderer of their father: for it was scarce recorded for the benefit of the interested, when as newes came of the victorie which *John* of Bourguigne had gotten against them of Liege, in fauour of *John* of Bawaria surnamed Without-pity, their bishop. This did quite change all their thoughts, countenances and words in Court, all Commissions for the leauing of soldiers, for the execution of this decree, by force are reuoked. There is no talk, but how to warrant the King and Dauphin from the Bourguignon, who without doubt would (according to his humour) bring his victorious army to Paris, to disannull the decree vpon their heads that should maintaine it. So as the Dauphin with the Dukes of Berry and Bourguigne conduct the King to Tours for his better safety, being vnvilling to leaue him in the Parisians power, who were passionate partisans of the Bourguignon.

The Parisians are wonderfully discontented at this departure: they arme, draw their chaires, as in a time of war: and call in the Bourguignon, assuring him of their heats and meanes. He comes speedily with a great army, and sties at S. Denis, contrary to the Parisians expectation, who thought he would haue kept the more idle, hauing so great forces. But hee wisely weighing the vanity of popular tumults, resolves to husband this occasion, and to make his peace with the King and the House of Orleans, hauing so great an advantage ouer them, to ratifie the abolition which he had obtained against all euent. He then sends his Ambassadors to King *Charles* to Tours, *William* duke of Bawaria, the Lords of George, Croy, Vieufuille and Dolehaing, to treat a peace with him and the children of Orleans, making great shewes of humility and loue.

This new course moued the King and Princes, the which they expected not from the Duke of Bourguigne, being so late a Conqueror: so as they easily yeeld to an agreement, vpon conditions, but still to the prejudice of the poore widow, and afflicted Orphans. In this confusion, *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans (seeing her paines lost in the pursuit of to iust a cause) dies for thought within few daies after: leauing great trouble & few friends to her children, and great ioy to the Bourguignon, seeing his cause won by the death of this courageous woman, who onely might oppose her selfe. The King comes to *Chartres*, to solemnize this peace; hee sends for *Charles* Duke of Orleans and his brethren, and for the Duke of Bourguigne; and all appeare at a prefixed day. A scaffold is made, where the King sits in his seat of Iustice, environed with the Princes of his blood, in great state. The Duke of Bourguigne (approaching neere the King) kneeles downe with *Duke* of Burgundy, who speaketh thus: Liege Lord, behold the D. of Bourguigne, your friend and cousin is come vnto you, for that he understands you are much offended with him for the deed done, and committed on the person of my Lord the Duke of Orleans your brother, for the good of the Realm & of your person, as he is ready to let you make, and to let you know that I will please you, and therefore my Lord, hee doth humbly beseech you that you would please you to forget the wrath and indignation you haue conceived against him, and to receive him into your favour.

After these words, the King commanded the Duke to retire himselfe: which done the Duke the Dauphin the Kings of Sicily and Nauarre, and the duke of Berry fall out their knees before the King, and the Queens said: Dred Lord, be mercifull to us from the mouth of our Cousin the Duke of Bourguigne: The King answered, We will and doe graunt it for your sakes. The Duke of Bourguigne being called againe, kneeles before the King, who layes vnto him, Faire Cousin we graunt your request, and pardon you all. The Duke

The King takes Paris.

*Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans dies for griefe.



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having thanked the King, riseth. Behinde the Kings chaire stood *Charles of Orleans* his brethren weeping bitterly. The Duke of Bourgogne goes vnto them, accompanied with his Aduocate, and hauing saluted them with a vety humble countenance, the Aduocate spake thus vnto them: *My Lords, the Duke of Bourgogne here present, intreats you to put out your remembrance that hatred which you may haue against him for the outrage committed on the person of my Lord of Orleans your father, and that hereafter you will remaine good kinsmen and loving friends.* The Duke added, *And herewith I pray you.* But they answered nothing. Then the King said vnto them: *My faire Cousins, I will haue it so. And they answered: Liege, knowing seeing it pleasest you to command vs, we yield thereto: for we will not disobey your commandments in any thing.* The Duke accepted it, thanking the King and his Cousins of Orleans. Then the Cardinall of Barre brought the holy Reliquient, wheron both parties did sweare a peace, neuer to remember what was past; and to hold a perpetual league of friendship. And the King said *We will, that hereafter you live like good kinsmen & friends together, and straightly charge you not to wrong one another, nor any other person that hath fauoured you: neither shew any malice or hatred vnto them, as you tender our displeasure, except such as commeth the said murder, whom we banish our Realme for euer.* These are the very words faithfully collected out of the Originall of that age. This hapned the ninth of March, 1409. This followed nothing but mariages. The Duke of Bourgogne married his two brethren, *Philip* Heire of Neuers with the heire of Couffy, and *Anthony* Duke of Brabant with the heire of Innerburg. He is greatly in credit with the King and *Queene*; his traine seemed greater then his Masters: the bounty of his kitchen drawes men from all parts; but hee had made his peace with God, neyther (in his heart) with those poore OrpHELINS, desolate both of friends and meanes, at whose cost this peace was made, the which was but counterfeit, and continued not long.

*John Duke of Bourgogne governeth all in the Kings name and the Dauphines. The Faction of Orleans opposeth. The civill warres resume: ended with a peace: and the new authority of the Dauphin, who disposeth the Bourgignon; and restoreth them of Orleans.*

From the year 1409, vnto the year 1413.

**A**fter this accord the Court takes a new forme. *Queene Isabel* thinks no more of the poore Nephew of Orleans, shee is wholly the Duke of Bourgogne. The Duke of Berry follows the same traine: For prooue of a cordiall friendship, the *Queene* doth openly fauour the marriage so long promised, of *Lewis* the Dauphin her eldest sonne, with the heire daughter to the Duke of Bourgogne, the which marriage is solemnized.

Now *John* of Bourgogne is farther in law to the Dauphin, then hee, which giveth both his heart and house. Moreover, *Charles* King of Nauarre, *Lewis* duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Lorraine, Britany, Barre, Alanson, Cleues, Vandemont, and (after the example) the greatest Noblemen in Court, are all on his side. There is nothing but joy in his house; all ioy, whilst the Orphans of Orleans weep. Paris honours him as a protector, and trusts none but him: and *John* doth affect nothing more carefully, with King and Dauphin, then the loue of the people. Hee doth all he can to please the chiefe subiect of his discourse to reforme the State, to keepe the people more at ease, to the common weale. In a solemn Feast (where all the Court was present) hee gave his friends, instead of a banquet, plowmen of gold and silver, (showing by this signe, that his first care was to rule the State well; and to shew the effect of his words, that hee practised the same laboure.)

*Albion* cryed out of the Treasurers, as hoist-leeches of the commons treasure, that chiefe causes of bad husbandry, whereby the King and people were so much impoverished. Wee haue made mention before of one of the Kings chiefe minions called *John*, who had too sooned the storme: being returned hee growes migræber creole, with the King then before, who giues him the office of Lord Steward, and makes his place to be to the sister of the Lord of Albret, his Constable, although *John* was not of the meane calling. The shew of his traine exceeded Princes houses, and made him to be all in generally, so as they accused him to haue robbed his Prince, and the public Treasure.

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*Montagu put to death.*

**A** The Bourgignon begins with him, in the reformation of the State. The Princes of the blood were easily drawne to allow of this proceeding: so as *Montagu* was taken; condemned, and speedily beheaded. Whether this were done by commissioners, or iudicially (as it was said to be iudified after his death) it is not certaine. This is a good lesson for meane men, that grow rich by the publicke treasure, not to abuse their wealth by excessive pompe: to keep their credit in Court, and to fie the fury of great men, vnder his protection that hath power of life and death, arming themselves with a good conscience, and vnreproucable in their charges. But the Bourgignon had a farther reach then *Montagu*: for vnder colour of the publicke good, he reuenged himselfe of him, whose selfe might haue crost his designs. His meaning was, not to reforme the State, but to gouerne it absolutely. Thus he seekes to vsurpe all, and in the ruine of *Montagu*, hee will haue all men know that he hath power to hurt and helpe. This first insolvency furthered his enemies, being in a manner forsaken of all men, euen of their owne blood: for *John* Duke of Berry (caried away with the vent of this new fauor) had befucted himselfe to the Bourgignon: but finding himselfe contemned by him, who tooke all to himselfe, and reiected such as had serued him to rise, *John* resolues to ioyne with the house of Orleans, and to oppose themselves against the Duke of Bourgognes greatnesse.

This is the beginning of the two factions of Orleans and Bourgogne, which troubled all France during this reigne. This league (whereof the house of Orleans bare the name (as the first and most interested) was concluded at Gyen in the year 1410, the tenth of March, being defensue and offensue against the house of Bourgogne. The chiefe were *Charles* Duke of Orleans and his brethren, *John* duke of Berry, *Lewis* Duke of Bourbon, *John* Earle of Alanson, *Francis* Earle of Clermont, *Bernard* Lord of Armagnac, and *Charles* Lord of Albret Constable of France, with their friends and followers in great numbers. Of the Bourgignon faction, were *John* Duke of Bourgogne with his brethren, *Charles* King of Nauarre, (sonne to that wretch of whom we haue made mention) the Dukes of Lorraine, Brabant and Britanie, the Marquis of Pont, the Earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Saint Pol, Ponthieure, and many others. This mournfull diuision continued vnto the year 1419, in the which *John* was slaine, but it ends not so. During these eight yeares we shall see diuers changes, one in, and another out, as they could enable themselves with the Kings authority, which is the strongest batterie of ciuill warres. Now the Duke of Bourgogne is in quarter, and plants his Ordnance against the Orleans, as guiltie of high treason: but shortly he shall be dispossessed, and they of Orleans shall take their turne.

The house of Orleans complains, that they are not respected according to their degree: they sue to be admitted to the priuiledges due to Princes of the blood, and that the duke of Bourgogne should not command absolutely, holding (as they said) both the bodies and wils of the King, *Queene*, and Dauphine in captiuitie. They assemble in great troopes, first at Chartres, and after (to manage their affaires with greater shew, neere vnto the capitall City of Paris) they lodged at the Castell of Wincesster, their called Bicer, but now ruined. The Duke of Bourgogne accused the Duke of Orleans for practising to take the Crowne from the King and Dauphin, perswading the King to what he pleased against them, as against rebels and disturbers of the publicke quiet. This fire continued but seuen or eight moneths, wherein there chanced no memorable accident, but only the death of *Lewis* the good duke of Bourbon, who died for griefe in the beginning of this war, being accused as the motiue of these troubles.

*Queene Isabel* laboured to reconcile these Princes, but she preuailed not, being suspected by the Orlean faction, whom she had left without cause, to ioyne with the Bourgignon. After some Edicts of confiscation, not executed (like Canon that spent in the aire) a peace was made by means of the duke of Berry, vpon condition that he and the Duke of Bourgogne should ioyntly haue the Dauphin in guard, and the house of Orleans should be respected in their degree, and that *Peter* of Essards (a swome enemy to their party, and a most passionate seruant to the duke of Bourgogne) should be no more Protector of Merchants. This was concluded at Wincesster, whereof it beares the name, the twentieth day of Nouember in the same year, hauing contended this summer about Paris only, to the hurt of the poore people, discontented chiefly with the *Goleus* that came out of Armagnac, who gaue their name to the troopes of the Orlean faction, called

The peace of Wincesster.



called for this occasion Armagnacs, wearing for their colours a white scarf, the which they have used in our last troubles. This first Peace continued not long, neither were all promises performed. The Bourguignon did eat the cake alone, and yet he complained first, as having to do with children. Hee sends the Lords of Croy and Douries, to the Duke of Berry, to disloyne him from the Duke of Orleans his Nephew, who having intelligence of their negotiation and passage, caused them to be surprised in Sologne, and brought prisoners to Blois; but he sent back Douries, and detained Croy, as suspected to be guilty of his fathers death, and by consequence punishable by the treaty of peace. The King commands him to let him at liberty: and hee demands iustice of his fathers murderer. Hereupon they goe all to armes. They cause the King to summon him by his Edicts, whereunto Charles Duke of Orleans answers, by a challenge to the Duke of Bourgongne, as the murderer of his father, and the author of all the miseries which then reigned in France.

Beginning of  
the second  
warre.

Thus began this second warre, the 20 of Iuly, the year following, 1411. the Princes passions giuing the poore people scarce seven months respite to breathe in so many calamities, which they suffered through their voluntary divisions. The Orlean faction assembles at Gergeau vpon the riuier of Loire, to resolve of the meanes to make warre against Iohn Duke of Bourgongne, whom the challenge by a publike cartell, as the murderer of a Prince of the blood, the Kings only brother: and as usurper of the royall authority, holding the persons and wils of the King and Dauphin captive. Iohn duke of Bourgongne had great aduantages: the Kings authority, and the Daulphins, (who was heire apparent to the Crowne of France) the capitall City of the Realme, the approbation of the best Cities, most of the Prouinces, and without comparison greater meanes of himselfe, both for men and money.

This second war continued a year, it began in Iuly, 1411, and ended the year after, 1412, in the same moneth, far more variable and violent then the first; and memorable in this, that the vanquished was victor, and the victor vanquished. The same authority which had supported the stronger, was in the end fauourable to the weaker: such as most pleased their masters humor, received death of him for their reward. Very necessary observations to iudge of these ciuill wars. The Orlean faction went first to field. They were about seven or eight thousand horse. The number of their foot is not specified. Charles duke of Orleans makes the body of his army in Gasinois: the duke of Bourbon in Bourbonnois, and the Earle of Alanfon in Vermandois. Peronne, Chauny, Neele and Han, yeeld vnto them. Cleremont (which belonged to the duke of Bourbon) is fortified: they seeke to surprize Retel and Bapaumes, but in vaine. This was the first fally begun by them of Orleans: but the Bourguignon takes another course, he prepares the kings Edicts against them, hee employes the peoples force within the Cities, and armes in field, and assailes him at the first. He had a great army both of horse and foot, the which doth presently march into Picardy, where the Orleanois had begun, and easily recouers what they had gotten: then stands resolute: they besiege, take, spoile and sacke it.

The Bourguignon  
craves aid  
of the King of  
England.

The Flemings which were vassals to the duke of Bourgongne, being laden with spoile, craue leaue to returne home, neither could the dukes promises, nor threats retain them, but they leaue his army and depart. This had almost ouerthrowne his affaires, hee demands Mondicler, the which was presently surprised by Peter of Quefnes, Lord of Gamers of the Orlean faction, and putting his army into Garifons, doubting the euent of the war, he sends with all speed to Henry the King of England, crauing succours in this necessity. Henry makes his profit of these ciuill diffentions in France: he presently sends twelue hundred men to the Bourguignon, to supply the Flemings want, vnder the command of Thomas Earle of Arondell. The Orleanois lose no time; and for their nearer approach to Paris, they surprize Saint Denis, and Saint Cloud, places of importance; and fortifie Corbeil for the passage of the riuier; of purpose to famish this great City, which liues by daily prouisions brought from diuers parts. But he finds one to countermeine his practices, vizing the same instrument he had employed to hurt him. The Orleanois keeping the field about Paris, must needs be the cause of great calamities. And all this was acted in the view of the King and Dauphin.

Iohn informs the King of his enemies insolency, who (without appealing to his Majesty) presumed to spoile the heart of France, as if they were strangers or enemies. Charles

appro-

apprehends this error but too easily, desiring nothing but rest: but Lewis the Daulphine especially is incensed by these informations, and his choler increaseth daily against his cousins of Orleans. The Bourguignon sayd, that they played the Kings, and could not conceal their intention, which was to seize on the Crown, seeing they presumed to take armes against the King. There are rigorous Edicts made against the Orlean faction, as against rebels, and guilty of high treason. All their goods, honours and persons, are confiscate which remaine in this army, if within fifteene dayes after publication of the Kings letters patents, they retire not themselves to their houses. And to begin with the greatest, Charles of Albret Constable of France, and Arnold of Corby the Chancellor, are dispossessed of their dignities, and the Earle of Saint Pol preferred to the first place, and Dolehain the Duke of Bourgongnes Aduocate to the last.

This storme makes worke at Paris, they seeke out all of the Orlean party, and presently cast them into prison: Peter of Effars being restored to his place, remembers the article made against him at Winchester, and armes the people against them. Whosoever is found out by the Parisians, being of the Orlean faction, he is brought with hazard of his life to prison. All is lawfull in this popular rage, so it be against the Armagnacs. All these engines forced from diuers parts, doe strangely shake the Orlean party. Such as were restrained within any townes, durst not breathe: and many in the army slip away daily, fearing the rigour of these Edicts, which were executed with all feuerity.

Charles Duke of Orleans (having taken counsell of the Princes and Noblemen, his associates, what course to follow in this alteration, before a greater inconueniency) resolves to draw the Bourguignon to battell, although hee were fortified with these new forces from England. So as having passed the riuier of Oyse, vpon a bridge of boats, (all the passages being seized on by the Bourguignon in the Kings name) he presents himselfe before the gates of Cleremont in Beauuois, where Iohn his capitall enemy remained. The Orleans army is faire, beautified with the presence of great personages: the Duke of Bourbon, the Earles of Alanfon, Cleremont, Albret, Verus, Vienne, Bouicquault, the Archbishop of Sens (brother to that Montagu which was beheaded) Craon, Montibason, Hangest, with many Barons, Knights, and Squires, all resolute to end this quarrell by battell: and to that end (having desired the Duke of Bourgongne) they attend him, betwixt Cleremont and Cathenay. But the Bourguignon leauing them there to spoile that goodly and fertile Country of the Ile de France, whereby they increased the hatred and curse of the people, more incensed then euer against these Armagnacs, exclaiming of him as of a coward that durst not fight, he arises at Paris, to the peoples great content, who attend him with all deuotion. He presently takes Saint Cloud and Saint Denis from the Orlean party, to their great losse, notwithstanding any diligence of Charles their head, who proclaimed a victory before the combat. Thus Paris is freed without any restraint, and all the Orlean party brought very low. Neither Charles nor his associates talke any more of fighting with the Bourguignon: they had worke enough to retire themselves, and to defend their townes, expecting a present siege. Iohn of Bourgongne failes not to husband this good successe, and to countenance his forces) he doth ingage the King and Dauphin in the pursuit of his enemies halfe vanquished. So his victorious army enters into Beausse, turning head towards the Duchy of Orleans, the inheritance of his chiefe enemy. Estampes yeelds to the King. The Duke of Bourbon is there taken prisoner, and sent presently into Flanders.

Whilest that all things succeeded thus happily for the Duke of Bourgongne, Henry the fourth, King of England calls home the troopes he had sent to his succour, vnder the Earle of Arondels command, entreating the Duke to hold him excused, if he did vfe his owne at his need. He had no meaning to fauour the stronger party, but to succour the weaker, as experience did soone teach. This sudden alteration did somewhat stay the Bourguignons designe to attempt Orleans: but making warre aduisedly, hee attends his enemies proceeding, and taking an honest leaue to retire, by reason of the winter, hee comes to Paris, where (not to lose any time) he continues the Kings thundering Edicts, and executes many of his prisoners, to flesh the people. To blood he adds Ecclesiasticall Excommunications against the Armagnacs, whilest the Orleanois take cold by making war in Charolois, and sending for succours into England, seeking for reliefe in the same place where their enemy had found a scourge to whip them.

The English  
troopes leaue  
the Bourguignon.

Certaine

1412

Certain letters (caried by a Monke from the Duke of Orleans to the King of England) were intercepted and brought to Paris, being examined in full assembly of the Vniuersity, and from thence imparted to the people, with the Bourguignons Commentaries. They made the Orlean faction so much the more odious, as if the Dukes of Orleans, Berry, and Bourbon (combined together) had sought to take the Crowne from the King and Dauphine, and to dismember the Realme in giuing part of it to the English, and to diuide the rest among themselves. Strange newes without any subiect, which vanish at their breeding, but yet they serue to purpose according to the designe of their Architects.

The King and Dauphin (being possessed by John of Bourgongne) haue no thought but to ruine the Orlean party, and putt vp with this first successe, hoping to finish the rest, they employ all their means to leaue a great army, the which (through the Bourguignons care) was held to be an hundred thousand men. A notable number, after so many miseries, and in so great a confusion.

The City of Bourges was of great importance, for the vining of the Prouinces on that side Loire, where the associate Princes had their greatest supplies of men. The Bourguignons greatest malice was against the Duke of Berry, who not only had forsaken him, but (for his degree and age) vnderstood much in his enemies affaires. They resolve therefore to besiege it, to make the way more easie for the conquest of the rest. In the beginning of the Spring, the King and Dauphin goe from Paris to their army, which assembled in Gastoins: being entred into Berry, the lesser Townes yeeld without question. Dun le Roy, Fontenay, and Sancerre. Bourges being summoned, makes answer: That neither the King, nor Dauphin did make this warre, but the Duke of Bourgongne, who holding their persons and wils captiue, would deprive the Princes of France of their right, hauing imbrued his murdering hands in the blood of the first Prince of the Crowne, seeking to vsurpe the State. There were very many good souldiers within the City, which were supplied with all that might be wished for in a long siege. They invited the enemy (in scorn) that he would approach neere the City; and they leade their gates open in a brauery. Many fortunate sallies are made by them, crying in field, *God save the King*. They take many prisoners. The waters abroad are poisoned, and many dye before they discover the cause.

All rings out with military railings of Armagnacs and Bourguignons: but the greatest defeat is in spoiling of the Country. All the prouision being caried into the City, what a spoile should an Army of an hundred thousand men with their followers make? and (to increase their misery) all the houses of the champion Country were either sackt or burnt. The English (being victors in France) neuer committed greater spoiles then these French Armies.

As the duke of Berry (the Lord of that country) was much grieved to see these spoils to the Dauphin (the heire apparent of the Crowne) was discontented with his fathers lawes ambition, growing odious vnto him. His blood (which could not degenerate) moued him to compassion, and the blood vniuilly shed, troubled his conscience. For to what end should they ruine a whole Realme to maintaine so execrable a murder? If hee to reforme the State (saith he) be the Bourguignons intent, is this the way? His father (being sicke could not apprehend these things, by reason of his infirmity: what reproach then were it for him (being his eldest son) to suffer himselfe to be baffled by his father in law, like vnto an infant? These apprehensions moued this yong Prince, who nothing dissembling his conceptions, told his father openly, that hee was not pleased with these confusions, and that they must find out some means to pacifie them. It changed one day, as they aduersed the King, that in a fallly made by them of the Towne, they had slain some one of his seruants, the Dauphin cried out in the presence of the Bourguignon: *Shall we neuer haue an end of these miseries? I am resolved to make them cease.* The Bourguignon hauing before discovered some coldnes in this yong Prince, found his mind now to be wholly changed. He therefore replied mildly: *That it should be well done, so as they of Orleans would acknowledge their error.* How (saith the Dauphin) *shall they acknowledge their fault, if we do not know them for our blood?* And then they resolved to make a peace. The Duke of Berry had layed the foundation by Lignac, great master of Rhodes, who failed not to imbrace this occasion, seeing the Dauphin so well affected. The Earle of Sawoy had sent his Ambassadors, to exhort both parties. After a months siege they be-

The King and Dauphin besiege Bourges by the Bourguignons means:

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gin to treat of the means to pacifie these troubles. The Bourguignon makes haste to be the first in all things, and parles with the duke of Berry betwixt two bars. One accuseth, the other excuseth, but in the end a peace is concluded by Deputies.

The Princes, at an enteruiew imbrace one another, with all shewes of cordial loue, such as their blood makes shew of, after long bitterness. The Bourguignon onely is troubled, doubting this peace to them would be a new to him, for that hee had no peace in his owne Conscience.

The King enters into Bourges, where the peace is signed, and for that reason it was called the peace of Bourges, the 25 of Iuly, in the yeare 1412. A Parliament is called at Auxerre, to confirme it by soleimne oath. The Princes are received into fauour with the King and Dauphin, all Edicts made against them, were disannulled, and of no force. They and theirs restored to their degrees and dignities: all things to be forgotten. The names of Armagnac and Bourgongne (as infamous markes of civil dissensions) forbidden upon paine of death: and the English (come to the succour of the associate Princes) to be satisfied out of the Kings Treasure. Without the City of Auxerre, neere to the Abbey of Saint Marian a stately scaffold was made, where the King sitting in his seat of Iustice, enuironed with his Princes, the officers of his Crowne, and the chiefe Deputies of the Parliament, the peace was proclaimed with as great ioy, as the war had been tedious and mournfull. To confirme this peace with John of Bourgongne, Philip Earle of Vertus married his daughter: but all this could not reconcile him to the house of Orleans. The Dauphin reioyced much at this peace, and made all shewes of loue to his cousins lately reconciled, being grieved that there had been so long dissention betweene them: desirous to reparaire what was past, and about all to maintaine an inuolable peace within the Realme. The good sicke King present at all, yeelded his consent and authority, sometimes inclined to good, sometimes to ill. Queene Isabel held with the strongest: but all these good motions were crossed by the Bourguignon, so as all the confusions of this peigne are not yet ended.

John Duke of Bourgongne seeing himselfe, cast by Lewis the Dauphin, and the house of Orleans restored to grace, stirs up new troubles, from the yeare 1412, vnto 17: when as the Dauphin dyed, but the troubles ceased not.

FRANCE began to hope for better, by the means of Lewis the eldest sonne of King Charles: hauing a desire to make a peace against the Bourguignons will. But this was not all they expected of the Dauphins first resolution: yet the weaknesse of the sicke King, and the inconstancie of this yong Lieutenant, gaue the subtil braine of John of Bourgongne too great an aduantage to suffer the French to enjoy the fruits of peace so much desired, who neuer yeelded to bare threats, but grew more resolute. And notwithstanding this alteration of the Dauphin his sonne in law, yet he left not the Court, being always neere the King, keeping the Councell in breath, who were for the most part all of his faction: and although the worshipped they Sunne rising, yet seeing the spirit of this yong Princeto bee weak and inconstant, and the Bourguignons firme resolution, they stood vpon their guard, doing nothing that might openly offend either the one or the other; but vnder hand they sought to please the most politike and redoubted master, who life might proue a most cruell and dangerous enemy. Thus were affaires handled in the Kings Councell. And as for only the Court, but the whole world, is an ebbing and flowing of diuers humours, the which doe change according to occasions; and the soule whereof dissembling, treachery, and reason play their parts diuersly: so at that time the Bourguignon (a principall artisan of these goodly trickes) found an ample libertie wherein to employ his stithy trade. But although he seemed to haue gained all, what hee desired hee desired not to come to pass, and hee was not the full of his desires, yet all his enterprises came to nothing; and in the end hee payed (with the price of his blood) the great debt of his hostile wickednesse. But this Act had many Scenies. In the first, our History shall descowbe the gouernment of Lewis the Dauphin. This yong Prince was not capable of so great a charge, hauing an idle braine, being careless and voluptuous, hee was his owne will, obstinate, taking no orders from any but of himselfe, or from yong men of his owne humour: loth to yeeld to any that

The Bourguignons practices in Court.

In the estate of the Court vnder Lewis the Dauphine:

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that vnderstood more then himselfe, and especially to his vncles, whose graue heires hee disdained: neyther could hee loue his father in law, being refused to gouerne the Realme alone. The Queene seeing her sonnes humour inclined to loue the House of Orleans, made shew to fauour them: but in effect shee was indifferent, being wholly giuen to flatter her husband, and to gouerne him according to the time.

The Bourguignon dissembling his sonne in lawes wayward humours, was alwayes neere the King, giuing him such goodly reasons, as the good Prince could not gaine-say him. The subiect of his futes was pleasing to the Parisians, whose good liking he entertained cheerefully; but alwayes with an intent to be reuenged of his enemies, vnder this goodly name of the Common-wealth, as the foueraigne end of all his designs: but in effect he held one of the chiefeest places, not yielding in any thing to gouerne them which seemed to him, and to keepe backe such as might crosse his authority. By the Peace of Bourges the Constable of Albert should be restored to his dignity, and Arnold of Corby to his Chanceliership. They delay him from day to day, but in the end they are restored with much difficulty. The meanest haue many delays, more trouble some then a flat repulse, being more willing to leaue all, then to make these fruitlesse pursuits. Arnold of Corby being honourably restored to his place, resigned it into the Kings hands, to auoid the danger of so confused time: more wisely then Henry of Marle that succeeded him, being slaine at the massacre of Paris, with the Constable of Armagnac. But the Bourguignon flew a higher pitch then to preiudice the House of Orleans in their goods and honours, or to crosse their affaires and their followers. He found no better expedient then to doe as he had done with Lewis his father: for a dead Lyon doth no harme. To this end hee assembles some of his most trusty followers at Paris, to finde means to murder the Dukes of Orleans, Berry and Bourbon, but Peter of Eßars (one of his most violent partisans) discovered this practice, for the which hee soone after smarted.

By the Treaty of Bourges, the English (which came to the Duke of Orleans succour) must be satisfied. They presse for payment, one part being discharged (to the Duke of Orleans great hinderance) he was forced to leaue his Brother John Earle of Angoulesme in hostage for the rest: being carryed into England, hee was in the end redeemed, after much trouble and many delays.

In this Article the Bourguignon made shew of his good husbandry; soliciting the English vnder-hand, on the one side, for to presse Charles his principall debtor; and on the other side hee cryed out against the disorder of the Kings treasure, so ill gouerned, as they were not sufficient to furnish the ordinary expences of his house: pretending all these great summes to be waisted by the Treasurers, eyther in gifts, or in superfluous expences. This complaint was very plausible, but it was a pitfall to catch his enemies, and to mutine the discontented people, by reason of their great oppression, being easie to bee moued at the name of the Common-wealth. Hee soone obtained from the Kings generall Conuocation of the chiefe Cities, to reforme the abuses of the Realme; and especially of the treasure, for the reliefe of the poore people. To make this party good, the City of Paris must make the first point: but the Vniuersity which stood as a neuter (dealing with nothing but these bookes) should make the proposition and first instance.

The cause was vehemently set downe by a Doctor (chosen for the purpose) and auowed by the City and Deputies of the provinces: such as were subiect to accompts, were mustertified, and the greatest number dead: such as were taken, lost their heads at the Halles Greene, to the peoples great content, who highly commend the Duke of Bourgogne, as the onely Prince which loued the good of the Realme. The Dauphine grows zealous at the found of these praises (as preiudiciall to his honour) vowing neuer to suffer the Bourguignon to attempt any thing against his authority. Such as were interceded, led the young Princes humour: who (by the means of Lewis of Bauxaria his vnckle by the mothers side) perswade him to take the name of Regent for a while of his greatnesse.

He takes this title, and giues notice to the Duke of Bourgogne, that it is now high time, hee were knowne in his degree. The Bourguignon (pretending that he hath no other obiect but the good of the Realme) makes no shew to deale in these affaires, leauing the gouernement thereof to whom it appertained: yet vnder-hand hee caused the Parisians to arme; and (least the better sort should be called into question, hee employed the basest, being led by one Caboch a butcher, followed by a multitude of rascals, who (being

(being armed)

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(armed) come in troopes to the Regents lodging, and the sight of him by rowle the chiefe enemies of the Bourguignons house, who (they had had gouerned the treasure, or had bene enriched by excessive gifts, amongst the which was a Jew of Eßars, who without any long processe) lost his head, receiving the same for his great wickednesse, by his hands, who had then caused him to commit them. But this was not one dayes stay, the next day the people assemble in great multitudes, and taking white caps for their badges, they came to Saint Pol, where the King lodged, and demand audience, having seized on all the passages to his lodging, after a terrible manner. A Carmelite Friar was speaker for the people, accompanied with the Deputies of this multitude as his ruffians. Being entered into the Kings chamber, after many tedious speeches, he demands reformation of the State, protesting they would not be fed with words; they wring the King to punish such whole names they had contained in a list, being guilty of capital crimes. The Duke of Bourgogne makes a good shew, and answers: That the King would consider thereof. This Friar replies impudently, that they would not depart before they had such as they demanded. Their rage was such; as the King, and Princes tooke white cappes, the mark of the seditious. They demand the chiefe seruaunts of the King, Queene, and Dauphine, not onely men, but all women which had bene in any credit: and above all, Lewis of Bauxaria the Queens brother. There was not any one but stood amazed at these audacious impudencies.

The Queene comes weeping, she intreats the King, the Monke and the deputies of the people. They answer, it is their charge, and they cannot alter it. The people cry from the base Court with a violent noise, that if they deliuer not these prisoners, they will force the lodging. So as after all these intreaties, Lewis the Queens brother with the rest (specified in the rowle) both men and women, yeeld vnto the mercy of these mad and furious men, and are by them led into diuers prisons.

This night passed not without many murders, many were strangled, and many cast into the riuer, without any other formes of iustice, but the Bourguignons seeret commandement: who (with his cold and graue countenance) made shew to haue no interest in the action. The City was neuer in so lamentable an estate, by this shameful contempt of Law, order, and of the King, Princes and Magistrates. There is no talk but of blood, killing, hanging and drowning of poore prisoners.

The horror of this confusion toucht the hearts of the most passionate. The Vniuersity (which had bene the mouth of these captious complaints) repaires to Henry of Marle the first president, and to John Iouenal of Virins the Kings Aduocate, protesting that they were not guilty of these infamous disorders. And hauing taken aduice, they resolute to go to the King, as well to purge themselves of the suspicion of these abominable confusions, as to intreat him to giue eare to a good peace. They giue him means to win the heads of this popular faction, and set vp an Ensigne with the Kings armes, and cry in all parts of the City, Peace, peace good people: an invention which preuailed much in this action.

Euill councill is most hurtfull to him that giues it: the Bourguignons practices light on his owne head. The people seeing themselves disauowed by the Vniuersity (who then had great credit for their esteeme of wisdom and knowledge) hauing the King and his Parliament opposite, being abandoned by their Tribunes, they hide themselves in Bourgogne, and hee himselfe feeling the storme to approach, retires to Champaigne, attending the event.

The Orlean faction repaires to Paris with speed, and were receiued ioyfully by the people, as the anchor of their hope. All the world exclaims of the Bourguignon as the onely moue of the troubles of France, and unworthy to hold so honourable a rancke among the Princes of the blood. The Queene feeds this dislike, for the interest of her brother imprisoned, & the King thunders forth his Edicts against the Bourguignon, the which are seuerely executed vpon such as are apprehended. Scaffolds, riuers and streams witness the reuenge of the murders committed by the Bourguignons vpon the Orleans. All officers preferred by the Bourguignon are displaced, and all such as had supported him are ill intreated. Valeran Earle of Saint Pol, is put from the dignity of Constable, Gaishard Dauphin of Auvergne, from that of great Master, and Charles of Razouzes from being Master of the Crosse-bowes, the which is at this day as the Colonell of the infantry. Three hundred men and women of the Bourguignon faction, are banished

A strange fall-out in Paris.

The King is carried against the Bourguignon.

And his faction disgraced and banished.

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banished by a decree of the Court of Parliament. The Duke of Brittany leaves the Bourguignon and comes to Court against him. To conclude, all parties against the Bourguignon, yet he is nothing amazed, but continues constant against all forces. The outward eye of his Cities in Flanders in this necessity being thus perplexed, there fell out a favourable occasion to raise him up againe. The Queen being much discontented with him, intended the Dauphin. This young Prince had some of his household servants from the Bourguignon: thereby the authority of a mother, takes them from him, and puts them in prison: the reason was, for that she feared these men were of the Bourguignons faction. The Dauphin takes this as an affront, and writes to his father in law to assist him. The Bourguignon embracing this unexpected occasion, calls a new assembly of his subjects, and shewes them these Letters. And making his profit thereof, he gives them to understand how needfull it was to leaue an army, to free the King and Dauphin, whom the Orlean faction held in captivity. And vpon this cause he writes to all the Cities of the Realme, intreating them to assist him in so good a work, and worthy of good subjects to their Prince. Hereupon hee leaues an army, and goes to field, making a publike declaration, That he takes armes to set the King and Dauphin at liberty, and is followed by many French, for his army increaseth daily. Having passed the Riuer of Somme, he enters into Champagne, and doth summon Senlis, to send him the keyes of their gates, as marching for the Kings service: but a countermand comes from the Dauphin, which doth frustrate his designe.

The Dauphin  
disaues the  
Bourguignon.

The Dauphin (won by the Orleans) protesteth that he had neuer written these letters, and disaues the Bourguignon: he writes letters vnto him of a contrary tenor, requesting him to forbear to torment the people vpon so vnjust a cause: protesting that he was not only in full liberty, but doth also enioy his authority, by vertue whereof he commands him to dismis his troops, and to leaue France in quiet. The Bourguignon goes on his course, meaning to enter Paris, and to stir the people to a new sedition, and so hee marcheth with his troops neere to the City, and stayes at Saint Denis: but his proiect had no successe.

The Dauphin assures the City walls, and the peoples hearts against him, who seeks by all means to speake to the King or people, approaching himselfe neere the City, sending his Heralds, with Letters, planting his colours neere the gate, and in the end conueyeth staffe with Letters in it: but all this would not preuaile. The King doubles the battery of his Edicts against him, as guilty of high treason, and a disturber of the publike peace: commanding all men that were in his army to leaue him, vpon paine of confiscation. Here the greatest part of his troops fflye away, yea his Flemings abandon him, who had alway protested vnto him in all his assemblies, neuer to cary armes against the King nor Dauphin. In the end the King and Dauphin, accompanied with the Princes of his blood, march with a goodly army, they besiege Champagn (where the Bourguignon had left a garison) and take it by composition: from thence they march to Soissons a towne of great strength: having taken it by force, and Enguerand of Bournouille his right hand in it, hee leaues the towne in peace, and cuts off Bournouilles head at Paris, with many of his companions, to the peoples great content, glad of this new blood: and in the end hee passeth to Arras, the which he besiegeth with his victorious army.

The Bourguignon amazed at these vnexpected euents, demands peace of Charles, and obtains it with much intreaty, by the means of the Countesse of Hainault his sister; and the Duke of Brabant her brother. It is called the peace of Arras, being made at that time. This was grievous to the Dukes of Orleans and Berry, who said, that both the King and Dauphin had promised them, not to lay downe armes, before they had utterly ruined the House of Bourgongne. But God wiser then they, would vnite all the French, to oppose them with a common consent, against the English their common enemy: and will soon shew, that it is a meere vanity for mortall men, to nourish immortall hatred against their enemies, to satisfy their insatiable reuenge. We haue said, that Henry the fifth, King of England, watche all opportunities to feed the confusions of this miserable reigne: and to that end he did sometimes succour the Bourguignon, sometimes the Orleans, still supporting the weaker. And knowing well the Duke of Bourgonnges humour, seeing the Dauphin incensed against him, he leaues a goodly army, to make a benefice of these diuisions. The euent fauoured his desire, but not his proiect: for meaning to assist the Bourguignon, he finds that he had made his peace with our Charles.

Having

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Henry landed at Harfleur, a sea towne seated vpon the Riuer of Seine, he sends his Herald to demand his daughter Katherine. This was a matter farrecher, and a strange course, but this daughter must be the ground of many miseries for this Realme, and likewise an occasion to free this Realme absolutely from the English by a strange means, and (as we may say) admirable, as the course of our History will shew.

Henry takes Harfleur by composition. Before he takes possession of this conquest, hee goes bare-footed to the Church, to giue God thanks. He had not his whole army with him, one part attended him at Calais, having an intent to ioine with them, and so to fortifie his troops. With this resolution he lodgeth at Fauille, and passing through Caux to the County of Eu, he comes to Vimet, to passe the Riuer at Blanquetaque (an infamous place by our losse) where the passage being surprised, he takes his way towards Arennes, and from thence to Baillu in Vimet, seeking to passe the bridge at Remie: but not able to force it, he recouers Hangest vpon Somme, and so passeth the riuer at Voyenne and Bethencourt, places ill guarded by them of Saint Quintin: and then he lodgeth at Mouchy la Gache, toward the Riuer of Miramont.

He had in his army six thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. That of King Charles was farre greater of it selfe, besides the Bourguignons troops (which were drawn together for another intent then to fight with the English): they were in all about twenty thousand horse, and three score thousand foot, and therefore Henry did shun the battell, and sought how to saue himselfe through the fennes. Our accustomed rashnesse, and wilfull forgetfulnesse of two experiences past against the same nation, and in the like occurrences, made vs to note with blacke and mournfull letters that overthrow and calamity. Henry demanded passage to returne into England, yielding vpon Harfleur and other places conquered in this voyage: but we sought our owne decay. The Constable Albret commanded the Foreward that day, and with him were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earles of Eu and Richmond, the Lord of Bouciquault Marshall of France, and the Lord of Dampierre, Admiral. The battell was led by the Duke of Bar, and the Earles of Alençon, Vaudemont, Neuers, Blamon, Salines, Grandpre and Rouffy. The Rere-ward by the Earles of Marle, Dampmartin, and Fouquembergue.

Henry (being denied passage by the Constable) refuses to fight, putting his trust in God and his owne valour, determining to vanquish or dye, he made choice of a place of hard access, and the better to fortifie his archers, euery one had a sharpe stake planted before him. The French ordered as before, attended their enemies, either looking who should begin the game. Impatience forceth the weaker, like desperate men, the English Archers begin the fight with such a fury, as the French foreward cannot endure the violent fall of this furious storme: the Constable Albret was slaine fighting in the foremost ranke. The duke Anthony of Brabant, brother to John duke of Bourgongne, (seeing this disorder) leaues his troupe to redresse it, but he was also slaine by the English bow-men, with his brother Philip Earle of Neuers. The battell was likewise forced after a great fight. The rere-ward fled, and saued themselues in the nearest places of retreat. So as the losse was not so great, as the shame and overthrow. They number ten thousand men slaine, but their rashnesse was inexcusable. The head smarted for it, and the Bourguignons brethren had there an honorable tombe. Charles duke of Orleans and Lewis of Bourbon, the Earles of Eu, Richmond and Vendosme (the strongest pillars of the Orlean faction) with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, were taken and led into England. This defeat chanced the 20 day of October, in the year 1415, called the euill battell of Agincourt. And as one mischiefe comes neuer alone, the bodies slaine at this defeat were scarce buried before Lewis the Dauphin dies. This Lewis (eldest sonne to our Charles, sonne in law, and a terror to the Bourguignon) was little lamented of the people, and lesse of his father in law, who hated him to the death. A Prince of little valour and much toyle; more busied with himselfe then with the affaires hee managed, the which he made troublesome by his insufficiency and presumption to know much, vnwilling to learne from others what hee vnderstood not, for the good of the State and his owne duty.

John duke of Touraine his brother, succeeded him in degree, as the first Prince of the blood, and the Earle of Armagnac was made Constable, in the place of Charles or Albret who shall minister good occasion to speake both of his life and death. John duke of Berry brother to our Charles the fifth, augmented these losses. A wise Prince and young

The numbers of  
the English and  
French army.

The battell of  
Agincourt.

Lewis the Dauphin dies.  
His disposition.

The Duke of  
Berry dies.

Z

ning,



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ning, commendable in all things, but for his couetousnesse, the which made his vertues of lesse fame. A blemish very ill becomming a generous and heroicke spirit. These great losses should have made the Bourguignon humble, but he became more insolent, making new practices to raise himselfe, having no competitor. Imbracing this occasion, he gathers together what troopes he can, with an intent to goe to Paris. The Queene and Constable of Armagnac (unwilling he should come armed) command him in the Kings name, not to approach. The Parisians were not then so well conceited of the Bourguignon, being restrained by the Court and Vniuersity, but especially by the Kings authority being present, who spake whatsoeuer his wife and the Constable would haue him, being then alone in authority in the Kings Councell.

The Bourguignon renews the warre.

The Bourguignons troopes kept the field, committing all kinde of insolencies and spoiles: against whom the King made Edicts as against common theues, giuing the people liberty to kill them. But this did nothing mollifie the heart of this reuengefull Prince, borne for his Countries misery, having no other intent but to afflict it with new calamities. To this end (as in the Kings sicknesse the Dauphin had the name and authority of the State) he sought to winne the fauour of *John*, succeeding in the right of his brother deceased. This occasion was offered, but the issue was contrary to his designe.

The Emperour Sigismund comes into France.

The misery of our France was such, as the common duty of humanity, moued foraign nations to pity, foreseeing our ruine, if the warre betwixt France and England continued. In this common desire, the Emperour *Sigismund* (by the consent of the Germanes) came into France. His traine and the good worke he vndertooke, deferred an Imperiall Marriage; but the end will shew his intent to be other then he protested. Being ariued in France (to the great content of all the French) he findes our *Charles* at his deuotion, who receiued him with all the pompe he could giue to so great a Monarch, making shew of the great desire he had to make a peace betwixt the French and the English, for the generall good of both Estates. But this accord was but halfe made.

The Emperour (having remained some time with *Charles*) goes into England, where he finds *Henry* of another humour; putt vp with the happy successe of his affaires and the weaknesse of ours, and in truth the measure of our miseries was not yet at full. So *Sigismund* (having perswaded *Henry* in vaine) retournes into France. *Charles* (to honour him) sends his sonne *John* Duke of Touraine and Dauphin of Viennois into Picardy, to meet him, having married the daughter of the Earle of Hainault, as great a friend to the Bourguignon, as it affected to the French. The Emperour seeing his labour lost, in seeking this reconciliation, takes his shortest course into Germany, leaving a reasonable subiect to the cleare-sighted, to iudge that hee had another intent then to settle a peace in France, by countenancing of the Bourguignon, the instrument of her miseries: for after this young Prince had spoken with the Emperour, hee is wholly changed in fauour of the Duke of Bourgongne, and resolves to bandy with him against the Duke of Orleans. This foundation being layd by the Emperours policy, it was fortified by the Earle of Hainault, father in law to *John* the Dauphin. Now he embraceth the greatest and most dangerous enemy of all true Frenchmen with a wonderful affection.

The Dauphin comes into France.

But the subtilty is taken in his owne snare; and the end doth bewray the intent. As all things tended to a manifest change by meanes of this young Prince, enchanted by his charmes, having a spirit like vnto waxe apt to receiue any impression, from so subtill artifice as the Bourguignon beheld death cuts off all these hopes, cast in the mould of this new authority, buried in *John*'s tombe, who died during these practices, at Champagney, when as the fire began to kindle in fauour of the Bourguignon, and to the apparent reducing of troubles in France.

To *John* succeeded *Charles* Earle of Ponthieu, the youngest son to our *Charles* the first. He remained also the first Prince of the blood, with the prerogatives of the fundamentall law. A Prince that shall minister much matter to talke of his life in the course of our History, guided by the singular providence of God, to raise vp this Monarchy, almost ruined. The last, but the happiest of all his brethren: for this is that *Charles* the sixth, who (being corrected by that furious Gyant of Bourgongne) in the end shall expell the English, and braue a fore-way to his posterity, to restore this Estate, to reueer the ruine. But this shall not be without many painfull difficulties, the which the order of our History commands vs to represent in their due places.

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*John of Bourgongne* the murtherer of *Lewis* of Orleans (having added new troubles to the former) ioynes with *Isabel* Queene of France: Who having declared her selfe Regent of the Realme, makes warre against her sonne *Charles* the Dauphin; seizeth upon Paris, and there commits a cruell massacre, where the Constable of Armagnac, and *Henry* of Marle Chancellor of France, are slaine. But this *John* of Bourgongne is in the end slaine by the Dauphin.

The Queene takes vpon her the Regency.

From the yeare 1415, to 1419.

A New kinde of misery now supplies the stage, to despite Nature by the franticke drunkenness of our confused passions. An vnnatural mother forgets her onely son; the bandies with his capitall enemy against her owne blood, seeking to transport the hereditary Crowne to strangers, a Crowne inalienable by the Law of State; to the end this *Medea* might fight both against Nature and the lawes of the Realme. A horrible phrensie, aft of Ciuill warre, that is to say, of the assured ruine of the State. They call it Ciuill (being the ruine of Citizens) but very vnciuill indeed: for if wee shall iudge thereof by the barbarous and brutish cruelties, what is there in the whole world more vnciuill? But alas, behold the image of vnkinde confusions, wherof the fury of our warres hath made vs eyewitnesses; for haue we beheld lesse, hauing seene the Crowne set to sale, and our Kings blood shed vpon our Scaffold? But the History requires audience, to report things in their order, as they haue chanced, according to the causes and motives.

*Charles* an enemy to the house of Bourgongne.

*Charles* Earle of Ponthieu had marryed the daughter of *Lewis* of Anjou, king of Sicilia, a capitall enemy to the Bourguignon. So this young Prince bred vp from his youth in hatred against the house of Bourgongne, must be the instrument to ruine him and his whole race. He loued his pleasure much, and sometime he gaue himselfe vnto it with too great a scope; yet he could apply himselfe well to serious affaires, and force his spirits in necessity: firme in his resolutions, and immoueable in his designs, wherein he happily ended his dayes, restoring the Realme strangely shaken by the errors and losses of his predecessors. In this beginning of his new authority, he was faithfully (though not prelibably) assisted by the Constable of Armagnac, one of the chiefe pillars of the Orleans party, and almost alone, since the imprisonment of the duke of Orleans, and the death of the duke of Berry, the King continuing in his infirmities, sometimes better, sometimes worse, but alwayes weak both of body and minde.

The Bourguignon had his troopes together, to the great spoyle of the Country, who complained still without any redresse. This Prince being resolute in his course, seekes all occasions of new garboiles, his hatred encreaseeth daily against the contrary faction, seeing them advanced and in credit, being out of hope to haue any interest in this new Dauphin, who was wholly possessed by Armagnac, an old fox, and an irreconcilable enemy.

He hath practices in Amiens, Abbeuille, Peronne, and all other good townes of Picardy: who by reason of neighborhood are easily drawne to his party, making goodly protestations to maintaine them in peace and liberty vnder the Kings obedience. Hee writes likewise to all the good townes of the Realme, complaining of the death of *John* Duke of Touraine, a Prince whom he assured to be wholly giuen to the good of the State, and for this cause had bene poysoned by the enemies of the publike quiet. But his true intent was, to make such odious as were in credit about the Kings person, although hee named them not in his letters, but in noting them he made a still and a dangerous warre against them, encouraged by his forces and perswasions, who entering the Cities freely, and causing his letters to be publicly read, he moued their hearts by the feeling of former confusions, the blame whereof the Bourguignon laid vpon his enemies.

The King (that is to say) his Councell, being encountered both by writings and force, should likewise oppose armes & writings against the Bourguignon; but he sends the Lord of Cagny to treat with the Bourguignon, which negotiation was fruitlesse, both for that the person sent vnto him was odious, as also by reason of his charge, which was not pleasing vnto him. He had an intent to put Cagny to death; but the respect of his Master withheld him, making answer to all his instructions, specified at large in the original of this

Z 2

History.



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The Bourguignon  
armes and drawes in  
the English:

A mutiny at  
Rouen.

The Dauphin  
encountred by  
three great e-  
nemies.

The Bour-  
guignon,  
The English.

History. But what availes it to repeat many vaine words without any effect? In briefe, these are but accusations and excuses, plaints and counterplaints. All protest to beate Kings servants, and all ruine the King in troubling the Realme. What plainier Comentarie can we desire of these factions, then what we haue heard and seene in our time? The Bourguignon made a more dangerous war then with papers; he had secret practises within the cities, to winne the inhabitants. Hee also drew the English into armes, and armed himselfe, ioyning their forces together, but with diuers intentions, yet their generall designe was to afflict France, fishing in a troubled water, making their profit of our confusions, and building their affaires vpon the ruine of the realme.

The Dauphin Charles plaies another part, he had scarce knowne the Court, when as he was forced to goe into Aniou, to the funerals of Lewis duke of Aniou King of Sicilia his father in law, and to assure the Duchie, being in some danger by reason of the neighbourhood of the duke of Britanie, a doubtfull friend in the incertitude of those consulted times. Being ariued, beheld a charge of difficulty for the first fruites of his new authority. The people were mutined at Rouen, they had slaine *Gaucourt* gouernour of the city, the Advocate, and the Kings proctor, and besieged the Caste, and to multiply these calamities the Bourguignon is in field, and besiegeth S. Florentine. The Kings army is not dismissed, but disperfed into diuers parts, according to the necessity of his affaires. The Dauphin hauing need of the greatest part for Rouen, sends the lesser to the besieged; but the succours being weake and slacke, Saint Florentine yeelds to the Duke of Bourgogne. This hard beginning might haue beene preiudiciall to his affaires at Rouen, but they succeed better; for the chiefe of the City met the Dauphin, and excuse themselves of this tumult, imputing it to the people over-charged: they beseech him to pardon this fault, and to receiue their voluntary obedience. Thus he is honourably receiued into the city, already pacified, and settles all things with mildnesse.

But there are other newes of harder digestion; for the Bourguignon marcheth to Paris with a great power, and the English takes part in Normandy with a thousand faile. There were reasons on either side to ballance these great difficulties, and to trouble the Dauphin: for whither shall he goe first? If he march to Paris, the English will conquer without resistance: If he make head against the English, then Paris is lost, being wholly inclined to the Bourguignons practices: who fees not but the losse of the capital city of the realme would be his ruine, and the ouerthrow of all his designses? but Charles did not foresee greater difficulty at hand by his mother, more waythe and dangerous then all the rest, yet must he auoide all these three stormes, not without great danger; that the providence of God, (the preseruer of this Monarchie) might shew it selfe more admirable, restoring this estate, being in shew vtterly lost. For Charles (who in so sharpe an encounter reaped so worthy a victory) owes the homage vnto God, who gaue him meanes both to fight well, and to vanquish happily. The Dauphin standing doubtfull betwixt these two greater treames, resolues to goe to Paris, to defend the city against the Bourguignons practices, and to assure the Kings person, who he knew would speake whatsoever he pleased, being in his power. Henry of Marle Chancellor of France, remained at Paris with the King, being wholly at the Dauphins deuotion. The people stir not, being kept in awe by the Parliament and Vniuersity, who were then well united. But experience will soone discouer the inconsistency of humane attempts, when they seeme most assured; and the vanity of a multitude, being the actors of great mens projects.

The Bourguignon at one instant, doth publish his protestation, and displaies his colours, causing his troopes to march. He makes a declaration, containing the causes for the which he takes armes, that is: *To reforme the State, extremely desolate, by the ill government of such as (abusing the Kings infirmity) managed the affaires of the realme at their pleasure, and without pity of the poore people, oppressed them with extraordinary charges, against all right and reason.* Hee protested to haue no other intent, but to restore the Realme to her former liberty. But he shall change his copy, imposing new exactions, to the preiudice of the people; and shall grow offended with such as shall oppose themselves: so as it seems all this was but a maske to abuse the people, vnder the goodly shew of ease & liberty. But as at the first all seems goodly, so these glorious beginnings won him great credit with the French nation. Thus his army begins to march through Picardy toward Paris. All Cities open their gates, where he doth presently proclaim an exemption of all subsidies & other charges;

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The Bourguignon  
gon with an  
army before  
Paris.

The Bourguignon  
goes to  
Queene Isabel  
at Tours.

The King  
dislikes the  
Queene.

The Queen  
sent with a  
guard to  
Tours.

A charges, except of salt, as the gentlest imposition, seeing that all men without distinction paid their part. But about all, he was very careful, that his army should liue orderly and modestly, without any oppression to the poore people, being his ordinary discourse, as one greatly grieved for their afflictions, and being very desirous of their quiet and content.

These examples proclaimed his vertues, and wonne him the peoples hearts. Other cities in Picardy follow this example: Beauvais yeelds willingly vnto him, and shout out for ioy at his entry, he goes presently to Senlis, kept by *Robert Denfis* for the Armagnacs. The citizens (desirous to imitate the rest) seize vpon their gouernour, open their gates willingly, call in the Bourguignon, and receiue him with all ioy. From thence he marcheth speedily to Beaumont, the which hauing endured some Canon shot (being subiect to the house of Bourbon) yeelds vpon an easie composition. Ponthoife and Melun obey without any dispute. So by degrees he comes before Paris, and to shew his army to the Parisians, he lodgeth at Mont-rouge, but to approach neerer, he incamps slower, in a place called, The withered Tree, vnto this day; by reason their flood a great dried Tree. A presage what should after befall his greene and flourishing designses. Being there, he writes his letters to the King and city of Paris, full of cunning admonitions, beseeching the one, and exhorting the other, to hearken seriously to a good reformation of the State, the true and soveraign end of his armes.

In the meane time hee loseth not an houre. *John* of Luxembourg (during this necessary aboad at Paris) goes with a part of the army, to try the voluntary cities, and every day made new conquests. Chartres, Estampes, Gaillardon, Montehery, Auneau and Rechefort obey: and after some dayes of rest (to annoy Paris) he besiegeth Corbeil, a place of importance for the victualling thereof. But whilst he pressed Corbeil with exceeding hast, behold he suddenly abandons it against the opinion of all men.

The Dauphin and the Constable of Armagnac supposed, that seeing that he had lost his labour at Paris, he would seeke to possesse himselfe of places of easier conquest, according to his course begonne. But the effect will shew, that his rising was to an other intent, which bred a horrible combustion throughout the whole realme: for *Isabel* Queene of France, (discontented with her sonne Charles) inuents the Duke of Bourgogne to free her from captiuitie. Shee was then at Tours, with some guard, by the Kings commandement, for the which she blamed her sonne, and the Constable, who then had the gouernement of the Court. They kept not so strict a guard of the Queene, but she had liberty to walke both within and without the City, euen to the Abbey of Marmoutier, where she had her chiefe deuotion. This was a meane to giue intelligence vnto the Bourguignon, and to slip into his hands as we shall shew. Reason requires, the History should set downe the moriue of so vnnaturall a discontent: but she is silent, and reports onely a very light occasion, That the King coming from visiting of the Queene, who held her State at Bois-de-Vincennes, and returning to Paris, he met *Lewis Bourdon* a Knight going to Bois-de-Vincennes, who coming neer to the King, bowed himselfe on horse-back and passed on without any other reuerence. The King sends presently his prouost of Paris after him, commanding him to apprehend him, and to keepe him safely. The prouost executing his charge, rooke the said Knight and brought him to the Chastelet, where by the Kings command, he was cruelly tortured, and drowned in the riuier of Seine: and some few dayes after, by the commandement of the King, the Dauphin, and such as then gouerned at Paris, the Queene (accompanied with her sister in law the Duchesse of Buarria) was sent to Blois, and so to Tours, to remaine there in meane estate. *William Torel*, *John Picard* and *Laurence Dupuis*, were appointed for her guard, without whose consent shee durst not attempt any thing, no not to write a letter. These be the words of the Originall.

This her imprisonment, was aggravated by a new rigour. All the treasure which she had in Churches, or priuate houses within Paris, was seized on by the Constable of Armagnac, a free executioner of these proceedings. This shewes a notable dislike betwixt the husband and the wife, and the mother and sonne: but the cause is not specified. If it be lawfull to search into this secret, shall we say, that Queene *Isabel* mother to our Dauphin, louing the one better then the other (as the variety of the mothers affection to her children is too common) had strained all her credit to maintenance *John*, after the death of *Lewis*, being thus ingaged with the Bourguignon, whom she did hate deadly, by reason

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of the imprisonment of her brother *Lewis* of Bauaria? but as she had first loved, and after hated him, might he not in like sort receive him againe into fauor, as the diuersity of her passions did moue her by new occasions, to loue or hate the same man?

The Emperor *Sigismund* proceeding made it very suspitious, being the greatest instrument of the alliance betwixt *Iohn* and the Burguignon. And to what end did the Burguignon goe to him into Sauoy after all this? It is likewise to be considered, that the sodain death of *Iohn* encreased this womans fury against her sonne *Charles*, holding it for certaine, that by the Constables councill he had caused him to be paysoned. Ambition and choller are furious beasts, not to be restrained by respect, especially in a woman, in whom hatred and reuenge made deepe impressions. Iealousie might likewise be a violent counsellor vnto *Charles*. As if *Charles* (animated by the Constable of Armagnac, fearing lest his mother had some great practice with the Burguignon and his associates) had incensed the King against her, hauing moued him with some other pretext. But in effect she was wholly to restrain this womans power, depriving her both of liberty and treasure; but the euent will shew, that she was not alwaies busied at her distaste, or in her deuotion. The search of the motives is necessary in a History, especially in famous actions, but the doubtfull coniectures are free to euery mans iudgement. This is all the certainty of this action.

The Burguignon joines with the Queene.

The Burguignon being called by *Isabel*, leanes the siege of Coibeil, lodgeth his footmen in the townes of Beaufe, that were most fauorable vnto him, and with his horse (which were about ten thousand) he goes into Touraine, when as beheld (the Queene, being one morning at her deuotion in the Abbie of Marmoutier, according to her custome) he arriues with his horsemen at an houre appointed. He meetes the Queene, receiues her, and enters the Citie with her, without any difficultie, hauing first cunningly seized vpon the gates. Being entred, hee proclaims an exemption of charges in the Queenes name, and (being accompanied by the people) he presents himselfe before the Castle, which opens vnto the Queene, being exceeding glad, to see her selfe at liberty and to command freely. She referres her selfe wholly vnto the Burguignons will; who likewise seeks to vnderstand her name to make his designs more plausible. Hauing therefore assured Tours, they march to Chartres, a more conuenient towne for their affaires, lying so neere vnto Paris. Being there, & hauing assembled all the Clergy, Nobility, the three estates, and such Cities as they could of their faction, these cauleth *Philip* of Morueliers to make knowne vnto them, That by reason of the ill gouernment of the Realme, through the great weaknesse of the King her husband, and according to the degree whereunto God had raised her, being Queene of France, she desired infinitely to reforme it. And the rather for that *Charles* her sonne (corrupted by the ill counsell of the enemies of the State) shewed her not the duty of a child, to her griefe. So as to prouide good and wholesome remedies for the preservation of the State, and for the seruice of the King her husband, by the good aduice of her cousin the Duke of Bourgogne, a prince of the blood, she declares her selfe Regent of France. The which was pleasing vnto them all, with this tide: *Isabel* by the grace of God, Queene of France, hauing by reason of the King my Lords infirmity the gouernment and administration of the Realme, by an irrenocable grant, made vnto us by our said Lord and his Councill. And for confirmation of this new authority, she caused a seale to be made, whereon was grauen her image, standing right vp, with her armes hanging downe to the earth, as one without comfort and requiring helpe: on the one side were the armes of France, and on the other, that of France and Bauaria quartered, with these words. *This is the seale of Causes, Soueraignties and Appellations for the King.*

There were two Soueraigne Courts of Iustice erected, one at Amiens, and the other at Troy in Champaigne, with expresse charge not to goe to Paris. The office of Constable was giuen to the Duke of Lorraine, by the deprivation of the Earle of Armagnac, and the Chancellorship of France to *Eustache* of Laistre, by the giuing ouer of *Henry* of Marle. As these things began to kindle a new fire of milenes, there were certaine Bishops which labored to reconcile the Queene and Dauphin. The Burguignon accepts of the motion: but the Constable of Armagnac breaks off the treaty. An article which shall make him more odious with the people. The Burguignon hauing retired his army, and put his men into garrison, goes into Sauoy, where at that time the Emperour *Sigismund* was, (who

The Queene declares her selfe Regent of France.

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A (who erected the Earledome of Sauoy into a Duchie) and there did conferre with him at Mommellian. This was not without some great designe.

In his absence *Philip* of Bourgongne his sonne held a Parliament to resolute vpon the meanes to make warre with more aduantage. Thus the Burguignon wrought for his part. The Dauphin seeing the fields freed and without any enemy, thinkes good that the Constable of Armagnac should besiege Senlis, and the better to countenance his armes, the King himselfe goes with the army. The Towne being prest, they take a day to yeeld, if by the 17 of April they be not releued. *Iohn* of Luxembourg (whom the Burguignon had left in Picardy, for the fury of those places) gathers together what troopes he can, and comes at the day prefixed: at which time the townes-men made a great sally vpon the Kings campe, syring their tents and pauillions. The Constable (moued with this affront) cuts off the heads of foure of their hostilages, and they kill fix and fortie of his men that were prisoners. In the meane time *Iohn* of Luxembourg approacheth towards Creil, meaning to fight with the Constable, vrging him by sundry skirmishes, hauing sent *Charles* Daily towards Dampmartin with a good troope to stop the passage.

The sieges of Senlis.

The Constable (fearing the euent of a bataille, being loth to hazard the King) would not ioyne, but desirous to find some honest colour to auoyde the fight, he sends a trumpet, to know who commanded these troopes. And vnderstanding it was *Iohn* of Luxembourg, he answered in a brauery. Seeing it is neither the Duke of Bourgongne, nor his sonne, they are not for vs, let vs goe to Paris. So he returns without fighting, whither the chiefe of his affaires drew him, not fore-seeing the mischief which attended him, by reason of this retreat, being too preiudiciall to his honour: for the Parisians who hated him, and yet feared him for the reputation of his valor, began now to contemne him, noting in this retreat a kinde of cowardise, as hauing refused to incounter *Iohn* of Luxembourg, who had so brauely offered him the bataille. The brute of this shameful departure was published by the Burguignon faction to their masters aduantage. They embrace this occasion being loth the peoples heart should grow cold by any better successe, observing likewise that the King, Dauphin, Constable, Chancellor, and all the chiefe of that party were at Paris, to be all surpris'd together. The Duke of Bourgongne was vpon his returne from Sauoy, but he departed not without good instructions from the Emperour.

But leauing the Burguignons army in field, let vs note the estate of that great City of Paris, *Perrinet* Clerc a Smith; *Iohn* Thibert a Broker, *Perrin* Bourdichen a Cooper (such were they whom the Burguignon had made his Colonels at Paris) hauing practised all their friends with great secretie, and ingaged many; they aduertise the Lord of *Lisle-Adam* (who was gouernour of Ponthoife for the Burguignon) of their enterprife, the which was to deliuer him a gate, and a good troope of the Inhabitants within the heart of the City, so as they might haue souldiers to second their attempt. *Lisle-Adam* accepts thereof, and the euent was answerable to the designe: for these vnder-takers assigne him Saint Germaines gate: *Perrinet* had the Keyes. *Lisle-Adam* presents himselfe at midnight, being the houre appointed, with eight hundred armed men. He finds the gate open, and *Perrinet* attending him. Then he puts his men in bataille, lest hee should be taken in disorder, *Perrinet* shuts the gate and casts the Keyes into the ditch: and then without any noyse, he marcheth with this troope to the lesser Chastelet, where he had left a squadron of foure hundred men vnder the great vault, to lye more covertly.

Sedition at Paris.

*Lisle-Adam* hauing ioyned his troope with the Citizens (so as the one might assist the other, hee sends forth diuers troopes to giue the alarm in diuers quarters of the City, with charge to moue the people to armes. Euery troop marcheth speedily to his quarter, crying out with a terrible voyce in the dead of the night, *Rise good people, peace, peace, God save the King and the good Duke of Bourgongne.* At this noyse all rise, some to hide themselves, others to arme: so as in short time a great multitude (being armed) wander vp and downe the streets ready to fight. Their Captaines appoint them what houses of the Armagnacs they should force. The first troop must seize vpon the King; but before all was ready, the alarm was generall. Such as had most interest are loonest vp. *Tanneguy* of Chastel, prouost of Paris (a very trusty seruant to the Dauphin) wraps him in a sheet and carries him into the Bastille. A good leuaine which shall one day raise the dow, and the hand of him that kneads it. Some others also retired themselves thither, which shall serue in this Scene. *Iohn* Leuer, *Robert* Masson, the Vicont of Naubone and Bouciquaule.

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The King taken.

The Constable of Armagnac in a disguised weed faues himselfe in a neighbours house. But all this troope flies to the Kings lodging at S. Pol. These Tribunes cause this poore sicke Prince to rise, without any respect: they force him to promise what they please, and to ride through the Citie, crying, *God save the King, and peace*: thinking by his presence to increase their troope, and to countenance their confusion.

The Chancellor taken.

This done, every troope seeks his quarter, and many are taken. The Chancellor of Marle is surpris'd in his lodging, and *Raimond de la Guerre*, who were good supporters of the Armagnac faction: many Presidents, Councillors, and masters of the Accounts were taken without any respect of persons. The Cardinals of Barre and Saint Marce, the Archbishop of Reims, the Bishops of Senlis, Bayeux and Constance, were carry'd away and imprisoned: all the prisons are filled with honorable persons. But what is become of the Dauphin and Constable? They search, they hunt in all places; yet finding nothing, they command by sound of trumpet, that every man should presently vpon paine of death discover the Armagnacs. The Dauphin was safe, but the Constable (discovered by his Host) is taken, carry'd away by one of these Tribunes and imprisoned; hee was in danger as he past through the streets, riding behinde him that had him in guard.

The Constable taken.

Thus was the night spent untill day, yet without any murder; and it seemes this was by commandement. This happened in the year 1418, the 23 of May, a pleasant day, the fore-runner of a mournfull Winter. The Dauphin having escap'd this danger miraculously by the good aduice of *Tanneguy* of Chastell, he resolves to doe his best in retiring himselfe else-where, and not to hazard his person with this furious and murderous people. By the faithfull meanes of this good servant, hee goes forth secretly in the night, and slips into Melun, leaping from place to place, like a bird that flies from bough to bough. From Melun he goes to Nemours, whether he sends for his most trusty servants, of whose helpes he had neuer greater need. The Marshall of Rieux comes vnto him with many of the Nobilitie: they consult of the meanes to recover Paris before it be supply'd with souldiers.

The Dauphin faues himselfe.

So they gather together fiftene hundred horse with all speed. The Marshall of Rieux hath the charge to leade them: while the Dauphin preserues the fortune of France in safety. A dangerous enterprise, which had no successe, but the honour to haue attempted it a thing altogether impossible, the which was executed with much lesse losse then the danger was great. The Battell held Saint Antonies gate sure, for the Dauphine. The Marshall of Rieux enters it with his troopes, and marcheth boldly to the Kings lodging, but he finds it empty, the King being retired to the Louvre. The alarm is giuen throughout the whole city, they must thinke of their retreat, stones, ryles, arrowes, and all things else fise from the houses & windows, the chaines are drawne, and the streets full of armed men: all cry, kill, kill the Armagnacs. The Marshall of Rieux leads his men happily in this retreat, and fearing Saint Antonies gate, he draws them forth so closely, as he escapes this great and imminent danger with little losse.

The Dauphin secretely to recover Paris.

This alarm had put the people into armes, who hauing chased their enemies out of the heart of their city, were quiet for that time, expecting some further command from the Bourguignon, and an end of this terrible tumult: while they take breath, others are drawne into the like murinie by their example. All the townes of Picardie, fauouring the Bourguignon greatly, make bonfires. Compiegne, Creil, Saint Maxance, Mouchy le Preux, Pont a Choisi, Noion, Laon, Soissons, Chauny, Peronne and Gisors (expelling their garisons) declare themselves of this party. Some dayes are spent thus quietly, since the first taking of prisoners.

But behold a new tumult like vnto a violent wind, which chanced the twelfth of Iune. In the morning all the people arme by the command of their Leaders. This furious multitude goes forth of their houses (like a swarme of Bees creeping from their combs) armed with all sorts of weapons. In short time there are forty thousand men assembled in the streets and market places. *John* of Luxembourg, *James* of Harcourt, the Vidame of Amiens, *Lisle-Adam*, *Fosseaux*, *Chastellus*, *Cohen*, *Lambourg* the new prouost of Paris, (with many others most trusty servants to the Bourguignon), are on horse-back in troopes, to second this multitude on foote, ready to fight as in a day of battaille, when as about foure of the clocke (like as when the heauens darkned with thick clouds, and theayre overcast, the thundrer tumbling in the ayre, suddenly when the lightning appeares, the crack breaks forth

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A forth and teares a Towers top) this furious multitude, flocking from all parts of the City with a silent stillnesse, burst forth into diuers parts. They open the prisons and kill such as they meet, without any pity.

They murder Taylors, their wives and children, men and maides, but especially the poore prisoners are their object. In this tumult all cry, all howle, all are amazed. The confused cries of the murderers and murdered rebound vp to heauen. The Constables of Armagnac, and *Henry* of Marle (being brought forth with shoutes and reproches) are beaten downe and laid by for the triumph. The Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Bureux, Senlis, Xaintes, and the Abbot of Saint Cernille got the same way. The Earle of Grandpre, *Raimond de la Guerre*, *Hector* of Chartres, *Enguerand* of Marcouilly, *Charles* Poupard, the Officers of the Court of Parliament, Chambers of Accompt, Requests and Treasurers conclude, all that are of any account are massacred. The blood runs through the City, the streets and walls ouerflow. The noted Armagnacs are thus murdered, but the fury of this mad multitude extends farther, even against such as had bene with them, and of their owne faction: for many affectionate Bourguignons were beaten downe, every man seeks his enemy to kill him vnder this pretext. The rascalls fall vpon the rich, and killing them as Armagnacs, they spoile their houses, as a lawfull prey of their conquest.

A horrible massacre of the Armagnacs at Paris.

The eye of this furious multitude spares neither sexe, age, nor quality. The Duke of Bourguignes followers are lookers on of this spectacle, and watch that none escape. The History makes mention of sixtene hundred cruelly murdered on this miserable day, noted to the dishonour of these detestable murderers, and to the griefe of France, to see her owne bowells thus defiled with her blood, and her memorie blest with this cruelty. This furie continued from foure of the clocke on the twelfth day, untill tenne the next day, nothing ceasing for the nights rest. These madde men (hauing refreshed themselves) seek out the felt to finish their most cruell worke.

The number of them that were murdered.

The prisoners of the great Chastellet made resistance against their fury: they are beheaded, forced and massacred, the greatest part are cast from the toppes of the Towre, and fall vpon their pikes, halberds and other weapons. The bodies of the Constable and Chancellor, lying naked vpon the stones, are carry'd to the marble table in the palace hall. To note the Constable by his accustomed scarfe, they see a bend of his skinne and yee is about his body. This spectacle is drawne about the City three daies together, and then carry'd out in a dung-cart, to a place where they cast all their carions and filth, without any buriall.

The Bourguignon was at Digion during this tumult at Paris, who was presently aduertised thereof. The History saies, that he seemed very glad of the taking of the City, but very sorry for the murder of the prisoners; but God, who kept a true register, shall one day put him in minde thereof. And in truth, he that shall duely consider all the circumstances of this confusion, cannot imagine, but it was done by his command. He gathers all the forces he can together, to guard the Queene to Paris, as it were in triumph. The Parisians meet him with great pompe, they offer him their most affectionate service, and present the Duke of Bourguigne and the Earle of Saint Pol his brother with purple velvet gownes, pouldred with Saint Andrews croffes, the which at their requests they presently put on, and so (drawing neere the Queenes coach) they enter the city of Paris, the people attending at their entry, and crying, *God save the King and the good Duke of Bourguigne*, the Coach being couered with flowers which they cast vpon it. And this was the Queenes and the duke of Bourguignes entry after the massacre.

The Queen &amp; the Bourguignon come to Paris.

But this Parisian ioy was soone returned into heauinesse, for within three moneths after this butchery, the plague entred the City, and slue about fourescore thousand persons in three moneths. The History obserues, that *Perrinet* and his companions (after they had eaten what they had gathered together by spoyle) perished miserably, little enioying their thefts. Most of the Noblemen and Gentlemen which had assisted these murderers died of the plague, except *Lisle-Adam*, who was referred to receiue his punishment from *Henry* of England, although vpon another occasion, as you shall see hereafter. And was not this God who reueng'd this cruelty? But let vs returne to our discourse, for seeing the punishment was so sudden, we might not well remit the rehearsal to any other place. *Charles* lookes but coldly vpon his wife, whom he loued not; neither in health nor sicknesse. Hee welcomes the Duke of Bourguigne with a cheerfull countenance,

A plague after the massacre.

Charles looking on his wife, who was the most of his griefe.

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nance who had wonne his heart, by framing himselfe to his weaknesse with milde speeches, shewes of honour and apparant humility, impressions of common sense, whereof phrensie for the most part doth not deprive madde men.

The Kings Councell assembled presently, many things were propounded the first day, they beganne with Officers, the Constables place was confirmed to the Duke of Lorraine, and the Chancellorship to *Eustache de Laune*. *Lisle Adam* and *Chastellus* are made Marshalls of France, for their well defending at the massacre at Paris. Our Bourguignon creates *Charles* of Lens Admirall of France, being Captaine of Paris; and *Philip de Meluilliers* the Queenes Advuocate, first president of the Court of Parliament.

The English take all Normandy.

During this confusion, *Henry* King of England makes other worke. Hee was in Normandy, taking townes and castles without any resistance. *Touques* (a castle held impracticable) was forced by him, during the passions of our mad-man, as the first fruits of his conquests, *Louviers*, *Pont Larche*, *Caen*, *Cherebourg*, *Falaise*, *Argenton*, *Alembic*, *Constance*, *Saint Lo*, and other places followed, to make the way open to *Rouen* without any great difficulty.

*Rouen* is besieged in a manner the very day of the massacre at Paris. *Henry* doth assist it with all the force and policy he can, as the Dongeon and chiefe strength of all Normandy. The citizens give a testimony of good and faithfull subiects by their valour and constancy. They demand succours from the King, with a protestation of the event. The Court makes shew to stirre & to provide for their defence, but what remedy can the dead give unto the sicke?

In the end, after all their resistance, seeking to maintaine themselves vnder the obedience of France, *Rouen* yeeldeth to *Henry* King of England vpon hard conditions. To pay him three hundred sixty five thousand crownes of gold, and three cities at his choise to doe his pleasure with. And so he suffered them to enjoy their privileges. Of the three which he had chosen to punish, he pardoned two, and caused *Alain Blanchet*, Captaine of the commons to be beheaded, worthy to be eternized in our History, dying for the service of his King and country, in a time so famous for so desperate a confusion. The sequell was great, for not onely all the townes of Normandy yeeld vnto him, but the Isle of France was so amazed, as all obey him euen to the gates of Paris, where the fury of our miserable dissensions prepared a Throne for the sworn enemy of the Realme.

I am weary to report our shameful losses, as reuiuing our old fores. *Henry* might haue grauen in his triumph: I came, I saw, and overcame: onely *Mont Saint Michel* in Normandy was maintained vnder the obedience of our Crowne, through the valour of some Gentlemen Normans, whose names the history owes to posterity. *John* of Montfort Duke of Britanie (seeing this happy successe) makes composition with the English, surrendering himselfe vnder his protection, but he shall soone leaue him, when a more happy season shall make him turne to the Dauphin. In this shipwracke the Queene and the Bourguignon had meanes to glut their ambition and fury at Paris, beholding the ruine of France, hoping that in all extremities they should make their peace with the King of England at their Countries cost, hauing a Daughter for a pawne and confirmation of this accord.

The Bourguignon treats with the English but in vain.

They send Ambassadors to *Henry* King of England being a conqueror, and for a bait they carry the portrait of *Katherine* of France, the Kings daughter, a Princess of excellent beauty, who must likewise bee the leuain of our miserie. But *Henry* finding this figure to be faire, desires to see the essentiall substance, so as the Queene and the Bourguignon (gouerning the spirit of this poore sicke King) conducts him in person with his daughter, to their enemy neere to Meulan, to aduise of a meanes for a generall Peace; but they departed without any conclusion, by reason of the great demands which *Henry* made, put vp with this victorious successe, seeking to sell his friendship at too high a rate. Yet the Image of *Katherine* had made an impression in his heart, being much discontented that they had refused her with these conditions.

He grows discontented, and seeks to reconcile himselfe with the Dauphin.

The Bourguignon likewise found lesse kindnesse then he expected, and returned malecontent, for that *Henry* (putt vp with these fortunate encounters, and caried away with hope of future victory) spake more proudly then the Bourguignons humour could well digest, which was the cause of his distemperature; for *Henry* said in his choler, *The*

A he would haue both daughter and Realme, whosoeuer said nay, and that there was no sufficient security for what they promised, seeing the Dauphin did not consent therunto. A pill which the Bourguignon could not easily swallow. So he chawed vpon this speech of the English, which drew him to his ruine, for euen then he began to study by what meanes hee might reconcile himselfe vnto the Dauphin, hoping to finde a better composition with a young Prince his kinsman, and weary of the warres, then with the English growne insolent by his victories. *Charles* was not quier in mind, fearing lest in these treaties they should conclude something to his preiudice. So as they both ended in an accord, but vpon two causes, to oppose against their common enemy with a common force. But before we shew the effect of this common desire, wee must see both the estate of our Dauphin (since he retired himselfe from Paris) and of the Bourguignon, since he became Tribune of the people.

Although this terrible storme might haue shaken the young yeeres of the Dauphin *Charles*, vnacquainted with the affaires of the world, and his disposition (enclining to pleasure) seemed vnfit to endure much paine and toyle: yet the effects of need shewed his constant resolution against all difficulties. They attribute this constancy and resolution to the faithful counsell of his seruants, yet was it much for him to follow *La Tranchee*, of Chastell, *John Louvet* President of Prouence, the Viscount of Narbonne, and *Robert Maupas*, were those which serued him most for Councell in the beginning, but God soone after did raise him vp strong hands to manage armes courageously and valiantly, *la Hire*, *Prin* of Saint Treille (whom commonly they call *Zintrilles*), the barbard of Orleans, with other braue and fortunate Captaines, which shall bee famous in the course of our Historie.

But the Realme was strangely diuided into these factions. The Kings authority and the capital City were for the Queene and the Bourguignon. Picardy, Bourgoigne, and many townes in Bry, Champagne and Beausse obey them absolutely after these massacres. Only Sens in Bourgoigne held out, the which they could not pull from the Dauphin. The Prince of Orange (of the Bourguignon faction) makes war for him in Dauphin and Languedoc, to crosse the affaires of our *Charles*, who notwithstanding had the greatest part of the Country at his deuotion, with the friendship of Auignon, and of the Earldome of Venissain or Venissie. The English possessed all Normandy, and a great part of Guienne; but *Rochel*, *Poitiers*, *Saint John D'Angely*, *Angoulesme*, *Fontenay*, and some other townes acknowledged the Dauphin. All Aniou was his, Auvergne, Berry, Bourbonois, Forest and Lionois obeyed him, so as they are deceiued which thinke that hee onely held the City of Bourges in those dayes, vnder colour that his enemies called him King of Bourges, because he made his chiefe residence there, when as his mother, called her selfe Regent. He likewise tooke vpon him the name of Regent: A name which fortified his title with great authority, and did countenance his affaires in those difficulties and confusions.

The Queene and the Bourguignon laboured by all meanes to winne him, they sent him his wife honorably attended, with all her jewels, promising him his place with respect and obedience; but their meaning was to bee rid of him, not able to know how to conforme him to their humours. In keeping himselfe far from them, hee preferred his head for the Crowne, the which attended him, he pretended the ambitious designs of his enemy, and made himselfe to be more respected throughout the Realme.

At these horrible massacres, his Captaines roused vp their spirits. *Borguignans* seized on Champagne, *Pierre Fons*, and *Scissions* for him, who (molesting Picardy, and the Isle of France with their daily roades) held Paris in iellousie. He himselfe had part of the honour in the execution of these conquests, not leading all to his seruants, for he leapt out of Anion into Touraine, besieged and rooke the City of Tours. The Duke of Britany seeing the happy successe of the Dauphins affaires, leaues the English, and loynes with the Dauphin, as the strongest port.

Behold the estate of our Dauphin, who grows constant and resolute amidst these tempests, and what was the estate of our Bourguignon? In the beginning his partisans were all his name, for the zeale of his seruice; but finding not what they expected at his hands, began successe in his affaires, but rather the discommodities of Paris, and other places vnder his obedience to encrease; this hee abated daily, finding by experience, that

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The Queene and the Bourguignon seek to winne the Dauphin.

The Duke of Britany leaues the English, and loynes with the Dauphin.



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the cause of these warres was light, being but humours and priuate quarrells, very prejudiciall to the State, the which the English did sappe, undermine, and ruine, seizing day vpon whole Prouinces, without any difficulty.

Thus *Hennies* victories were plaine demonstrations to the most passionate, to discover the Bourguignons dissembling: for, who sees not but his end was to gouerne, to the yuine of France? In the end euery one comming to his right wits, findes that of a Frenchmen he is become an Englishman. The folly or fury of a faction could not mortifie the feeling of lawfull obedience, vnder which they were borne. To what end (sayes the common sort of these cleere-sighted) shall we vndoe our selues, for the passions of the Duke of Bourgogne, opposing himselfe against the lawfull heyre of the Crowne? Thus the Bourguignon sees the affections of his partakers to grow daily cold. A worne which mented him hourly, hauing grounded his chief hopes vpon their constancies, who promised to stand firmly to him at all euents.

Doubtlesse, whatsoever the Gyants of States haue imagined, setting one hill vpon another, the Pyrenies vpon the Alpes, with all the Appenin, to scale the throne of the French Monarchy, promising vnto themselves euents according to the moulds of their imaginations, yet cannot the French yeild to any strangers command, no more then to change nature and become a stranger.

But to encrease the Bourguignons hearts grieffe, his chiefest instrument not onely fails him, but is ready to turne violently against him. For what hath he not attempted to win the loue of this multitude at Paris, and of the greatest Cities of the Realme, making them beleue, that he burnt with zeale of their good, and the publike weale, the onely end of all his designs, feeding them with these goodly and popular promises of exemption of charges and impositions? But they beginne all to mutine, seeing he spake one thing, and did thinke another, and oppressed them more then those whom he had condemned as causes of publike oppressions: for whatsoever he imagined, yet had hee need of money. For how could he else make warre? how could he entertaine his great traine? his paynes, and his reputation among strangers? and where should he rayse it, but vpon such as obeyed him? to seeke it at such as could resist, were to mistake, and to make his reckoning alone in vaine. Moreouer, this people (whom hee had so much countenanced, making themselves masters by his power, to become by their means master of his enemies) would be generally obeyed, and why not of the Bourguignon? seeing hee had opposed himselfe, and prescribed a Law to a sonne of France? If the Bourguignon doth worse then he hath done, shall not the people reduce him vnto reason? Hee hath promised exemptions of subsidies, and they are more grievous then before. Wee haue preuailed (say they) against a Constable, against a Chancellor of France, yea ouer the King and Queen, making them to yeeld her brother, and most trusty seruants, and shall we not suppress some few gallants, seruants to the Duke of Bourgogne? This was the Parisians ordinary discourse: and their Tribunes (who were not so well entertained as before) beganne to mutine. They resolute to seize vpon some of the Bourguignons Fauourites, and to punish them, who had perswaded him to renew the impositions, contrary to his promise.

These men (the concealing of whose names, notes the baseness of their qualities) hauing intelligence of this search, fled into the Bastile, and the people follow after as if they would ouerthrow it. A great multitude begins to vndertake it, and had preuailed, if the Bourguignon had not instantly come much discontented, who seeing himselfe enuironed with so great a troope of armed men, fearing the losse of his head, he was forced to deliuer his seruants to the people, who put them all to death, to teach the Bourguignon that they had no lesse authority and power ouer him, then ouer the King, and the Dauphin his sonne. This occasion thrusts the people into greater fury, who (being thus armed) choose a Head, called *Cappeluche Bourrel*, to finish their executions vpon some such as might recieue these impositions and publike charges. They march through the City and enter into many houses to rob, and spoile vnder colour of apprehending of such as had assisted at these innovations. The rich men feared for their owne particular, but the Bourguignon more then all, knowing himselfe to be the author of this disorder, hauing thrust the people into armes: for what successe should this disordered libertie haue, but to fall vpon the authors thereof? Hauing therefore wonne some of the chief

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A Commanders, they choose out a troope of the most wilfull munitious, to bee freed of them, vnder colour of sending them to the warre against the Dauphinois, which had surprised the castle of Montleher, and began to run euen to the gates of Paris. Yet they retained *Cappeluche Bourrel*, vnder colour of some special seruice. But the Bourguignon being growne the stronger, with the chiefe of the City, he cauleth *Bourrel* to bee taken and hanged, with some number of his associates. This multitude being at Montleher, discontented with the Bourguignon, leaves the sieg, and returns to be reuenged: but the gates were shut, and the wals well guarded, so as all passed without any more adoe. But the Bourguignon was much perplexed, being troubled in mind to haue put a sword into a madmans hand: being afraid of an vnsecure guard, and a foretelling that his Empire should not continue long.

So, the repulse he recieued from the English, the coldness of the Nobility of his party, and the peoples change, were the motives which made him wish for the Dauphins friendship, who now preuented him, although he had often refused it. That which moued Charles thereunto, was necessity, and the hope of a greater designe, finding no better means to stop the current of the English victorie, and the Bourguignons treacherie, then to ioin with him, attending some better occasion. The successe fauoured this counsell of his followers. He sends *Tanneguy* of Chastel to the Duke of Bourgogne, to make the first proposition, and after him the Lady of Giac (in whom the Bourguignon had great confidence) to appoint a day and place for a parlee, and to seeke the means of a good peace. They meet at Pouilly the strong, neere vnto Melun, in the open field with their guards. The Bourguignon talked to the Dauphin on his knee, & held his stirrop, although Charles refused this submission. Proofoes to shew with what necessity he sought his friendship, as a man that is beaten with all winds and out of breath. So they conclude an inuolable peace, and to bandy themselves against the common enemy of France, promises are made on either side, with all demonstrations and protestations of a firme and inuolable friendship. The Articles of their accord and contract are set downe at large in the originall of our History. This peace betwixt Charles the Dauphin, and John Duke of Bourgogne, was made neere to Pouilly the strong, vpon Ponchiel, a league from Melun, in the yeare

D 1419. All France reioyced, as after a long and sharpe winter, when the Sunne appeareth in a pleasant Spring. The King and all the Parliaments ratified this accord, which euery man held for the gage of firme friendship betwixt these Princes, and their loue for a firme pillar of the Realmes quiet. But the prouidence of the protector of this French Monarchy had otherwise decreed. These reconciliations could not serue for sufficient cautions against his iustice, worthily incensed against the Bourguignon, being guilty of horrible crimes, and the wilfull abuse of his patience. The course which Charles held to be rid of his enemy, is not commendable: but in one and the selfe-same worke, we must wisely distinguish of that which is of God, and that which is of man, to approue the good which is alwayes iustified in Gods ordinances, and to blame the ill, alwayes to be blamed in man: that we may stop our mouthes, and open our eyes, and not reply against the iudgements of God, but view the strange and extraordinary punishment of the Bourguignons strange and extraordinary crimes, who during the weaknesse of our poore King, hath so much troubled the Realme.

We haue said (and the course of the History will shew it very plainly) that the Dauphin Charles suffered himselfe to be gouerned by his seruants. By their aduice hee had made this accord with the Bourguignon, wherein they had either of them severall respects: although eithers intent was to make his profit with the others losses, in circumuening of his companion. But he that made his account to deccieue (hauing not yet changed his mind, although the present necessity made him to change his countenance) was deccieued: and which is more, he which built his greatest designs vpon murder, is murdered, being the onely expedient the Dauphins seruants could deuise to free him from these troubles, in dispatching the Bourguignon once for all.

This resolution was very great, but to perswade this Prince thereunto, was of greater difficulty: A young man, iust, wise, moderate and of a very milde disposition, so as they had much adoe to perswade him to so bold and violent a remedy. Why my Lord (say they) can you beleuee that the Duke of Bourgogne is anything amended? although hee stop now to necessity, can he bend his heart to reason? haue you forgotten what hee did to

Refuses to induce the Dauphin to kill the Bourguignon.

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The people grow in dislike with the Bourguignon.

The Parisians were against the Bourguignon faction.



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your deceased Vncle the Duke of Orleans, when as he held the same degree that you do now: did he not kill him, and maintained it as well done? braued the King in Paris, armed himselfe against him, and forced him to iustifie this execrable murder? Hee masked himselfe with a shew of good meaning, to make his accord with your poore Cousin of Orleans, but was it not with an intent to ruine them with the more facility, seeking to diuide them from your deceased vncle the Duke of Berry, incensing the King and your eldest brother against them, making Edicts against them, as guilty of high treason, and pursuing them with cruell force; when as your brother (discouering his wickednesse) had forsaken him, and that he (yeelding to necessity as he doth now) concluded a peace: did he not arme himselfe by a new deuice, to ruine your blood, opposing both Paris and the States of the Realme, vnder the name of the Common-weale, to put to death the best seruants of the King your father, incensing the people against them, being the furious executioners of this execrable rage? And when as he found these popular furies not to succeed well, hath he not fled to force, yea seeing his great enemy your cousin of Orleans prisoner, and your vncle of Berry dead, hath he mortified his cruell designs in these common calamities? He hath rather stirred vp the Emperour to trouble the State, laboured to draw your deceased brother *John* to his humour, to kindle new fires, and to consume you and them. You (my Lord) are he who onely troubles him, who onely may frustrate his designs, and therefore he strives to take away your head, and set your Crowne vpon his: what hath he not attempted against you? His last actions are worse then the first: there he sought to abuse your brother with your cousins, here hee opposeth your mother against you. There he did openly fight against the law of State, here he doth openly oppugne the law of nature. There (by his policy) he did nourish ielousie betwixt kinsmen, here by his audacious violence he teares in funder the womb wherein you did lie, to ruine the State. For to what end doth he giue the regency to your mother, (the King your father living) and you being borne Regent during his life, and King after his death? To what end should he flye to a furious multitude, to decide your controuersies? He hath armed forty thousand men in the capital City of your Realme, and accompanied them with his best armes. To what end serued all that, but to make a tragical conclusion of his violent actions? why did he cause that massacre to be made when you were in the City, and sought for you so carefully, but to vie you as they did your Constable and Chancellor, and many of your good seruants as fell into their hands? And after all these exploits, the Bourguignon must call the English King into France, to giue him your sister in marriage: or rather to take your Crowne from you by peace-meales: for seeing hee cannot have all, hee seeks to diuide it. This is the apple for the which he sowes so much dissension. The law reiects him, and hee appeals to faith, to shadow himselfe with her cloake, and to deceiue you with more open shew. He therefore kisseth your hand, hee kneeles, hee kisses your stirrop, to hide his trechery with a shew of humility. Will you beleeme (my Lord) that he is in bad tearmes with the King of England? They ayme both at one common end. They haue sworne both to take away your life, but the Bourguignon may effect that which the English cannot. And that which they cannot worke by open force, they intend to effect by policy, couering it with this goodly shew of peace. What effects hee giuen you of this reconciliation? what towne hath he rendered? nay, what men hath he dismissed? Continuing still in armes he discouers his intent: hee meanes to ruine you with his Forces, being lodged in your bowels. His designs being well knowne vnto you (my Lord) will you suffer him to preuent you? We ought to warch for you and seek to meane to crosse him. It is lawfull to repell craft by policy. Faith is a holy thing, but it can with reason gaine-say, if a thiefe denies his name to circumuent vs, but that it is lawfull to surpriue him with his owne armes? To draw an enemy into a mischief which he had prepared for a good man, is no trechery, but wisdom, especially when there is question to preserve the State. Are you (my Lord) a priuate person? All this great boile (whereof God hath made you the head) stretcheth forth the armes, and craves you out against this thiefe, which hath sworne the ruine thereof. He attends but the houre to dispatch you, and to seize thereon. The safest course is to preuent him: your enemies shall perswade yours, and all your good and faithfull subiects. My Lord, we protest there is no priuate interest of ours; all is yours, and the publike-weales. The faith we haue vowed vnto you, commands vs to deliuer our free aduice. We haue liued, doe liue, and will

A liue, your faithfull seruants, euen vnto the death. The heart makes the mouth to speake, but our hands shall execute your commandments. 1419

The Dauphin (encouraged by these perswasions of his seruant) resolues. Wee haue said, that he parted from Tours, to parlee with the Bourguignon; but after that accord, he made a voyage into Berry to assure those places, and to leaue men, in shew to ioyne with him, and to oppose against the English with their common forces, but in effect it was for the murder of his greatest enemy. He had then twenty thousand fighting men with him. With this troope he comes into Soulogne, approaching neere vnto those places where his men might be best employed. Montreuil-laut-Yonne (a towne in Bry, where the Riuier of Yonne loseth her name, ioyning with Seine) held for him. From thence he sends *Tanneguy* of Chastel (a very sufficient man of his household, and his trusty seruant) to Troies in Champagne, to the duke of Bourgongne, desiring him to come vnto him to Montreuil, to resolue vpon the effecting of their accord, and to employ their common forces against their common enemy, hauing brought them to that end, protecting that he should be much greeued to see them burthenome vnto the people without vfe. Moreover, hee had some very priuate affaires to impart vnto him, as vnto his best and dearest friend.

*Tanneguy* had no other answer from the Bourguignon, but that it were better for the Dauphin to come to Troies to the King and Queene, his father and mother, to conclude things in their presence, and by their authority, the which should be very necessary, to reduce the affaires to some good course. Some dayes are spent in refusing and re-intreating. The Bourguignons conscience caused him to feare, & the proceeding was suspicious; but that the apparent dislike betwixt the mother and the sonne, needed the mediation of such a friend as the Bourguignon. This was a goodly pretext, to draw the Duke of Bourgongne to be a mediator of peace betwixt the Queene and the Dauphin; and the charge of their armies (being idle) was not small, the which urged this enteruiew. The Lady of Giac (of whom we haue spoken) was employed againe to sollicite this treaty. So as the Bourguignon comes to Bray vpon Seine, whither the Dauphin sent the Bishop of Valence vnto him, he was brother to *Charles* of Poitiers, Bishop of Langres, in whom hee had great confidence. This Bishop had in the end power to perswade him to goe to Montreuil, where the Dauphin attended him. The Bourguignon goes accompanied with five hundred horse, two hundred Archers, and many Noblemen, among the which was *Charles* the eldest sonne of the Duke of Bourbon, whom the Duke of Bourgongne had corrupted to weaken the Dauphins party, being a Prince of the blood. The Dauphin had prepared the Castle for the Bourguignon, but he vnfurnished it of all munition for warre, and vniuall, and caused the bridge to be fortified with three turnepikes, to stop their free entrance into the towne, whither the Bourguignon must come by duty vnto the Dauphin. This succeeded according to his designe, but it caried the shew of an enemy. The Bourguignon sends three gentlemen of his household to the Dauphin, *Thoulougeon*, *Bray*, and *Sambrier* to aduertise him of his coming. They giue him notice of the two Baricades made vpon the bridge, and with him not to adventure. Hauing referred it to his Council, all being on horsebacke, he resolues in the end to passe on: hee lights at the Castle where his lodging was assigned, and lets his guards at the entry of the gate towards the towne. Hereupon *Tanneguy* of Chastel comes vnto him, who after a due reuerence shewed him from the Dauphin, saying, that he attended him at the bridge foot, at the towne gate.

Then *John* of Bourgongne, hauing chosen out ten of his most trusty followers, (*Charles* of Bourbon, the Lords of Nouaille, Fribourg, S. George, Montagu, Vergy, Ancre, Pontauillier, Lens, Giac, and his Secretary *Seguinat*) hee approacheth to the first barre, where he encounters with some from our *Charles*, who entreat him to enter vpon his masters word, and assure him by oath. Before he enters, (as if his heart had foretold his harme) hee staves suddenly, and asks aduice of his company, who encouraging him to passe on, hee enters the second barre, the which was presently lockt, and then hee caused some to goe before him, and some behind, he remaining in the middle. *Tanneguy* of Chastel comes to recciue him, and the Duke laying his hand vpon his shoulder very familiarly, This is he (says the Duke) in whom I trust. I will conclude this bloody Catastrophe with the very words of the Originall. And so hee approached neere vnto the Dauphin, who stood

The Dauphin  
resolues to kill  
the Bourguignon.

The Bourguignon comes to the Dauphin.

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The Dauphin causes John of Bourgogne to be flaine.

all armed with his sword by his side, leaning on a barre. Before whom hee kneeled with one knee on the ground, to doe him honour and reuerence, saluting him most humbly. Whereat the Dauphin answered nothing, making him no shew of loue, but charged him with the breach of his promise, for that he had not caused the warre to cease, nor drawne his men out of garison, as he had promised. Then Robert de Loire tooke him by the right arme and said, Rise, you are but too honourable. The Duke hauing one knee on the ground and his sword about him, which hung not to his mind, somewhat too farre backe, kneeling downe he laid his hand on his sword to pull it forward for his case. Robert said vnto him, Doe you lay your hand vpon your sword before my Lord the Dauphin? At which words Tanneguy of Chastell drew neere vnto him on the other side, who making a figure, sayd, It is time, striking the Duke with a little axe so violently on the face, as he cut off his chin, and so he fell on his knees. The Duke feeling himselfe thus wounded, laid his hand on his sword to draw it, thinking to rise and defend himselfe: but he was presently charged by Tanneguy and others, and beaten dead to the ground. And suddenly one named Oliver Layet, with the helpe of Peter Fortier, thrusts a sword into his belly vnder his coat of maile. Whilest this was doing, the Lord of Nouailles drew his sword halfe out, thinking to defend the Duke: but the Vicount of Narbonne held a dagger, thinking to strike him. Nouailles leaping forcibly to the Vicount, wrested the dagger from him, being before hurt in the hinder part of the head, as he fell downe dead. Whilest this was doing, the Dauphin (leaning on the other side of the barre) beholding this strange sight, retired backe as one amazed, and was presently conducted to his lodging by John Louet and others his Councillors. All the rest were taken except Montagu, who leaped ouer the Turnepike, and gaue the alarme. There were none slaine vpon the place, but John Duke of Bourgogne and Nouailles: S. George and d'Ancre were hurt. The Dukes men charged home vnto the Turnepike, but they were easily repulsed. His troops retiring to Brayes pursued by the Dauphinois, with losse, and in the end the Castle is abandoned by him that had it in guard. The Dukes bodie (strip of all but his doublet and boots) is drawne into a Mill, and the next day buried. This happened the tenth of September, in the year 1419. Behold the end of John Duke of Bourgogne: Seeing then this murder committed the Dauphin, who had caused it to be committed, what stony heart would not be amazed therat? Truly the breach of faith is vnexcusable, howsoeuer it be disguised: for as faith is the ground of humane society, so doth it extend euen vnto enemies, with whom it must be inuolubly kept.

This blow shall be deare to Charles: Through this hole the enemy shall enter to stir into the Realme, as he shall put him in danger, and in the end he shall be forced to confesse his fault: not able to excuse himselfe without accusing of his Councillors. But from what man, let vs ascend to the wisdom of that great Iudge of the world, who is alwayes iust. The Oracle cries, He that strikes with the sword, shall perish with the sword: and The Lord will all to the dysloyall. They loved misery, and misery found them out. And wise Antiquary sayes God punisheth great wickednesse with great paines, euen in this life. And, Hardly can we defend into the graue with a dry death, that is, without blood or murder. Oh iustice of God, alwayes iust, alwayes wise, and alwayes good! Thy iudgements are righteous O Lord! Thou doste the error of men, yet I held my peace because thou didst it. Draw the curtaine. John of Bourgogne hath playd his part vpon this Theater. Hee had slaine the Duke of Orleans traitorously, and now he wallowes in his owne gore, being treacherously slaine by the Dauphin Charles. Now let vs see the care his sonne Philip Earle of Charolais had to the reuenge of Charles for this cruell murder: but all is not yet ended.

## The Catastrophe of this miserable reigne.

1420

Philip sonne to John Duke of Bourgogne stirres up great troubles against Charles the Dauphin, in reuenge of his fathers death. By whose means Isabel, an unkinde mother, makes warre against Charles her sonne, and peace with Henry the fifth, King of England, then a capital enemy to the State. She giues him her daughter Katherine in marriage, and procures King Charles the sixth, her husband, to declare Henry his lawfull heyre, and to disinherit his owne sonne Charles the seventh from the Realme of France.

During these occurrences Henry the fifth, and Charles the sixth dye, leauing the Crowne of France in question betwixt Charles the seventh, and Henry the sixth, proclaimed King of France at the Funerals of Charles the sixth.

From the year 1419, to the year 1422.

After this tragical and strange murder of John of Bourgogne, Philip his sonne, Duke of Bourgogne, by his decease, seeks to be reuenged vpon Charles the Dauphin, and Charles to defend himselfe. Philip was then in Flanders. The Parisians (passionate partisans of the Bourgignons) who had seene the Duke of Orleans murdered without moving, and they themelues had massacred the chiefe officers of the Crowne, and had shed the blood of many good men for his pleasure and passion, hauing repayed the blood formerly slaine by him in the same coyn, they now grow into a greater mutiny then if the King himselfe had beene slaine. They send their Deputies to Philip, and promise not onely to be faithfull, but to assist him with all their meanes, to reuenge the murder committed on the person of his father. And at the same instant, Montagu being escaped from the Turnepike, writes to all the Cities vnder the Bourgignons obedience, of this accident, the which he could report as an eye-witnesse. Charles on the other side writes to all the good Cities of the Realme, yeelding a reason of this murder, and imputing the fault to the Bourgignons bad dealing, who would haue slaine him at a parlee, exhorting the people not to moue for the iust execution of a man borne for the ruine of France, who had willingly thrust himselfe into this mischief: offering all his meanes to settle the Realme in peace, according to the authority whereunto God had called him. But in talking, he seeks to assure himselfe of some Countries, Stephen of Vignoles, called la Hire, and Peter of Xaintrailles, winne Crespy in Laonois, and Caradoz of Quefne with Charles of Flauay take Roze, places very important to trouble the Cities of Picardy, where the Bourgignon was chiefly obeyed. The strong Castle of Muin opposite to Crespy, and Roze is surprized by the industry of his seruants, and keeps all Vermandois and Laonois in alarme. This beginning caused Philip to seeke all speedy meanes to crosse Charles his proceedings, being resolute to continue what he had begonne: yet the Parisians were in some feare, pressing Philip againe not to abandon the seruants of his house, the which made him more prompt in the execution. Philip being assured of his Fleuings, obtains a suspension of armes from Henry the fifth, King of England, and a day and place appointed to treat a generally peace betwixt the two Realmes. Then marching with his army through Picardy, hee recouers Crespy, Roze and Muin, to the great content of his partisans: and so he arriues at Troies in Champagne, the appointed place for this Treatie.

Isabel Queene of France (a cruell Medea, and an vnnatural mother) continued her tragick choller against her sonne, who hauing defaced the common feeling of nature, did soon forget the honour he had receiued to be married into the House of France. Being thus wedded to the Bourgignons passions, hee tormented her poore husbands spirits, being exceeding weake, perswading him that his best course was to disinherit this wicked sonne, to declare his daughter heyre, and (in marrying her to the greatest King vpon the earth) to giue her likewise the Realme after his decease, and to her issue, as descended from the blood of France. Philip comming to the King, found new worke: for presently Henry the fifth, King of England, concludes a peace with King Charles the sixth, weddeth Katherine his daughter, and doth obtaine by Letters Patents, That establishing a firme and free peace in both the Realmes of France and England, in regard of the marriage of Katherine

The exploits of the Dauphin and of Philip of Bourgogne after this murder.

Queene Isabel hates the Dauphin her sonne deadly.

1420

The lawfull  
heyrre reſted,  
and Henry the  
declared heyrre  
of France.

France, he is declared Regent of the Realme during the life of King Charles, to whom the title of King remains, and to label his wife the title of Queene during their lives. But presently after the Kings deſceſſe, the Crowne and Realme of France with all their rights and dignities ſhould remaine unto him, whom King Charles the ſixt calls by his Letters Patents, his moſt deere and welbelov'd ſonne, and to his heyrre in chiefe. They cauſe this poore ſicke King to ſwear vpon the holy Bible, and to promiſe this for him and his, with all exemptions and neceſſary claules in ſo great and important a buſineſſe. This goodly act (the fruit of the furious paſſions of ciuill war) was made at Troies the 21 of May, in the yeare 1420.

This done, the French and Engliſh forces ioyning, and marching vnder the ſame colours, acknowledge one Commander, and for their firſt exploit they winne Montfauſt-Yonne, where they take vp and bury Iohn of Bourgongne againe, and ſo marching on as againſt Rebels, they take Melun, Meaux and Moret, and beſiege Champagne. The left matters ſhould grow cold, Henry of England (whom they call Regent) returnes to Troies, and with a goodly traine, conducts the King, Queene, and his new wife Katherine, to Paris, being better followed and ſerued then the King himſelfe. The Pariſians ſolly & wonderfully embrace the comming of this new Royalty, promiſing vnto themſelves a new heauen: but this humour laſted not long, hauing tried the power of foraigne Princes, and the command of their Kings by very contrary effects.

Henry pro-  
ceeding in his  
new Royalty  
of France.  
The Bourgui-  
gnon craues  
juſtice againſt  
the Dauphin.

The Regent held a Councell preſently in great ſtate, in the Palace of Saint Pol, being the Kings lodging. Two thrones were erected for the two Kings, and a ſeat vnderneath for Philip of Bourgongne. The Kings Councell (being few in number) is ſupplied by the Court of Parliament, and the Vniuerſity. Philip demands juſtice of the murder committed on the perſon of Iohn of Bourgongne his father. His Advocate Rollin made this ſtance. The Kings Advocate and the Vniuerſity aſſiſted him in the perſuait. King Charles promiſeth juſtice againſt his ſonne the Dauphin, and to doe all good offices for King Henry his new ſonne. This was the firſt act of the new Regency, againſt the onely ſonne of his Houſe. And moreover they decreed, that hereafter all the treaſure ſhould be governed by the Regents authority and command. Henry reſolues preſently to call a Parliament for the neceſſity of his returne into England, whither he meant to conduct his new Spouſe. A Parliament was held according to this decree, but all were amazed at this ſudden alteration, euen the very report of my Hiſtory hath ſome feeling thereof: for who canſt thou ſee herein (gentle Reader) but frozen ice, in the remembrance of theſe conſiderations, renewed by the feeling of our owne? Thus the Regent cauſed Charles Duke of Torraine, and Dauphin of Viennois, to be called to the Marble table. All ſolemnnities obſtained, and he not appearing, by a decree of the Councell, and of the Court of Parliament, he was baniſhed the Realme, and iudged unworthy to ſucceed in any of the Seignories, as well preſent as to come. The Dauphin appeales from this ſentence, To God and his ſword, who in the end doing him juſtice, ſhall bleſſe his ſword, and make it victorious over his enemies.

The Dauphin  
baniſhed.

The Pariſians (diſcontented with the violent courſes of the new Regent) began to abate their ioy within few dayes after, before Henry returne into England. Philip of Bourgongne Earle of Saint Pol, Couſin germane to the Duke of Bourgongne, with ſcuerall of Paris by the appointment of King Charles. Henry diſplaceth him, and appoints Thomas Duke of Clarence his brother. He ſets Engliſh guards in all the ſtrong places of the City, and diſplaceth the French and Bourguignons, and yet durſt they not depart. The Lord of Liſle-Adam made Marſhall of France (for that he had aſſiſted at the taking and ſacke of Paris) was as much out of fauour with this new King, as hee was welcome to the Pariſians. The Regent ſends men to apprehend him, whom (as they ſaid to the Baſtile) the people made an offer to reſcue, but they were ſharply reſiſted by the Engliſh, and well beaten: a juſt reward, hauing wiſhed for a ſtrange King, that they ſhould ſooner haue other employments, to teach them to know new bread from old, which they had ſo much diſdained. Thus Henry the ſixt made the Pariſians to knowe time that he had authority to force obedience, in puniſhing fooles and rebels grown contentious in conſuſion.

On the other ſide, the Dauphin ſaints not at the firſt brute of this new royaltie, but growing reſolute againſt all ſtormes, hee loſeth no opportunity to aduance his affairs. We haue ſhewed how that Aniou obeyed him. The new Regent commands the Duke

1420

A of Clarence his brother to make war in thoſe parts. So hee enters the Country with his army, as it were to take poſſeſſion of his owne. He preſents himſelfe before Angiers the chiefe City of that Prouince, preſuming that all would preſently obey him: but the iſſue did not anſwer his hopes, for he found all the French reſolute to defend theſelves againſt a ſtranger, and to obey their naturall King: hereupon the French ioyned together, they arme and goe to field. The Engliſh being out of hope to take Angiers, turne head againſt the French army lodged at Little Bauge, which attended reſolutely the force of a mighty and victorious enemy. On the other ſide, the imaginary hope of victory thruſt on the Duke of Clarence againſt our men, whom he held to be halfe dead, but he findes them reſiſting, ready to ſell their liues at a deare rate. The battel was very bloody, the one fighting for Empire and honor, and the other for their liues and altars. The event was vnfortunate for the Engliſh. The Duke of Clarence was ſlaine, and the Engliſh army loſt 1500 men vpon the place, for the firſt fruits of their new Regency, and a gage of their pretended Royalty. This famous encounter hapned in the yeare 1420, the 9 of April. As in the firſt of a dangerous diſeaſe, the firſt motions of nature are very important, ſo is it in State. A light beginning after a great danger, drawes a great conſequence either to good or euill. This firſt action had a great traine. Charles his party began to riſe, as if the good hap of the lawfull heire requiuing, had taken a new forme in ſetting his authority. Iohn of Montfort Duke of Britaine fauoured this firſt ſucceſſe of Aniou. After that the Engliſh had ſeized vpon Normandy, he put himſelfe vnder his protection: but now he turnes taile, and allies himſelfe with our Charles againſt him, in a deſenſive and offenſive league. What remains of the Hiſtory of Britanie, I will reſerue for another place: let vs now returne to our diſcourſe. At the ſame inſtant James of Harcourt leaues the Bourguignons partie. He makes warre in the Country of Vimeu and takes diuers places; Pont Remy, Saint Riquier, la Ferte, Mareuill, Diancourt, Araines, and other ſmall places. The Bourguignon goes to field, the ſmalleſt townes yeeld vnto him. He beſiegeth Saint Riquier being well defended by the Lord of Offemont, but newes comes that the Dauphins Army approacheth. The Bourguignon reſolues to meet them: he ſends forth part of his forces, they are diſperſed vpon a falſe alarm, that the Duke of Bourgongne was dead. As they were in this diſorder, behold, he ſhewes himſelfe to his ſouldiers full of reſolution, and ſo ſtily, as hauing rallyed his men and encouraged them, hee not onely repels his enemy, but defeats them, takes Riquier, and frees Picardy from feare. Such is the variety of our encounters: the conqueror is here conquered.

The Engliſh  
defeated, & the  
Duke of Cla-  
rence ſlaine.

The Bourguignon being in field, our new Regent comes from his Realme of England with new forces: hauing reſolued to employ all their means ioynly to ruine the Dauphin, before he ſhould fortiſie himſelfe with any new ſucceſſe: they diſperſe their forces into diuers parts of the Realme, hauing more men and money then the Dauphin. The Prince of Orange held the Dauphin in awe. The Lord of Roch-baron made warre in Foreſt and Auuerge, and the body of the Army with the Regent and Duke marched againſt the Dauphin, who was retired to Bourges a ſtrong City, and of a ſite ſituation, lying in the miſt of ſuch Prouinces as obeyed him. This army marching with a victorious ſhew, beſiegeth Dreux, and takes it by compoſition. Chartres yeelds willingly: from thence he marcheth with an intent to draw the Dauphin to fight, but the Regent (ſeeing him retire to a place of hard acceſſe) reſolues to free all the Townes about Paris, but eſpecially Senlis and Soiſſons, townes of importance. He hoped to vanquiſh him by degrees, and in the end to giue him the mate.

The great ex-  
ploits of Henry.

But all enterpriſes ſucceed not: Man purpoſeth, but God diſpoſeth, who meant to try, but not to ruine France. All ſucceedes not wiſhfully to the Engliſh, being King of France in conceit. The Prince of Orange is beaten in Languedoc, and Tanneguy of Chateaufort Steward of Beaucaire, hauing happily recovered Pont Saint Eſprit, (a towne of importance, vpon the paſſage of Roſne) all the reſt yeelds to the Dauphins command: ſo as he could hardly keepe his Towne of Oranges. Auignon fauoured the Dauphin. Roch-baron was taken at Seruette by Iohn of Groſſe, Senecaſſ of Lions, and to Auvergne and Foreſt were ſubiect to the Dauphin: who ſeeing himſelfe without an enemy, and forces ready for his defence, he beſiegeth la Charite and takes it. From thence he goes to Coſne, where he finds great reſiſtance, yet he doth preſſe it with ſuch violence, as they are forced to come to a parlee. They preſcribe a certaine day to be ſuccoured by the new Regent

1422

Regent, or to yeeld to the Daulphin. The Regent assures them of reliefe, exceeding glad of this occasion, to draw our Daulphin to the combat, wherein he hoped to vanquish him.

But he had not made his accompt with death, who holds his assignments more certaine, then all Monarches: for resoluing vpon this voyage, although hee had many other affaires in hand, he fell sicke, and of a strange disease, which the vulgar sort tearme Saint *Pierre*, and Physicians \* *Physiasis*. *Enguerand* assures, that the chiefe disease whereof he died, was Saint *Antonie* fire: but it is more credibly reported, that hee died of a Plurisie, a disease in those dayes so rare and vnknowne, that Physicians being not therewith acquainted, nor with the cause whence it proceeded, could not prescribe nor apply any remedy. *Henry* hauing his mind fixed vpon this voyage, and his supposed victory, parts from Senlis, hauing taken leaue of the King, Queene and wife, (whom he shall see no more) he caused himselfe to be caried to Melun in a litter: but feeling himselfe prest by his infirmity, he returned to Bois de Vincennes, where hauing taken his bed, hee sent his army into Bourgogne vnder the command of the Duke of Bedford his brother, and the Earle of Warwick, commanding them to pursue the Daulphin. At the brute of this great army, the Daulphin *Charles* leaues Cosne and retires to Bourges: and so the towne was freed.

*Henry* was not so freed from his sicknesse, the which increasing daily, made him to thinke of his end, disposing as he pleased touching his sonne *Henry* the sixth of that name, whom he had by *Katherine* the daughter of France, and the Duke of Excester his Vnde to bee Regent of England, commanding them expressly to liue in concord with *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, and neuer to make any peace with *Charles* of Valois (for so hee called him) vnlesse they might haue Normandy in souereignty, neither to release the Duke of Orleans and Bourbon, vntill his sonne were of a competent age.

And thus *Henry* the sixth dies, being neere about 40 yeares old, in the vigor of his age and spirit, borne and aspiring to great matters, hauing already giuen proofe of what he might haue done if he had liued longer. But God would punish France by an Englishman, yet would he not suffer France to haue any other King then a French-man. This vnexpected death, in the great course of *Henry* the sixth's victories, hapned the last day of August in the year 1422, followed soone after by one no lesse memorable. For *Charles* the sixth our good King, (but subiect to the miserablest reigne that France had euer seene to that day) fell sicke and died the 22 of October in the same year, fifty dayes after the decease of *Henry* of England. A sicknesse and death remarkable in so great a King, for after that he had languished in so long and infamous an infirmity, he died in a manner alone. They name but the Chancellor, the first chamberlaine, his Almoner, with some groomes of his chamber which were present at his end. After his death hee was visited by such as had caused him to die liuing, and by his miserable life had made all the Realme to languish. At the funerals of this poore Prince, after the Herald had proclaimed, *The King is dead*, another cryed, *God saue the King, God send a long and happy life to Henry the sixth, by the Grace of God King of France and England, our Soueraigne Lord*. To the end that passion might triumph over the infirmity of our King, euen in his graue. This *Henry* shall be crowned King at Paris soone after. But where is that *Isabel*, or rather *Isabel*, who had so much tormented her poore husband? I seeke her in all the corners of this History, yet cannot find her: She who caused so great diuisions, dies without any memory, but to haue liued too long for France and her children. Oh the vanity of this world! which doth interre the most busie in the forgetfulness of the graue, when as they thinke themselves raised to the toppe of their desires.

Thus *Charles* the sixth reigned, thus hee liued, and thus hee died, miserable in his reigne, miserable in his life, but most happy in his death, as well to free himselfe from paine, and by this occasion, his whole Realme from confusion. His manners, his race, his reigne, and his age doe appeare by that which we haue written. He liued 54 yeares, and reigned 42. He had many sonnes and daughters. *Katherine* is famous, hauing bene the mournfull gage of many mileries. Of three sonnes which came all to the age of men, *Charles* only remained successor of his Crowne, but not of his fortunes, for hee shall settle the Realme, redeeming it out of Strangers hands, as shall appeare in the following discourse.

CHARLES

1422

## CHARLES the seventh, The 54 French King.



After the long and painfull carriere of the fore-past reignes, were it not time now to breathe? Since the vnfortunate battell of *Cressy*, we haue felt nothing but thornes, tempest, combustions, and shewes of ruines. And if we shall abate that little happinesse which *Charles* the sixth brought vnto our Ancestours, there are not lesse then seuentie yeares of confusion. But all is not yet ended: we must passe 30 yeares more before the conclusion. And as if we felt the crosses of our fore-runners, wee must shut our eyes, recouer new Forces, grow resolute against all stormes, and end courageously with them the remainder of this painfull course (in the troublefome discourse, which we shall find in the beginning of this reigne) to see in the end a happy Catastrophe in the restoring of this Estate, and the vnion of the Church, diuided by a long and dangerous schisme, which disquieted Christendome, during the troubles of this raigne.

Here our Frenchmen may read with admiration and profit, that, as it is not now alone, that France hath bene afflicted, so God doth now begin to watch over it, deliuering it by miraculous meanes, when as it seemed nereest to ruine. Here *Charles* the seventh the least and last of his brethren, shall deface the ignominy of France, and triumph over the victories of a stranger, who had in a manner dispossessed him of his Realme. Of a truth God meant to punish vs by meanes of the English, but not to ruine vs. The French cannot bee commanded but by a French-man. The Ocean is a strong barre to diuide these two Estates, content with their owne rights: This reigne abounding in miraculous accidents, is the more considerable being the perfect *Idea* of the reigne of *Henry* the fourth lately murdered.

But to represent so variable a subiect with profit, it is necessary to distinguish it in order. There are three parts famous both for the subiect and successe. The first shewes the confused and troublefome beginning of this reigne, vntill our *Charles* was solemnly installed King, and thereby acknowledged of all the French, for vntill that day the greatest part called him Earle of Ponthieure, or King of Bourges, in mockery: and such as were more modest termed him Daulphin of Viennois. The second puts him in possession of his royall authority, shewing by what meanes he reduced the Cities subdued by the English to his obedience, beginning with the City of Paris, and so proceeding to the rest of the Realme, expelling the English from all, but only Calais. The third shewes the end of this reigne, discovering the Kings domestically dissentments, which hastened him to his graue, after the happy euent of all his difficulties.

So this reigne continued thirty nine yeares, variable in good and euill. The beginning difficult, the midst happy, and the end mournfull. This is the Theater of mans life, where joy, sorrow, happinesse and misfortune, play their parts diuersly both with great & small. *Charles* the seventh was 21 yeares old when hee began to reigne, and reigned 39 yeares: for after the decease of his father *Charles* the sixth, he tooke vpon him the name of King of France, (notwithstanding the pretension of the English) the 22 of October in the year 1422, and he died the thirteenth of Iuly, 1461. He was married at eleven yeares of age, to *Mary* Daughter of *Lewis* Duke of Anjou and King of Sicily. By this marriage hee had three sonnes and five daughters. His sonnes names were *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. *Lewis* the eldest shall succede him to the Crowne. *Philip* died very young: *Charles* liued somewhat longer, but without any great successe, hauing only the titles of the dukedomes of Berry, Normandy and Guienne. His daughters were *Radeconde*, *Yoland*, *Katherine*, *Isabel*, and *Agnes*. The first died, being betrothed to *Sigismund* Duke of Austria. *Yoland* was married to *Amadee* Duke of Savoy: *Katherine* to that great *Charles* Duke of Bourgogne, who shall be his owne ruine: *Isabel* to *John* Duke of Bourbon, and *Magdalen* to *John* Earle of Foix: and this was rare. His manners will appeare by his life: he was of a tractable and gentle disposition, capable of counsell, but louing his ease too much, and suffering himselfe to bee often caried away by his seruants. And yet as God would

Notable particulars of this reigne.

The order of this discourse.

\* A disease of worms or lice.

Henry the sixth dies.

Charles the sixth dies.

Henry the sixth proclaimed King.



1422

Regent, or to yeeld to the Dauphin. The Regent assures them of reliefe, exceeding glad of this occasion, to draw out Dauphin to the combat, wherein he hoped to vanquish him.

But he had not made his accompt with death, who holds his assignments more certaine, then all Monarches: for resolving vpon this voyage, although hee had many other affaires in hand, he fell sicke, and of a strange disease, which the vulgar sort tearme *Saint Fiacre*, and Physicians \* *Phyrisis*. *Enguerand* assures, that the chiefe disease whereof he died, was *Saint Anthonies fire*: but it is more credibly reported, that hee died of a Plurisie, a disease in those dayes so rare and vnkowne, that Physicians being not therewith acquainted, nor with the cause whence it proceeded, could not prescribe nor apply any remedy. *Henry* hauing his mind fixed vpon this voyage, and his supposed victory, parts from Senlis, hauing taken leaue of the King, Queene and wife, (whom he shall see no more) he caused himselfe to be caried to Melun in a litter: but feeling himselfe prest by his infirmity, he returned to Bois de Vincennes, where hauing taken his bed, hee sent his army into Bourgongne vnder the command of the Duke of Bedford his brother, and the Earle of Warwicke, commanding them to pursue the Dauphin. At the brute of this great army, the Dauphin *Charles* leaues Cosne and retires to Bourges: and so the towne was freed.

*Henry* was not freed from his sicknesse, the which increasing daily, made him to thinke of his end, disposing as he pleased touching his sonne *Henry* the sixt of that name, whom he had by *Katherine* the daughter of France, and the Duke of Excester his Vnckle to bee Regent of England, commanding them expressly to liue in concord with *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, and neuer to make any peace with *Charles* of Valois (for so he called him) vnlesse they might haue Normandy in souereignty, neither to release the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, vntill his sonne were of a competent age.

And thus *Henry* the sixt dies, being neere about 40 yeares old, in the vigor of his age and spirit, borne and aspiring to great matters, hauing already giuen prooffe of what he might haue done if he had liued longer. But God would punish France by an Englishman, yet would he not suffer France to haue any other King then a French-man. This vnexpected death, in the great course of *Henry* the sixts victories, hapned the last day of August, in the yeare 1422, followed soone after by one no lesse memorabile. For *Charles* the sixt our good King, (but subiect to the miserablest reigne that France had euer seene to that day) fell sicke and died the 22 of October in the same yeare, fifty dayes after the deceased *Henry* of England. A sicknesse and death remarkable in so great a King, for after that he had languished in so long and infamous an infirmity, he died in a manner alone. They name but the Chancellor, the first chamberlaine, his Almoner, with some groomes of his chamber which were present at his end. After his death hee was visited by such as had caused him to die liuing, and by his miserable life had made all the Realme to languish. At the funerals of this poore Prince, after the Herald had proclaimed, *The King is dead*, another cryed, *God saue the King, God send a long and happy life to Henry the sixt, by the Grace of God King of France and England, our Soueraigne Lord*. To the end that passion might triumph ouer the infirmity of our King, euen in his graue. This *Henry* shall be crowned King at Paris soone after. But where is that *Isabel*, or rather *Iezabel*, who had so much tormented her poore husband? I seeke her in all the corners of this History, yet cannot find her. She who caused so great diuisions, dies without any memory, but to haue liued too long for France and her children. Oh the vanity of this world! which doth terrer the most buisie in the forgetfulness of the graue, when as they thinke themselves raised to the toppe of their desires.

Thus *Charles* the sixt reigned, thus hee liued, and thus hee died, miserable in his reigne, miserable in his life, but most happy in his death, as wel to free himselfe from paine, and this occasion, his whole Realme from confusion. His manners, his race, his reigne, his age doe appeare by that which we haue written. He liued 54 yeares, and reigned 4. He had many sonnes and daughters. *Katherine* is famous, hauing beene the mourning gage of many miseries. Of three sonnes which came all to the age of men, *Charles* only remained successor of his Crowne, but not of his fortunes, for hee shall settle the Realme, redeeming it out of Strangers hands, as shall appeare in the following discourse.

CHARLES

1422

## CHARLES the seuenth, The 54. French King.



After the long and painfull carriere of the fore-pastd reignes, were it not time now to breathe? Since the vnfortunate battell of *Cressy*, we haue felt nothing but thornes, tempest, combustions, and shewes of ruines. And if we shall abate that little happinesse which *Charles* the sixt brought vnto our Ancestours, there are not lesse then seauenty yeares of confusion. But all is not yet ended: we must passe 30 yeares more before the conclusion. And as if we felt the crosses of our fore-runners, wee must shut our eyes, recouer new

Forces, grow resolute against all stormes, and end couragiously with them the remainder of this painfull course (in the troublesome discourse, which we shall find in the beginning of this reigne) to see in the end a happy Catastrophe in the restoring of this Estate, and the vnion of the Church, diuided by a long and dangerous schisme, which disquieted Christendome, during the troubles of this raigne.

Here our Frenchmen may reade with admiration and profit, that, as it is not now alone, that France hath beene afflicted, so God doth now begin to watch ouer it, deliuering it by miraculous meanes, when as it seemed neere to ruine. Here *Charles* the seuenth the least and last of his brethren, shall deface the ignominy of France, and triumph ouer the victories of a stranger, who had in a manner dispossessed him of his Realme. Of a truth God meant to punish vs by meanes of the English, but not to ruine vs. The French cannot bee commanded but by a French-man. The Ocean is a strong barre to diuide these two Estates, content with their owne rights: This reigne abounding in miraculous accidents, is the more considerable being the perfect *Idea* of the reigne of *Henry* the fourth lately murdered.

But to represent so variable a subiect with profit, it is necessary to distinguish it in order. There are three parts famous both for the subiect and successe. The first shewes the confused and troubleome beginning of this reigne, vntill our *Charles* was solemnly installed King, and thereby acknowledged of all the French: for vntill that day the greatest part called him Earle of Ponthieure, or King of Bourges, in mockery: and such as were more modest termed him Dauphin of Viennois. The second puts him in possession of his royall authority, shewing by what meanes he reduced the Cities subdued by the English to his obedience, beginning with the City of Paris, and so proceeding to the rest of the Realme, expelling the English from all, but only Calais. The third shewes the end of this reigne, discovering the Kings domesticall discontents, which hastened him to his graue, after the happy euents of all his difficulties.

So this reigne continued thirty nine yeares, variable in good and euill. The beginning difficult, the midst happy, and the end mournfull. This is the Theater of mans life, where ioy, sorrow, happinesse and misfortune, play their parts diuersly both with great & small. *Charles* the seuenth was 21 yeares old when hee began to reigne, and reigned 39 yeares: for after the decease of his father *Charles* the sixt, he tooke vpon him the name of King of France, (notwithstanding the pretension of the English) the 22 of October in the yeare 1422, and hee died the thirteenth of Iuly, 1461. He was married at eleven yeares of age, to *Mary* Daughter of *Lewis* Duke of Anjou and King of Sicily. By this marriage hee had three sonnes and five daughters. His sonnes names were *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. *Lewis* the eldest shall succede him to the Crowne. *Philip* died very yong: *Charles* liued somewhat longer, but without any great successe, hauing only the titles of the dukedomes of Berry, Normandy and Guienne. His daughters were *Katherine*, *Yolande*, *Katherine*, *Isabel*, and *Margaret*. The first died, being betrothed to *Sigismund* Duke of Austria. *Yolande* was married to *Amade* Duke of Sauoy: *Katherine* to that great *Charles* Duke of Bourgongne, who shall be his owne ruine: *Isabel* to *John* Duke of Bourbon, and *Margaret* to *Gaston* Earle of Foix: and this was *Race*. His manners will appeare by his life: he was of a tractable and gentle disposition, capable of counsell, but louing his ease too much, and suffering himselfe to bee often caried away by his seruants. And yet as God would

Notable particulars of this reigne.

The order of this discourse.

\* A disease of worms or lice.

*Henry* the sixt dies.

*Charles* the sixt dies.

*Henry* the sixt proclaimed King.



1422

would use him for the establishing of the French Monarchy, so did he bring him vp in the schoole of affliction, to fortifie him against all difficulties, assisting him with great and worthy persons, both for warre and counsell, by whose meanes he did raise vp this Estate, yet with great and confused combats, and by a long and painfull patience. But let vs proceed to that which hath chanced vnder his reigne, most worthy of obseruation.

*The miserable estate of this reigne, vnto the Coronation of Charles the 7, during seven yeares:*

*From the end of the yeare 1422, vnto 29, in the moneth of Iune, when as he was solemnly installed King in the City of Poitiers.*

Diuision of  
humours in the  
Court.

The enemies  
of Charles.

The King of  
England.

The Duke of  
Bourgongne.

The Duke of  
Savoy.

The Duke of  
Britanie.

Such was the estate of Charles, when his fathers death called him to the Crowne. We haue seene after that the miseries of France had caused his mother Isabel to forsake her owne blood, making him to bee reiected from the Crowne, and Henry the fifth King of England substituted in his place, yet he fainted not in these extremities, but did valiantly withstand the pretended designs, by whose death God soone laid the foundation of the Realmes restoring. Yet after the death of King Henry the fifth, Charles was encountered with infinite difficulties. Hee had small meanes, fewer friends, and many mighty enemies. Hee scarce enjoyed the least part of his estate, followed by intreaty, and obeyed by halfe, euen of such as made profession to be most faithfull. The Cities had diuers motions, as priuate interest drew mens mindes to that party which they held most profitable. There were but too many which followed the fortune of the English, being Conquerors, the corruption of man inclining commonly to the stronger. But amidst these vncertaine humours of people, hee had enemies which encountered him with advantages apparently victorious: for Henry the sixth although hee were very young, yet did he exceed him in all things: hee had a Realme hereditary and absolute: the best part of the French Monarchy: the assistance of the Duke of Bedford his vnckle, with many worthy men, and great meanes. To these enemies were ioyned some great men, which fished in a troubled streame, euery one imagining to haue a part of this garment, building their designs vpon the Sepulcher of Charles, and the alteration of the State. Among the chiefeft were Philip Duke of Bourgongne, Amedeus Duke of Sauoy, Peter Duke of Britanie, with his brother the Earle of Richmond. Diuers instruments vnder that great engine of England: but all these motions were to ruine France, and to build their greatness vpon her ruines.

The Bourguignon (who had a great hand in the State) was most interested and most opposite to Charles, being apparently the author of his fathers murder. Yet Philip (a iudicious Prince) so hated him, whom necessity commanded him to hate in this accident, as if hee should loue him in time, not wedding himselfe absolutely to the English: yet did hee so worke for him in shew, as making himselfe in effect the stronger, hee might counterpoise him, if necessity required, and strike the last stroke for him to whom the French should incline. Reason likewise taught him, that the people would respect the lawfull heire of the Crowne, louing their Prince naturally, and in the end would reiect the Stranger, as an vnlawfull tenant, who made himselfe daily insupportable by his imperious carriage. Amedeus Duke of Sauoy being on the Stage, and farre from blowes, kept the stakes, and entertained Charles, as if he should be an assured mediator in these quarrels, to end them with more advantage then any Christian Prince, and so hee nourished this diuision, by a strict intelligence which hee had from the Bourguignon. As for the humour of the two brethren of Britanie, the course of the History will shew it.

Thus Charles charged by many enemies, had few faithfull and confident friends, and in that golden age, so small meanes to entertaine his friends, as hee could hardly supply the ordinary charges of his traine, selling and ingaging peace after peace of his inheritance. So as he had nothing more assured then the equity of his cause, and his resolution in the great necessity. He had yet some good friends remaining in Scotland, whom he bought, dearly, aduancing them to the greatest dignities of the Realme: for hee made Charles

Steward

1422

A Steward Earle of Boucquan his Constable, and James Earle Douglas Marshall of France: and to honor the Scottish-mens faith, he gaue them the guard of his person, an institution which continues vnto this day. He had likewise some friends in Spaine and Italy, who succoured him in due time, according to their meanes. We haue shewed what Provinces followed the party of our Charles, amongst the which Languedoc was a principal. The importance of this country did much aduance his affaires. This reason moued both the Bourguignon and the Sauoiard against this Prouince. The instruments fit for this enterprise, were John of Chaalons, Prince of Orange, and the Lord of Roch-baron, a Nobleman of Velay, one of the 12 diocesses of Languedoc. The first by the commodity of his neighbourhood did win Nismes, Pont saint Elprit, Aiguefmortes, and all the rest of bate Languedoc, vnto Beziers, except the castell of Pezenas, the tower of Villeneuve by Auzon, and the castell of Egaliers, now wholly ruined, neere vnto Vez. This losse was somewhat repaired by the fidelity of the inhabitants. Aiguefmortes set vp their Ensigne of liberty, by the direction of the Baron of Vauuerbe, and kils the garison of Bourguignons, which the Prince of Orange had placed there. To this day they shew a great vessell of Stone, wherein they did slay the Bourguignons. The example of this strong and important Citie, awaked the rest, and euen vpon the approach of the Earle of Foix (who came with a goodly army) all the townes yeeld vnto him except Nismes and Pont S. Elprit, townes of great importance in that country, the one being the head of that Seneschauce, the other a passage vpon the Rofne towards Dauphine. But as the liberty of time made the seruant presume about the Master, so it chanced, that the Earle of Foix, hauing tasted the sweet of command, and transported with the common humour of men, seeking to make their profit of the common confusions of France) detained the reuenues of Languedoc, by his absolute authoritie, imparting none to Charles, being exceeding poore in this confused time. This necessitie was accompanied with a cruell warre, stirred vp in Velay, by the Lord of Roch-baron, a partisan to the Dukes of Sauoy, and Bourgongne, who furnished him both with men and money for this rebellion: for it was rather a horrible theuery then a warre. These two occasions drew Charles into Languedoc, to confirme his authority, and his voyage succeeded according to his intent: for he chased the Prince of Orange out of Nismes and Pont Saint Elprit, he pacified the troubles of Velay, & put the Earle of Foix from his gouernment, giving the place to Charles of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, a Prince of the blood, to the great content of all the people. Hauing thus happily provided for his affaires, he takes the way of Velay, to returne into France: being arriued at Elpaly, (a castle belonging to the bishop of Puy) he is aduertised of his fathers death, after Henry the fifth his Competitor. Hee falls presently to teares and mourning, yet hee buries not his affaires in care. His Councell aduertish him to change his blacke robes into scarlet, to set vp the banner of France in his name, and to proclaime himselfe King, for the first fruits of his coronation: the which being performed at Puy, to the peoples great ioy, Charles goes to Poitiers, where he caused himselfe to be crowned King, and receiued the homage and othes of the officers of the Crowne, Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen that were about him, with such pompe as the strictness of time would permit. Then he entiauled himselfe King of France, and made shew of more authority and greater pompe. But on the other side, the duke of Bedford began to bandy more strongly against him. Henry the sixth, his pupill, a yong infant, was in England. He caused him likewise to be crowned King, till that seven yeares after he should be solemnly installed at Paris, in the yeare, 1430. He set his name vpon the money of France, making a new stampe, but without any other change, then of his name.

So that hereafter two Kings, two factions, two armies shall contend for this goodly Crowne. The heire being the weaker shall fight against a strong pretender. Law fauours the one, and force the other: but the protector of this estate will giue a fauorable doome for the weaker, that the honour of so memorable a preservation of this Monarchy, apparently drawne out of the graue, may be giuen to him, who rules the deluge of our confusions, by his miraculous providence. Scarce had Charles receiued the first fruits of his royall authority, when as the dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne, his capital enemies, assemblable at Amiens, to crosse his new dignity in the breeding. There shall be seven yeeres of exceeding bad time, but after this sharp winter, there will come a goodly spring, when as all seemed lost: and in the end, Sommer shall follow with a plentiful harvest of rest, to this

A strange cruelty whereby they are called Bourguignon falls to this day.

Charles mournes for the death of his father.

The Dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne held a councill at Amiens.

1422

A great league  
against King  
Charles con-  
firmed by allian-  
ces.

this Realme, whereof the lawfull heire shall remaine in quiet possession, and the pretender expelled with losse even of that which he might haue ciuilly inioyed.

In this Assembly at Amiens, great plots are laid against *Charles*, whose ruine was the soueraigne end. All is done at the charge of the English. *Peter duke of Britany* and *John Earle of Richmond* his brother, are there present. *Amedee duke of Sauoy*, sends his Ambassadors, vnder another colour; but he casts the stone and hides his arme. The duke of Bedford, Britany and Sauoy, make a defensive and offensive league against *Charles*. The soueraignty of the crowne should remaine to the English: the commodities to the duke. They set the scale of mariages to this alliance. *John duke of Bedford* maries with the sister of *Philip duke of Bourgogne*, and *Marguerit* his other sister takes *Arthur* the Earle of Richmond. Then they seeke the fruits of this alliance with the preiudice *Charles*. Euery man takes his quarter, to torment him on all sides. The Bourguignon undertakes Picardy, where he settles *John* of Luxembourg, to expell the Dauphinois out of some places which they held there. *Henry* of Lancaster Earle of Salisbury, went into Champagne and Bry, to cleanse the Country about Paris, and to bridle Orleans. The Earle of Warwicke vnderooke Guienne, to make warre against those townes that held the Dauphins party. *Lewis* Prince of Orange had charge to arme in Languedoc and Dauphine. Behold a great storme rising against the lawfull heire of this crowne.

Amidst all these difficulties, *Charles* must needs be in great perplexitie: nor I read ioy, that he whom God had chosen to restore this Estate, was not amazed, nor daunted, but hauing commonly in his mouth this Oracle, *We must haue God and reason on our side* he hath recourse vnto God, and failes courageously to worke. He flies to Rochel, to sure it vnder his obedience. Being in the towne, there happens a notable accident, as was in counsell, a part of the chamber funke, and *James* of Bourbon with diuers others were slaine in this ruine. The King was but hurt. From this danger, he passeth on to chiefe of his affairs. He sends into Scotland, Milan, and Castile, to summon his friends succour him, who speedily will send him notable aides. He prouides for all the part vnder his obedience. He assures himselfe of Languedoc, from whence he drew his helpers by the Earle of Clermont: from Dauphine, by the Lord of Gaucourt: from Lyons, Lyonnois, Foret, Beaucaulois and Maconois, by *Imbert* of Grolece, *Senechal* Lyons: from Galscogne, and other countries of Guienne, where he was acknowledged the Vicount Narbone, and the Master of Orual. He sends *James* of Harcourt into Picardy, accompanied with *Poison* the Kaintrailles, or Saint Treille, & *Stephen Vignoles*, *la Hire*, the flower of his captaines. And likewise the Bourguignon sent thither the best part of his forces. *Ambrose de Lore* goes into Maine and Perche, *Pregence* of Combray into Champagne. The Earle of Dunois (a bastard of the house of Orleans) keeps Orleans. The townes lying vpon the Riuer of Loire, aboue and beneath Orleans, were vnder the obedience of the French, La Charite, Gyan, largeau, Meung, Baugency, Blois, Aboise, Tours, Saumour, diuers small townes in Beaulle, La Ferte de Gaules, lanulle, Enay, Pluviers. And in the countries of Gastenois and Vrepolis, Montargis, Chailly, Milly. Neerer vnto Paris, Mont-lehery. Orsay, Marcouilly (very strong places) but now desolate) kept Paris in alarm.

Thus the cards were shuffled, but the English had the better part, keeping the greaties and the Kings purse, and (as the stronger) he begins the game, which had this issue the remainder of that year. The English besiege and take Bazas, and the French win Melan vpon Seine, with great slaughter of the English, but the duke of Bedford (loath dure such a thorne in the sides of Paris) doth presently besiege it. *Charles* sends succors, vnder the command of the Earle of Aumale, the Constable *Boucquillon* & *Reguy* of Chastel. Too many commanders, to doe any great exploit. Icalousie of command bred such a confusion, as all these troopes marched in disorder, no man acknowledging but his private commander. Hereupon the English Army arriues, who had an conquest of those disordered troopes, and then Meulan yeelds to the Duke of Bedford.

The sharpnesse of Winter could not temper the heape of these Warriours: as the fortune of the Warre is variable, one winnes, another loseth. *Ambrose de Lore*, *John* of Belay (thinking to take *Fresnay le Conste*) lost a notable troope of their men. The Lord of Fontaines hath his reuenge vpon the English, and defeats eight hundred of them.

The French  
defeated by  
the English, at  
Meulan yeelded.

1423

A at Neuville, and *John* of Luxembourg, a Bourguignon, defeats the Lords of Gamaches and Amaury with their troopes. The Earle of Salisbury takes the townes of Vertus and Espernay, and the strong places of Montaguillon and Oisy neere vnto Paris: the composition is strange, the souldiers yeelding at the Regents discretion, are brought to Paris, bare-headed, halters about their necks, and swords at their backs.

This miserable troope thus tyed, and led in triumph, passeth through Saint James street to goe to the Tournelles, where the Regent was lodged, and from thence to be drawne to the place of execution, if the Duchesse of Bedford (moued with the pity of a French woman, at so pittifull a spectacle) had not begged the liues of these poore condemned men. Thus that year passed, wherein *Charles* the sixth, and *Henry* the fifth died, but God to restore our Monarchy, began in the same year to lay a leuain against the attempts of Strangers, who sought to ruine it. *Isabelle* of Baunary, Countesse of Hainault and Holland the onely heire of those two states, had married with *John D.* of Brabant, who by a blind and ambitious avarice, gaue her selfe to *Humfrey* Duke of Gloucester, vncle to the King of England, and married with him, reiecting her lawfull husband. Her excuse was, that the Brabantin was her cousin germaine, but this shall be a meanes to dissolve that alliance so cunningly conioyned by the Dukes of Bedford and Bourgogne, who shall breake vpon this occasion. The year begins while that losse came by heapes vpon *Charles* as the current of an vnauoidable ruine: whatsoever he vnder-tooke, succeeded not.

*James* of Harcourt was Gouernour of Picardy, placed there ouer some remainders of the shipwracke of that country, he surpriseth Dommartin in Ponthieu from the Bourguignon, and spoiles the neighbour Abbeies, and the country. Hauing ruined these poore disarmed men, he is charged by *Ralph Buislar* an English Captaine, loseth all his conquest, escapes hardly with his life, and sees Crotoy taken before his face, the chiefe dungeon of his delignes, Rue, Saint Valery, and in the end the goodly city of Abbeville, sufficient to stay the English forces, if it had been guarded by good men. After these shameful losses he comes to *Charles* to excuse himselfe, he pardons him, but God made him soone pay the interest of his thefts, being the cause of his owne ruine.

Hauing no place of aboad, he retires to Parthenay, to his vncle, who entertained him courteously, but *Harcourt* not content with this kind viage, would be master of the castle, his practice fell vpon his owne head, being slaine by the guards, suffering the punishment of his treachery as he had done of his couetousnesse and cowardise. A lesson for bad seruants to their Princes, detestable either for their robberies, or for their treacherous cowardises, whom God paies in due season.

The entrance of this year was also infamous, in two shamefull losses, happened to two great captaines: to *Ambrose* of Lore, who loseth the castle of Tenny in the country of Maine, and to *Olinor* of Magny beaten by the English, at the Bishops parke neere Auranche, but from final accidents, we must come to great actions. Champagne was in no better case then Maine. The Earle of Salisbury made warre with all violence against *Pregence* of Coityny, who defended the Kings party the best he could, but not able to beare so great a burthen, he flies to *Charles*, who sends him his Constable with forces, the which were imployed both in another cause, & with other successe then he had designed: for behold the come of Creuant in Bourgogne (situated vpon the riuer of Yonne, vpon the frontiers of Champagne) is surprisid by the bastard of Baume, for the King. The Constable flies thither, but too late, for *la Baume*, not able to take the castle, abandons the towne. In the same time, the brute thereof drawes forces thither, from all parts, as a cupping glasse doth humours. The Dowager of Bourgogne (mother to Duke *Philip*) sends a goodly troope vnder the conduct of *Toulangeon* Marshall of Bourgogne. The Duke of Bedford doth suddenly furnish a notable supply, for the respect he bare to the Duke of Bourgogne his brother-in-law: *Charles* fearing lest his Constable should miscary, assembles what forces he can, with all speed, and sends them vnder the conduct of the Lord of Senece Marshall of France, the Earle of Ventadour, the Lords of Fontaines, Velay, and Gamaches. The number was very equal, but the incomber fell vpon our army. And this was the occasion. The Constable hauing made his choise of a little hill, a place of advantage, to ascend his country, the English comes, with a Conquering brauery, as hee that was accustomed to gaine euery where, without any stay: hee forceth our guard, placed vpon the ridge to keepe the passage. Hauing thus passed in view of our army, *la Hire* seizes

The cause of  
division be-  
twixt the  
Dukes of Bed-  
ford and Bour-  
gogne.  
*Charles* hath  
diuers losses,

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seizeth on our men by this proud contempt, and they cry out to the Constable, who gal-  
led with despite for this affront, resolves to the combat. So all with one fury leave the  
hill, march towards the English and offer him battell.

The notable  
battell of Cre-  
uant vnfur-  
nate for  
France.

The Earle of Salisbury makes a stand, to temper the heat of our French, who durst not  
approach very neere, fearing the fury of their English arrowes. This first motion thus  
slackt, the Earle of Salisbury gives the signe to battell. Those of Creuant halfe mad, ha-  
ving beene some few daies besieged, issue forth, and charge on the one side. On the other  
side; the body of the English army, doth march with such violence against the Scots  
(which were in the first battailion) as not able to withstand this storme, they open, & give  
them entry against the French, who having fought resolutely, in the end they leave the  
place to the victors. All are in rout. The Marshall of Senerac forgets his honor, and  
in this disorder. They account the losse about three thousand men. Of make, the Lords  
of Fontaines, Guitry and la Baulme, of Scottithmen, the Lord of Karados, nephew to the  
Constable, Thomas Seton, William Hamilton, with his son David and John Pillor, all wor-  
thy of the memory of France, seeing they died for her in the bed of honor.

There were many more taken prisoners then slaine, by the resolution of the captaine,  
who in this generall overthrow (rallying their troops) intrenched themselves, and fought  
for their lives with the English, and saved themselves honourably with their armes. The  
chiefe prisoners were the constable of Boughan, and the Earle of Ventadour. It is a thing  
worthy remembrance, that either of these two lost an eye in the battell: it was the  
29 day of Iuly. The gaine of this victory to the Bourguignon, was, that Malcon, a towne  
of the French obedience, yielded unto him without any force, but feare.

This continuance of so many losses, was exceeding grievous: but as God meant to de-  
strose France, and not to ruine it; so he counterpeyled these great losses with some small  
gaine. These victorious troops returning without feare, all disordered, were defeated by  
the Earle of Aumale, sent by the King to preserve the rest of Champagne: eight hundred  
English were slaine. But this checke awaked the Earle of Salisbury, Governour of Cham-  
pagne for the English, who having recovered new forces, goes to field to cleanse the  
Country. He besiegeth and taketh the strong towne of Sedan, in the Country of Wallis,  
and then Rembouillet in Bry, and Neelle in Tardenois. Then the tide flows for the French.  
The Bourguignon exceeding glad of the seizure of Malcon, (a town very important upon  
Saone) commands Thoulangeon his Constable, to rid all that the enemy held there-  
bouts, and to leave the trafficke free. La Buissiere a most strong castle betwixt Tournay  
and Malcon, did much annoy it. He resolves to take it by one meanes or other. But he  
did not foresee, that in seeking to take, he should be taken. He had some familiarity with  
the Captaine of the place. And trusting to the vsuall practices of those times, he discre-  
tely hope to corrupt him with money. He sounds him, and findes it pregnable: they  
agree vpon the price, but he was ignorant of the Captaines meaning, to haue more of  
his money. A faithfull seruant to the King, and worthy to be named in this Register,  
Captaine doth aduertise Imbert of Grosselee, the Governour of Lions, of this trafficke,  
wisely prouides to take him.

The Constable  
of Bourgogne  
taken by his  
owne practice.

Lewis of Cullant Admirall of France, was then happily at Lions, attending some  
for the King, from Philip Maria duke of Milan. The plot is laide to surprize this  
of Bourgogne, and the successe is answerable. Thoulangeon comes to Buissiere  
appointed houre, and brings with him men and money. He enters the Castle, where  
many men as he held sufficient, and counts the money to the Captaine. He hauing  
his troope in the field, behold the Lionois issue forth their Ambuscado like Lions  
some seize vpon the castle gate, and assure the place, others charge his troope, who  
easily defeated. The Constable with the chiefe that had followed him into the castle  
taken, a conterchage which shall deliuer the Constable of Boughan and the Earle of  
Ventadour, after the battell of Cullant.

And almost at the same instant, Stephen of Vignoles, called la Hire, and Pothon of  
traillies, roused themselves. Vignoles surprized Compagne, and Pothon, Han, vpon the  
riner of Somme. But this ioy lasted little, for Iohn of Luxembourg, governour for the duke  
of Bourgogne, in Picardy, lies thither, besiegeth, and recouereth both the one & the other  
with a happy saley. Pothon saues himselfe with much difficulty in Guise (being pursued  
by the Bourguignons, to their cost that were ill mounted.) Luxembourg managing the  
victory

1423

A victory wisely, attempts other places: he takes Oysil, Broissy and other small townes of Ti-  
raiche, and in the end he besiegeth Guise, where Iohn Poissy commanded for the King:  
Pothon (to annoy the besiegers) issues forth of Guise, but being too farre engaged in the  
fight, hee is taken prisoner, to make the siege of Guise the more easie, but Poissy doth his  
best endeavour to defend it. The towne belonged to René of Aniou, Duke of Bar, and bro-  
ther to the King of Sicilia. Hee intreats the Duke of Bourgogne to leave it him in peace,  
but it was in vaine. The siege is vehemently continued, so as in the end Guise falls into  
the Bourguignons hands, and so he remains master of all Picardy. And as if this storme  
had fallen vpon Charles from all parts, la Charite (a very important towne vpon the riuier  
of Loire) is surprized by Perrinet Graffer, for the Bourguignon: and so the terror of the war  
came into Berry, much troubling the quiet and commerce of the Court, for that the King  
most commonly was resident at Bourges, or at Meung.

Pothon of  
Xaintreilles  
taken prisoner;

The like mishap fell vpon La Hire at Vitry, the which he yeelds to the Duke of Bour-  
gogne, by a composition very preiudiciall for the King and the Realme. And at the same  
time Beaumont vpon Oyse surprized by the French, was taken againe by the English with  
much blood and sacke. In like sort the fort of Saint Michels Mount, is besieged by the  
English, and well defended by the French, which caused the victory of Granelle, happily  
taken by the Baron of Colances from the English, as it were to coole the heat of our con-  
tinuall feuer with some little water. In sooth the Estate of France was then most miserable.

There appeared nothing but a horrible face, confusion, pouerty, desolation, solitarinesse  
and feare. The leane and bare labourers in the Country, did terrifie euen theecues them-  
selves, who had nothing left them to spoil but the carcases of these poore miserable crea-  
tures, wandering vp and downe like Ghosts drawne our graues. The least farmes, and ham-  
lets, were fortified by these robbers, English, Bourguignons, and French, euery one striving  
to doe his worst. There was no speech but of forts and contributions. Al men of war were  
well agreed to spoile the countryman and the naked Merchant: euen the cartell accus-  
tomed to the larume bell (the signe of the enemies approach) would run home of themselves  
without any guide by this accustomed misery. This is the perfect description of those  
times, taken out of the lamentations of our Ancestors, set downe in the original. Who  
D seeth not here the perfect Image of our times, during the confusion of our vacuill Ciuill

But amidst this horrible calamity, God did comfort both the King and Realme: for a-  
bout the end of the yeere, he gaue Charles a goodly sonne by Queene Mary his wife, a hap-  
py gage for the establishing of this Realme, whereof he shalbe a peaceable King. He was  
borne at Bourges, and there honorable baptized in Saint Stephens church, and was named  
Lewis, King of France after the decease of his father. Charles would haue Iohn of Alençon  
a Prince of his blood, and then his trusty friend, to be his God-father. But alas! both by this  
God-father, and this God-sonne, shall grow a horrible confusion, euen when as Charles  
expected an end of all his troubles. Whereby we may learne, that there is nothing but  
E vanity in worldly affaires, remarkable for great men, in that which seemeth most firme in  
mans life.

Lewis the 2d  
the eldest son  
of Charles  
borne.

This was the flux and reflux of this yeare. The beginning of the new yeare shewed a  
better countenance: but these small gleames of good hap, were soone overcast by horrible  
losses, which seemed to giue the last wound to this Monarchy, and to alter the name, if  
God had not staied it with his mighty hand, in laying a foundation whereon he shall build  
the meanes to restore it to her ancient beauty, without any shew of the industry or force  
of man, when as all things seemed desperate. But the providence of God creeps on insen-  
sibly by degrees to perfect his worke. The losse of the Scots was very great in the vnfur-  
tunate battaile of Cullant. To repaire this losse, Charles lends into Scotland Renauld of  
Charre his chancellor and Archbishop of Rheims, accompanied with the Earle Douglas,  
Marshall of France. And being reduced to a miserable want of money, he engageth the Du-  
chy of Tourain vnto him. A title which Douglas shal not long inioy. But whilst they make  
this leamy in Scotland, and shal returne to their troopes, let vs consider the humour of the  
French and English during this medly.

New supplies  
come out of  
Scotland.

As the success of the English was happy, so their harts swelled with pride, and they  
exceeded dayly in Insolency, especially in great cities, where they braced it disdain-  
fully, as treading the name of French-men vader foot. This contempt bred an extreme  
discontent,

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The French grow discontented with the infolency of the English.

discontent, even in the most senseless, to see themselves thus intreated, their Kings oppressed, and their Lawes abolished. There were not two yeares past of this new royalty, and yet disturable. How farre say they, will this English Empire exceed, being augmented and fortified by the authority of many yeares? Shall it bee eyther to transpore new Colonies beyond the seas, or to plant others here, and in the end to extinguish the name of the original French, to the end that no man shall dare to repine at the ruine of his Countrey, reduced into the power of strangers? These imaginations were generally in all mens mindes, but complaints in the mowthes of few, the which they whispered softly to their well assured friends: but the time was not yet come, although the blood (which cannot degenerate) shewed many signes of hearts discontented with this servitude, both at Paris, and especially at Rouen, where the English government was most heauy. One *Michael Lallier* was the beginner of this liberty, and was put to death at Paris, & a woman was burnt, worthy to liue amidst the flames, & to shine in the goodly light of our History.

The Nobility of Picardy was much discontented with this new command. Tournay began first to stirre for the Kings seruice. So immouable is the French obedience to their Kings, and so sweet and pleasing is their command. It was a capitall crime to speake of the King of England, but as the lawfull King. Spies were set in all places to restrain the liberty of the French. These executions were threatnings of worse, if any should minde. Yet the Nobility of Picardy were so wearied with the English and Bourguignon yokes, as they resolute to free themselves at what rate soeuer. The heads of this resolution were the Lords of Longueval, S. Simon, Mailly, Maucour, Recourt, Blondel, and many other Gentlemen which had followed the Bourguignons party. These are named. The Original should not conceal the rest, whom I could not specify without some Author. Behold the first fruits of the French liberty. These Ensigne-bearers assemble at Roy, they forsake themselves for the King against the English and Bourguignon, and take diuers towns in Picardy at a prefixed day. *John of Luxembourg* thunders against them that were suspected, and some he takes and hangs. At these terrors some drew backe and left this league: yet the greatest part remained constant, though with the apparent danger of their liues. These were the pure and true sparkes of the French fidelity to their King, but the day spring was not yet come, which mounting to our horizon, should in the end shew forth the goodly light of liberty to all France.

These first motions put *Charles* in some good hope of a better estate: but behold a new check which cooles his courage. At the same time that hee made his leauy in Scotland, the duke of Exeter prepared a great army in England to releue the duke of Bedford his brother, that he might haue meanes to continue the warres in France. There comes two him eight thousand archers, and eightene hundred men at armes. For the employing of these men he besiegeth *Galaron*, and taketh it at his first approach, and without the loss of an houre, hee plants himselfe before *Yury*, and at the same instant all his forces come to him, vnder the command of the Earle of Salisbury. The army being thus encreased, he pressed the siege. *Girauld of Paliers* held the towne for the King.

The due of Bedford summons him to yeeld it. *Girauld* demands respite to aduertise the King. *Charles* was then at Tours, well accompanied both of his subiects and foraine friends: for after the defeat of Creuant, fore-seeing that the English would pursue the cause with more violence, he had provided men to oppose against them. The *Marshall Douglas* duke of Touraine by his new purchase, had brought him succours from Scotland. The Vicont of Narbonne a goodly troop from Languedoc, which was the flower of the whole army. The duke of Alençon, the Earles of Aumale, Ventador, Tonnerre, Douglas, Moiry, the Vicont of Narbonne, the Lords of Faiette, Tournon, and other Noblemen of marke, with their followers, were ready to doe their best endeavour. So he had eightene thousand fighting men. The rendezvous is in Perche, and they were shortly to march to *Yury*. The King styes at Chasteaudun. The Constable of Bourgh sends to view the enemies countenance. The Scouts report the greatnesse of the English Army, and their diligence at the siege, who being discovered and pursued, hardly escape. They resolute that in stead of charging the English army, they should besiege *Vernueil* (a towne obeying the English) eyther to take it, or to make a diuersion from *Yury*. The first succeeded, for our men approaching neer to *Vernueil* with a victorious countenance and bragge, as if the English army had beene defeated, *Vernueil* opens the gate

Compleats against the English.

New forces raised in England.

Vernueil yeelds to the French, Yury to the English.

A without any question, and yeelds to the Kings seruice. But this shew of victory cost our Frenchmen deare, who had done better to succour *Yury*, then in losing it, to hazard their owne ruine, as it happened afterwards.

*Girauld* of Paliers, hauing long and in vaine expected succors, and doubled the prefixed time, he yeelds to the Duke of Bedford, who hauing now no other impediment, he resolues to fight with our army at his aduantage: for the effecting whereof, hee had the better meanes by their long stay. Hauing intelligence of the estate of our army, he resolute to draw them to battell, knowing how much it did import to send a victorious souldier, against one whom he hath usually beaten. He therefore sends a Herald to desie them, by giuing him charge to direct himselfe to the Duke of Touraine, a Scottish man Marshall of France. To whom he sayes, *The Duke of Bedford my master commanded mee to tell you, that he comes to drinke with you.* Douglas answers him: *That he should be welcome, but hee must make some haste, for that dinner was ready.* Vpon this brauado they goe to Councell. The mischief was, the army had no head, hauing indeed too many. A multitude of commanders and commandments, is a plague to all good order, and especially in militarie discipline, which consists wholly in authority. Euery one had varied in his opinion. Some were of aduice to attend the enemy, others thought it fittest to take him at his word, without enduring of these brauadoes.

Thus their diuident opinions diuided the army, and those which in shew made the army, ouerthrew it, *Douglas* and *Narbonne*. *Douglas* said, *Seeing the army is well lodged, hauing a good towne to backe it, to what end should they runne rashly against a victorious enemy?* The *Narbonnois* replies, *To endure these brauadoes, were to take away the hearts of the French souldiers, and to coole their courage without any reason: and what greater indignities might a vanquished man beare?* The Duke of Alençon, and the Constable were of the first opinion, but the contention grew so great, as the Viscont said, *That if the wiser had no mind to fight, he would goe and defend the honour of France with the hazard of his life.* So being retired to his quarter, he commanded to found a march, notwithstanding the Duke of Alençon entreary to stay and march together. On the other side, the Duke of Touraine, discontented at the Visconts choller, keepe backe the Scots. But necessity drew forth the whole army, one battallion after another. This disorder was the cause they could not chooe a fit place of armes, nor dispose of their battallions. All were in grosse confusion without any vanguard. The chiefe of the army were on foot. They place two wings, and to euery wing a thousand horse. The Italians had the right, and the French the left. In the fore-front of this battell they planted foure hundred horse, to beginne the skirmish.

The Duke of Bedford had opportunity to dispose better of his armie, he makes a body all on foot, where he placeth his chiefe forces, and lodgeth there himselfe. In the front of this body he placeth great store of Archers, and euery Archer hath a stake stickt in the ground, to withstand the charge of the horse. Vpon either wing he plants the choice of his most resolute Archers: behind, are his vnarmed people with the baggage, the horses being tyed close together, taile to taile, with two cords or withs: but for their guard hee left two thousand choice Archers. In this order he attends the French, whom he discouers comming as farre off, resolute to fight, with the countenance of Conquerors. They were long before they could set their troopes in order, and ranne a full gallop to their death. So as in hurlie burlie and haste to fight, they were out of breath before they came to blowes. All the morning is spent in approaches, the two armies fronting one another: a little after noone, a signall is giuen to the battell: our aduenturers goe to the charge, to tie if they can force the grosse of the English army.

The foure hundred Italian Lances (led by *Cameran* with one eye) made the point, and at the first charge beat back the English Archers: that were in the front. At the same instant, our two wings of horse charge the English army in flanke, seeking to breake their ranks. The fury of the fight was violent on either side: our men striving to enter into the body of the English foot, and the English labouring to withstand our men with a continual storme of arrowes. Then, behold our Lanciers, hauing forced one side of the battell, beginne to cry victorie, but the first ranks being forced, they are seconded by the rest without disorder: and with the like impression, the whole body of the English army raise a great cry, and aduance to the combat. Thus the two armies ioyne with a horrible conflict,

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The Duke of Bedford sends a challenge to the French armie.

The French Armie.

The English Army.

Bb

which



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which continued about an houre, one fleshed against another with a cruel & bloody fury. And (saies the original) there were neuer seen two parties of so great power fight so long without knowledge who were victors. But beheld a new change in our army, our French and Italian horse appointed to force the English battell, being valiantly repulsed, fled, and leaues our footmen open to the English shot.

The battell of  
of Vernueil.

Both the battells had continued long in fight, and that which had made it equal, was not onely the equality of their forces, but the counterpieze of horses, which serued honorably. But the English had a supply of 2000 Archers, referred at the taile of this Army to guard the baggage. The Duke of Bedford seeing our foot naked of Lances, resolves to employ them. So as this fresh Squadron, doubling a fearfull cry, fall violently vpon this wearied troope, and being halfe disordered, dispereth them. Then all are in a rout: some fly, others kill. The massacre was exceeding great in this first fury, kindled by the obstinacy of the fight. Yet after this first heat, the English accustomed to our blood, fell to take prisoners. Vernueil was the nearest retreat, but the gates were shut, fearing lest the English should enter pel mel, with them that fled, so as the ditch serued for a graue to prison to many. Thus the English had the victory, but they bought it full dearly, for they lost aboute fiftene hundred men; and our losse was farre greater. Our Historicks confesse foure thousand, the English report fiftene thousand. Yet all was not lost, for *Xaintrailles*, and *La Hire* gathered together a good number of them that fled, and saued them in *Mans* the nearest place of retreat.

The French  
defeated.A braue retreat  
of Italians.

There happened a memorable thing in this rout. The Italian troope which had fled, being intrenched in a neere village, to fight for their liues, hauing a false aduertisement that our men had won the victory; they presently part, and come to the place of battle, being knowne, they are charged by the English, but their retreat was exceeding hardy, in despite of their army they saued themselves. Being to passe a riuer at the end of certaine hedges, by so narrow a passage as they could goe but one after another, these Lombards plant their cornets there, as the mark of their way, with 16 armed men to make stand, while the troope should passe. All escape this way without any other harme, the feare: So much order preuailes euen in disorder.

The Nobles  
men that were  
slaine.

This ouerthrow changed the 6 of August. The losse was the greater, for that it did separate the former: many great personages were slaine. The Earle of Bouquhan constable of France, the Marshall *Douglas* (a short time Duke of Touraine) the Earles of Aumale, Harcourt, Ventadour, Tonnery, Moiry: the Lords of Graulley, Montenay, Combrest, Fournay, Brunel, Tumbler, Guirry, Peisy, Mathe, Rambels, Lindefay, Gamaches, Malchey, Boyn, Rembouillet, Harpedane, la Treille, Fourchouinere, la Salle, Lappe, Rochey, la Tour, and many others in great numbers. The Vicount of Narbonne (a rashment of this misfortune) was taken by the Bourguignons, and presently hanged, for a punishment, hauing assisted at the massacre of *John D.* of Bourgongne. The chiefe prisoners were, *John* of Bourbon Duke of Alençon, and the bastard of this house, the Marshall *Fayette*, the Lord of *Hormid*, *Peter Herisson*, *Lewis* of Vaucourt, *Roger Broutier*, *Henry S. Marke*, *Jamies du Phis*, and many others, from whom the English drew great summes of money. Vernueil (to augment this misfortune) was yeelded by *Rambures*, vpon an honorable composition, with their liues and baggage freed, except that which belonged to the army. The insolent English, spoiled the poore iouldiers, when as the Earle of Salisbury, ruing, slue one of these trecherous wretches, causing these poore vanquished men to be conducted into Berry or Touraine in good safety. After this notable victory, the Duke of Bedford hauing triumphed at Paris, managed this profitable accident: to our losse. He presently deliueys these victorious troopes (carying in their hearts and forehead, the fortune of England) to the Earle of Salisbury, a wife and valiant captain of his army, who employed them with great successe, for he tooke from *Ambrose de Lore* (a braue and valiant captain) the forts of *S. Susanne*, *Mahans*, *la Hines*, *la Ferre-Benard*, as the reminders of this shipwrack, and in the end he caried it to the towne of *Mahs*, although the fidelity of the Inhabitants yeelded him their obedience more slowly, & with greater difficulty.

The prisoners.

Vernueil taken.

The English insolencie increased daily & apparently, like the swelling of a riuer. *Vannes* were left to obseue all such as did but mutter for their liberty. The Lords of *Maucourt* and *Rocomp* were put to death, as guilty of high treason. The goods of such as were sent, were confiscate. In France it was a great crime to be a Frenchman.

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The miserable  
estate of *Cicilia*  
in diuers sorts.

But as one mischief comes not alone, and griefe vpon griefe procures no health, these misfortunes which touched the members, had almost ruined the head: for this lamentable battell of Vernueil (which made all France to mourne) had almost thrust *Charles* into his graue. Besides these general losses, this poore Prince was surcharged with many difficulties: the incredible burthen of his pouertie, and the reproches of his subiects, accusing him as the author of these banquerout losses, which chanced daily to his armies and townes. Thus he was abandoned both of himselfe and his subiects, his great and many afflictions hauing killed his courage, and lost his credit with the people. In this disgracfull necessity, there was no speech but of engaging the reasonies of the Crowne to paye the Garisons of places, which else would bee lost. The Kings table failed daily: hee eate no more in publike, but sparingly in his chambers attended on by his domestick seruants. The History notes, that as *Pothon* and *la Hire* came to him to Chasteaudun, to require succours, they found him at table with a rumpe of Mutton; and two Chickens: and yet in this extreame pouerty of his, the great men got of all hands. The Duke of Alençon had Niort in Poitou, and the bastard of Orleans the Countie of Gyan, for money they said had been lent for the Kings seruice, who auowed all and payed all, for nothing. But that which was of harder digestion, was the continuall discontent of his subiects against him; as if (neglecting his affaires) he had abandoned himselfe to the loue of faire *Agnes*: A blot which doth yet blemish the name of *Charles* the seuenth, in the generall conceit of the French Nation, registred as a certain truth, by the writers of our time, which haue written of that reigne. As it is my counse to searce the Originals, and not to alleage any new writer for an author, so haue I carefully noted what the ancients did obseue. *Alain Charretier* the Kings Secretary layes nothing, *Monfret* speaks but, vpon occasion in the end of this reigne.

The King  
approached  
for the loue  
of faire *Agnes*.

And for as much (saith he) as the King did see her willingly, the common fame was, that he kept her dishonestly, for the vulgar is more inclined to speake ill then well. But the loue which the King did shew her, was for her pleasing behaviour and eloquent speech, and also for that she was of all faire creatures the fairest. The History of Saint Denis written by the Historiographer of France, doth cleerly excuse him in these tearmes. *In Chronick*, desiring to write the truth, haue duly informed my selfe, and without falsifying of the truth, doe find by Knights, Councellors, Physicians, Surgeons, and other domestick seruants, examined by oath, as appertained to my charge, to the end to free the people from scandall; that during fise yeares that faire *Agnes* liued with the Queene, the King neuer frequented her but in great company, nor in the absence of the Queene: he neuer vied any lasciuious countenance vnto her, nor touched her beneath the chin. And after his sports, *Charles* retired himselfe vnto his lodging, and *Agnes* vnto hers. But he loued her for that she was pleasant and young, among the fairest, seeking all kind of delights to sweeten his thoughts and cares. These are his very words: But howebeit, this fear remains vpon *Charles* his face, that he neglected his affaires, losing both his time and iudgement with this woman, and in his gardens; the which blemished his reputation much, euen with his enemies, who held him for an idle person, and of small valour. But as this report made him contemptible, so the insolent behaviour of his Minions made him hateful, for that under his authority, these horrible leeches oppressed the people, and tooke all reward from such as had ventured their liues for the Kings seruice.

Thus this poore prince, surcharged with many difficulties, was so discouraged, as he had no care to preferue himselfe by armes, but employed all his spirits to find some means of an accord at what price soeuer, with the Duke of Bourgongne and Britany. But hee was much deceived, for they had all conspired, his ruine, and euery one pretended a part in this confiscation. The Duke of Savoy looked for a share, and *John* of Chalon Prince of Orange, was in hope to make himselfe great with the remainders of this spoile. But where the wilde doctrine of mankind; there the prouidence of God began; who provided means for *Charles*, the which he could not foresee, neither by his industry nor authority; that the restoring of this Realme might be knowne, to proceed from the miraculous bounty of God, the Guardian of this Estate. He did so gaine all his vnto him, but hee lost to such as hee had shewed him what hee had to do. The Duke of Bedford had both an union with the Duke of Bourgongne and Britany, to confirme the English affaires in France, and the Duke of Britany, brother to the Duke of Britany, began to be attracted to his alliance. He had married one of the Daughters of the Duke of Bedford, and Bedford tooke the Duke of Britany.

Charles desires  
an accord with  
Britany and  
Bourgongne.The league  
with England  
broken.

Prince



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Prince of good iudgement, who gouerned his brother wholly, and had a great interest in his brother in law of Bourgongne. He shall helpe much in the restoring of this *France*, uniting the hearts of Princes distracted from the King; but his foure complexions did much distemper *Charles*, who shall pay dearly for the fruits of his seruice, as the combe the History will declare. The Duke of Bedford being at Paris, mightily putty with his victories, played the King: this insolent greatnesse, which made him odious to the French (although they durst not shew it) was likewise hatefull to his owne faction.

*Bedford & Rich-*  
most brother to  
the duke of Bri-  
tany at iarr, be-  
ing Brothers in  
law.

Man hath alwaies the miserie that he seeks, and is the plotter of his owne misfortune. This pride bred a iarr betwixt him and the Earle of Richmond, and made a way to the general diuision of these confederate Princes, and re-union of the whole Realme. *Richmond* was come vnto him, to be imploied in some honorable charge fit for his house and person, making great esteeme of his loue, whereof their alliance seemed an assured gage. But he found nothing but discontents. *Arthur* was of a French humour, nourished in the miserie of our King, bred vp in their armes, and had beene prisoner for them at the battell of Azincourt: the time onely had with-drawne him from the King seruice, whom every man held lost. The pride of Bedford reuiued in him this first affection: so as not able longer to accord with the English, he resolves to seeke all meanes to recouer the King good grace and fauour, and to ingage his brother the Duke of Britanie.

*Arthur* of Bri-  
tany leaves the  
English.

Thus he leaues the Duke of Bedford, and retires to his house with this discontent. This falls out a fit occasion to aduance this businesse, to the good liking of *Richmond*: for the office of Constable was void, by the death of the Earle of Boucquhan, slaine in the battell of Vernueil. *Charles* sleeps not at these newes; but as if he had attended some good opportunity, he presently sends a trusty Gentleman to the Earle of Richmond, to offer him his loue, and for a gage thereof, the dignity of the Constable of France, with all aduantage that a King may honour his seruant with. This first summons *Richmond* tooke reasonably well: but he answered, that he could not doe any thing with-out his brother the Duke of Britanie: with whom hauing conferred, he would presently aduertise *Charles* of his resolution. But as the Kings vrgent necessity made him to reckon the minutes, so the tediousness of the Brittons answer made him to languish.

His Councell likewise allowed well of this league, the which shall proue more trouble some vnto him, then honourable, and more preiudiciall then profitable vnto *France*. *Charles* (without attending any answer from *Richmond*) sends *John Louet*, President of Prouence, one of the chiefe fauourers then in credit; but he remembered not that he was in dislike with these Princes, so as *Louet* returned without any effect. Yet *Charles* (loose this opportunity, and to give the English any time to reconcile himselfe to the Brittons), sends to him with all speed a very honourable Ambassage, which was *Tolmei* Arragon, Queene of Sicilie his mother in law, with *Tanneguy* of Chastell, being very acceptable to these two brethren. Their coming did greatly aduance this businesse. They prevailed so farre as the Duke of Britanie, and the Earle of Richmond: his brother, was both ready to embrace the Kings friendship, and to doe him seruice, so as the Duke of Bourgongne would yeeld vnto it: and in the meane time (to draw this businesse to some good end) *Richmond* should goe and take with him Maieesty, upon good hostages for his safety. This condition was accepted by *Charles*; and to lose no time, the Lord of Albion and the bastard of Orleans, were sent vnto him for hostages, and the townes of Chin, Loches, Lusignan, and Meung, were given him for assurance vntill the end of the Year, and ample passports made to goe and come with all liberty. This worke began this year in November, and shall end the next year, with a notable success.

But the Duke of Bourgongne embraced another notable occasion, which shall preiudice the English in this occurrent of Britany. We haue said that this league was laid in the year 1423; by the marriage of *Jacquelin* Countesse of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, a wife conuenced for by her husbands, the duke of Bourbon, cousin germain, and a daughter to the Duke of Bourgongne; and the duke of Gloucester brother to the duke of Bedford, and vnto the King of England, two great parties, which shall diuide the dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne, and shall be the meane, so to reconcile the Bourgignon to *Charles*, and restore him to the obedience of this Queene, and the English out of France, and restore the Realme to the providence of God, which goes insensibly by degrees about this conceit, may be distinctly considered.

About

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A notable pro-  
cess of *Jacquelin*  
against her hus-  
band, supported  
by the Bourgui-  
gnon.

About the end of this year, *Jacquelin* of Hainault comes out of England with the duke of Gloucester her second husband, fortified with an army of fife thousand English. Shee caused the Nobility and the Cities to renew their oathes, both to her and the Duke of Gloucester her lawfull husband. All the Nobility obeyes this commandement, except the Earle of Conuerfan, *John* of Lumont, *Angilbert* of Anghien, and all townes except Hals. The Duke of Bourgongne greatly affected this quarrell. The Duke of Bedford foreseeing the danger that might grow by the Bourgignons discontent, labours to suppress it in the breeding, and to that end he drawes them to Paris with their friends, but in vaine. The one strives to enioy his Estates, and the other to hinder him. So as whilest the cause is disputed in the Court at Rome, the armies prepare on either side to end it by blood and spoile. The Gloucester begins, and the Bourgignon followes. So the end of this year is the beginning of a war of foure whole years, but it shall be ended in fauour of the Bourgignon. This new year shall be spent in the alterations of the Court and Britany.

The Earle of Richmond comes to Tours to *Charles*, as he had promised to the Queene of Sicilie, but not able to resolve any thing without the consent of the Duke of Bourgongne, (as we haue sayd) the King seeing it very necessary he should goe to him, doth send him a very honorable Ambassage, *James* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, a prince of his blood, the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishop of Puy. The end of their negotiation was double, that the duke of Bourgongne should like of the alliance betwixt the King and the Princes of Britany, and that he himselfe should be reconciled vnto him, to liue and continue good friends, as they were neere in blood. The first was fully concluded with the Bourgignons consent, the other was suspended. The causes are specified, for that *Philip* could not with honesty let slip the death of his father, whereof *Charles* was the author: this reconciliation could not be well effected, yntill that *Charles* did chafe from him all such as had dipped their hands in this massacre, either as fauours or as executioners. They were specified by name, *John Louet* President of Prouence, *Tanneguy* of Chastell, *William d' Auangour*, *John* of Gyac, sonne to that Lady of Gyac, who perswaded *John* duke of Bourgongne to goe to *Charles* at Montreuil-faut-Yonne, where he was slaine. But these were but colours, for notwithstanding their absence from Court, yet the Bourgignon seemed to be nothing inclined to the Kings seruice. In effect he stood watching the opportunity to effect his designs, and so entertained time, to keepe the stakes, as the whole course of the History will declare.

*Charles* sends  
an ambassage  
to *Philip* of  
Bourgongne.

*Charles* employing all his friends and meanes, entreates *Amedee* duke of Sauoy to bee a mediator of this accord. In respect hereof he comes to Monuel in Bresse, but in truth this was but a shadow. They all sought to get from *Charles*, and so watched for opportunity. Yet the Bourgignon made all shewes of his seruice vowed to the King, and the establishment of France, which he lamented infinitely to be fallen into the hands of strangers. He spared no cheere nor entertainment for the Ambassadors, and for a gage of sincere loue, *Philip* gives his youngest sister *Anne* in marriage to the Earle of Clermont, but with an intent to winne a Prince of the blood neere the King. Thus the Bourgignon leuelled alwayes at this marke, and did nothing but with an intent to maintaine his greatness at what price soeuer.

The minions  
chafe from  
Court.

In the meane time the meaner smart for the folly of great men. At the returne of these Ambassadors, the Court is in an vprore, *Charles* grieues to chafe away his seruants, which could not be done but in contempt of his authority. And yet the Ambassadors cried out that without it they should not effect any thing; and the more they stayed the execution, the more they hindred the Kings seruice. *D' Auangour* parted first with the good liking both of King and Court. *Gyac* made his peace, by the mediation of the Queene of Sicilie, who had all power in this action. The King was wonderfully discontented for the departure of *Tanneguy* of Chastell, whom he called father. A man beloued, and of amiable conditions. But there was no remedy. He had given the chiefe stroke to *John* of Bourgongne. So likewise he protested without any difficultie, to retire himselfe whither soeuer his master should command him.

He beseeched him to give him an authentically certificate, that it was not for any fact of his, but for the good of his seruice. He obtains it, and a promise withall that his offices should be continued him. Thus he retires to Beaucaire in Languedoc, and the officers of Prouost of Paris remained to him still, with the fee, and a good reputation with all men, to haue

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have been a good servant to the King, and careful of the public good. *John Louvet* president of Provence, disprised his departure with some bitterness and obsequy. When justice is it (saith he) to condemn a man without hearing? What breach, to vnto the King servants thus, for an others pleasure? but not only the Bourguignon and the Britton hated him to the death, but also the Court and people did detest him. A man of a shrewd minde, cunning, obstinate, revengefull, cruell. Great men hated him, as crossing their faires with the King, abusing his tractable disposition: and meane men, as the horse-leech and the sponge of the public treasure, and a man without mercie. The Bourguignon hated him as the first motiue of his fathers murder, and the Britton, as having giuen counsel to the Earle of Ponthieu to take him prisoner at Cantoneaux. Having gotten great wealth, and impoueriſhed the King and the Realme, he had matched his daughter with a good house. The one, with the Earle of Dunois a bastard of Orleans, the other with the Lord of Ioyeuse. The respect of this alliance saved his life. He was safely conducted to Auignon, & from thence he retires into Provence, without any other fame then to have governed the King ill. His daughter of Ioyeuse died with thought, for her fathers disgrace. *Gyac* returns into grace more then before, having purchased the fauour of the Queen of Sicily: but he shall soone pay for these imaginations of happinesse, not onely succeeding the President in his misfortune, but also losing his life after an ignominious sort.

The Duke of Britanie comes to King Charles

These men thus chased away, the Constable of Richmont went for his brother *John* Duke of Britanie, who came to *Charles* to Saumur: he took the oath of fidelitie, offering him all service. The Bourguignon speaks not yet one word for the King; onely he forbears to make warre against him, having a plausible excuse, for his not sending any more men to the Duke of Bedford, being buſied for the Brabantine, against the Glouceſtrian, in the war of Hainault and Holland. So this accident bred some ease to *Charles*, but no release. During these confusions in Court, Mans was lost, and after it the rest of Mayne obeyed the Earle of Salisbury. But the Constable of Richmont, (being freed from those domestic crosses which might hinder his credit with the King) would make proofe of his valour, arming the Brittons against the English. And as in the beginning all is good; at this command all Britanie riseth, and runs to this war. But these troopes being raised, and yet ioyned to frame the body of an army, behold the Earle of Warwick marcheth suddenly with a goodly army, gathered out of all the garisons of Normandy, the inhabitants of Townes, and the Nobility of the country, with great speed, who besiege and take Pontorion, a towne vpon the confines of Normandy and Britanie, neere Saint Mirin Mount. This prick forward the Constable, to whom this scorne belonged. After that Warwick was retired, having left a garison in his conquest, behold the Constable comes to Pontorion with his Brittons, hee besiege it, beats, and takes it by force, making great slaughter of the English.

The Constables ill success.

This success gaue him courage to passe on: the towne of Saint James of Beuerron much disquiet that country. He attempts it, hoping to be succoured with men and money from France: but having words alone without effects, his Brittons (being for the most part voluntaries) slip away daily, notwithstanding any preuention of the Constables: who resolved (before this warlike multitude had abandoned him) to make profit of his presence, and to giue a generall assault. The neerhess of Auranches (where the Earle of Suffolk with *Scales*, famous captaines among the English) remained with goodly troopes) took him occasion of feare, lest they should charge his men in the heat of the assault. To this end, he sends forth two thousand men out of the body of his army, to meete with the imagined English.

The Commanders having discovered euen to the gates of Auranches, and found nothing, they resolve to returne to the army, not giuing the Constable any other advertisement. The Brittons being at the assault, seeing those men come, suppose them to be English, and fearing to be coopt in, having an enemy both before and behind, they resolve to leave their ladders, and retire to their campe. Their retreat was somewhat difficult, by reason of a poole with a narrow causey, which they had wonne with great labour and paine. The besieged seeing the Brittons forsake the wals, fall forth courageously after them, and recover the quarter abandoned, where there was a point that flanked the poole, in which they plant three score archers. There were eight or nine hundred Brittons shut up betwixt the wals and the poole: so as from this recovered point, they might choose them

one

one after one. The rest of the English garison issuing forth the towne furiously, put these amazed Brittons to the sword, who are either gauled with English arrowes, like beasts in a toyle, or with a desperate courage leape into the poole. Thus leſt then 500 hundred men overthrew about eight thousand. The campe was abandoned and spoiled, 18 ensignes lost, with the banner of Britanie: many prisoners were taken, after the English had bene wearied with killing. The principall that were slaine, were the Lords of Molac, Coitiuy, la Motte, and many captaines of marke. The artillery, engines, and all the rest of the munition remained for a pawne. This vnreasonable alarum, greatly troubled the Constable, who was now become all the hope of the French, as if he carried all France vpon his shoulders like another *Atlas*. To repaire this ridiculous disgrace, hee raiseth new forces in Britanie with all speed, hee ioynes vnto him the troopes of *Ambroſe* of Lore to be assisted with his valour, and having giuen them their pay, he causeth them to march into Aniou, where he takes la Fleſche, Galerande, Beaufort, Malicorne, and so recouers the hearts of his men after so notable a losse, and keeps his enemy in awe. From thence hee goes to Court, where there were other designs then to fight with the English. A man fitter to braue it in a Councell of State, then to dispute a battell or the siege of a towne. He came to Court to bee the author of many confusions during this yeare: and on the other side, his brother the Duke of Britany, before it passe, shall leave the party of France, and reconcile himselfe vnto the English, that the honour of our deliuerance might be giuen to God, the guardian of this Monarchy, and not to these Princes of Britany, to whom *Charles* was too much affected, in buying their friendship so deare, being euen then vnprofitable, when as he had greatest need: yet in their sear, all these instruments worke to restore our decayed estate. But these were the Constables good seruices. After this shamefull disgrace, he seeks to couer his fault, exclaiming first against the King, as if hee had bene the cause of this infamous disorder happened at Saint James, and having too freely discovered his griefes vnto the King, he presumed to take *John* of Malefront Chancelor of Britany prisoner, as being particularly charged to sollicite the payment of such money as was appointed for this Britton Army. *Charles* was much offended with this presumption, & in despite of the Constable, caused *Malefront* to be presently released, and sent into Sauoy. The Constable was greatly discontented with this proceeding, the which hee took as an affront done to his person, and resolves to be reuenged. So great were the confusions of that age, as the *Estimate* durst prescribe a Law to his master, and his counsell bandy against him to controul his will. Yea the Princes of the blood (so great was the corruption of that wretched age) were the chiefe controllers of the Kings actions. Then was there nothing more miserable then France, who discontented with her King, nourished the ambition of many Kings. This iealous ambition did nothing cure the infirmities of our Estate. *Charles* found it lost, he could not raise it alone. To debase his authority was no meane to cure the confusions of the Realme. And as there is nothing more troublesome then confusion, the French Nation being then extremely afflicted, did nothing amend their condition, in casting vpon the King the reproaches of their calamities.

He exclaims against the King.

This was to deprime themselves of their head, wherein consists the whole life of the body. An vnreasonable discontent. The whole body of the State was sicke, and this distasteth people would haue their heads found. A notable circumstance, for it is strange, that (after so many miseries) this domesticall confusion had not bene the vtter ruine of the State. But let vs returne to our discourse. The Constable had great credit with the Council, whom in the beginning the King had greatly countenanced: but the private practices, and the generall discontent of great persons, had made him halfe a King, to crosse the Mignons whom all men hated. Great men hated them, as possessing the King, and the people detested them, as managing all things at their pleasure, to the preiudice of the common weale. There were two Mignons that did greatly vex them, *Gyde* and *Canuel* of Beaulieu. They resolve by a generall consent to dispatch them.

The Princes, with the Lords of Albret and Tremouille (who had a great interest in the State), where of the party. But the Constable must doe the execution. The matter concluded betwixt them, was thus executed: *Gyde* was taken in bed with his wife, carried to Dunle Roy, condemned and executed: that is, he was put into a sacke and cast into the river. The Constable performed this office, without any other forme of law, then his

1423 The Brittons defeated by their owne court.

Richmont stirre up new troubles in Court.

He exclaims against the King.

A dangerous waywardnesse to make the King odious or contemptible.

The Kings Mignons slaine by the Council.

1426

his bare command. Afterward Camus borne in Auvergne, as hee walked in the Kings lodging, was ventrouly slaine, by a souldier belonging to the Marshall of Boufflac. Charles vnderstood it, and in a manner, toucht the blood of his two domestick seruants, being wonderfully discontented: but the time (which did authorise these confusions) caused him to swallow this pill quietly. Tremouille married Gyacs widow, the heire of Lifle-Bouchart, and entred newly in credit with the King, giuing him to vnderstand that all warres his seruice, so as there was no more speeche thereof: euery man shut both eyes and eares. But Tremouille shall haue his turne: he shall leaue some of his haire, and hardly face the mould of his doubler. Thus the affaires of the Court ebbed and flowed, the which raised vp one, and cast downe another. In this deceitfull manner of life, there is nothing certain, but uncertainty, fauours being giuen not by desert, but most commonly by a blind appetite, which hath no other iudgement, but the apprehension of weake heads, diuiding the piness of a Courtiers life into quarters, this day to one, and to morrow to another. A goodly lesson for such as are fauoured in Court, not to bee transported with vain hope, toyes to deceiue the indiscreet. The surest guards of prosperitie, are integrity, wisdom, modesty and patience, to remember aduersity in prosperitie, according to the precepts of the wise.

This was the good government of the Constable of Richmond, a bold practiser of these domestick confusions, whilst the Bourguignon plyed his businesse. Wee haue made mention of the suite of *Iaqueline*, Countesse of Hainault and Holland, for *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, her pretended husband, against *John Duke of Brabant*, her lawfull husband, for so had Pope *Martin* pronounced it, in fauour of the Brabantin; but from law they came to Armes. The Bourguignon supported the Brabantin. These Princes (hauing increased their forces), begin by writing. The Gloucesterian accuseth the Bourguignon of contumeliousnes and treachery. The Bourguignon giues him the lye: but from reproches they fall to Armes. The Bourguignon offers the Gloucesterian to end the question by combat, and by that tryall to auoyde the effusion of their souldiers blood. The Gloucesterian accepts it: all is prepared for the combat: but the Duke of Bedford interposeth his authority. To this end he calls the chiefe men of all estates to Paris, to quench this fire by common aduice decrees; That, that day should be disannulled, neither should it be iudiciall to either party. That is to say, All being well viewed and considered, there is no iust cause for either to call the other to this wilfull combat, from the which they must not depart, although it were accepted, without great preiudice to both their honours. In the meane time, neither the Popes authority, nor the Regents decree, by the general iudice of the States, could preuaile, but all burst forth into open warre. The Bourguignon proued the stronger: so as the Gloucesterian (leaving *Iaqueline* at Mons) posted into England for new Forces, but all was in vaine, the Bourguignon making his profit of the Princes absence, did easily effect his desire, hauing no opposit but a woman, dishonoured for her infamous adulteries. He failes not to enter Hainault with a strong Army, and vseth all force to reduce this people to reason.

The Country seeing it selfe pressed by the Bourguignons forces, (neither hoping nor desiring any succours from England, and perfwaded that *Iaqueline* supported her cause) resolute to obey the stronger. Hauing to that effect protested vnto their Lady what they thought fitting for their duty, they leaze on her person, and deliuer her into the hands of the Duke of Bourgongne. *Philip* receiues her honorably, and promisseth all offices of friendship to comfort her. From Mons he causeth her to bee conducted into a goodly traine to Gand, by *Lewis of Charlons*, Prince of Orange, a braue Nobleman. The Gantois employ their meanes to honour her. This great liberty gaue her meanes to make an escape from this goodly cage: so as hauing practised some for her guide, she disguised herselfe in the habit of a man, and retires from Gand to Breda, where the doth arrive the riuier of Gagide, and doth sollicite the townes of Holland by her Agents. The Bourguignon (foreseeing by these beginnings a long continuance of trouble) flies thither with his Army. He enters the Country, at the first they all resist him, for the respect the subjects bare to their Lady. But as the inconueniences of warre increased daily, and that *Philip* did shew by publike writings and priuate practices, that whatsoever hee did, was to maintain the right of the lawfull husband, many townes yeelded vnto him. At this time the Duke of Brabant, the lawfull husband of *Iaqueline*, dyes in the Castle of Lennuere, being

The Duke of  
Bourgongne  
sitteth on  
*Iaqueline*  
Countesse of  
Hainault.

inductured *Philip* of Bourgongne his heire. The Cities seeing the Bourguignon supported both by force, and right, follow him by a common consent, as twice a Conqueror, did persuade their Lady not to appose her selfe obstinately against so reasonable a necessity. So without any other force, but the happy successe of the stronger, an accord was made betwixt *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, and *Iaqueline* Countesse of Hainault and Holland, vpon these conditions: That *Iaqueline* doth acknowledge her Cousin *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, for the lawfull heire of her countries, and from thenceforth doth make him gouernour of Hainault, Holland and Zeland. All these estates should take their oath and doe homage unto *Philip*. All fortresses should be deliuered into his hands, and the promises neuer to be made without his consent. Thus *Philip* was honourably receiued throughout all these estates, to the content of some & discontent of others, according to their diuers humours; but force controlled all. *Iaqueline* made a good shew, yet greatly discontented to see him her master. Such was the Tragi-comedy of this long suite; for the quiet of these Estates, and the gearnesse of the Duke of Bourgongne, who made his profit of all sides, for soone after *William* Earle of Namur, left him the Earldome of Namur, whereof he takes possession, to the great discontent of the Liegeois, as we shall see hereafter. This greatnesse of the Duke of Bourgongne bred ialousie in the Duke of Bedford, he being assisted by the Duke of Britanie his open enemy, and the Earle of Richmond Constable of France, whom he sees hourly to grow great in his authority.

Thus fearing more mischief to fall vnto him by that meanes, he resolues to fortifie himselfe with new helpes, and to this end he goes into England, leauing the affaires of France in charge of the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, and Salisbury. His stay was not long, necessity pressed him. He obtains both men and money, fit remedies to prevent a storme. He returns into France with ten thousand men, and a notable some of money for their pay. For the good employment of these new forces, he resolues to besiege Montargis, a dangerous thorne, both for the necessitie to Paris, and the conuerse of the Bourguignon, who continued his designes notwithstanding the still ialousie of these Princes. The charge of this siege was giuen to the Earles of Warwicke and Suffolke, with three thousand men: the rest were dispersed in Normandy, and in townes bordering vpon Picardy, for feare of the Bourguignon, in whom hee had no confidence. Montargis is besieged, and although the waters hindered their approach to the walles, yet with in few daies it was fiercely battered by the English, and valiantly defended by the French.

They cry out for succor, but the affaires in Court were wonderfully confused, (by the intestine ialousies of great men) that one gazed vpon another, yet no man stirred, although *Charles* continually cried, to armes. In the end they begin to march: & although the Constable had busied himselfe in this leaue, yet fearing the example of Saint James, he would not hazard himselfe in the leading therof, pretending many excuses to saue himselfe from blowes. For want of him, the charge was giuen to the Earle of Dunois a bastard of Orleans, to *William* of Albert Lord of Orual, to the Lords of Gaucourt, Guirry, Grauille, Villars, *la Hire*, Gyles of Saint Simon, *Gualter* of Brossard, *John* Steward a Scot, and other valiant Capitaines, who led fiftene or sixteene hundred fighting men. Their purpose was onely to vniuersall the besiegers, whilst the King raised new forces in the Countries of his obedience. The Constable remained at largeau attending the issue, which succeeded more happily then the designe of so slight a succour. The Earle of Dunois doth aduertise the besieged of his approach.

The winter forced the English to make three ledgings, these within the towne had cunningly surprized the bridges vpon the riuier of Loing, and after the succours had severely requested the Rendezvous, those within the towne stopped the course of the water to artificially raise the riuier ouerflowes the bridges. At the same instant all the troopes charge the English: *la Hire* leading the first troope, chargeth the quarter where the Lord of *la Poole*, brother to the Earle of Suffolke commanded, and crying *Montjoye S. Denis*, he fills all with confusion, killing, burning, and spoiling: *de la Poole* with much adoe saues himselfe with scant more in his brothers lodging in the Abbey without the towne, vpon the way to Nemours. The Earle of Dunois (whose Rendezvous was towards the Castle,) hauing ioynd with the Towne-men (who were issued forth with great resolution) chargeth the body of their armie, the which he wholly defeated.

The slaughter was great, for so small troopes, for they numbred sixteene hundred slaine vpon

1426  
Made heire of  
Brabant.

The Duke of  
Bedford  
brings new  
troopes out of  
England.

The siege of  
Montargis.

1427

upon the place. In this charge the Earle of Suffolke, favoured by the waters, gathers together all he can in his quarter, and recouers the hills, to make his retreat to Chateau-Landon, and Nemours, places vnder the English command, and of nearest retreat. The honour of this happy successe, was attributed to the Earle of Dunois, whereat the King received an incredible content, as a refreshing to this burning feuer, and the Constable *Richmond* a grievous discontent, being absent: and so this year ended.

But the new year will then what fruits Britany yielded to France during her great calamities. This check at Montargis did somewhat coole the Duke of Bedfords heat, but the Constables ambition nothing at all; who having undertaken to play the King with the King, sought to crosse all the humors of this Prince: he hated what he loved, disallowed what he allowed, and dispraised what he commended. After the violent death of *Gyac* (of whom we have spoken) he had favoured *Tremouille*, to plant him in the Kings good favor. But as ambition hath neither faith nor honesty, *Tremouille* finding himselfe inward with the King, retains all favour for himselfe, little esteeming both the Constable and the Princes. He didd onely affociate vnto him in credit, *Prie* and *la Borde*, men of small account, to use them at his pleasure, jealousie mounts again vpon the Stage the Princes, Constable and chiefe officers of the crowne, in stead of taking counsel to pursue the good successe at Montargis, they combine themselves together to worke their wils vpon *Tremouille*, and his Partisans, as they had done vpon *Gyac*. The plot was orderly laid. *James* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, and *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of March, Princes of the blood, become heads of this league against *Tremouille* and his companions. The league is thus plotted, *And much as the King is governed by base people, to the contempt of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, and to the great oppression of the poore people, the confederates mean to punish the flatterers, abusing the Kings name and authority, and to approach neere vnto his Maiestie, to govern the affaires for the good of his service, and the ease of France.* The execution must begin with the seizure of *Tremouille*, and continue with *Prie* and *la Borde*. The Constable should take *Tremouille*, and the Princes were to seize on the citie of *Bouges*, where *Prie* and *la Borde* were in the great Towre, and so to punish them.

But this enterprise came to naught, for *Tremouille* having intelligence of this designe, not only preserved himselfe, but having perswaded the King, that this complot was made against his own person and authority, it so troubled *Charles*, as he came in person to *Bouges*, and prevented the Princes entry, and without any more disguising he was strangely incensed against the Constable, as the author of these troubles and confusions, forbidding the cities to receiue him. The Constable notwithstanding smothered this disgrace, and shew the deuotion he had to the Kings service, he goes to field, gathers together a goodly troope of Brittons, and puts himselfe into Pontorion, a towne abandoned: he fortifies it, and mans it with a good Garison, vnder the command of *Monsieur de Restrenan* and *Beaufort*. This done, he dismisseth his Brittons. The Earle of Warwicke watched all occasions to surpris the towne, when as beheld these two gouernors minister a fit meane: for making a roade towards Auranches, they are both taken. Warwicke marcheth presently to the Walls of Pontorion with his army. The Constable sends *Bertrand* of Dinan, Marshall of Britany speedily with great succours. Yet the siege continues obstinately. New supplies are sent them by the Duke of Britanie, the which were cut in peeces. Pontorion after much paine comming to a parlee, in the end yeelds to the English, the besieged departing with bagge and baggage.

But this was not the end of this victory: the English army increased both in number and courage by this happy successe, and threatens Britanie with fire and sword. They prepare to enter. *John* Duke of Britanie wearied with so many losses, and fearing worse, making no account of the succours of France, (to whom he was coldly affected) takes par with the Duke of Bedford, renounceth all other alliances, promiseth to acknowledge the King of England for King of France, and to take the oath of obedience, such as his predecessors were accustomed to doe to the Kings of France. Behold the great good which Britanie brought to our country in her extreamest afflictions, after so many hopes & embracing. This year is painfull, shameful, and confused, but the fore-runner of a worthy deliverance. Take courage then my countrymen in the remainders of this tempest. We have said that after that miserable battell of Veruail, the towne of Mans yeelded to the English. The inhabitants not able to beare the impetuous command of the English, resolute in the end

New troubles  
in Court by  
the Constable.

Pontorion  
yeelds to the  
English.

The Britton  
loues the al-  
liance of  
France.

A to shake off that yoke: For the effecting whereof, they seaze vpon a gate, giuing intelligence thereof to the Lord of Oruall, brother to the Lord of Albret, who happily attunes, takes the City, and cuts the English in peeces. The Earle of Suffolke was within the Castle. *Talbot* that renowned Captaine was at Alençon, he aduertiseth him of this surprize. *Talbot* prepares his succours with such silence, and flies thither with such speed, as hee arrives at Mans the third day after the surprize. Our French-men transported with ioy for so noble a conquest, and fearing no enemy among so many enemies both politicke and discontented slept securely in their beds after the French manner, without feare or guard, when as *Talbot* (having entred the Citie by scaling) surprizeth them in their beds, killing them without resistance.

A notable example, both to imitate and to flye: to flye, that through carelesnes wee suffer not our selues to be surpris'd like swine; it is the very terme wherewith the History doth blemish this brutish sloath: to imitate, not to hold any thing impossible when as resolution doth accompany him that hath any notable attempt in hand. But this victory lyes not at Mans: the Earle of Suffolke with his braue *Talbot*, goes to field, they march to Laual (a towne of importance, vpon the confines of Aniou and Britany) they take it easily, by the onely terror of their victorious armes, encountering no enemy to withstand them. The whole Court was in confusion; the Princes of the blood, and our Constable durst not to make warre against the English, but against the Mignons. It was their proiect, as if the whole State depended vpon the Kings fauour, who lost daily to the generall discontent of all the French. So this year had nothing memorable, but that our warriors had lost both iudgement, courage, and force: that through their defects God might raise vpon some extraordinary meanes, for the delivery of this monarchy, almost ruined. Our Captaine then did some exploits, taking Rochfort, Bertan-court, Lanul, Chateau-neuf, Puster, Tourny, Mompieau, Nogent-le-Rerrou, and Lude: but what toyes are these, in regard of the stately triumphs of the English?

That which was most admirable this year: amidst all these domesticall discontents, amidst these ruines and desolations of the State (which might well haue quailed the best affected) those of the Citie of Tournay (after long contentions) in the end abandon both English & Bourguignon, protesting solemnly, not to acknowledge any other King then *Charles* the 7. sonne to *Charles* the sixt, as the true and lawful King of France, and by consequence their lawful Lord: yet they made a truce with the Bourguignon, being their neighbours, with the Kings good liking. In the meane time, the Duke of Bedford leaues that men and money he can, both in France and England, for some great attempt, *Charles* hath intelligence from diuers parts, but what could he doe in so deepe despaire of his affaires, and in so visible an impossibility.

### The famous Siege of Orleans.

ALL the cities on this side Loire, from the Ocean Sea were lost, with the whole Counties of Normandy, Picardy, the Isle of France, Bry, and Champagne. He had nothing left but the townes lying vpon the riuier of Loire, from Gien to Angers, for the Chastels held for the Bourguignon. The chiefe was Orleans, this being wonne, what could hold out long for the French: Bourges could make small resistance, if the English had for Orleans. The enemies of our State (who called *Charles* King of Bourges) threatened warre from him this small and languishing Royalty. Orleans then was the mark whereat the Duke of Bedford aimed, who having wonne the Britton, it greatly fortified the English affaires in France. As for the Bourguignon, he had in a manner recouered the Counties of Holland, Hainault, Zealand, and Namur. And although ambition and covetousness might be restrained: yet these Princes (nothing friendly among themselves) began to be enemies to this Crowne, agreed well in this, to make their private profit by the ruin of our State. But man purposeth, and God disposeth: we shall see how much hee teaches their vanities.

In this lamentable time, mans reason could not discern by what meanes *Charles* might resist so mighty enemies. But in the last of this Prince, I trade with Ioy the words of the Originall, which saith, *During the time of this English Siege, the noble Citie of Orleans, King Charles was very weak, being surrounded by the greatest*

1428  
Mans surpris'd  
from the en-  
glish.

And recouered  
againe.



1428

greatest part of his Princes and other Noblemen, seeing that all things were opposite unto him: yet had he still a good trust and confidence in God. He was not deceived in this hope, as the sequell will shew. The charge of this siege at Orleans was given to the Earle of Salisbury, a wife and resolute Commander: having given good testimonies of his sufficiency for the well managing of this siege, he resolved to take in all the Forts neere to Orleans; that obeyed the French, and beginning with the weakest, parting from Paris, (taking his way through the Country of Chartres) he seized upon all the small townes wherein our Capitaines had so much toyle but a few moneths before. Nogent le Rotrou, Pithu, Rochfort, Bertancourt, Janville, Toury, Mompieau, the Castle of Pluieris, and la Ferte of Gaules, and approaching neere the Citie (both above and beneath) Meung, Baugency, and Largesau.

The Earle of Salisbury before Orleans.

In the end he plants himselfe before Orleans, the sixt of October, in the year 1428. A day to be observed, for that the 12 of May, the year following was the last day of our disface, which changed the estate of our miserable Country, like unto a pleasant spring after a long and sharpe Winter, when as a goodly summer crownes all our labours with abundance of peace and plenty. So this siege continued iust seven moneths. The brute of this great preparation did wonderfully disquiet both Court and Country, vnder the French obedience, in the weakenesse and confusions of the State. The King after the taking of la Charite, was commonly resident at Poitiers, hee now retires to Chinon, to be neerer to Orleans. The townes willingly contribute men, money, and victuals. Many great personages sie to this siege, to defend the chiefe strength of our King and Kingdome. Lewis of Bourbon the sonne of Charles Earle of Clermont, the Earle of Dunois, bastard of Orleans, the Lords of Boussac and Fayette, Marshalls of France: John Steward Constable of Scotland, William of Albret Lord of Orual; the Lords of Thouers, Chauigny, Grauille and Chabannes. The Capitaines la Hire, Xaintrailles, Theobald of Valpergue, and John of Lessego, Lombards, with many other great personages. There were not any of the Provinces of Dauphine and Languedoc: for that the Dukes of Bourgogne and Sauoy, at the same instant prepared a great army, by the meanes of Lewis of Chalons Prince of Orange, to invade those Countries being wholly in the Kings obedience. The Orleansois resolves to defend himselfe. Hee presently beats downe all that might accommodate the enemy, suburbs, houses of pleasure, wine presses, yea, and the temples themselves.

Charles his diligence to relieve it.

Salisbury doth likewise use great dexterity and diligence to plant his siege, towards Beaulieu and the port Banziere, he builds a great Bastille, which hee calls Paris. Another at the port Renard which he names Rouen. Towards S. Lawrence another, to the which he gaue the name of Windfore. At the port of Bourgogne he fortified a ruined Temple, called S. Loup, and neere vnto it another, named S. John the White. At the Portereau hee build a great fort vpon the ruines of the Angustines Church, calling it London: from the which hee wonne the Towre vpon the bridge, and all with wonderfull speed. All the City is environed, having neither issue nor entry, but with sore fighting. And in the towre they spend the rest of the year.

The first day of the new year, the English (for a new years gift to the city) bring the scaling ladders courageously to the bulwark at the port Renard, but they were valiantly repulled by the defendants: the next day the Admiral of Cullant having passed the river of Loire at a ford (winter being very drie this year) visits them of the citie, and brings them divers necessities: vpon this return, he encounters some English troops which came relieving from forage. He chargeth them, cuts them in peeces, and so retires without danger. Thus the moneth of January passeth without any other memorable exploit; but hee happened a strange accident the 20 of February following. The Duke of Bedford gave them provision to the Earle of Salisbury, with some munition of war, vnder the conduct of John Fastolfe and Simon Bowyer, with 1700 men for their guard. The Duke of Bourbons brought a goodly succour of foure thousand men to be besieged. He resolves to charge this English troope, having well viewed their numbers. It was likely the stronger should haue the victory, but the issue was contrary to the designe. For it chanced (as it may be marched confidently, as it were to an assured victory, without any iudgement) the English seeing them in doubt, how they should fight, either on foot or horse-back, and irresolute at the end they resolve to charge the French: falling out many times in this exercise, that he

The battell of Herings, vnto fortune for the French.

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which begins, wins. To conclude, without any further aduice, the English embrace this occasion, charge our troopes, who were so surprised with this vnspected impression, as they presently giue way to the English Bow-men. All fye, some here, some there, without order, without command, and without courage, and few fight. Those that made head were slaine, the rest saue themselves within Orleans. There were five or six hundred of our men slaine vpon the place. The English lost but one man called Briffanteau. The chiefe of our side were the Lord of Orual, of the Noble House of Albret, John Stuard, Chasteburn, Montpel, Verduisant, Larigot, La Greue, Dinray, Puilly, with better then an hundred Gentlemen.

This ouerthrow was called the Battell of Herings, for that they caryed them to the besiegers the amazement was greater then the losse, for that the Earle of Clermont a prince of the blood, who should haue beene a ring-leader, full of resolution and valour in these extreme accidents, was so amazed with this losse, as he retired with his men, leaving the City to the bastard of Orleans, who resolves to attend the end of this siege, at what price focuer. In this gallant resolution, he was veriously seconded by the Lords of Guity, Gaudcourt, Grauille, Villars, La Hire, and Xaintrailles, lights of great hope in this cruell storme, and worthy of eternall memory, in that they despaired not of this monarchy, in so apparent despaire. And that which is chiefly to be observed herein, the King (vnderstanding this retreat of the Earle of Clermont) said that he did see no meanes to saue the rest from shipwracke.

To increase this feare, the Duke of Bourgogne comes to Paris at the same instant with a troope of sixe hundred men armed richly appointed. Our Commanders (being full of resolution) were not only to encounter with the English, but with the confusion of times; the Kings misfortune, and (which was worst of all) the amazement of the men of warre who discouered plainly the disorder of the State. They were loth to cast the helue after the hatcher, but sought the most assured meanes to saue the City in this storme. They aduertise the King hereof, who was so irresolute, as he referres all to their discretions; who resolve to deliuer the towne into the Duke of Bourgognes hands, to keepe it for the Duke of Orleans, or the Duke of Angouleme his brother, being then prisoners in England, with the Kings good liking. Patbon of Xaintrailles, and Peter of Orson (wife and valiant men) goe to Paris to the Duke of Bedford, vpon his assurance. Hee heares them, and returns them presently, both for that hee distrusteth the Duke of Bourgogne, and held the conquest assured. The Bourguignon was greatly discontented with Duke of Bedford for his refusal, whom after that time he neuer ioued.

The Duke of Bedford discontented the Bourguignon.

The English triumphed as victors, so as our Ambassadors could hardly saue themselves with their passport. Then the English (saith the Originall) being in great prosperity, had no consideration that the wheeles of Fortune hath power to turne daily. But the holy verity of the Church, which draws vs to the wise providence of God, cries, I haue said to fooles, Play not the fooles: and to the wicked, Lift not up your hornes, speake not with so great pride: for E greatness comes not from the East nor West, neither from the North: it is God that raiseth up and casteth downe. He holds a cup of wine in his hand, he imparts it to euery one as he pleaseth.

Truly the pride of the English, who possessed a great part of this monarchy, being drunke with this good fortune, was now come to his height: there remained nothing but the hand of the soueraigne Iudge to suppress him, but he shall not long hold it.

O my Country! forget not the time of thy visitation. Reade in this true discourse the estate of thy predecessors. Remember their afflictions, behold their feare, see the image of that time wherein thou hast borne a part, and iudge if now only thou beginnest to be afflicted.

In this extremity as the French were exceedingly distressed, so the English were transported with ioy, for their late victory; and reioicing with a new hope as if all were won, they cry to the besieged, Will you buy my sayre Herings: at the same instant the townsmen issue forth along the river, the Earle of Salisbury stood at a window in the towre vpon the bridge beholding the skirmish, when as one of the Capitaines named Glacine, said vnto him, My Lord, behold here your Citie, here may you view it plainly. But behold a Cannon charged with stones was shot from the towne, which ayimed at the Earles head, stricke him and left him dead in the place. This vnspected blow (comming as it were from heauen) changed this exceeding ioy of the English into mourning, being a man of great valor, who

The Earle of Salisbury slaine before Orleans.

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The Lord Talbot commands in his place.

by his carriage had wonne great credit among them, beloued and honored of all, for the mildnesse of his manners. So this losse troubled both the wits & affaires of the English army, the which had greatly disband, if the Earle of Suffolke, *Talbot, John of Arles, and Scales*, famous Captaines, had not happily been there, to reuue their spirits and courage, attending the Duke of Bedfords pleasure, who gaue the charge to *Talbot*, being the chiefe of their best men, and sending him few forces. So as the sieges continued with more vehemency then before, with great presumptions, that all would goe worke with the besieged.

In this occurrent, *Charles* knew not what to doe, to whom should he flie? his Prince forsake him. Orleans being taken, whither should he retire? Bourges was ready to yield, and withall, the country adioyning. He had no whole Province vnder his obedience, in Languedoc and Dauphine. And at the same instant the Bourgaignon and Sauiyard made worke for him in those countries. The taking then of Orleans (which in reason was vnauoydable) was the ouerthrow of *Charles* and his estate: There was no winking that which was too apparent. That considering the estate of his affaires in generall and his House in particular, if Orleans should be lost, all the townes vpon the riuier of Loyn and in like sort the rest (already wauering) would abandon him.

Amiddest these fearefull considerations, what could the brave and Noble Commander within Orleans doe, but plant their hopes in God and in themselves? A fortie dayes he died in extreme dangers. So (to purchase an honorable and profitable composition) he set a good face on it, giuing the English to vnderstand, that if they desired their liues, they should buy them dearly. France reduced to so great an extremity, and truly such, as she could doe no more, beheld God raised vp an extraordinary meane, the which reason could not foresee, and much lesse provide. A meane which reuied the daunted spirits, changed the face of our affaires, and dismaid the enemies. And to conclude by miraculous meane, gaue a happy successe both to our King and Realme: and thus was the occasion.

Charles his miserable estate.

A young Maiden named *Jeanne* of Arc (borne in a village vpon the Marches of France called Domremy, neere to Vaucouleurs) of the age of eightene or twenty years, is from base parents, her father was named *James* of Arc, and her mother *Jabel*, poore country folkes, who had brought her vp to keepe their cattell, she said with great boldnesse. That shee had a reuelation, how to succour the King: how he might be able to chase the English from Orleans, and after that to cause the King to be crowned at Rheims, and put him fully and wholly in possession of his Realme.

After she had deliuered this to her father, mother, and their neighbours, she presumed to goe to the Lord of Baudricourt Prouost of Vaucouleurs, she boldly deliuered vnto him (after an extraordinary manner) all these great mysteries, as much wished for of all men, as not hoped for: especially coming from the mouth of a poore country maide, when they might with more reason beleue to be possessed by some melancholy humour, she diuinely inspired, being the instrument of so many excellent remedies, in so desperate season, after the vaine struing of so great and famous personages. At the first he mocked her and reprobed her, but hauing heard her with more patience, and iudging by her temperate discourse and modest countenance, that she spake not idly, in the end he resolves to present her to the King for his discharge. So she arriues at Chinon the first day of May, attired like a man.

Jeanne the Virgin, or rather witch.

She had a modest countenance, sweet, ciuill and resolute, her discourse was temperate, reasonable and retired, her actions cold, shewing great chastity. Having spoken to the King or Noblemen with whom he was to negotiate, she presently retired to her lodging with an old woman that guided her, without vanity, affectation, babbling or courtly lightnesse. These are the manners which the Original attributes vnto her. The matter was found ridiculous both by the King and his Councell, yet must they make some trial. The King takes vpon him the habit of a countirman, to be disguised: this maide being brought into the Chamber goes directly to the King in this attire, shewes him with a modest countenance, as if she had beene bred vp in court all her life. They telling her that she mistooke, she assured them it was the King, although she had neuer scene him. She began to deliuer vnto him this new charge, which (she sayes) she had receiued from the God of heauen, so as the turned the eyes and minds of all men vpon her.

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A This matter being referred to counsell, it was concluded, they should take the aduice of Diuines. They answer, that in desperate diseases, the prouidence of God doth commonly raise vp extraordinary remedies, and employes women, when as men grow faint-hearted: as in the afflictions of Israel, he hath mightily vied *Deborah* and *Abigail*. The one to teach the people, the other to kill a furious tyrant: and *Judith*, which slew that great tyrant in the midst of his army. So as necessity, which made them to seeke all sorts of remedies, caused the King to try if this Maide spake truth, but without the hazard of any thing. This *Jean* (held for a Prophetesse by many) is reported by *Gyraud*, Seigneur of Haillan, and many other French Writers, and plainly said to haue beene induced to this impossibility by three Noblemen, who had incited her thereto, and layed that plot, onely to encourage King *Charles* to fight, despairing of his estate.

She desires of the King, that she may be conducted to Orleans, to beginne the worke which she said she had in charge. A sword remaining in Touraine, in a place called *S. Katherine* of Fierebois was brought vnto her, to be armed therewith. They gaue her, armes and horse, with a sufficient troupe to enter the cite. *Lewis* of Cullant, Admirall of France, and *James* of Rieux Marshall, had charge to accompany her with some victuals to the besieged, and to haue a care, that all should be wisely caryed without hazard. She prepares her colours, and being armed at all points, she went to take leaue of the King, with a grace worthy of a great Captaine: beseeching him to trust in God, in whose name she spake.

C This she parts from Chinon the twelfth of April.

Now they reckoned the sixt moneth of the siege, the besieged cry out for hunger. This victualling provided at Blois, is conducted by the aboue-named Commanders, with great care, as well for feare of the English (who had their centinels in all places) as for the distrust they had of this new Commander. She marched in the fore-most rancke, betwixt the Admirall and the Marshall, carying the countenance of a very resolute personage. They arrive (with this prouision) safely at Orleans, the English making no shew of arming, although the passed before their forts, in view of the armie, yet had they scarce fixe hundred men in this supply.

The power of Gods prouidence is admirable in the hearts of men, making them to yeld D infinitely to what he hath decreed. This first exploit stirred vp the spirits of the French. Orleans begins to reioyce at the sight of this Maid, attired like a man, standing vpon the point of yeelding. This first releefe was not sufficient for so great a multitude. They resolved to fetch more victuals, and to that end would returne to Blois. But before their departure the Maiden writes this letter following, to the chiefe of the English army, and sends it by a trumpet. I haue truly set it downe out of the Original, in the same words and style, both for the reuerence of antiquitie, the noble courage of this virgin, and the truth and state of the subiect.

King of England, doe reason to the King of heauen, for his blood royall, yeeld vp to the Virgin the keyes of all the good Cities which you haue forced. She is come from heauen E to reclaim the blood royall, and is ready to make a peace, if you be ready to doe reason: yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken. King of England, I am the chiefe of this war, wherefoever I encounter your men in France, I will chase them, with they or no. If they will obey, I will take them to mercie. The Virgin comes from the King of heauen, to drive you out of France. If you will not obey, she will cause so great a furie, as she like hath not bene these thousand yeeres in France. And beleue certainly, that the King of heauen will send her and her good men at armes, more force then you can haue. Goe in Gods name into your country, be not obdurate, for you shall not hold France of the King of heauen, the Sonne of Saint Mary, but *Charles* shall enjoy it, the King and lawfull heire, to whom God hath giuen it, he shall enter Paris with a goodly traine. You *William de la F. Poole*, Earle of Suffolke, *John* Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas* Lord *Scales*, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bedford, and you Duke of Bedford, rearming your selfe Regent of the Realme of France, spare innocent blood, and leaue Orleans in libertie. If you doe not reason to them you haue wronged, the French will doe the goodliest exploit that euer was done in Christendome vnderstand these newes of God, and of the Virgin.

This letter (being deliuered to the Earle of Suffolke) was read with laughter. *Charles* and his Councell was scorned, as seeking remedies without reason, and transported with following of these vanities. They now assure themselves of a speedy victory, saying that

Joan the Virgin, or rather witch.

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that Charles is vncertaine what to doe. The Trumpeter is imprisoned against the Law of Nations, ready to be burnt in the sight of the besieged: when as suddenly there was other worke prepared for them. A new supply of victuals is made at Blois, through the care of Renold of Chartres, Chancellor of France, & Archbishop of Rheims, a great personage in his time. The Virgin goes to field for the safe conducting thereof to Orleans, but with a greater troope then before for the fame of her actions, and of his new successe, had drawn together seven or eight thousand men: like vnto a cheerefull spring, which causeth trees being dead in fiew, to sprout and spring againe. The Commanders were not greatly moued with these popular brutes, giuing but cold beleefe to the Virgins visions and promises, so as they passe another way for their greater safety. The Virgin lets them go, forbearing to speake any thing before their coming to Orleans: then she said, *You hide your selves from me, as if I were ignorant of your intentions, but you must not doubt of the performance of that which God hath decreed.* This was the 20 of April.

Orleans relieved the second time by June.

Orleans being thus fortified both with men and victuals: the Earle of Dunois, and *Patheon of Xaintrilles*, hold a Councell what was to be done: they call her, and intreat her to deliuer her opinion. *My aduise is* (saith she) *that without any farther delay, we charge the English that besiege vs, for that (God being on our side) they cannot escape vs: but before we proceed, let every man dispose of his conscience, and banish all lewd and naughty persons out of the Army.* Although there were small hope or likelihood to vanquish a Conquerour, yet the Commanders resolute to accept and embrace her Councell as an Oracle from God.

The Earle of Dunois made choice of fiftene hundred strong and lusty men for the fight, meaning to begin with the fort at Bourgongne gate, called *S. Loup*. The virgin goes in the foremost rancke, with the chiefe Captaines of the Army. The souldiers incouraged by her presence, assaile this Fort furiously, being guarded by foure hundred English: neither arrowes, pikes, nor halberds, could stay the planting of their ladders. The Virgin enters the Fort first, crying, *Montrei, Saint Denis, the Fort is wonne.* The English abandon their defences, and suffer themselves to be slaine by the French, who (seeing themselves Master of the Fort, and wearied with the execution) take many prisoners. The Artillery, and munition being drawne forth, they set fire on the Fort. This chanced the fourth of May, a remarkable day, being the first fruits of the deliuey of Orleans, and the generall restoring of this Realme.

Thus the Virgin returns into the Citie with her victorious souldiers. All the people followed her with cries of victory: she can hardly retire to her lodging: all the world runnes to see her, and to commend her, both men, women, and children: all cry out confusedly with a ioy mixt with teares: *Blessed be the Virgin which comes to deliuer vs.* On the other side, the English seeing their men carryed away, like chickens before the Eagle, and their Fort consumed as with fire from heaven, were greatly amazed, being in so great possibility to vanquish the French on euery side. *Suffolke* and *Talbot* make Orations to their men, to reuiue their spirits, daunted at this new and strange spectacle. But we must proceed, and not suffer the courage of the victorious souldiers to grow cold. The Virgin goes to counsell with the chiefe of the City, causing them to resolute to continue the next day, what they had so happily begunne.

At the breake of day, the virgins colours are carryed through the Citie: she resolves to passe the Riuer, and to take the Forts on the other side. She passeth happily betwixt the Fort of *Saint Loup* that was ruined, and the new Tower, where she furiously assailes and winnes the Fort called *Saint Iohn the White*, and cuts all the Souldiers in peeces: from thence she marcheth to the Portreau, where the great Bastion of London was built, vpon the *Augustins* Church. This place was valiantly disputed throughout the resolutions of both parties, but in the end it was forced. The victory was double, in vanquishing of the enemy, and in deliuey of friends: for there were many French prisoners found therein. There now remained the Tournelles, and the Bastion vpon the Bridge, being the dungeon of their principall defence. The Virgin held this exploit sufficient for that dayes worke, leaving the rest vntill the morrow, to giue the Souldiers breath. So the Fortresse being besieged, they prepare for the last assault.

The next day (being Saturday, the sixt of May) ended this dangerous siege, which had continued seven months. The sharpest Thorne remained yet behind: the Tournelles adioyning

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A adioyning to the Bridge, was kept by *Glacidas* (one of the most resolute Captains among the English) having well incouraged his men to defend themselves, and to fight for their lives.

The skirmish begins at nine of the clocke in the morning, and the ladders are planted. A storme of English Arrowes, falls vpon our men with such violence as they recoil. *How now* (saith the Virgin) *haue we begun so well, to end so ill? let vs charge, they are our owne, seeing God is on our side.* So euery one recouering his forces, floods about the Virgin: the English double the storme, vpon the thickest of the troopes. The Virgin fighting in the foremost ranks, and incouraging her men to doe well, was shorthorough the arme with an arrow: She nothing amazed, takes the arrow in one hand, and her sword in the other. *This is a fauour* (layes she) *let vs go on, they cannot escape the hand of God.* At this womans voyce, amidst the found of warre, the combat growes very hot. Our men greatly incouraged by this Virgin, runne head-long to the Bastian; and force a point thereof. Then fire and stones raigne so violently, as the English being amazed forsake their defences. Some are slaine vpon the place, some throw themselves down head-long, and flie to the Tower vpon the Bridge. In the end this braue *Glacidas* abandons this quarter, and retires into the base Court vpon the Bridge, and after him a great troope of his souldiers. The Bridge greatly shaken with Artillery, tryed by fire, and ouer-charged with the weight of this multitude, sinks into the water with a fearefull cry, carrying all this multitude with it.

Many English drowned at Orleans, the bridge broken; king.

Thus the riuer of Loire was a Sepulchre for *Glacidas*, and all his troope, alwayes accustomed to vanquish, but when they were vanquished. An example of mans vanity, who (drunke with their victories,) cannot conceiue that the rodde of the Iudge of this world may touch them. The English lost in these three dayes skirmishes, about eight thousand men, and we scarce a hundred, the which was Gods handy worke. If the ioy of Orleans were great, and the Virgins honour proclaimed in this happy successe, being proofes of her true fore-tellings; If her triumphs were double; when as passing through the Citie (having her arme honourably hurt) she was inuironed by the Earle of Dunois, *Pothon of Xaintrilles*, and all the most famous Captaines: the perplexitie of *Suffolke*, *Talbot* and *Sir John* was not lesse, fore-seeing the vnauidable course of their misfortune, if they should obstinately defend the other Forts that were towards Beaulieu, although a good part of their army remained there. So they take counsell from danger to abandon all these Forts, to retire into some place of safety, and to aduertise the Duke of Bedford of their misfortunes.

Orleans freed from the English.

The same night they gather together with great silence, about nine thousand men, and take the way to Baugency. The Orleanois are watchfull, observing their departure, prepare to charge the enemy, but the Virgin would not consent thereunto. And in truth this remainder was appointed for other victories. The inhabitants thus freed; issue early in the morning out of the Citie, they come to the Bastions, where hauing gathered together great store of armes, victuals and baggage, they cast these great monuments of the English labours vnto the ground. They giue solemne thanks vnto God, the Author of so miraculous a deliuey; and to the end this singular benefite might be celebrated yearly; they erect a monument for this memorable successe, King Charles the leuenth armed, and leane the Virgin likewise armed, both kneeling vpon their knees before a Crucifix of brass; kept to this day vpon the Bridge amidst the furies of our late ciuill, or rather vncivil warres. Truly thank-giuing for so excellent a good, is due to God onely; and this memory ought to be religiously consecrated to posterity; as the first fruits of the restoring of this Estate, then halfe dead through the force and might of Strangers.

To confirme this goodly victory, the Virgin parts well accompanied from Orleans, and goes to the King to Chinon, to yeeld him an account of her commission. It cannot be spoken with what ioy this Prince beheld her, and what credit he purchased by this miraculous successe. But *My Liege* (saith she) *this is but a beginning, we must finish the God of Hea- uen works, causing you to be crowned at Rheims; and chasing your enemies out of your State.* This is the commendement I haue receiued. And so by her aduise Charles assembled all his forces. The Countesse of Richmond (who neuer durst shew himselfe after the quarrell with *Fernand*) is now reconciled by the Virgins intercession; and hereafter shal doe very good service to this Crowne. Charles of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, is now wonderfully distressed, so haue retired himselfe from the battell of Herrings, hauing not honourably assisted

The English grow amazed at the Virgins exploits.

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The English  
defeated at  
Largau, the  
Earle of Suffolke taken, and  
his brethren  
slaine.

The English  
defeated at  
Patay.

affisted in these exploits, in the which he had held the first rancke. But *John* of Bourdeaux Duke of Alençon arrived happily out of prison from England, (he had been taken in the battell of Vernueil) to be commander of these goodly troopes, which goe resolutely to take possession of the Cities of Champagne, being all then in the possession of the English. Men possit from all parts to this banquet. Their hearts being revived, their countenances change, and their affaires take a new forme. They then make projects, saying: But we left the King prepares for his Coronation at Guyen, and to be neereff his chiefe faires, let vs suppress these English which remaine, after that great defeat of Orleans, and let vs take from them those townes which are neere about. The Earle of Suffolke at Largau: the towne is besieged and taken, all the English are either slaine, or taken prisoners: one of the Earles brethren was slaine in the fight, another of them drowned, and he himselfe was taken upon the Bridge as he was flying away. *Meung* was taken by *Bay of Laual*, and seven or eight hundred Englishmen slaine: *Baugency* yields by composition.

The Duke of Bedford gathers together what forces he can, to preferre the rest of the townes from shipwrecke, sending a troope of foure thousand men to fortifie them. *Talon* with *Thomas Ramseane* haue the charge. This troope was presently subiect to our victory, and when as they find that neither men nor townes can hold out for them, they take to retire themselves: but they are encountred at Patay, a small village in Beausse, whither all are slaine or taken, yet our mens fury being past, many are spared, both in the fight, and in prison, that the English might haue a testimony of our mildnesse. The great *Talon* is taken and brought to *Charles*, who vseth him with great respect. *John Fastoll* flies thence, and is therefore degraded by the Duke of Bedford.

This chanced the twelfth of May. We had all the tokens of an absolute victory. The Commanders slaine or taken, the field wonne, an hundred and ten Ensignes brought to our Temples, their Artillery, munition, and all other habiliments of Warre, are taken on: and moreover, the hearts of the King and the French were resolute to end the rebellion. Behold the first fruits: the harvest shall be gathered in time, as the Historiographer shew by degrees. But let vs goe to Rheims, to Crowne *Charles* according to the Virgin appointment.

#### The Coronation of CHARLES the Seuenth.

BY this happy successe, the way was made to Rheims, although the Kings Council framed many difficulties to hinder this voyage, as superfluous, and almost impossible: for why, say they, should *Charles* be Crowned? The Law of State made him to be borne a King, and he was Crowned at Poitiers. But if (to please the people) it must of force be so, where is the meanes to effect this decree? Rheims and all the townes of Champagne, be in other mens possessions. Thus did many discourse. The Virgin answered, *We must goe to Rheims to Crowne the King. It is true, the King is the lawfull heire, but his right is called in question by the English, this make deceives many, and makes them disobedient: As for the meanes, leave that to the God of Heauen, hee will provide for it.*

This aduice prevailed, as an Oracle: all things are prepared in readinesse for the Coronation. *Charles* retires to Bourges for this intent, as if the preserver of the Monarchie would mocke his enemies, who called him King of Bourges in jest: for shortly after hee parts from Bourges to be proclaimed King of France. But whilest he attends there, till that all things may be made fit for his journey to Rheims; behold an increase of good newes to crowne his late and happy victory against the English; That the *Bourguignon* and *Sauoyard*, who would haue seized upon Dauphine were defeated. The particulars of this discourse is: The Realme being set to sale to strangers, and that every one sought to haue his part: The Dukes of *Bourgogne* and *Sauoy* had laid a plot to appropriate unto themselves both Dauphine and *Languedoc*, with other Provinces that obeyed *Charles*, vntill this negotiation the help of *Louis* of Châlons Prince of Orange, a man of valor, and specially in those countries, by reason of his principality which lay neere unto them. The division of this Merchandise was thus made betwixt them: that the *Bourguignon* had the *Viennois*, neere vnto *Lions*, and that which depended on *Lions*, where *Charles* had cast his eyes, so make profit of that goodly Citie. *Grisard* and *with* *Gravelle* belike

King Charles  
crowned at  
Rheims.

The Bour-  
guignon and  
Sauoyard, in  
Dauphine and  
Languedoc.

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As sent to Romans, Ambrunois, Capenfois, Brianfonois, and all the Countreies of the Monnois: were the *Sauoyards* particularly sent, and sent to the Countreies of the

The *Orangeois* (to charge his principality) had *Valentin* *Dyol* and the *Batonies*, where he held some land vnder the obedience of this Crowne. This portion was allotted him for his parties: They all arme vpon this point, when when the English pressed Orleans. The *Batonies* of *Bourgogne*, and *Sauoy*, contribute to this waite, as to a secret: he goes to the East, or the West Indies: but they had not altered their venture in the East, with an intent to haue all the profit. This lease is made with great shew, the *D. of Burgogne* lends five hundred Lances vnder the command of the Lord of *Valembois*. He takes voluntaries, and three thousand foot. The *Bourguignon* (with his Mothers assistance) a thousand Lances. Many Noble men repaire thither, as to an assured gaine. They were leauied in his territories nine or ten thousand foot. The Prince of *Orange* assembles a goodly troope, as well of his subjects, as of his friends in *Provence*, where he had a good portion, and for his beginning, he seizes vpon *Baron*, a towne vpon the *Rhone*; a fit passage for *Sauoy* and *Bourgogne*: and *Colombiers*; a Castle of great importance neere *Gene*. Having brought sixe hundred men thither, he attends the troopes of *Bourgogne*, and *Sauoy*, which repaire vnto him daily. He puts forty men at armes into *Colombiers* for the guard of the place, and keeps the rest of the troopes about him with great security, fearing no enemy, in this generall amazement of the Kings affaires: but the success was contrary to this designe, for *Raoul* of *Gaucourt*, *Gouverneur* of *Dauphine*, resolved in this extremitie, who (attending no succours from the King, being wisely ingaged, and in great danger,) doth husband such forces as he could gather together within his government, from *Lions* and *Viarez*, Countreies that were vnder the French obedience. *Imbert* of *Grosle*, *Gouverneur* of *Lions*, and *Marshall* of *Dauphine*, *John de Louis*, *Baron* of *la Voue*, the *Lords* of *Ioyeuse*, *Turnon* and *Crusol* (great men in the Countrey of *Viarez*) did their best deuoir, the Nobility of *Dauphine* (renowned awayes for their fidelitie and valour) assisted as much as could be desired in so great a necessity. The *Baron* of *Mabec* is noted above the rest for his well deservings. *Don Rodrigo de Villandras* a *Castilian* was there with a goodly and valiant troope.

The Lord of *Gaucourt* resolves to charge the Prince of *Orange* with this troope, giuing him no leisure to assemble the body of this army, the which increased daily. So (without any further delay) he besiegeth *Colombiers*, and takes it by force, before the *Orangeois* had any intelligence of his approach. Having this good successe, hee would giue the citie some time to take breath, but desirous to make his profit of this happy beginning, hee parts suddenly with these resolute troopes to draw the Prince of *Orange* to fight: who was then parted from *Enton*, having intelligence only of the siege, but not of the taking of *Colombiers*, beleueing confidently, that the very brute of his forces would make our men to hide themselves: but hee was deceived. Hee had foure thousand men with him, and *Gaucourt* had about two thousand, yet (notwithstanding his small number) being nothing amazed, hee charged and defeats them. The needesse of *Enton* saues many. There were five hundred slaine vpon the place, and two hundred of the brauest soldiers taken prisoners. The Prince of *Orange* hauing recouered *Enton*, passeth the *Rhone* in a Boate, and saues himselfe. The common report is that he passeth this violent streame on horse-backe all armed. The people of that countrey doe beleue it from *Father* to *Sonne*, that this horse was kept and dyed at *Orange*, hauing a long time bene nourished there by the Princes commandement, acknowledging the seruice he had recieued of this Beast in his extreame necessity. *Monfret* saith, That he parted in great disorder, and was chased euen vnto *Authun*. *Alain Charretier*, Secretary to our King *Charles*, writes in expresse words, That hee passed the *Rhone* at the Ferry of *Enton*. Hee fies downe that the booty was about a hundred thousand Crownes, besides many notable prisoners of *Bourgogne* and *Sauoy*, which came to be spoiled, thinking to doe the like to our *Charles*.

This defeat hapned the twentieth day of May, the same day that the English (which retired from Orleans) were defeated at *Patay*. To credit the work, against such as made their account alone without God, who seeking to raish another mans goods vniuilly, lost their owne deserviedly. Thus God workes speedily, as may appeare by the course of so many happy exploits, iunkt one to another in this moneth of May, as a prediction of the restoring

The Prince of  
Orange de-  
feated.

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of the estate in this Realme. The Bourguignons and the Savoyards designe being pointed by this defeat, *Gaucourt* resolves to have this private revenge of the French, being the father of this bloody traffick. To conclude, without giving him any time to parley, the King with his victorious forces, and takes many places from him, which he lacks and loses. But not engaging himselfe farther in the French Game (which of Charles have many goodly places) he came to Oranges his chiefe to which he carries the name, as several Cities. He took both towne and Castle, and all the held in Dauphine under the Kings obedience, yet the Citizens of Oranges would be affected to their Prince within few months after chace the French out of the Castle, become masters thereof, for the service of their prince, to whom they yielded in the end of this enterprise, shamefull for the Authors, and shamefully prejudiciall to the instrument.

*Gaucourt takes Oranges, and is rewarded by the King with a great salary.*

*Amadeus Duke of Savoy* (fallen from to visible a hope, so fast in a troubled way, seeing on the other side the happy success of *Charles*) he grows so much discontented, his whole discourse is to abandon the world, but hereafter we shall see his actions. At some he returns in the mid-way, without chiding of anything. Our *Bourguignons* higher pitch, and had more then one deluge in his head. *Bueller* is now crowned King to Bourges. The preparations for this Coronation were tall and very dangerous, after so great affliction, but above all it was beautified with great performances. The present, *John* of Bourbon Duke of Alanson, *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Clermont, and of the blood (who had faithfully and profitably accompanied the King in his afflictions), *Arthur* of Britan Earle of Richmond, Constable of France, *Charles* of Anjou to the King of Sicilia, and brother to the Queen.

*Preparations for the Coronation of King Charles.*

The Earle of Dunois, barbard of Orleans, *Charles* of Albrat Earle of Perdicat, a younger brother of the noble house of Armagnac, the Lord of Cullant, Admirall of France, four Marshalls of France, the Lords of Bouffac, Loheac, Rieux and Faerret. The Earle of Tremouille, Laual, Chaugny, Chaumont, Lamesan, d' Aulin, Serrant, Crufol, Chapmont, and many others, with *Pethon*, la Hire and the virgin, excellent peeces of triumph. Many could not come in time to this Solemnity: great troopes came from all parts, notwithstanding the danger of the enemy, which was great in divers places. Such was the desire of the French to assist at this wished aft, loyalty remained their breasts, as the seed doth in the bosome of the earth during winter. But *Charles* before he parted from Bourges to Rheims provided for the publike safety, lest the English should attempt any thing during this solemnity. He sends his Constable into Normandy, and the Earle of Perdicat into Guienne with some troopes, and reserves ten thousand men for his Coronation, as well to make his passage through townes that should refuse to honour the Ceremony. A very doubtfull journey yet most happy.

*At Auxerre, Charles is crowned King.*

Thus he begins his voyage: The first cite that was summoned by his commandment was Auxerre: they excuse themselves by reason of the truce lately obtained by the English intercession. A presumption very prejudiciall in the example, even now in the trial of obedience, vpon this same of victory, whereof none could make any question without apparant danger. Every man did see this error, but no man durst open mouth, for that the King did countenance *Tremouille*, even with the prejudice of his fautes. So *Charles* entred not into Auxerre, he only tooke their words, that at his request they should do as the rest, and furnish the Kings army with victuals for their money. From Auxerre the King comes to S. Florentin, which yeelds without any question. Troies was summoned next: at the first they refused, like unto Auxerre, through the practices of such as were of the English faction: but as *Charles* prepared for the siege, behold a warlike troope of the choice Citizens assembled themselves, assure the Citie, and give the King to understand, that they are ready to receive his commandments, and without expecting any answer from the King, a goodly company goes forth to meet him, and do offer him obedience. *Charles* then enters into Troies, to the unspeakable ioy of all the people, being wonderfully glad to see their Princes face, after so long captivitie. *Charles* follows their example, and all the rest of the townes, with great alacrity and willingness.

But the chief combat must be at Rheims, the chiefe Rendezvous of this voyage. The Lords of Chailillon and Sauczeu, with their Partizans of the English faction, did what they could to hinder the Kings entry. But the good Citizens prevail, who being stronger

then

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then the English faction, could hardly keepe the people fast tearing them in peeces, being leathery to shed any blood. They agree and sweare by common consent, to obey the Kings laws, and to that end send him the Keyes of Rheims. The way being thus made, and the Gates of Rheims open, hee goes thither with the beauty of his Court, and is received with the unspeakable ioy of all the people, who come to meete him in great troopes, the fields gates and streets sound out; *God save the King.* *Charles* accompanied with his Princes and Officers, appears like a goodly Sunne after a sharpe Winter. But in the greatness of this triumph, *Joan* the Virgin is beheld with admiration, and ledeth with a golden chariot.

*King Charles crowned at Rheims.*

Two days being spent in the preparation of the Ceremony, *Charles* was anointed and crowned King the eighth day of July, in the year 1429, by *Renold* of Chastres, Archbishop of Raciens, Chancelor of France: a date to be observed; being the beginning of great good to this realme. This was the seventh year after the law of State had called *Charles* to the Crowne, whereof he was heire, but the violence of strangers restrained and withheld the French from their obedience. So this Coronation was added to confirm the generall approbation of this lawful authority, not only in their common belief, but in the tongues of the French, as the sequell will shew, that this solemne publication did greatly advance the Kings affaires against his capital enemy.

But as the Sunne, rising higher in his Horizon, increaseth both in brightnesse and beauty, so the beames of the French liberty were more apparant, and the subdill devices of their naturall Prince kindled daily, after the long and sharpe Winter of the English shadow. This was a reuniting both to their heares, State, and manners: the image of a long age after the horrible tempest of a long and mortall confusion. The French did begin to see their King, and the King to receive them with a fatherly love. The Kings commandments generally proclaimed to live modestly without oppression of the people, were freely executed, and the people made the best chere they could to please their King. The English, altho the Provinces taking a new resolution to submit themselves under the obedience of their naturall Prince, as the sequell of the History will shew. But before we engage our selves in so long a discourse, order doth command us to observe the state of the Church and Empire; having past it over in silence, since the year 1264, towards the end of the reign of *Charles* the fifth. Doubtless we were sufficiently troubled with our owne confusions, under the miserable reign of *Charles* the sixth, finishing our selves in foraine stormes. We are therefore briefly to note, according to what hath happened since fifty nine years in these two great bodys.

*The estate of the Empire.*

We have left the Empire in the hands of *Charles* the fourth, an excellent Prince, but exceeding more in law and valour, then in iustice and vertue; yet he vied the Council of *Archie*, an excellent Lawyer, having governed the publike affaires of Germany & Italy, twenty and six years, amidst many confusions, and in the end he purchased the Empire with the prejudice of the Empire. His sonne *Wenceslaus*, whom hee had caused to be crowned King of Hungary, and Bohemia, at the age of two years, having bought the Empire from him, he caused him to be installed, and lived two years after, dying in the year 1378, having left a wretched successor of so great and royall a dignity, deformed in minde and body, a dole, idle, voluptuous, and a coward; having no other care but to wallow in the most infamous vices and finnes of drunkenness and whoredome; nor to shunne, but to doe tuill and mischief; as malicious and cruell, as without valour and wits. So, concerning his affaires and businesse, he grew contemptible: in hating of his subjects, he grew so hatefull, as in the end, the Germans and Hungarians (being weary of such a soveraigne) took him prisoner: and at last, after a painfull and shamefull patience, they having suffered him two and twenty years, and a huge masse of diuers and sundry cruelties, which grew by his ill and wicked government, they deprive him of the Imperiall dignity, by a common consent. And yet to shew, they bare no malice to the house from whence he was descended, they choose in his place *John*, Marquis of Brandenburg, and started the sonne of *John Henry*, brother to *Charles* the fourth, and his cousin german to *Wenceslaus*, who lived in that state but sixe months; and had nothing of the Empire, but that he was buried with the Imperiall ornaments of that Country.

*The disposition of the Emperor Wenceslaus.*

Then *Robert*, Count *Palatine*, duke of Bavaria, & first Elector, was chosen Emperor, and much

Dd

much

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much controuersie and dissention, a man of small stature, but of great iudgement, valiant, and louing the Common-weale. Hee laboured and spent great paines to redresse the confusions of Italy, then exceedingly disorder'd; through the queuelles of the Duke of Milan, the Venetians, Florentines, French, and Arragonais, vpon diuers and dry occasions: but finding that whatsoever he could doe, he lost his labour, (for the disloyalty of such as employed him) he suffered them to rume and spoile him, and then retired himselfe home, where after he had happily governed the Empire ten yeares, he dyed in the year of our Lord 1410.

The estate of the Church.

*Sigismund* King of Hungary and Bohemia, a Prince of happy memory, succeeded his father, by the generall consent of all the Germans, who loued and honoured him, and although he fought against the Turke with ill success, what as he borrowed from *Charles* the sixth (as I haue said) yet his losses did nothing blemish his reputation, his virtues, whereof he gaue great proofe in the gouernment of the Empire. But his death troubled him most, was the state of the Church, then plunged in tragical confusions, by the long and scandalous Schisme which dismembred it by peece-meales, through dissention and controuersies of sundry Popes, which were chosen in diuers places, and that diuertly at one instant.

A horrible Schisme.

Order commands vs now to represent it, as carefully as the subject is of importance, to tremble to tip vp these shamefull and detestable wounds. I will endeavour to expresse plainly and sincerely, following the steps of *Platina*, *Nanceler*, and *Theodore* of Niem, hauing remained in the Court of Rome, Secretary to diuers Popes, one after another, managed the affaires from the beginning of the Schisme, neere vnto the end, and was held for a vnreproachable witness in that which hee hath scene. This Schisme continued fifty yeares: it banded all the Christians of Europe, diuided Kings and Princes, moued their diuisions, bred and brought forth horrible scandals, toucht their heares, opened their mowthes and dispensed with their hands to a new faction, refused to our late Pope, the Popes seated in Rome one after another, had every one his opposit in Auignon, a famous name of title, and in the profession of the same authority. These Popes at one time in three seuerall places. Foure Councils were called to remedy these confusions, generally desir'd of all men, both great and small, seeing the Pope (who had so long reigned with the Emperours, vntill they had chased them out of Italy) continued among themselves: and this was the cause of the Schisme.

The estate of this Schisme.

We haue said, that the vnfortunate successe of the voluntary quarrell moued by the late eighth, against King *Philip* the faire, ministred occasion to transport the Pontifical sea from Rome to Auignon, where hauing been usually resident 74 yeares, and then chosen out of the French Nation, *Gregory* the tenth a Limosin, grew desirous to goe to Rome, and to transport his Colledge thither, consisting for the most part of French Cardinals. After his death, (being to choose a new Pope) the Clergy and people of Rome being vnited, protest vnto the Colledge, that they will haue a Roman or an Italian, not a French-man. If they doe it not willingly, they threaten force. The French are angry, gather in the Conclau, being thirteene against foure. But what could they doe against the multitude armed with fury? To conuince this storme, the French and Italian Cardinals agree to name an Italian Pope, with whom the Pontificall dignity should be left in guard, vntill they might choose one by a free election of the whole Colledge.

They all consent to choose *Bartolomew* of Naples, Archbishop of Bary in Aquila, esteemed a learned man, graue, and modest. The reputation of his vertues made him proceed to confirme him in the election: so as all by a generall consent, (especially *Pau* de la *Lune*, and the Cardinal of Saint Agreue in Viunex) crowne and adore him, for a final conclusion of his Popedom, assuring themselves that he would continue vertuous, as he had formerly began vertuously. But honours change manners. Two dayes with scarce past after this solemne reception, but this *Bartolomew*, (who shall now be *John* the sixth, in changing his degree and name) did also change his humours and manner of life. He which was accustomed to humble himselfe to all men, doth now braue all them which had newly raised him to this dignity. He threatens to keepe them vnder, and checks them with reproachfull words. *Otho* Duke of Brunswick (husband to *Jane* Queene of Sicily and Naples,) comes to congratulate his election, and for a proofe of his great heart, (as *John* called for Wine) *Otho* takes the Cup from his Taster, and leaping

before the Pope presents it vnto him. *Urban* takes it, leaping him on his knee with a frowning countenance, without speaking any thing. This insupportable arrogancy displeased the whole Colledge, but especially Queene *Jane*, (holding this disgrace done to her selfe) and made *Urban* so odious; as they all resolved to depose him, and to choose another Pope: whereunto *Jane* doth promise her assistance. They all joyntly resolve to retire themselves quietly out of Rome, into some place of liberty. So vnto Colours to auoid the heat of Summer, they take their leaues to goe to Anagnin: where hauing sojourned some weeke, they goe to Fundy, a Citie in the Kingdome of Naples, a fit place to enjoy their liberties vnder the Queenes protection. Then began they to plant their battery against *Urban*. They set downe for the ground of their right, that the condition specified in the election of *Urban*, should be auailable to those that did choose him, to declare him incapable of the dignity whereof hee shewed himselfe unworthy: and (to obserue all formalities) they cite *Urban* before them, and write vnto the other Italian Cardinals, that their meaning is, to name an Italian: A meanes to draw them to increase their number.

Pope Urban deposted and Clement chosen.

Being assembled; they depose *Urban* by the pluralitie of voyces, and being to choose another, as the same instant they aduance Cardinal *Rupert* of the noble house of the Bishops of Cistercia, and call him *Clement* the seventh. This bred a great alteration both at Rome, and in *Urban*'s minde: for Rome is presently abandoned, and *Urban* so amazed as he knows not what to do. Behold two Popes in one chaire, which is too little for them both, seeing the world will not suffice them: for in choosing *Clement*, they found no more clemency, then *Urban*'s civill conseruation in *Urban*. *Clement* yeelding nothing to the desire of his competitor: an ambitious man, willful, audacious, sumptuous and poore, having nothing rich but the heart, puff'd vp with the greatnesse of his house. These two do much, especially *Urban*, whose name the people changed, and for *Urban* they called him *Gerard*: that is a troubler of the world, to note his barbarous and fierce nature, being a combat and confusion.

Clement's disposition.

And thus which made away to this mischief, Kings and Princes (who should haue employed their authorities to quench this fire) were nothing affected therunto: for the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, died soone after the breeding of this Schisme, leaving an insufficient successour. France and England were too farre engaged to determine their own quarrell by the sword. As for the particular of France, during the imprisonment of *John*, the infirmity of *Charles* the sixth, and the halfe shipwracke of *Charles* the seventh, what helpe could the French bring to these confusions, being almost drowned in their owne? In the beginning *Clement* had all aduantages ouer *Urban*. The authority of the ordinary and ancient Colledge, Canonically chosen, followed by the Court of Rome, and the Castle Saint Angelo, by the which he might enter the City. All the French, the greatest part of the Italians, many Germans, all the Spaniards and English which were at Rome, repaired vnto him, and consequently all these Nations followed him. France, Spaine, England, with a part of Germany and Italy. There remained the Hungarians, and some Germans, who for feare of the affaires at Naples (not daring to trust themselves in Anagnin) were forced to continue in Rome, a leuaine which shall soone cause great diuisions. *Urban* as much daunted in aduersitie, as hee was puff'd vp in prosperitie, humbles himselfe to all men: hee weepes and deplores his misery, and craues aide of euery man, promising all fauour if they did helpe to restore him. There is neither Hungarian, German, nor Italian, which belong vnto the Court, but hee flies vnto him. By their aduice and direction, hee flies to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, and to *Lewis* King of Hungary, intreating them to be mediators to the Colledge of Cardinals, who were discontented with him. But *Clement* (growne over-proud with this first successe) gaue him meanes to repaire his estate. He hath a designe to surprize Rome by the Castle: but as *Bernard* Casal, with a troope of Neapolitans would haue seized vpon one of Rome Gates, hee was valiantly repulsed by the Inhabitants.

The Emperor *Charles* the fourth, and *Lewis* King of Hungary, sent their Ambassadors to *Clement* and to the Colledge of Cardinals, to treat an accord. *Clement* vseth them without clemency, he checks them; puts them in prison; and in the end sends them away with many indignities. This affront moued *Charles* and *Lewis*, so as by their meanes both Germany, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Prussie, were all

Pope Clement vseth the Emperors Ambassadors disgracefully.



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Pope Urban  
makes a new  
College of  
16 Cardinals.Clement for-  
ces defeated  
by the Ro-  
mans.The cruelties  
of a Pope.Urban proce-  
ding against  
Joane Queene  
Naples.Pope Urban  
discontented  
against Charles  
of Durazzo.

affected to *Urban's* faction. *Charles* was a spectator of this first Scène, and dyed 3 months after, leaving upon the Stage dangerous Actors against *Clement*. *Urban* being thus fortified, grew high-minded, and for a mark of his authority, he created a new College of six and twenty Cardinals, all created in one day, being Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, and other Nations that favoured him, to have a support of this authority in all parts. *Clement* works likewise, & to have his revenge, (for that he could not seize upon a game Rome) he resolved to send an army to field, to vex the Romans, and to force them to obedience; but the success of this designe was not answerable to his desire, for having sent the Lord of Montreux his Nephew with goodly troops furnished by *Queene Joane*, the Romans, led by *Alberic* of Barbiane, defeated this army, and tooke *Montreux* prisoner, whom they beheaded, as a disturber of the publick quiet, and so they chase the French out of the Castle Saint Angelo.

*Clement* finding himselfe nothing safe at Fundy, meanes to retire to Naples, but the Neapolitans would not receive him, notwithstanding the *Queenes* persuasions; and he passeth to Avignon, whither he brings the Pontificall sea, for the second time; and the first had done at the first. It was in the year 1384, that the Pope second time planted in Avignon, five yeares after that *Gregory* had retired himselfe. *Clement* frustrates all hope of his return to Rome, faints not in these first difficulties, finding himselfe in want of safety, where he might command at pleasure, being proud by nature, by reason of great birth, and by his forces united in two great Kingdomes. So every one armed sharpe incounter, according to the forces they could raise. First, either of these practices of excommunication. *Clement* the seventh cites *Urban* before him as a College of Cardinals canonically chosen, with his Cardinals unawaresly elected by who had beene depofed from the charge which had been given him but to keep, saying all that he had done, or should doe, to be of no force. *Urban*, on the other side, counters *Clement* with the like excommunications. Hee declares him Antipope, a Schismaticke, and an Hereticke, and all them that should follow him; guilty of high Treason against God and man. Their goods, honour, lives, bodies, and soules consigned.

This first point performed, they come to the effects. *Clement* makes search through all the Territories of his obedience, for those of *Urban's* faction, whom he imprisons, detennes, and kills with sword, fire, and water: many are strangled, massacred, drowned, burnt with extreme cruelty. *Urban* shall doe no better, but he proceeds by degrees, makes his peace with the Florentines, Perusins, Milanois, and Genevois: the Venetians ly he could not win. The Emperor *Charles* the fourth being dead, he could not promise much with *Wenceslaus*, an unworthy Prince; but he made his profit of *Lewis* King of Hungary, a capital enemy to *Joane* Queene of Naples, the foweraine object of *Urban's* anger, whom he fought to ruine, as the sole motive of all his crosses. But amidst the disorders of these confused passions, the diuers effects of Gods providence are remarkable, who draws light from darkness, and order from disorder, in such sort, as it is most commonly unknowne to man, but always iust and admirable in his iust effects.

*Urban* (presuming that the force of Hungary would fortifie his proceedings) doth communicate *Joane* Queene of Naples, declares her incapable of the Crowne, & calls *Charles* of Durazzo, of whom we have made mention. But who sees not, that this belongs properly to the history of Naples, whereof we intreat accidentally, matters being tied together by a necessary union. In the end *Joane* lost both goods and life, through the power of *Charles* of Durazzo, who remained absolute master of the Realme of Naples, by the death of *Lewis* of Anjou, whom he had adopted, but *Lewis* thinking to revenge her death, lost his owne life, and drew France into great miseries, whereof this unreasonable adoption was the leuaine. Behold the end of the first *Joane* Queene of Naples, who shall be soon followed with a second *Joane*, to continue our voluntary languishing in Italy.

But the end of this *Proserpina* was the beginning of a second trouble, through the ambition of *Urban*, the which having no limits, transported his spleene against *Charles* of Durazzo, whom he had drawne out of Hungary. He is not satisfied that *Charles* should doe him homage, but he will have some places in his absolute power, and that *Charles* should inuest his Nephew *Battilo* (a man of no estimation, having nothing rare in him but his extraordinary vices) in the principallitie of *Apulia*, and the Duchy of Durazzo, seeking to get so firme footing in the State, as he might dispossesse *Charles* at his pleasure.

DURAZZO,

1429

Charles goes  
with an Army  
against Pope  
Urban.The Popes  
nephew de-  
fected and  
taken.Pope Urban  
cruelly against  
his Cardinals.The French  
copy writes it  
last.Urban dies  
miserably.Pope Boniface  
exceeding co-  
vetous.

*DURAZZO*, being loath to labour for another man, excuseth himselfe to *Urban*, who takes no excuse for payment, but citeth him before his Consistory, the meaning, that if hee appears not at the day prefixed, he will proceede against him by excommunication. *Charles* who feared more the losse of his new purchase, then the lightnings of *Urban*, makes him unawares a prisoner, having placed many souldiers about him for his guard. *Urban* seeing himselfe braued by *Charles*, even within Naples, complains of this affront, and by his suffrance, he retires to Nocera, from whence he sends excommunications against *Charles*, who laying aside all respect, opposeth a goodly army, and comes to besiege *Urban* with Ensignes displayed in Nocera. He sends a trumpet to advertise him that he was come according to his assignment. In the meane time he takes information of *Urban's* abuses (being known and detested of all the world) and moreover he tryed the opinions of the Cardinals, to censure and depose *Urban*: who being advertised hereof, was so moved, as (not able to be revenged of *Charles*), he imprisons 7 Cardinals (the most sufficient of his College) without any other iust matter to charge them with, but that they were the learned, eldest and of greatest courage; and to make tryall of his forces, he sends his nephew *Battilo* against him with a troupe, which this great Captaine suffered to be overthrowne, and himselfe to be taken. This success daunted the courage of *Urban*, and enforced him to crave leave of *Charles* to retire himselfe: the which he easily obtained, by the intercession of the Seignourie of Genoa whither *Urban* pretended to goe. Departing from Nocera, he detenus him these Cardinals prisoners, and desirous to be rid of them, hee caused one to be slain upon the way, pretending that he was sicke, and abandoned his body: he caused the others to be bound up in sacks, and to be cast into the sea, as he passed to Genoa. Being thus, he commanded three others to be apprehended (being zealous that they had intelligence with the rest) and in the presence of all the people, hee caused them to be knocked on the head; and then he dries their bodies in an Oven, and preferred them in chests, the which he caused to be caried before him upon mules, when as he did ride; and for a mark what they were, he set their red hats upon the chests. The original notes this extraordinary cruelty in Robert *Urban*.

And then *Charles* dies in Hungary, but *Urban's* spleene continues against his children. He had first two; *Ladislav* & *Joane*, who by the vertuous protection of their mother *Margaret* kept both themselves and their estates out of his hands. *Urban* sleeps neither day nor night, thirsting continually after their ruine. And for theache found by *Charles*, that the Hungarians feared not his spirituall lightning; he grounds his designes vpon temporall anger, and knowing they are not to be raised without money, hee seeks the meanes to stamp great masses. To this end he ordaines a lubble, as a solemn feast for all Christendome, and to draw more people thereunto, he sends new indulgences and pardons into all parts vnder his obedience. A denice to get monny, the people being perfwaded by his denice that it was the onely meanes to purchase Paradise, and to avoide the paines of Purgatory. He also challengeth the right of first fruits, which gives the first yeeres reuenues of all benefices to the Pope, and so continues vnto this day.

But as he gathers together this money with a wonderfull greedinesse, behold hee falls from his moile and bruisheth himselfe. The worke of heauen, answerable to his insolent ambition, who soaring too high, makes him fall low: dying when his hatred was greatest to raise his enemies. He languished seven and twenty dayes in the bed of death, dying by degrees, suffering the paines which hee caused his peere Cardinals to endure: not able without his death, to wipe out the immortal hate of his detestable life, disgraced by all Writers. Thus *Urban* the sixth, the first guidon of Schisme, dyed in the eleventh yeare of his Popedom. In whose place *Peter Thomace*, named *Boniface* the ninth, is chosen Pope, succeding to *Urban's* courtousnesse, as his life and death doth witness. *Niemo* obserues a memorable act. *Boniface* lying at the point of death, some one (to comfort him) said that hee should doe well. A brutish custome, as if to speake of death to a sicke body, were to proclaim the sentence of a Iudge, to deliver him into the executioners hands. I should doe well (saith he) if I had money, and yet he had full houises, having then but ten houres to live. So hee dyed the tenth yeere of his Popedom, not lamented to any, but hee liued too long, and by his impudent courtousnesse opened the gate to all impunity of sinne.

Innocent the seventh, succeeded in the place of *Boniface*, more innocent then the former, veiling the beauty of their names by the bounty of their lives. A sworn enemy

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1429

Pope Innocent  
an enemy to  
the union of  
the Church.  
Pope Gregory  
the 11<sup>th</sup> cunning  
dissembler.

Disorders in  
the Church.

A council at  
Pisa to reforme  
the Schisme of  
the Church.

Two Popes  
deposed, & yet  
under the title  
chosen.

Three Popes  
at one time.

to the union of the Church, causing two Roman citizens to be put to death as seditions, for that they moved him therein, as *Platina* doth observe. He continued but two years and into his place *Angelo Corrier* a Venecian, called *Gregory* the 12 was advanced: a subtil and dissembling man, coldly ambitious, and faintly holy, having no piety but in show so far as his crooked manners he was called *Errorius* for *Gregorius*, that is to say, a Deceiver, drawing men into error with his goodly shew. All this was done at Rome by theilians: in the meane time what doe our Popes at Avignon? *Clement* the 7 making profession of the same authority which the Pope did at Rome, was no better then the other, though the History notes not so many priuate acts of his excess. In general, he was excellent in the beginning and courteous during all the time of his Popedom. He was cunning, ambitious and wilfull, vnder colour of modesty and humility. Hee furnished him but two years. After the death of *Clement* the 7, they create a new Pope, to oppose against him at Rome, which was *Peter de la Luna*, a Spaniard borne, but having lived long at Montpellier to study the Law. A man of sound judgement, learning, active, patient in shew, but in effect very ambitious, a dissembler, given to his owne will, and tyed to his profit: hee was from cruelty (whereof hee is not taxed) giving free scope to couetousnesse. *Gregory* was the impudency of merchandise in the Church, (sayes *Niem*, and *Platina*) for to shew of all Christendome, that the authority of the keyes and Apostolicke letters, were contrary to the whole world. Truly as all diseases grow by degrees through turke taken vnderly, and bad humors which creepe insensibly into the body: euen so these miseries grew in the Church. All was set to sale, all sorts of benefices, especially Cardinals houses, were for sale, that would giue most. The reuenues, impropriations, and all things else, were sold to that offered most. Sometimes one benefice was sold to many, and all their monies were to good hands, that had learned to receive and not to restore againe. The companies for all sorts of crimes, & whole townes were sold by the authority of the fourteenth flor. I write but a part of that which the Popes Secretaries haue set downe at length, to tremble to report the iudgement they make of these abominable confusions.

To conclude, all Christendome (tyred with these disorders committed by such, and the authority to order) complained much to their Kings and Princes, who without indresse, exhorted the Popes of both seas, *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth, to leave their priuate quarrels, for the general good of the Church. *Benedict* shewes to desire it: *That if he must needs yield, he is ready to leave the dignitie where the Church had honoured him, yea, his owne life* (these are his very words) for the peace of the Church. *Gregory* speaks more coldly, yet he promises the like: but when it came to performance, they were but shifts, delays, and other deuises to winne time, and to still their authority, which neither of them would leaue.

In the end, at the great instance of Kings and Princes, the Colledges of Rome and Avignon agree to meet at Pisa, to find some means to determine of this reproachfull confusion. *Benedict* yields: but *Gregory* opposeth. Notwithstanding his refusal, all meet at Pisa. Thus all assembled (whither the Emperor, the Kings of France, England, Spaine, Scotland, Portugall, Hungary, Denmarke, Sweden, Pologne and Norwage, send their Ambassadors, and the Churches of the East their Deputies) having debated the Communion depending betwixt *Gregory* and *Benedict*, they depose them both, as nourishing a schisme in the Church, and refusing to obey the Councell, whereas neither they nor their Deputies had appeared. In their place they choose *Alexander* the fifth a Candior, held more learned and vertuous, but he dyed within the first yeere of his Popedom. So as the Colledge of Cardinals (retiring to Bologna) created *John* the 23 in his place.

But neither *Gregory* nor *Benedict* omitted any thing of their traine, forming the Council of the Councell. So as for one Pope, they had three, the one at Rimini, the other at Bologna, and the third at Avignon: and the last being worse then the first, shall giue a reasonable good cause of further inquiry to Christian Princes in another season, the which we will attend by order of the History, and will returne into France, to our *Charles* the seventh, in the ioy of his Coronation, which was to him & to all his subjects a happy foretelling of the restoring of his realme, but this excellent worke was not so soon ended.

We must now see by what degrees *Charles* recovered the possession of the townes subdued by the English, and how he expelled them out of this realme. The second parcell is set downe by vs in the front of this discourse.

1429

By what means and degrees, the townes subdued by the English, returned to the obedience of this Crowne, and how the English were chased out of this Realme.

From the yeare 1429 to 1454. after the ebbing and flowing of many aditions, and the accord of the Duke of Bourgonie with Charles, long debated, and in the end obtained by the means of the Duke of Bourbon. Paris yields to the King. The other Cities and Provinces of this Realme, one after another, in diuers seasons, and by diuers occasions, returne to the King, as to their head: and expell the stranger, who held the State.

To the reduction of Paris are 7 yeares, to the full restoring of the Realme 183 and in all 25 yeares after his Coronation.

This happy beginning of the Kings affaires, seemed to bring with it a generall restoring of his whole Realme, by the absolute obedience of all Townes and Provinces. But God which gouernes Nature by seasons, and giues not harvest when as they sow the seed, he doth likewise gouerne the society of mankind by degrees, that the force of mans industry, of it selfe, may appeare vaine and nothing, and not successefull but by his grace, without whom man can doe nothing. We haue hitherto seene into what distresse the presence of this Estate hath drawne both the King and Realme: but in the end his promise shall appeare no lesse admirable in preteruing it.

The Duke of Bedford wonderfully discontented with his happy successe, resolves to stop the course, both by force and policy. To this end hee sends to England for succours both of men and money: he equips all he can in France, and practiseth with the Duke of Bourgonie, who was held of both parties to haue power to strike the last stroke in this equality of affaires. So as finding himselfe fought vnto by them all, hee caueraines himselfe, giuing *Charles* secretly to vnderstand, that hee was for him, and yet hee presently takes armes for the English. A man wholly addicted to his affaires, having no other respect but his owne greauesse, yet still hee doth no wonder, being now so much fought vnto.

*Charles* passeth from Rheims, to obferue his enemies way, he passeth by Soissons, Châlons, Thiers, Bourgonie, Couffy in Bry, and comes to Crecy in Valois, all these townes being of the English yoke to obey him. Bedford was at Senlis, with an army of ten thousand men, from thence he writes Letters of defiance to *Charles*, as to the victor of the Realme. He represents vnto him as huge, the compassion he had of the poore French people, so long oppressed with warre, and doth challenge him to appoint a day and place, to end this long misery, either by a peace or battell. A part ill acted by a stranger, for who could beleue these protestations, in the mouth of a stranger, against the heire of the Crowne?

*Charles* answers him by effects, and offers himselfe to the combat: the English Army before Senlis, being lodged in that renowned Temple of Victory, the ancient habitation of the valour of *Philip Augustus*. The French army was opposite against them without hedge or bush, in a large plaine. The King the 29<sup>th</sup> of Iulie, whether he should give battell. The Virgin held opinion they should not, and shee happy beginning upon a doubtful combat, being sufficient to stay the army, in showing him the army, without fighting. So as these two armies stood two dayes together in battell, looking vpon another without moving, although many skirmishes seemed to offer occasion to giue them a generall fight. In the end there was a confused charge of some few horse, Picards and French, but the battels stood firme. After this contention, and fall vnto his way to Paris, to auoide the alterations which the Kings approach and vnder the night breed: *Charles* having received the obediency of Champagne, Senlis, Orléans, Bourgois, Pont Saint Maxence, Choyss, Gournay, Reims, Nouaille, Mognay, Chantilly, and other places thereabouts with the townes of the Signeuries of Montmorency and Monty, he marcheth towards Paris, upon the assistance by the Bourgeois, who were returned by the Citizens. Being at Saint Denis, hee sent word to *Bedford* to come within the City, but also the City well guarded by the Citizens, so as the Vir-

The English  
seek to cross  
*Charles* in his  
course.

The Bourgeois  
good disposition.  
The Virgin  
disuises King  
*Charles* from  
fighting.

Juste the Vir-  
gin wounded.

gin seeking to surprize Saint Honories ditch, had like to have bene taken, being fore wounded, and losing a goodly troope of her best and most resolute souldiers. The inconsiderate desire which *Charles* had to winne the loue of the Duke of Bourgogne, did much preiudice his affaires, for all Picardy held him in great esteeme, especially the great townes of Amiens, Abbeville, and Saint Quintin: but the respect he bare the Bourgogne, made him to neglect these occasions to his great hurt. Having therefore found this passage to be very perillous, he retires into Berry, and the duke of Bedford (freed from the feare of his forces) goes into Normandy, where the Constable Richmond had surprized Eureux, Aumale, Chasteaugailiard, and Andely, places of importance in the Prouince.

The institution  
of the Golden  
Fleece.

But during these alterations, the duke of Bourgogne married with *Isabel*, daughter to the King of Portugall, adding this third wife to his two former deceased. The Duchesse of Bedford was at this marriage, not in regard of the feast, but for her husbands affaires. The Bourgignon conducts her to Paris with foure thousand armed men, where he renews the League more strongly, (somewhat shaken through the affaires of *Iaqueline* Countesse of Hainault) with his brother in law. There he made the order of the Golden Fleece, which he had already conquered the Gardens of Hesperides, like a second *Iason*: but he determined to make violent warre against *Charles* the yearre following: and returning into Picardy, he tooke Gournay and Choisy, places lately subdued to the Crowne. *Meauvais*, Sens, and Villeneuve le Roy, gave a happy beginning to this yearre, yielding to the obedience, but the losse of the Virgin *Isabel*, and the taking of *Phon*, two of the greatest and most valiant heads of the Army, quailed all the joy of these conquests. The Tragedy was thus acted.

Isabel the Vir-  
gin taken.

The Bourgignon having taken Choisy by force, hee bites Soissons of the Capote that commanded: and so he marcheth against Champagne with his Army, with the Earles of Suffolke and Arondel ioyne, with two thousand men. The Virgin *Isabel* forth with a notable troope of the best souldiers, to charge the besiegers, who being farre engaged in the fight alone, was taken by the Bastard of Vendosme, and presented to the duke of Bourgogne. He reioyced much at this notable prize, as he conquered all *Charles*: his good fortunes, and referres her as a triumph for the Duke of Bedford, whose proceedings we will now set downe.

In the yearre  
1430, the  
siege of  
Compaigne.

*Phon* was then taken vnadvisedly. The Archbishop of Rheims being *Charles* with the Lords of Saint Seuer and Boullac, Marshalls of France, being at *Meauvais*, hold a young shepheard comes vnto them, assuring them, that God had revealed vnto him a meane to take Rouen. They (taking the vankie of this foole for profane painting) God had raised vpon new Oracle, in the declining of the other, by the surprize of the Virgin *Isabel* inconsiderately, singing a triumph before the victory. The English (advised of their departure and numbers) meet and surprize them, at Nully nere vnto Beaulieu, when as they looked least for them, finding the like men newly dislodged, without or feare, and ouercame them easily. *Phon* striuing to make head with a Squadron of twenty Lances, presteth so farr in among the enemies, as he is taken: and by himself, whom he had taken at the battell of Patay, and so well intreated, as *Isabel* him in good requitall, for having embraced him as a brother, he honorably gave him liberty, and sent him in safety to *Meauvais*. Thus honestly and humanly repaid his liberty, and a good turne is neuer lost among men of honour. An example for the manage of times honourably, in whom there is nothing more vnworthy then cruelty, daily against the weaknesse of a prisoner. Cruelty is fitter for theues and Cannibals, whom they call Anthropophages, or eaters of men: but courtesie becomes good knights, who are twice Conquerors, winning their hearts by courtesie, whose bodies had conquered by force.

The Virgin  
brought to  
Rouen.

That Virgin *Isabel* was not so well intreated by the duke of Bedford, who having bought her for ready money, of *John* of Luxembourg, as the best prisoner of the army, he came to be brought to Rouen, being resolved to put her to death. The honour of the last armes, and the consequence which made all them guilty, which should hereafter befall by the French, did contradict his will: but the vnuly passion of his deadly hatred conceived against this maiden (as hauid ruined his affaires in France) prevailed above reason. And having no colour to put her to death, as a prisoner of the warre, he resolved to

make her a prisoner of Iustice: but the Magistrates would not heare of it. Upon their refusal, he hath recourse to the Diuines. And as the Oracle *Apollis* spake, according vnto the money that was giuen, sometimes for *Philip* of Macedon, sometimes for the Athenians, so the Diuines (being pensioners to the English in this Act) made their diuinity English.

Condemned  
for a witch  
and burnt.

After they had gravely consulted and resolved on the matter: they declare *Isabel* to be against kinde, having abused her sex, bearing the habit of a man, against the expresse word of God, a witch working by deuills, without the which she could not haue performed so many extraordinary deeds, nor obtained such a memorable successe, and lastly consequence an Idolatresse, a schismatike and an heretike. This was decreed in the Vniversity of Paris, with many hands to the condemnation. This conclusion (being carefully procured by the Duke of Bedford) was presented by him to *Peter Cauchin* Bishop of Beauuais, whom he requested to proceed speedily in the cause. The Bishop assembles the Deane and Chapter at Rouen, hee calls the Abbot of Felcamp thither with a new supply of Diuines for the execution of this Decree. There is nothing more easie then to doe quill. And although they were all possessed with English passions, yet could they not so sone resolve themselves against her; so as they were long in suspence, before they could condemne her, for the answered pertinently to all their accusations. In the end violence prevailed, the which (being muffled with the cloake of religion and iustice) condemned *Isabel* (as guilty of the about named crimes) to perpetual prison: but in the end being delivered by the Bishop to the secular power, the Duke of Bedford caused her to be burnt at Rouen, in the yearre 1431, the sixth of Iuly.

The siege of  
Compaigne.

Thus the happily serued France one whole yearre, and was prisoner somewhat more, leaving a great griefe to those that liued then, to see her so intreated: and a memory of immortall praile to come, having bene so profitable and necessary an instrument, for the delivery of our Country being almost ruined. But the wise prouidence of God had limited both her labours and her life. Hee would only vse her in the beginning, to shew that *Charles* hath not bene the Author of the restoring of this Estate, but God himselfe, who would shame men by a maide, most worthy to be honoured by our posterity. I haue reported at once what was acted in two yeeres, being all of one subiect: not to breake off the order of my discourse in matters which follow after. And now I will returne to Compaigne besieged by the Bourgignon. As all the French were much amazed for the losse of *Isabel*, so the English and Bourgignons were greatly encouraged to presse the siege of Compaigne with greater heate. This important City (seated vpon the riuer of Oize, at the entry of Picardy) had greatly furthered the Bourgignon, who for this reason was resolute to haue it either by lone or force. He doth againe negotiate with *Charles*, assuring him of his loue. *Charles* (bewitched with the charmes of this Bourgignon) giues care to his new deuices, and (forgetting that hee had bene abused,) hee promiseth to deliuer Compaigne into his hands. The Bourgignon accepts it: and the better to play his part, he draws his Portuguese to Noyon, being one of the cunningest women in the world, and most affected to her husband, as a gage of the loue he had promised to *Charles*: the which she should manage. The Lord of Flauay Gouvernor of Compaigne, had received seuerall commandments from the King to deliuer it, but he excuseth himselfe, desiring to haue a more ample warrant from the King. He shewes him the importance of the place, and the wilfulness of the inhabitants, and so denying his Master honestly that which might be preiudiciall vnto him, hee dischargeth the duty of a good seruant. Truly it is a good seruice to deny the Master when as he commands that is hurtfull vnto himselfe. This policy succeeding not for the Duke of Bourgogne, to surprize Compaigne, he resolves to haue it by force: Bedford sends the Earle of Huntington with a thousand English Archers to fortifie this siege. *John* of Luxembourg (who was therafter the Bourgignon) builds great forts to keepe them from succors, and for a retreat he doth fortifie the Abbeyes of Venere and Royaulieu. The Inhabitants were in great extremity, yet were they resolute to endure all, vnder their wife and faithfull gouernour, rather then to fall into the hands of strangers, whose gripes they had formerly felt. If they were fiercely besieged by the English & Bourgignons, so were they as well succoured by the French, vnder the happy command of the Earle of Vendosme gouernour of Beauuais, & the Marshall of Boullac, who (hauing valiantly torred the first bastions) enter the towne, and hauing

The gouernour  
refuseth to  
deliuer it.

Relocated by  
the French.

1430

virtualled it, they issue forth, with great resolution, so as they take all the other fortifications their enemies great lesse. So *Huntington* and *Luxembourg* retire with disgrace, leaving not only that Country free, but their victuals, artillery, munition and habiliments warlike in their lodgings of *Venete* and *Royalieu*, saving themselves with some difficulty at *Pont l'Euesque*, through the favour of *Noyon*. The *Bourguignon* was so amazed at this retreat into *Artois*, having as bad successe by force as by policy.

Our French forces being masters of the field, they recover all the *Bourguignons* conquests; *Choyly*, *Gournay*, *Bertueil*, *Garmigny*, *Reffons*, *Pont Remoy*, *Pont Saint Marie*, *Longueil*, *Saint Mary la Boyssiere*, *Ireligny*, *Vernueil*, and other places, where he had gathered together all the corne and cattell of the Country, the which was restored to poore people, to their great content. The *Bourguignons* pride thus taken downe to many victorious hopes was a principall part of this victory. But he resolves to his revenge of this affront. Being come to *Arras*, hee gathers together all the forces he can, and from thence he goes to *Peronne*, to attend the body of his army. His way was to recover what hee had lost in this last warre of *Compeigne*, meaning to be at *Garmigny*, which did greatly annoy all that Country. Hee sends a troope of 600 before under the conduct of *Thomas Tirrel* an Englishman. *Girard* of *Brimeu* goes of *Reyeaumonts* this troope with a hundred of his men. In this order they go to the siege of *Garmigny* as to a marriage: but *Pathon* (who had his spies in all places, and put himselfe into *Garmigny*, at the brute of this siege) slept not. Having therefore to discover the enemies countenance, hee learns that these *Picards* (being neere to choire) did hunc after hares, (whereof there are great store in those parts,) and the troope was wholly in disorder, running vp and downe with great cries. *Pathon* imbrued this occasion suddenly, and having drawne his men to field, hee surpriseth these being dispersed and out of breath, he defeats them, kills them, and in the end cries they should take the run aways. The Commander is taken, with most of their best. *Anthony* of *Vienne* and the Lord of *Hailly* (being greatly lamented by the *Bourguignons*) were first led to *Garmigny*, and then to *Compeigne* in great triumph.

The newes hereof did greatly trouble the *Bourguignon*, especially when as the Duke of *Vendome* went with the French army to braue him at the gates of *Roye*, offering battell. He made shew to accept thereof, but having called a Councill, he framed a reasonable excuse, that his souldiers were not willing he should fight in the end of the year. With these affronts the years ends: and with the death of a sonne which hee had new spouse, whom hee loved dearly, his spirits were so oppressed with sorrow for losse, as this Prince (being too passionate) had speeches unworthy the gravity of his age, and the greatnesse of his blood, weeping and wishing for death. Doublelesse hee tells out that hee even which is too much puffed vp in prosperity, is easily daunted in adversity. A goodly lesson for great men (who cannot learne but by great examples) that greatnesse doth not free them from the common condition of mankind: that men and must die like men. O man! whatsoever thou beest, behold good remedies to these extremities of fortune: neither to be drunke with prosperity, nor drowned in adversity. These five succeeding yeares having nothing memorable, but an entry to the defence of the City of *Paris*, which shall giue example to all the rest of the Realme, the weaknesse of parties was necessary for the making of an accord. The Duke of *Bourgonne* might do much, but his infinite designs had transported him beyond the due, without some checke. These small disgraces did greatly blemish his credit with the Duke of *Bedford*, who expected more from him than hee found by the effects: but that he made a breach in their loves was the sudden death of *Anne* Duchesse of *Bedford*, the *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonne*, the gage of their cold friendship, which till then was necessary, but after her decease it was but superficiall, although in this occurrence league was not apparently broken. The one weepes for his wife, and the other for his sister. The beginning of this year was noted by the taking of *Montargis* from the French, through the notable treason of a woman, who gave entrance to the English, and presently reaped the fruits of her treachery. But let vs attend the year following, when we shall see a miraculous change in this miserable towne. At the same time, in reuenge of *Montargis*, *Chartres* returns to the Kings obedience. The meanes is by subreption, being put in practice in our times in many places. A carter living at *Ch*

was had a brother resident in Court with a Treasurer. The familiarity this carter had to goe and come into the towne, made him both desirous, and to lay the plot of so memorable an enterprise. Neere vnto the gate there was an old trained house, in the which there was a great vault halfe filled vp with rubbish: here they lodge a hundred men: on the other side they convey a thousand men, secretly in the night, into a house neere vnto the towne. The carter comes at the breake of day with his car vnto the post, where the quarters were set of purpose, saying that a wheele was slippe. While the guard labours to helpe him, the vault issues forth out of the ruines, and surpriseth the post, and the rest beyond them with such speed, as the City is won. This had beene done without any effusion of blood, if the bishop had not animated the inhabitants to fight against their King, where he himselfe was slaine with some of the Citizens. About this time, *Rene* Duke of *Barre*, brother to *Louis* Duke of *Aniou*, and King of *Sicilia*, (who shall make himselfe famous in the following reigne) received a great checke. Hee had a notable quarrell against the Earle of *Vaudemont*, pretending the Earldome: from words they goe to blowes, *Rene* fortifies himselfe with the forces of France: *Vaudemont* with those of *Bourgonne*. *Rene* being longer in shew, besiegeth the towne of *Vaudemont*, and when as the Earle, with the helpe of his friends, would haue raised the siege, *Rene* draws him to fight, defying him, and promising to himselfe an assured victory. But God (the soveraigne Iudge of these factions) gaue it to the Earle, and *Rene* remained prisoner in the hands of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, to whom hee payed a great ranfome. In the end, by the dukes meanes yielding him his liberty, this quarrell was ended, marrying the eldest son of *Rene* with the daughter of the Earle of *Vaudemont*. But let vs reserve the rest to the following reigne.

About the end of this year, a solemnity was done in *Paris*, which carried more shew than substance. We haue said before, how that *Henry* the sixth King of *England*, had beene crowned King of France, when as our *Charles* was crowned at *Poitiers* after the decease of his father. *Henry* was but two yeares old, and came not out of *England*, vntill that *Charles* had beene solemnly crowned at *Rheims*, to the great ioy of all the French; but when as the Duke of *Bedford* found, how much this authentick publication advanced the affaires of *Charles*, he caused *Henry* to be brought into France, and to be crowned at *Paris*, with an extraordinary Maiesty, to our countenance *Charles* his Coronation, by a greater shew of pompe. But the blood of France cannot dissemble: no man was moued at that, no more then to see a Tragedy acted vpon a Stage. This year is very barren of all memorable exploits, but that this silence noted an entrance to an accord (both parties being weary of pleading) yet with great slacknesse, as we see in diseases which come suddenly, and passe away slowly: we must therefore crosse this rough way before we come to *Paris*. *Montargis* taken by the English as we haue said, was now recovered by the French, but after a diuers manner; for the English lost the towne by the Castle, and the French the Castle by the towne, yet were they three moneths in winning of the Castle. Having taken all, they lost all by the same meanes that made them so much to gape after the castle, which was the want of money. This shameful losse grieved many of the greatest in Court, and bred a new trouble by this occasion.

*Tremouille* was yet in great credit with the King, having by this meanes a great hand in the State: they accused him to haue heaped vp great treasure, to the preiudice of such as daily employed their liues for the Kings seruice. The greater men resolve to take *Tremouille* prisoner, and to punish him like vnto *Giac*, and others before mentioned. The King was at his Castell at *Chinon*: *Tremouille* follows him as his shadow; but it chanced, as he was in his chamber, the Lords of *Brueil*, *Coytiuy* and *Fesard*, followed with forty armed men, enter and take him, not one of a hundred of that sort could escape; but six thousand Crownes saved his life, hoping to returne againe into credit. The Constable of *Richmont* grows into greater fauour then before. Thus misfortune is good for something. *Bedford* puffed vp with the successe of *Montargis*, takes *Milly* in *Galkenois*; but having besieged *Lagny* in *Brye*, he was repulsed: at the same time, *John* of *Luxembourg* (of the *Bourguignon* faction) is dispossessed of *Ligny* in *Barrois*, by the Lady of *Comeray*. A disgrace which shall draw the *Bourguignons* to a composition so much desired, together with the happy successe of the French, in the Country of *Artois*, the taking of *St. Valerie* in *Ponthieu*, and the generall waiering of the chiefe towne in *Picardy*, tired with these confusions, being so great, as no man was assured of his person, of what party hee

1430

Charles yields to the King.

A quarrell between the Duke of Bar, and the Earle of Vaudemont.

Henry King of England crowned at Paris.

Montargis taken and lost againe.

The Bourguignons defeated.

The Duchesse of Bedford dies.

Montargis taken.



1432

If hee were the weaker. The Cardes were so thrust, as an English man would become French, to take a Bourguignon, and a French man become English, or a Bourguignon to take a Frenchman. These vaine trecheries were usually, especially at Amiens, Arras, uille, and throughout all Picardy, where the warres had bene most licentious. Vaine outrage hath bene reuiued in our miserable age, through the cruelty of these wretched warres, which causeth men to make shipwracke both of faith and honour.

This year had a plausible beginning, but without any great effect. The Council of the King being assembled (as we haue said) to redresse the confusion of Antipopes, and to reforme the Church (diuided by this schisme) wrote vnto, sends the Cardinal of Auxerre to the Kings of France and England, to exhort them vnto peace. Charles protested that he desired nothing more, the English said the like. They assembled to this end at Auxerre great troops, but at their first meeting, all this treaty was broken off, for both the one and the other, stood vpon the quality of King of France, being the fundamentall point of their quarrell. The Duke of Bedford spake more proudly then Charles himselfe, as the law of State (which maintained this Monarchy) had been made in England, an Illegitimate firme land, and France changed to this Ile of Albion or of Britany, of such force, our euen in matters of State, when a passion ouer-rules the light of reason. So they all depart without any effect. They only conclude a truce, for the great want of the people, who could suffer no more. But this truce was a pit-fall for many, trusting countenance of this courteous warre, which making profession to meane nothing more to be feared when it smiles, then when it frownes.

John Duke of  
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We haue said, that John Duke of Bourbon was taken prisoner in the battell of Agincourt, whom they could neuer redeem at any rate. This year he died in England, his sonne Charles succede him. He had to wife the sister of the Duke of Bourgogne, they fall to words for their rights, and so to warre. Charles takes from Philip of Burgundie, Perpetuis, Mucy, Eueque, Chaumont, and other places. The Bourgignons his reuenge, and besiege Belleuile in Beaufort, belonging vnto Charles. The chiefe of Berry labours to reconcile these Princes, and drawe them to a peace, they shall soone be a meane of a generall accord betwixt the Bourgignon and France, mediation of the Duke of Bourbon, a profitable instrument of so good a worke. The cession not prevented, was seconded by another, for the Duke of Bedford, after the death of his wife (being sister to the Duke of Bourgogne) maries with Isabella the daughter of Peter of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Pol, who was no friend to the Bourgignons, moreover the youth and beauty of this new spouse, had so bewitched Bedford, as he was easily drawne from Philip, whose loue he entertained with great difficulty, yet in the end of the generall cause they made a good shew, and had mer at St. Omer to that effect, that this interview encreased their discontents.

Bedford maries  
againe.

In the meane time, the truce (being ill obserued on either side), is conuerted into a gushing war. Bedford makes war in the Countrey of Mayen by Scales and Willoughby, renowned Captaines, which besiege S. Celerin. Charles succours it by the Lord of Vaux, who hauing lodged some troopes at Viuin, (a village of small account) made it his by a notable peece of seruice. Scales surprised of these troopes lodged in this house, hasts thither, surprizeth them, and cuts them in peeces: but the Lord of Buell had his reuenge: for falling vpon the Conquerours, who returned in disorder, he put about route. Chartier notes it for a notable seruice, that forty lances ouerthrew a thousand hundred men, which were slaine, or taken prisoners: of such force is disorder and tumult in warre. The siege of Saint Celerin being thus raised, to the great disgraunce of the English, Bedford much grieved for this affront, sends the Earle of Arondele with new forces. It was at the same time when as Charles went into Dauphine: the raising of this notable victory, holding mens minds in suspense, so as Arondele takes Saint Celerin by force, and from thence he marcheth to Silley le Guil-laume. The Governour sent to want succours, treats with Arondele: That if by a prefixed day, the French were not the stronger, at a certaine Elme next vnto the place, hee would then yeeld vnto the Towne, and for assurance thereof giues him hostages. The Court was troubled at this summons: all post thither, fearing to continue their shame with losse, Princes and Officers of the Crowne, the Duke of Alençon and Anjou, the Constable of Richemont, the Marshalls of Bouffier, Rieux, and Retz: the Lords of Loheac, Granille, and Buell, with

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1435

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The voyage of Dauphine was performed. Charles comes to Vienne passing through Auernon. The reason of this progresse was to fertile matters in Dauphine, Lionois, and Languedoc, which Countreies had serued him faithfully and profitably in his greatest afflictions. All the chiefe of those Countreies attend him, and hold their Estates by his commandement. The ioy both of Charles and his subjects was exceeding great after so long and dangerous a storme. Charles did gladly embrace his ancient seruants, the Earle of Foix, Gaucourt, and Gréslee, with the Nobility of Vauarez and Dauphine, who had giuen him so great testimonies of their faith and valour. All men were confirmed in their governments, no man was denied of what he demanded, which giues them courage to doe their best endeavors in his seruice. The States grant the King a notable sum of money for the maintenance of his warres.

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We haue obserued the humor of Arondele duke of Sauoy, who during the doubtfulness of the French affaires, had caried a watchfull eye, to make his profit by their confusion. Being well informed, that Charles loued him not, he fortifies himselfe by alliances. Hee had giuen his eldest daughter to Lewis of Anjou King of Sicily, and now hee maries his sonne Lewis Earle of Geneva with Anne the daughter of John of Lusignan King of Cyprus, from whence the title of the Realme of Cyprus comes to the House of Sauoy. This marriage was honored with the presence of the duke of Bourgogne, the Earle of Nevers, and the Prince of Orange. These were good cautions for Arondele against Charles: but we shall soone see that he will find another expedient against all euents. As a tree in the sappe groweth as the spring is neer, so diuers popular accidents chancing this year, foretold what should happen. There were 6000 men in arme against the English in Vexin-Normand, and in Caux 20000. Charles doth carefully embrace those occasions, and encouraging them both by letters and messages, he sends them notable Commanders, the Duke of Alençon with the Lords of Loire and Buell, braue and valiant captaines. But as a tree that sprouts forth through the fauour of a warme season, is stayed by a sharpe wind, so all these popular braueries were soon danted, and this stream was soone turned. The rowes that were, mutined yeeld to the English force, but they keepe their hearts for their King, vnill they may shake off the English yoke.

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But the wise prouidence of God, who governs the work for the restoring of this estate, raised vp meanes which all the humane policy of Charles or of his Council could not foresee, who had laboured by all meanes to win the Bourgignons loue. Hee harboured in his heart a resolute discontent against the English: to whom he imputed the cause of all his crosses and disgraces. The Liegeois crosse him many waies in the possession of Namur newly fallen vnto him. Antwerp and Arras are discontented, and ready to rise against him. The English (in his opinion) is the author and fauourer of these discontents, and it may be did all he could to molest him, what shew sooner he made. But howsoever it were, the Bourgignon (meaning to make an open breach with him) compounds all quarrels with this discontented people, intending to make a firme peace with Charles. So the year 1434 passeth without any great alteration.

This year 1435 shall be more happy for the French then the former. Charles besiege Gerberoy by Pothon and la Hire. The English come to succour it, led by the Earle of Arondele, being a thousand against lesse then five hundred. Our men therefore resolute to reue to Beauuais, but they must account with the stronger. There is but one meane of safety, to hope for no helpe. So these braue warriors resolute to fight, and are victorious: for the English troopes are defeated: leuen or eight hundred slaine vpon the place, and all the rest prisoners. The Earle of Arondele (being grievously wounded) dies at Beauuais, a braue and resolute Captaine, dying in the bed of honour. This was the beginning of the year: the winter was very sharpe, but it daunted not the courage of our warriors. The Earle of Dunois (a bastard of Orleans) was the ring-leader in many exploits: hee causeth Saint Denis to be surprized by Captaine Deymille, and hee follows

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well accompanied to keepe it. In going along he takes Houdan, and then hee fortifies St. Denis with men and victuals, and leaves the Marshall of Richemont to governe it. And that he would lose no time, he employes his troopes to take seuerall places thereabout, as Pont Saint Maxence, Orouille and Meulan. The English had fortified Saint Ouy, to keepe the Countrey in alarme: Occasions are offered of daily battles, and daily the English are beaten. But the long stay of this little army, and the horror of St. Denis stirred vpon the people of Paris, who loth to be so restrained, prepare a great power to force St. Denis at what price soeuer. The Marshall of Richemont, loth to engage himself (being in all the weaker) retires honourably to Meulan, without any losse. The English beat downe the defences of St. Denis, being a common retreat to all men, without any more labour, either to keepe it or to recover it.

*The accord of Philip Duke of Bourgonne with Charles the Seventh the French King.*

IN the end behold an agreement made with Charles, so much expected, so vnprofitably sought after, and now freely offered by the duke of Bourgonne. The deputies of the Councell prefe both French, English and Bourguignon, to end all quarrels, by a good composition. The City of Arras is allowed of by them all to treat in. The Assembly was great: from the Pope and the Councell of Pisa there came the Cardinals of Saint Croix and Cipres, with twelve bishops: for the French King there was the Duke of Bourbon, the Earle of Richmont Constable of France, the Earle of Vendosme, the Archbishop of Rheims Chancellor of France, the Lords of Harcourt, Valpergue, la Fayette, Saint Pierre, du Chastell, du Bois, Chastillon, du Fay, de Raillie, Rommer, Cuffelles, and Cambray first President of the Parliament at Paris, with many wife and learned men, as John Indart, Bleset, John Charrier, Peter Cleel, Adam le Queux, John Tasse, and so forth. For the King of England, the Cardinals of Yorke, and Winchester, the Earle of Salisburie, the Bishop of Saint Dauids, John Rastliffe keeper of the great Seale, the Lord of the Manor of Rastliffe, the Official of Canterbury, and some Doctors of Divinity. The Duke of Bourgonne, there came the duke of Geldres, the Earle of Nassau, the Bishop of Cambray, the Earle of Vernambourg, the Bishop of Legee, the Earles of Clemon, Neuers, Salines, Saint Pol, and Ligny, besides the Deputies of many of his Cities and Townes. The pompe was great, both on the deputies behalfe, and of the duke of Bourgonne, who intertained them with all the honour and good cheare that might be wished. But leauing these circumstances, I make haste to the principall subiect. The Kings of France and England began the treaty. The fundamentall question was, to whom the Crowne of France belonged? The English did challenge it, both because that hee was issued from a daughter of France, as also by the Grant of Charles the first who did institute Henry the first and his Successors, Heires of the Crowne, and hee inherited Charles the seventh, whom hee termed an Vlturper. The Deputies for France answered, that they ought not to call in question the ground of the Estate, which could stand firme without that lawfull Heire to whom the Law appoints: and therefore without proofing of that which was apparent of it selfe, they came to offers for the ending of all controversies, That if the King of England would both disclaime the title of King of France, and yeeld vp the Countreies held by him in diuers parts of the realme, he should enjoy the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, doing homage for them vnto the King of France as his Soueraigne, and with those conditions which his Ancestors, Kings of England, had formerly enioyed them. They stood vpon their different termes: their matter was limited, and possession putt vp the English. But sometimes hee refused that after hee had strait to haue all, most commonly loseth all. One moiety in effect had vnmailed the English, then all in imagination, who in the end shall find, that the Soueraine Judge, the preseruet of the law, and of States, giues and takes away, appoints and disappoints, according to his good and wife will: and that there is no force, nor wisdom in his. The matter was soone ended betwixt the Kings of France and England: feeling that could do no good, the sword must preuaile.

Thus the Ambassadors of England, returned without any effect: those of France to treat with the duke of Bourgonne and his deputies, amongst the which hee himselfe

The question  
for the Crowne  
of France.

1435

A was the chiefe, as well for his owne interest, as for his iudgement in affaires. A man exceeding cunning, who could embrace all occasions to make his profit by another, as the discourse of his life hath made manifest. But to what end serues all this mortar, and so great workmanship, to frame a building which shall bee ruined vnder his sonne, and shall bury him in the ruines thereof? It is a foolish reason which thou callest reason, hauing no ground of reason, and doest not hearken to the voice of heauen. O foole! all thy riches shall be taken from thee this night. A man walks in a shadow, he toyles in vaine, to make his name immortal in the grave, he hunts with infinite labour and takes nothing. As for Charles, he sought to retire the Bourguignon from all league and alliance with the King of England, and taking from him all occasions of discontent, so to engage him by great gifts and honours, as he should resolute to follow his faction, as the most profitable, knowing that his owne private interest, was the chiefe end of his designs. Matters were carried thus according to the humour of that age, the disposition of the Court, and for the honour of Charles, who must aske the Duke of Bourgonne pardon, hauing caused his father to be slaine against his faith. But was it not true? must not the crime bee confessed by him that was culpable? Charles therefore resolues to send him a blanke, and the accord doth testifie, that the Bourguignon filled it with so many vnreasonable conditions, as it is strange to great a Monarch should stoope so much to his subiect and vassall, but necessity hath no law.

A president for great men, not to attempt any thing against reason, lest they bee constrained to repaire it with reason, and yet to know that it is an amendment of a fault to yeeld to necessity for the good of the State, being a great thrift to lose for gaine. The originall sett downe at large all the conditions of this Treaty: who so please may reade them in Montbretel, and in the history of S. Denis. The summe is, that the massacre committed on the person of John duke of Bourgonne at Montreuil-faut-yonne, is sufficient, by repaid by confession and ceremonies. Great summes of present money with goodly Siegneuries are giuen to the Duke of Bourgonne: so many assurances for him and his, as a great volume is full of these scrupulous conditions.

The Duke of Bourgonnes promise is more simple, that hee should declare himselfe a friend to Charles the seventh King of France, and enemy to his enemies: that he should renounce all alliance and friendship with the King of England, and promise both his person, and all his meanes to expell him out of France. The performance was according to promise: Charles Duke of Bourbon, and Arthur of Britany, Earle of Richmont, Constable of France, in the name of Charles the seventh, aske pardon of the Duke of Bourgonne, for the death of his father, and the Duke pardoned him for the love of God. The Cardinals (in the Popes name and the Councells) absolve the Duke from the oath which he had made vnto the English: and either part sweares to maintaine the accord in that which did concerne him. So the peace was published with great solemnity, to the incredible content of all men. The King, the Duke of Bourgonne, and the whole Realme reioyced exceedingly, onely John of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Pol, would not bee therein comprehended, hee shall suffer for it, and his Houle after him. This was the 24. of September, in the year 1435. A famous day for those things which happened in this reigne, whereof this accord gaue the first occasion. The marriage of Charles sonne to the Duke of Bourgonne, with Katherine of France, daughter to our Charles, was concluded to seale this accord. From this peace sprang a more violent warre against the English. The Duke of Bourgonne sends backe all his contracts to the Duke of Bedford, and hauing shewed him the iust reasons which had moued him to embrace the Kings amity, being his kinsman and Lord, hee renounceth the alliance of England, with a watchword, that euery one should looke to himselfe. Euery man sharpens his sword, and countes his Armes, to recover that by force, which they could not obtaine by reason. The first fruits of this accord began to grow ripe even in the heart of winter, for Corbeil yeelds presently to the King, with Brie-Comte-Robert and the Caille of Bois de Vincennes. The Bourguignon employes all his friends and intelligences at Paris, hee vitieth all his instruments, meaning to set them to worke the year following: All Normandy begins to reuolt, Deepe, Fescan, Montier-Villiers, Hailen, Lancarville, Bec-Crespin, Gombeville, Loges, Villemont, Graulieu, Longueville, Neufville, Lambreville, Charles-Mesnil, St. Germaine, Fontaines, Dreux, and Blainville, about

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Queen Isabel  
dies.The Duke of  
Bedford dies.

the King willingly, chafing away the English, and receiving the French for their safety, all which was acted in two daies. What more? to finish this worke, God takes away one of the chiefe causes, and one of the principal instruments of the misery, which had so long afflicted this Estate. We haue seene what part *Isabel* of Bawaria played in this Tragedy, we haue sought her after the death of her poore husband, and could not find her, for in truth she was ciuilly dead. *Bedford* fearing the spirit of this *Medea*, seeks not onely to stay her hands, but to keepe her eyes from the managing of affaires. And for that (he had deuoured the treasure of the Realme, he constrains her to keepe a diet. Hee doth therefore sequester her to the house of Saint Pol, where she liued vntill the end of this yeare in great poeury, no more assisted by the Bourguignon then by the English. Being dead, they caused her body to be put into a small boate, and so transported by the riuer of Seine to Saint Denis, where she was buried without any pompe, like to a common person. A light put out, whose fauour doth yet offend posterity.

In this yeare also died *John* of England, that great Duke of Bedford, called Regent of France, who hath noted many blacke pages in this volume, and so much terrified our Ancestors. Having seene the former accord, and felt so sudden effects in Normandy, fearing the rest would follow, he drowned himselfe in sorrow, & knowing no means to avoid this storme, he dies at Rouen the 13 of December, leaving to King *Henry* the sixth, a bottom very hard to vntwist, and to his young wife (being sister to the Earle of St. Pol) a cause of mourning, the which continued not long, for she married soon after against the will of her parents, with an English Aduenturer of small account giuing cause to laugh at her, being but little pitied. *Charles* being thus discharged of a heauy burthen by this accord, had more liberty to follow his honest delight. He goes to Lions, visits Dauphine, and stays in Languedoc, a Prouince which he loues about all the rest, having found it most deuoted to his seruice. Montpellier was his abode, a place very pleasantly feared; but taking this time of recreation, he had left good Lieutenants in France, who shall soone send him newes of their exploits.

*The City of Paris yields to the King, and expels  
the English.*

The English  
vanquished at  
Saint Denis.

THE Bourguignon prepares to annoy the English, whilest that the Constables make way for the reduction of Paris. His intent was (parting from Pontoise) to put himself into S. Denis, a towne halfe dis-mantled: but *Thomas* of Beaumont Captain of the Bastile (having intelligence of this designe) prevented the Constable, and entred into S. Denis: with a notable troupe of souldiers. *Richmont* notwithstanding approacheth neere to S. Denis: the Captainell having giuen warning of his approach, *Beaumont* issues forth to the bridge, vpon the little riuer which is towards Pierre-fite, where he met with the fore-runners, who hauing drawne him forth, ingage him in the battell, the which was led by the Constable, marching from the valley of Montmorency. This English troupe was easily vanquished, most of them were cut in peeces, and the rest taken, hardly any one of them escapes, to cary newes to Paris. *Thomas* of Beaumont is slaine among the rest vpon the place. The Constable makes vse of this good successe: hee prechtly marcheth with his victorious army to Paris, which stood amazed at these approaching forces, wanting a Regent, who was lately deceased; and such as were left to command, were more fit to handle an oare, then to gouerne the helme. Now was the time for good French-men to shew themselves, whereof there were many in the City. The Bourguignon faction being now become the Kings seruants, imbrace this occasion, and hauing consulted together, they resolute to shake off the English yoke, the which they had too long endured.

The Duke of Bourgonne was then at Bruges, but he had left the Lord of Lisle-Adam to deal with his partisans at Paris. It is the same whom he had formerly imploied against *Charles* and his father *John*, in the murder of the Kings seruants. He had great credit with the Parisians, of whom *Michael Lailler* was the chiefe Tribune. He discouers by him the peoples affections, being resolute to submit themselves to the King: of whom they craue only a generall abolition of what was past. This gentle demand being brought to Pontoise to the Constable, and easily granted, all prepare for the effects. That quarter neere the Halles gaue the first signe of the French liberty at Paris, by the meanes of the Curate

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The Constable  
interceded into  
Paris.The Kings ent-  
ry into Paris.

of Saint-Eustace: and all Saint Honories street ioynes in this hardy resolution. In the same time the Vniuersity beyond the bridge doth the like. *Lewis* of Luxembourg, Bishop of Theouenne Chanceller for the English, the Bishops of Liseux and Meaux, the Lord *Willoughby*, with others deuoted to the English, aduertised of these mutinies in diuers parts of the City, fearing some sedition, retire toward Saint Anthonies gate, hauing carried all their best furniture into the Bastile, and fortified the houses adioyning. All being thus prepared at Paris, the Constable of Richmond, guided by *Lisle-Adam*, parts from Pontoise, and comes to Saint Denis in the night, where hauing rested some houres, hee marcheth early in the morning, accompanied with the Earle of Dunois, (a bastard of the house of Orleans) the Lords of Suze and Buell, with a great company of resolute souldiers, approaching neere the City, *Lisle-Adam* with a choise troupe goes before St. Jacques gate, the appointed place for the Rendezuous, where he finds all in a readinesse, so as *Lailler* hauing planted ladders for him at the lowest part of the wall, he mounts with his troop. Being entred the city, the people of that quarter (who were assembled for his coming) begin to cry, *A peace, a peace, and save the King, and the D. of Bourgonne*. *Lisle-Adam* being, ioynd to the chiefe of the City, goes directly to the gate, the which was set open by the captaine of that quarter, and the Constable, who was before it with his troopes, entred in good order. Then the people redoubled their cries. They all stand at a gaze, being aduertised of this entry, and exceeding glad to see themselves ready to recover their ancient liberty; they prepare to march where they should be commanded to expell the English, all run to the Bastile. The Tournelles are presently seized on, and all approaches into the Bastile are soone won. Such as were within, at the first made some shew of defence, but as all things were prepared to force them, they demand a parlee, and agree to depart with their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the towne beneath the Loure, to imbrake vpon the riuer of Seine, and so to passe to Rouen. Then could not well haue passed through the city. The people aduertised hereof run to the walls, and cry out with great shoutes, bayting the English like dogs, whom a little before they had feared and honoured as their masters. This hapned the 27 of February, in the yeare 1436. Thus Paris returns to the obedience of this Crowne, hauing passed seuentene yeares vnder the gouernment of the English: which made the fatherly command of their King more pleasing vnto them, and them more willing to obey him, hauing tasted the imperious command of a stranger.

*Charles* aduertised of this happy successe, parts from Montpellier, and returns slowly by Auvergne, to giue the Parisians time to prepare for his entry, the which was performed with great pompe, sixe moneths after the reduction of the City, but with so extraordinary an affection of the people, as drinking after a great thirst. All the townes within the Realme had followed this example, if *Charles* had imbraced this goodly occasion, all being drawne vnto their duty by a naturall instinct. He was of a mild spirit, playable to all winds, flying toyle, but patient when he had vnderaken it. We haue hitherto seene him constant enough in his afflictions, although the weight of blowes so often doubled, had made him senselesse, so as hee bare his crosses with lesse feeling, as a mortified member doth the razor or a corasue: but prosperity had so reuiued his spirit, as he recovered himselfe and returned to his owne disposition. He wanted authority to command well, and iudgement to make choice of his seruants, for he often imbraced and rewarded vnecessary men, and put backe such as were profitable.

This proceeding discontented such as (seruing him faithfully) did see themselves condemned. These discontents gaue them liberty to speake, and doe things, which offended the King, experience teaching, that these tractable humors are as soone moued as pleased, and aboute all, are suspitious and cholericke: for impressions creeping into these weak spirits, makes them to fall into another extremity of vnmeasured passion. We haue seene the like in the life of *Lewis* the Gentle, but we shall not find the like exesse in our *Charles*: yet shall we see that by the like indifereate facility he disordered his owne affaires, discontented his blood, grieved many of his seruants, filled his life with languishing in the prospect of his affaires, to cast him headlong (in the midst of his greatest triumphs) into the gulfe of a fearefull graue: what we are to represent in this discourse, shall bee the Commentary of this truth.

As soone as the Spring appears, the Duke of Bourgonnes army goes to field to be-  
siege

1436

The Bourguignon  
attempts  
Calais in vaineThe Lords of  
Croy defeated  
by Calais.

siege Calais, it consisted for the most part of the communalities of his estates. He engaged them in this warre, both by his authority and the shew of profit, to haue a town convenient for trafficke. This army had scarce continued in field ten daies, but they went homeward to their houses, shops, and fields: besides, the English wrought them by hand, and sent a great supply to defend Calais. This humored so possesse this multitude, as the Bourguignon had no power to hold them. All passe away like a lent stream, and this his designe came to nothing, although he chafed in vaine, like the Persian that threatened the tempest, and whipt the Sea. So all enterprizes failed not. The Duke of Bourgogne being thus retired, the English took his revenge by assault, and spoiles the marches of Boulogne, and Gravelins, to the great losse of the Country. The Lord of Croy sought to make head against the English, being followed by a goodly troope: but he was defeated, and saues himself with difficulty in Artois. The Flemings sate at this losse, and march vnder the Duke of Bourgogne's command, but they returned with shame: for Calais was referred for another season. When he said that Charles had a sonne named Lewis, borne in the middle of his greatest affliction, the first year of his reign, in the year 1423. Being thirteen years old, hee sent him to Marguerite Suard the only daughter of James King of Scotland, a Princess of excellent vertues, and a gage of the faithful service which Scotland did to this Crowne in her greatest dangers, who suruiued not much this felicity of France. Charles was fious to returne to Montpellier: where hauing called an Assembly of that Province, he heard many complaints of the outrages his souldiers had committed, running vnder downe the Country in great disorder. The best souldiers were guilty of these insolencies for want of pay. *Rodrigo de Villandras* an Arragonois, (who had faithfully seru'd the King) in disgrace, and banished with his troope, but being toyed with *Philip of Gaucigny*, and hauing taken some places from the English, hee made his peace with Charles. This confusion was not alone in one Country, but generally dispersed through out the Realme. A troope of 2000 horse led by *Anthony of Chabannes*, *Blanchet*, *Gualter* of Bron, *Floquet* and other renowned Captaines, parting from Normandy, went through the Countreies of Vimeu, and Ponthieu, by Dorens, Orville, Bray, Cappy, and lions in Sauters, and enter into Cambresy, from thence they lodge at Solames toward Hainault with infinit spoile, eating and ransoming all after a hostile manner. *Jehan* Croy the Bailiffe of Hainault sent troopes against them, but they were defeated: they were called the shauers or fears.

In the end through Charles his many commands, they come into Champagne, where hauing remained sometime, they were employed to take Chasteau Landon, Champs, Nemours, and from thence they were led to Montreuil-faut-Yonne, where there was a matuculous siege, being well assailed and well defended: but in the end the Towne was taken by force, and the Castle by composition. Charles was at Bray, and the Dauphin commanded at this siege. Hee made faire warres with the English, who thanking before the King his father, yielded him these first fruits of his authority in the view of the whole army, who honoured him afterwards as the Sunne rising, whence grew the loues we shall hereafter speake of. The Mignons of Court which were then in quantity gave a great occasion: *Christopher* of Harcourt Lord of Chaumont, and *Marlin* Gue Bishop of Clermont, men that had no good in them but to doe ill. The Duke of Bourgogne had much trouble this year: the English had sowed great diuisions in his best Cities. Bruges stirred vp frange mutinies against him, whereas he was in danger of his life: *Lisle-Adam* chiefe Captaine of his Guard is slaine. A popular man whom we haue seene to command the Parisians twice, once against the King, and another time the King, he presumed in like sort to gouerne them of Bruges, but they teare him in peeces, as the Gantois had in former times massacred *Artenille* their Tribune.

A multitude is a dangerous thorne, which cannot bee handled without pricking. Gant followed the example of Bruges, but in the end all was pacified, with the lessest the most seditious, to the content of the same people, who deuoure him they did adore. After these seditions, *Philip* returns to warre, he besiegeth Crotoy (a place very important for the free trafficke of his Countreies) but after great paines and charge, it proved all in vaine.

A man vnfortunate in warre, but in Councell hee commanded with an imperious

The Dauphin  
intreats to  
English court  
teously.Factions in  
Flankets.The Duke of  
Bourgogne in  
danger of his  
life at Bruges.1437  
Two frange  
supplies.

grauitie. But (amidst the general) shall I omit this particular obseruation, profitable for the example. That great Captaine *La Hire* passing neere vnto Clermont, (a towne then subiect to the English) was there honourably received by the Lord of Anferment Gouverneur of the towne, and (for that he trusted *La Hire* much) he suffered him to enter with his men into the towne to eat a banquet. *La Hire* embracing this occasion, makes him his prisoner, and takes the place. *Anferment* had his revenge in time, by means of the Lord of Mouy: he enters Beauvais, where *La Hire* was Gouverneur, goes vnto him to the Tennis Court, takes him and leads him away prisoner in view of all the Inhabitants, and makes him to yeeld both his ransome and Clermont againe, notwithstanding Charles his letters to the Bourguignon: but in the end they are good friends. Thus difficultie is all way requited with the like, leaving a long repentance for him that is the author of the injury, how braue and cunning soeuer he be, God punishing iniquity in due season, when a man thinkes least of it, and by means least apparent. The warres had wonderfully vnpopled France, but this leuorage was not sufficient. The whole country lying waste, (not able to be tilled by reason of the daily incursions and ordinary spoils of both parties) there fell a great famine. That which was vicially worth but few pence, was sold for five shillings and six pence, or more. The people being famished, sought bread where they might find it, being forced from their houses by raging hunger, they disperse themselves in the fields and townes: in the one to find some fruit among the trees, and in the bushes to haue some herbs or rootes: in the other to get some morrell of bread, or some garbage, to fill the pance with any thing they could meet withall. So their bodies filled with bad meats, were likewise infected with bad humours, falling into diuers languishing diseases. In the end all turned to a plague, so horrible, as all these poore creatures famished and weakened with diseases, were like vnto dry wood in a great flame. Thus one plague bred another, and this miserable plant of Warre, brought forth two branches of misery to our wretched country, famine and pestilence. These afflictions dispersed throughout the Realme, reigned chiefly at Paris, the solemne Rendezvous of this languishing people. There was nothing to be seene but lamentable troopes of people pale and leane, of all sexes and ages, either running in the fields, or vp and downe the streets, or laid vpon dung-hills, or dead in the market places, a most horrible spectacle to behold.

There dyed threecore thousand persons in Paris. All the principall men abandoned the Citie, except *Adam* of Cambray the first President, *Ambrós* of Lore the Prouost of Paris, and the President of the Accounts, whom God preferred in this contagion to eternize their commendable memories for euer, hauing succoured the publike in necessitie; without whose courageous resolution the Citie had easly fallen into the hands of the English, who watched for all occasions, and made daily incursions from Manteuen vnto the gates. The Champian country being abandoned, Wolves left the Forests without feare, & hauing made their prey vpon the remainder of this miserable people, they came to the gates of townes, and euen into the streets. This horrible spectacle hath bene seene at Paris, in the Theater of the world, in the most populous Citie of all others. So one misery drew on another, and these afflictions continued two whole yeares, vnto the year 1435, whilst the contention of Anti-popes increased the fire of Schismes in Christendome, as we shall then in due place.

*Amede* or *Amé* Duke of Sauoy caried himselfe as we haue said, during the calamities of France: in the end of this year he shall shew a strange alteration of humor, to the great amazement of all the world, for being in his Castle of Thonon, (a towne seated vpon the Lake Lemman) he retires with a small traine to Ripaille, where he had an Abbey of Monks of Saint Maurice, and hauing imparted his designe but to two of his most confident seruants, hauing bound them to keepe him faithful company he takes vpon him the habit of these Monkes, that is, *A gray frocke, a long cloake, a gray hood, a short cornet, and a red bonnet vnder his hood, but vpon his gray frocke he wore a great girdle of gold, and vpon his cloake a crosse of gold.* Hauing thus changed his habit, his meaning was not to change his degree, nor to leave the world, but vnder the colour of this habit, his intent was to aspire higher, as the course of his life will shew. Being now retired to Ripaille, he calls a parliament, and shewes them his intention in this new course of life: That being weary of the world, where there was nothing but toyle and trouble, hee would sequester himselfe, to dedicate his life wholly to the service of God: But to this end hee might

A lamentable  
spectacle in  
Paris.The Duke of  
Sauoy becomes  
a Monke.



1438

provid for the government of his estate, he declares his eldest son Prince of Piedmont, and *Claude* his youngest Earle of Geneva, & he himself remains Duke of Savoy, although he had vowed himself to the Order of Saint *Maurice*, and without altering of anything he reserves to himself the sole and souveraine authority of all his estates. Having published his intent, he retires with his Monkes to *Rispaille*, into one quarter of the kinging which he had built apart, accompanied with twenty of his favourites in *Montaigny*: but not living like unto that profession, for leaving them their water and room, he qualified this solitary life with the best cheer he could get from Chambery or *Turin*. This year is likewise memorable by the death of three great Princesses: of *Katherine* Queene of England sister to *Charles* the seventh, the mournfull leave of our long series: of the old Queene, daughter to the King of Navarre, Mother to the Prince of Britanie, the Duke and Constable: and of the old Countesse of Armagnac, daughter to the Duke of Berry, and Mother to the Duke of Savoy, the Earle of Armagnac, and the Earle of March. All dyed almost in one day, having seene the strange tragedies of France acted during their lives and upon their children; and in their ends, seeing no end of miseries. As the fury of fighting grew cold, so the warre was turned into traffick: there was no towne but the Governour kept it for him that would give most: and *Charles* in more expedit to have a towne or place for money, then to besiege it without charge, to the oppression of his subjects, and with a doubtfull euent. *Montargis* had either party much money to take it and to recover it againe: *Charles* buyes it of *John* of Sautenne an Arragonois vnder the English pay, for ten thousand Crownes. He buyes *Dreux* (the which he could neuer yet obtaine) for eightene thousand Crownes of *William* *Breillart* of Beaufe, a filthy trafficker, worthy of that confused time, but unworthy all good order and all royall authority. The which being laid open unto *Charles*, he resolves to vie an honourable force, and to spend more money to get more honour: he besiegeth *Meaux* and takes it victoriously, these were the first fruits of this new year in the month of May, *Charles* the onely sonne of *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne came to *Tours*, where King *Charles* was resident, and takes *Katherine* of France his daughter in wife, according to the Treaty of Arras.

*Charles* son to *Philip* of Bourgogne marries *Katherine* of France.

Having conducted her through his Fathers Countreies to *Saint Omer* (where he attended him) he solemnized the marriage with exceeding great pompe, the which nothing increaseth the love of these Princes allyed, nor the happinesse of the marriage, in which was of small continuance, and lesse love betwixt the parties, as the course of this story will shew. In the meane time the Bourguignon hath still two things to his bowle, though he had renounced the alliance of England, yet had he not left all his intelligence, the necessity of their neighbour-hood giving them still occasions to conferre together. And as he was always watchfull of his profit, so had he a good gage in England to his affaires, in retiring *Lewis* Duke of Orleans out of prison, being taken at the battle of *Azincourt*. He caused *Charles* to entertaine a treaty for a truce with the English: the grounds were laide by the Duchesse his wife, a cunning Princess and careful of her bands good. The Cardinall of Winchester comes to *Grauelin* to that effect, yet this but to lay the first foundation of the work which shall be finished in due season. When made mention of *John* of Luxembourg, who would not be comprehended in the treaty of Arras. *Philip* made great shew to be displeased with him, and Luxembourg likewise be his enemy, causing his men to be slaine with great violence. *Philip* treats with him on complaint of them that were wronged, and all is pacified. The cleere sighted did also find that this was the Bourguignons policie, who seemed to be in choller against him, gratified *Charles*, being much displeased with Luxembourg, who played the petty king with his Master, but he shall not cary it long, for he dyed soone after, and the Bourguignon with the whip he held ready for all euent, and the children of Luxembourg stood in need of the Kings favour. But now the Bourguignon flies to another practice. He desired in to be master of *Calais*, and seeing that force could not prevail, hee meanes to trie policy. Some of his subjects perswaded him that in breaking a Dike, they should let in the sea, and so drowne the towne and country about, whereby they should force them to obedience. He beleues this imagination, and employes much paine and cost to effect it. But this device of a flood, vanished away like unto the Flemish army at the first siege, whereof we have seene the fruitlesse issue. So this fantastical flood proved ridiculous. But the Duke

A ridiculous practice to take *Calais*.

1439

A shew that he had done some thing, caused the bridge of *Milay* to be beaten downe, and some small Dikes, which onely watered the Country.

The beginning of this year laid the foundation of great matters for the restoring of our estate, the which doth draw on daily by meanes not fore-seene, and without the wife-dome or care of *Charles*, who was chiefly interested. After the reduction of Paris, all the townes in general were resolved to free themselves by force, if the King had beene so affected, but finding his minde inclining rather to peace, they beseech him to finde some meanes to compound with the English, & not to languish longer in the ordinary losses of a lingering and preiudicial warre. The Duchesse of Bourgogne for her husbands private interest, layes the first stone, treating for the delivry of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, as wee have said. This first act was seconded by the request which the Prouinces of the realme made unto the King, the which ministred occasion vnto *Charles* to call a generall Parliament at Orleans, whether not onely all the Citizens vnto *Charles* to call a generall Parliament, but all the Noblemen which came not in person sent their Agents: for the subject was to treatte of a generall peace, and if it might not be effected, to set some order for the men of warre, for the ease of the poore people, who could endure no more. The King was there in person accompanied with these Noblemen, the Earles of March, Bourbon, Vendosme, and Richmond Constable, and the Archbishop of Rheims being Chancellor of France. The Agents of the Duke of Orleans, of the Duke of Bourgogne, and of the Earle of Armagnac assisted, with the deputies of Paris, Languedoc, Dauphine, Guienne and other Prouinces subiect to the French. The Chancellor (a wise and eloquent man) did set downe at large the miseries of warre, and the inestimable good of peace: but what better Commentary then the feeling of ouer-passed miseries, and the visible demonstration of our present calamities? It was decreed that in regard of a generall peace, they should make all necessary pursuit with speed. As for the ordering of men of warre, they should presently take some course to avoid confusion hereafter. The Lord Chancellor and the first President were chosen to negotiate this treaty with the English, through the meanes and fauour of the Duke of Bourgogne, as having laid the foundation: and presently a decree was made for the government of soldiers both of horse and foot, and to discharge the army of hangers on, the which did but incommode, to the great oppression of the poore people. This was the institution of the Franke-archers. The first day of May was appointed by the common consent of both Kings to meet at *Saint Omer*, but the King of England was aduised by the Duke of *York* the Viceroy (who had succeeded the Duke of *Bedford* in all his authority, although the name of Regent was not given him since the Kings Coronation) that he should stand vpon teatimes, as having no need of peace, but onely moued with compassion of the poore people, and therefore he failed in this negotiation. But there fell out an unexpected occasion to *Charles*, which not onely broke off the course of this business and all others, but had well-neere plunged France into greater misery then before. The King was gone to Angiers, where hee had intelligence of the taking of *Saint Iustanne*, for his service, one of the most important places of the Country of Maine, and of his losse at the siege of *Auranches*, which was ill attempted and succeeded worse: when as stranger newes made him lose the pleasure of this game, and forget the bitterness of his losse. He was growne wonderfull wayward and suspicious, inclining visibly into two extremities: being too familiar with some of his domestical servants, and too seuer to his Princes and chiefe Officers: either hee should not have married his eldest sonne *Lewis*, Dauphin of *Viennois* so soone, or else hee should not have vied him like a child. But *Charles* over-lookt him with a fower countenance as if he had been vnder the rod. All this was done of purpose, practised by his secret Counsellors to keepe great men from attempting against him vnder the name of this young Prince, to the preiudice of his royall authority: but what hee feared chanced. The Earle of March a Prince of the blood, had the charge of the young Dauphin, a Prince whom *Charles* trusted, being both wife and temperate: *Lewis* of Bourbon Duke of *Alencon* Godfather to *Lewis* was not so familiar with *Charles* as he was accustomed. The Duke of Bourbon was not altogether in his bad teatimes, yet was he not so great in the Kings favour as he desired, grieving that such base men should have countenance. These two Princes must lead the dance: if their desires had beene granted, many would have joyed: but now they would be lookers-on onely. At this time the Princes had men

The Princes of the blood discontented.





1440

Kings house against the King himselfe, was by our Ancestors called the Praguery. In the months of this year being spent in these garboiles, Charles returns to Tours, and is made for the raising of the siege of Harfleur, where the Earle of Somerset had lain; but it was in vaine, for the town was taken in the end, after a long and painful toyle of the Inhabitants, who could not be relieved in time by reason of these house troubles: and yet there was a second mischiefe, the Lord of Gaucourt, governor of the phin (a worthy servant to the King) returning from the siege, and carrying some of his baggage (which was scattered from the troupe) to retire, he was surprized by a company of English, and led prisoner to Rouen, to the great grief of Charles who loved him, having given good testimonies of his loyalty in his greatest extremities.

But in exchange Charles takes Conches and Louviers, (townes of importance) mandy from thence he came into Champagne, to suppress a part of these aduents, theues who had surprized some places in this Province, Musle l'Euesque, Montjay, &c. The Kings army (led by the Constable) takes them, and razed them by the sword, and pardoning most of these French Captains, among which were the baster Verge and the Lord of Commercy: but hee caused Alexander baster to take the Oath to be drowned, a notable theefe, who (having following the discontented army) had spoken unworthily of his Master. This execution of Justice is memorable, one of so high a birth, being followed the same year with the exemplary death of the Earle Marshall of France, killed from a great and famous house, who being found guilty of Negromancy and Sorcery, was condemned by the Court of Parliament of Paris, and burnt at Nantes with some of his servants, culpable of the same crimes. Hee is figured for his valour, but neither his armes nor his blood could stay the hand of Justice, meritoriously executed by this iust decree of the Magistrate. Private Justice thy to be registred in the history, to shew that the greatest cannot escape the hand of God, they have long abused his patience. But the treaty of peace betwixt France and England being discontinued about a year, was againe renewed by the industry of the Duke of Bourgogne a Portugeuse, but much affected to the quiet of the Realme, and a very prudent woman, who had great credit with her husband. She follows it to wisely, and the two Kings sent their Ambassadors to Calais. On Charles his behalfe were Archbishops of Rheims and Northon, and the Earle of Dunois bastard of Orleans, Henry King of England, the Cardinal of Yorke, and the duke of Exeter, who lived with them Charles duke of Orleans, being so long kept prisoner in England.

This poore prince (after the languishing of so long a prison) was exceeding glad in some meane to returne to his house, having felt the ayre on this side the sea, and asked the Earle of Dunois, one of the branches of his house, who had so faithfully helped him in his afflictions: but hee grieved to see himselfe presently caryed backe into England, for that they could not agree vpon the fundamentall points, the English being resolved not to lease one foot of that which they held in France. And although the King consent they should freely enioy what they possessed, so as they held it as they had in times past of the Crowne of France by homage: yet would they not yield in any thing being loth to relinquish their pretended soveraignty. But hee refused which was a double loss. At this time they were enforced to cetyre with this resolution, that without changing any thing of the treaty begun, every one should goe home, and consider of their affaires, to assemble againe when need should require: the which either party desired. And this is all could be done for the generall. They proceeded farther for the duke of Orleans: but as in these trafficks such as hold the possession doe commonly use policy, the stronger giving law to the weaker, so in so precious a matter as life, the first must be sued vnto making no halt to deliver him, for that they drew great profit by the pension of this great Prince. Moreover, Charles had no great care of his being: for that some malicious spirits had seasoned him with some bad impression, that this poore Prince, perceiving him, that his long imprisonment was not without some mystery, and that hee had some mischiefe against the King and his estate. The which being miserable in so great a person, gave all men a iust cause of compassion. But notwithstanding all these difficulties, yet must this prince, (one of the goodliest plants of the Crowne) be now delivered, to leave a successor for the realme of France: and God would honour his race with the Crowne, had prepared an admirable meane for his deli-

1446

very, by his help, from whom in reason he might least hope, even when his owne friends had abandoned him: who yet was said to be the King of France.

A notable example for all men in many respects: a prison of But and twenty years was spent in a prison, a prince borne to command, and yet captive to another. The full tale of his goods gave him a sufficient occasion to retire to perpetual misery, and to leave a successor to his posterity. In the end, standing alone, he was able to suppress him, and to deliver him, which hath his out for his assured treasure, had been able to suppress him. But God, who gouernes the rood wisely, gives him liberty, goods, and honour in due season, and the sight of this qualitie, which seeking to make the wicked, and to make the good, as well as prosperity, is then corrected when it seeks to corrupt another.

Philip having lived so long in the good name for the Duke of Orleans, and to with draw him from the prison, and to make him his word for it, and pay it, and to make him the Duke of Orleans being honorably conducted, to come first to Calais, where they were being paid, to come to the Duke of Bourgogne the Duke of Orleans his deliverer, who received him, and in the Duke of Orleans he could see. He was taken at Amboise, in the year 1440, and was delivered in 1446, on the 25 of November, by the means of his son, that had slain the Duke of Orleans, and he could continue his house. Being come to Philip, (having delivered him from his imprisonment, and promised to hold him for his father) he wears a perpetual chain, which is confirmed by the marriage of Mary of Cleves the daughter of Philip with the Duke, and then he swears to the treaty of Arras, except the Article of the marriage contracted on the person of the Duke of Bourgogne, whereof hee was to come, and for confirmation of this solemn league, he takes the order of the golden fleece, to be in the hands of Philip, and is admitted into the number of his Knights. He had two great enemies and became great friends by so memorable an occasion.

The Duke of Bourgogne had his private considerations for the safety and quiet of his house, hee himselfe raised to greatness: But as it is no less vertue to keep them to get, and that his blood, profit, dutie, and necessity commanded him to hold firme for the French party, as the greatest and most assured for the good of his affairs: so likewise hee considered that he should need some worthy friend neere the King, on whom he might confidently relye. And what greater personage then the Duke of Orleans, the first Prince of the blood, and what greater bond to free him from captivity, necessary also forcing him therunto, for it was very apparant that this Prince being freed from prison, had the like action against Philip, that Philip had against the King, for although Philip had not slain his father, yet was hee thought to be the murderer, and the quarrell and hatreds be hereditary in these great houses, where discontents and wrongs goe from father to sonne: being also likely that the King discontented to haue beene forced by his subject to aske him forgiveness in the view of all Europe, would maintaine the sight of his blood, in a Prince that had once wronged him, against his reconciled enemy, whose friendship hee had so dearly bought: wherein hee noted well the Kings humour, being suspicious, jealous, and impatient of any new authority, which (being able to oppose to life) he would neuer faile to cross in all occasions. Philip wisely foreseeing all these difficulties presented them, in assuring himselfe of the Duke of Orleans, and vpon so good consideration, suppressing thereby all doubt of danger, which he might thereafter feare. Herein we see a notable example, that we must not be despaire in the greatest crosses of this life, that quarrels must be mended, and others as they also friendship must be immortal. That the best meane to vanquish an enemy is to doe him all the good we can.

The honour of this good worke was not attributed to the duke of Bourgogne alone, but to the Duke of Orleans his wife, who was a great credit in drawing her husband to this reconciliation, as her predecessor did dishonour by the incensing of her husband against the Duke of Orleans, which grew that many which polluted these two houses with two tragical murders. The which honor is to pacific quarrels betwixt the houses of Anjou and the house of Orleans, which is matched, and contrariwise it is an impudent to show diffidence among kindred. God also blest the mediation of this worthy Princess in the marriage of Mary of Cleves, Nece to her husband, with the Duke of Orleans, by whom hee had Lewis the twelfth, which shall be King of France; and two daughters, the

The Marshall  
de Rais burnt  
for forcibly.

The duke of  
Orleans  
burned.

The Duke of  
Bourgogne  
mediates for  
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sonne.

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But in exchange Charles takes Conches and Louviers, (townes of importance in Normandy) from thence he came into Champagne, to suppress a part of these adventuring knights who had surprized some places in this Province, Muffe l'Escuque, Montagu, and others. The Kings army (led by the Constable) takes them, and razed them by the Kings command, pardoning most of these thorough Captaines, among which were the baltard of Yerry and the Lord of Commercy: but hee caused *Alexander* baltard to take Duke of Orleans to be drowned, a notable theefe, who (having following the discontented Princes) had spoken unworthily of his Master. This execution of justice is memorable upon one of so high a birth, being followed the same year with the exemplary death of *Syde de Raze*, Marshall of France, killed from a great and famous house, who being found guilty of Negromancy and Sorcery, was condemned by the Court of Parliament of Brisney, and burnt at Nantes with some of his servants, culpable of the same crimes. Hee was hallored for his valour, but neither his armes nor his blood could stay the hand of Divine Justice, meritoriously executed by this iust decree of the Magistrate. Private actions worthy to be registered in the history, to shew that the greatest cannot escape the hand of God, after they have long abused his patience. But the treaty of peace betwixt France and England being discontinued above a year, was againe resumed by the industry of the Duke of Bourgoigne a Portugee, but much affected to the quiet of the Realme, and a very significant woman, who had great credit with her husband. She follows it so wisely, as in the end the two Kings sent their Ambassadors to Calais: On Charles his behalfe were the Archbishops of Rheims and Norwiche, and the Earle of Dunois baltard of Orleans. For Henry King of England, the Cardinall of Yorke, and the duke of Exeter, who brought with them Charles duke of Orleans, being so long kept prisoner in England.

This poore prince (after the languishing so long a prison) was exceeding glad to see some meanes to returne to his house, having felt the ayre on this side the sea, and embraced the Earle of Dunois, one of the branches of his house, who had so faithfully served him in his afflictions: but he grieved to see himselfe presently caryed backe into England, for that they could not agree vpon the fundamentall points, the English being resolute not to leave one foot of that which they held in France. And although the King were content they should freely enjoy what they possessed; so as they held it as they had done in times past of the Crowne of France by homage: yet would they not yield in any sort, being loth to relinquish their pretended soveraignty. But hee refused which afterwards cost him. At this time they were enforced to crye with this resolution, that without insisting any thing of the treaty begun, every one should goe home, and consider of his affairs, to assemble againe when need should require: the which either part desired. And this is all that can be done for the generall. They proceeded farther for the duke of Orleans: but as in these trafficks how to hold the possession, doe commonly use policy the stronger giving law to the weaker, so in so precious a matter as life, the English must be used unto, making no halt to deliver him, for that they drew great profit yearly for the pension of this great Prince. Moreover, Charles had no great care of his delivery: for that some malicious spirits had seasoned him with some bad impression against this poore Prince, persuading him, that his long imprisonment was not without some mystery, and that he had some mischiefe against the King and his estate. The which being miserable in so great a person, gave all men a iust cause of compassion. But notwithstanding all these difficulties, yet must this prince (one of the goodliest plants of this Crowne) be now delivered, to leave a successor for the realme of France: and God, who would honour his race with the Crowne, had prepared an admirable meanes for his deli-

very, by his helpe, from whom in reason he might least hope, even when his owne friends had abandoned him: shew you the Duke of Bourgoigne.

A notable example for all men in many respects: a prison of five and twenty years, was a great addition to a prince borne to command, and yet captive to another. The Duke of Orleans had been a prisoner for so long a time, that he had almost forgot his own name, and yet he was able to do what he would, which was his honour for his assured treasure, had been able to suppress him. But God, who gouernes the rood wisely, gives him liberty, goods and honour in due season, and a sight of his owne estate, which seeking to afflict the afflicted, and controule his libertie, as well as prosperity, is then corrected when it seeks to overcome another.

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The Duke of Bourgoigne undertakes for the Duke of Orleans ransom.

The Duke of Bourgoigne undertakes for the Duke of Orleans ransom.

The Marshall de Raze burnt for sorcery.

The duke of Orleans delivered.

1440

the one *Elonor* which was married into the house of Navarre, of whom is issued *Isabel* a Queene of Navarre, mother to the good and valiant King *Henry* the fourth lately murdered. This year shall be full of Warre, and successfull for *Charley* in the which shall minister occasion to enter into the first treaty of peace, which having begun the year before, and little acquainted, shall be ended in the following year; after another manner than the English expected, *Charles* (seeing that the King of England by his cold delays, fought not openly to make his condition better (being taught thus) but also to draw him into long inconsequence, he refused to arm.)

The memorable siege of Pontoise.

The Duke of York goes with an army to relieve Pontoise.

The English had taken Creil upon Oize, and could not be dispossessed of Pontoise, a towne of importance for the necessities of Paris. The King resolves to take it himself. The Admirall of Coitivy besiegeth Creil, and sent thither in the Kings presence *Thomas* the way is made to Pontoise where the siege was memorable, being well fortified and well defended, but in the end it was taken by *Charles* for the good of France. He lodged at the Abbey of Maubouillon, accompanied with his Count the Dauphin of Viennois, *Charles* of Anjou, the Earle of Clermont, the Constable of France, the Cardinals of Loheac and Soignies, *Louis* of Luxemburg, Earle of Saint Paul, and of Piquet, who brought with him a goodly troop of men from the Duke of Bourgogne, with some of the City of Tournay, who were a gallant squadron of their citizens. Thence went both French & Bourgogne under the same Ensignes, against the common enemy of Britain. There went to the Earles of Eu, Albret & Vendôme, the Vidame of Chateaux, the Lords of Clugny, Tancarville, Joigny, Mornell in Bay, Buell, Mouy, la Tour, Angoul, Longueil, Mayne, court, Suze, Chabannes, Flavy, Saint Symon, Mailly, Penelad, Blancheville, and other brave Captaines, *La Hire*, *Patton* and *Flaque*, with an infinit company of the Nobility, who added their valour to the number of the souldiers which they had brought with the King. The City of Paris sent a goodly troupe, so as *Charles* had twelve thousand fighting men. At the first approach the Bastion upon the Bridge next to Maubouillon was taken by *La Hire*, on the other side against the Abbey of Saint Martin, they make a bridge with a great Bastion, where they lodge three thousand Archers, yet the towne was not so easily besieged, but rather lent in both men and victuals.

The Duke of York goes with an army to relieve Pontoise.

Whilst that *Charles* stood discontented with this when he beheld a greater braudo, for the Duke of York (Lieutenant generall for *Henry* K. of England) comes to Cency, & Hoonville, places very neere to Pontoise, with a goodly army of six thousand, & sends his Herald unto *Charles* to offer him battell. *Charles* (who by the advice of his council would not commit this successfull beginning of his affaires to the hazard of a battell) returns them with no other answer, but that he should have his belly full sooner then he liked. The river of Oize was betwixt both armies. *Charles* resolves to keepe the passages from Pontoise to Beaumont; and the Duke of York to pass the river in despite of the French, and to this end he caused many small boats of leather, wood & cords to be brought, with other stuff fit to make bridges. The bridge of Beaumont was guarded by the French, but the English passed an Abbey beneath the bridge, and with such danger in their artificial boats, as some valiant men might have slayed a great army, but the silence of the night so favoured their passage, as a great part of the English army was past before our Sentinels had discovered them. Then was there no remedy but to adventure the King of the enemies passage.

Charles retires from Pontoise.

The Duke of York (having thus happily passed the river, and rid his souldiers that night marching in goodly order towards *Charles*, meaning to charge him: *Charles* takes equall of his fears covered with this resolution, not to hazard a general battell, but he was likely to have fallen into another inconvenience, for without awaiting of the day, he puts all the weightiest of his carriages into the fort of Saint Martin, under the guard of *Charles* of Anjou, and the Admirall of Chitivy with two thousand men, and with them *La Hire*, *Roubaix*, *Estouteville*, with other resolute Captaines: and so leaving his lodging of Maubouillon he retires to Poissy. The Duke of York takes up his lodging at Maubouillon, being abandoned, and makes a show to attempt the fort of Saint Martin, but having tried his way, he takes his way to Poissy, & lodges before the towne in view of the King and his army. There were some skirmishes without any great success; *Charles* continuing his resolution to hazard nothing, and York his project to victall and starve Pontoise. So the English retires to Mantz, to send refreshings from thence to the besieged, but this great braudo came to nothing. The beginning was dishonourable for the King, but the end

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A end was both happy and honourable. Being retired to Saint Denis, and having sent the Constable unto Paris, he resolves to send to Pontoise, and to winne it or to die. The reason was, that this his retreat or rather flight was so infamously spoken of by the greatest in Court, and so odious to the Parisians, (who had defraidd a great part of the charge at this siege) as it was to be feared they would make some mutiny against him, if the successe were not good. His spies did likewise assure him that the Princes of his blood (especially since the returne of the Duke of Orleans) were resolved to make some extraordinary assembly, and to admonish him touching the government. It chanced then that the Earles of S. Pol and Vaudemont (notable partisans of the Duke of Bourgogne) left the King, when he had most need of succours, and they of Tournay were of the same party. He had the Dauphin with him, whom he caused to watch diligently both day and night. But how could he doubt that these tricks came not out of the Bourgognons' budget? Choller banished feare, so as being resolved to reparaire this error, and to prevent his enemies practices, he runs to Pontoise (for he was but ten dayes away) and giving the Duke of York no leisure to releue the besieged, he resolves to take it by force. This indignation succeeded happily. He caused three assaults to be given on three parts, and at the first he wonne our Ladies Church which is without the towne, whereby he might greatly annoy the besieged. He took this quarter for himselfe, accompanied with the Earles of Marche, Albret and Tancarville. The Dauphin was at the Port Eiche looking to the river of Oize. C with the Earle of Maine, the Admirall and the great master of the Crossbowes. On the other side of the Battery was the Constable, the Marshall of Loheac, the Lords of Mouy, Tournay, Suze, Serran, Sanzay and the Vidame of Chartres.

The Cannon being planted of all sides, and a reasonable breach made, the French enter furiously, and the King with the first (of such force is resolution in a great Prince,) to animate a whole army, as the head gives life to the whole body. The English were consumed like to straw in the fire, and five hundred were slaine at this entry, and four hundred taken prisoners. The Inhabitants were spared (by the careful command of *Charles*) who acknowledging the happinesse of this victory to come from God, goes to give him thanks, offering him the first fuits of this victory: for without doubt if he had failed, his enemies D were ready to conspire against him.

Pontoise taken by assault.

He calls together all the Princes, Noblemen and Captaines of the army. Hee thanks them for the good and faithfull service they had done him in this notable occasion. Hee makes the Lord of Alons Marshall of France, and many Knights. He called for him that first entred the breach, commends his valour, and rewards him with an honourable pension. But why hath the History concealed this honest mans name, his reward had beene immortal? Such was the issue of the siege of Pontoise, remarkable for many circumstances, but then very considerable for the Kings affaires, who had an honourable reuenge of the English braudo. But as one good hap follows another when it pleaseth God, so *Charles* received many good aduertisements at the same instant.

E The English drew together many garisons in the country of Maine, from Mans, Fretoy and Mahinne la lueze, and had sackt Saint Denis in Anjou. The French which were in Sable, Laul and Saint Sufanne, led by the Lord of Buell, meet them laden with spoyle, and very ioyfull; they charge them, defeat and kill them, leaving four hundred upon the place. *Peter* of Brezeiffles out of Conches and surpriseth the English at Beaumont le Roger: sleeping without feare, he awakes them with the sword, kills them & takes the towne. *John Floquet* doth likewise about the same time take Eureux (a towne of very great importance in Normandy) the meanes is memorable, a fisherman makes a hole in the wal, whereby he enters in the night, and becomes master of the towne. But in exchange they receive a checke. The Captaines and souldiers which had taken many prisoners in at Pontoise, had compounded with an English Captain for their ransom, who had taken the debt upon him. The prisoners were kept at Cornille, a Castle neere unto Chartres. While they expected money, this Mediator having free liberty to go and come, observes all the passages so well, as he founde faine meanes to pay all these ransomes, for one morning he surpriseth the place, frees the prisoners, and takes all them that had them in guard.

The Parisians honour *Charles* at his returne, whom they were ready to devour, if the successe of Pontoise had not bin good. The Duke of Bourgogne sends his wife unto him for many respects, who returned with no great satisfaction: and *Charles* Duke of Orleans (who

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(who had not yet seene him since his returne from prison) comes vnto him with a goodly traine: the King receiues him very graciously, and allowed well the excuses of his long delay, and to crosse the Duke of Bourgogne, he giues his cousin of Orleans towards the payment of his ranfome, a hundred and fifty thousand franks: a very great some in those dayes, which was not giuen for nothing in so great a necessitie of the Kings affaires. Lewis of Luxembourgh and the widow of John of Luxembourgh, partisans to the Bourgignon, doe homage to Charles, and yeeld the towne of Marle vnto him: theif be fruits no doubt of thir victory at Bonfotte. In the meane time the Princes assemble at Neuers, the Dukes of Bourgogne, Bourbon and Alençon, with the Earle of Vendosme. The Duke of Britany sent his Ambassador, not able to come himselfe, for that he was not yet in the Kings good graces.

There were for the most part priuie discontents, tending to euery mans private interest. As persons being maintained in their degrees, to be called to Councells, respected in their aduices, honoured in their charges, payed their pensions, and eased in their lands. But the zeale of the publicke good, shadowed all with a shew of iustice, peace, order, and respect to the people. It was the Kings will, that he should proceed more speedily in the treaty of peace with the English, which had become coldly followed. That he should supply his Parliaments with good and sufficient men, and thereby provide for the offices and not for the persons, that by their fault, full of rage, might be shorned, and speedy iustice administered without delay, or respect of favour to the parties. That he should provide for the ease of the subiects overcharged, rule the conduct of his officers in their assignments, and extorsions, the which were daily committed vnder too apparent an excuse, that the lawieler was not payed. That he should giue honours without respect of former passed misdeeds, and declare all his subiects capable of offices and dignities indifferently, not remembering what was past. That he should haue a competent number of graue men in his great Councell, worthy of that charge, and not to commit the government of the affaires of the Realme to two or three, as had beene done in former times. These are the chiefe points of their demands, as some word by word out of the Originall.

Charles was nothing pleased with these assemblies, made both in his absence and without his prauity, whereby many inconueniences must ensue, all being done without his authority. But being taught by his owne experience, he digested this kind of affront quietly, being loath to alter any thing as such a sealon, when as he had no need of new enemies: and hauing excused what had beene done, or contented euery private person, he proceeded to the principall, which was the establishment of the affaires of the Realme. The disorders of men of warre were insupportable, the which must be reformed, but that which troubled the King was the siege of Tartas, remarkable by this circumstance.

Tartas is a towne in Gasconie belonging to the house of Albret. This towne was besieged by Capitaine de Buch, a great Noblemen of that country, and of the English faction. It was concluded for the extreme necessitie of the country, that there should be a successe of armes, and libertie of free traffike in that Prouince, vntill Midsummer following, vpon condition that if the King did not succour the towne by that day, it should yeeld to the English; but else the French should remaine in free possession without any controuersie. And for assurance of this treaty, the eldest sonne of the Lord of Albret should remaine in hostage. The matter was of great weight, being not only a question of the losse of a place of great importance, but of the Kings reputation, who leauing his subiects, was in danger to be abandoned by them, and so to lose all Gasconie, where the English had gotten many partisans. Charles providing carefully for his affaires, giues two blowes with one stone, whereby he strooke both the theucnes and the English. He armed with exceeding speed, hauing drawne together foure thousand horse, eight thousand archers, & eight thousand other foot. An infinite number of great personages, and voluntary Noblemen posted to this iourney, as to a solemne assignation whereon depended the quiet and honour of France. The Dauphin did accompany him in this voyage. Charles of Anion Earle of Maine, the Constable of Richmond, the Earles of March, Eu, Calfres, Foix and Lomaigne the election of the Lord of Armagnac: the Lords of Albret, Gaure, Cominge, Efrac, Tartas, Tancerville, & Montgaston the eldest son to the Earle of Boulougne & Auvergne, and Philip of Culant Admiral of France, with an infinite number of gallant Nobility. Thus Charles parting from Paris, comes first to Saumur, whither John Duke of Britany sent his Ambassadors, to offer him homage and men. Shame, to haue so often left him in

The Princes admonitions to the King and their demands.

All his extremities, would not suffer him to see the King, although the Constable was a good mediator for him. He returned to the King the fort of Bais and Patus which remained all the country of Poitou, and Charles gave them in giue to the Constable. He thene he passed into Poitou, and provides that Montpelier and Saint-John should be more trouble the people: he then comes into Kaintonge, which had beene made vnder the Lord of Pons, who humbled himselfe vpon thinking, that his sight would bring peace. Taillebourg was taken by force, and the theucnes punished. Breuete was taken, and so. Thus Charles spent this yeare against the theucnes, which had surprised some borderes.

The next yeare was happily employed against the English, who had made a great breach in Gasconie, and thereabouts, where the English had gotten deep rooting by the ancient and lawfull possession of this Province. In the end of this yeare the whole Prouince remained his, but the prouidence of God impaire his blessings by the greces. Hauing thus pacified Poitou and Kaintonge, he comes to Limoges, and to the Tholouse, which was the Rendezvous of all his troopes. Being armed, he goes not far from them of Tartas, that they should continue firme, and that they should be seduced by the prefixed day: but as he labours on the one side to settle his affaires, so the English on the other side seek to overthrow them.

Richard Talbot comes out of England into Normandy with two thousand men, and the Duke of York leuied men in the country at selfe, & places of their obedience, goes to hold with foure thousand men. With these forces he thins to take all the Chastels held in that Prouince, where he had left the Earle of Dunois and the Viscount of Chastreuil for the guard of those place: but this enterprise had small successe. Talbot besieges Conches, and as the same instant the Earle of Dunois Galardon (a place holding for the English to cause aduersion. Talbot hauing taken Conches, the Earle leaves Galardon, having no reason to hazard his small troope against so great forces, and puts them into Garlons making a defense warre, attending the successe of Tartas. Talbot fearing that Galardon should be surprized by the French doth rage it, and this was all.

Lewyns returne to Tholouse, to conduct Charles from thence to Tartas, for effect the weight of his affaires. Assignment is given, it must be held. To conclude, the King comes at the appointed time, with a goodly & mighty army: the condition is performed, he demands his hostages, and the effect of the accord. So young Aluer is delivered, Tartas continues vnder his obedience, the day honourably kept, and all the Prouince in quiet. Tartas thus victoriously assured, Charles resolves both to husband the occasion with his forces, and to proceed farther. Saint-Seur was held by Thomas Rameston with a hundred men as times, and foureteen hundred Crosbowes, and fortified what might be in those dayes. Charles takes it by force, slew the greatest part of the English, and takes the Commander prisoner. Acqs having endured a siege of sixe weekes is yielded by composition. The Earle of Poix was with the King, and employed both his person, men, and meanes to doe him seruice: but the impatience of the French thrust them vpon his country, where they committed many insolencies. The Bearnois discontented with the French, assembles his forces and chargeth them as enemies, but they had their reuenge for they fell vpon this ill-armed multitude, and slue seven hundred, to the great griefe of Charles, fearing that this escape might alter his affaires: but the Earles discretion covered this exerce, and Charles continued his course. Agen held for him, from thence he summons Tonnais, Marmande and Port Saint Mary which yeeld him obedience. Reole being obdurate, was besieged, and assailed with difficulty, but in the end it was taken.

The sharpe Winter hindring the course of the river of Garonne, for the withdrawing of the Army made the siege long and difficult, and gaue the English meanes to recover St. Seur and Acqs, not very well guarded: but the Earle of Poix winnes Saint-Seur againe. And the Earle of Lomaigne Acqs, a great number of the Nobility of the country (forced to make a good shew during the English command) submit themselves to the King, as the Lords of Puols, Raulan, Roquetaillade, & Pelegrie. Thus Charles hauing made the Lord of Cotigny, Senechal of Guicourt, gouernor of a new conquered country, he makes his returne into France, being at Montauban he losse the two great captains so famous in his reign, Talbot and Aluer, more gish in vertue and honour than in substance: yee Poisson, was master of the Kings horse, and the son was faithful. La Hire left for his chiefe wealth the immortal memory of his loyalty and valour, the which he happily employed in the greatest

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Tartas released by King Charles.

The death of Talbot and Aluer.



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The Princes admonitions to the King and their demands.

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All his enemies, would not suffer him to seeke King, although the Countesse was a good mediator for him. He resorted to the King the fift of Effait, and with him annointed all the country of Poitou, and Charles gaue them in guard to the Countesse. From thence he passed into Poitou, and provides that Marcell, and Saint Martin should not more trouble the people: he then comes into Xaintonge, which had beene much troubled by the Lord of Pons, who humbled himselfe vnto the King, promising to restore peace. Taillebourg was taken by force, and the thecues punished. Breuer was taken and ransomed. Thus Charles spent this year against thecues who had surprised some towncs. The next year was happily employed against the English in open enemies, making a great breach in Gascony and thereabouts, where the English had gotten the possession by the ancient and lawfull possession of his Ancestors. In the end of this yeere the whole Prouince remained his, but the prebendite of God imparted the blessing to the French. Having thus pacified Poitou and Xaintonge, he comes to Languedoc, and to the Tholouza, which was the Repedeuous of all his troops. Being armed he giues notice to them of Tartas, that they should continue firme, and that they should be reled by the prefixed day: but as he labours on the one side to settle his affaires, so the English on the other side seeke to ouerthrow them.

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The sharpe Winter (hindring the route of the ruer of Garonne, for the victualing of the Army) made the siege long and difficult, and gaue the English meane to recover Saint Seuer and Acqs, not very well guarded: but the Earle of Foix winnes Saint Seuer againe, and the Earle of Lomaigne Acqs. A great number of the Nobility of the country (forced to make a good shew during the English command) submit themselves to the King, as the Lords of Puils, Raufan, Roquetaillade & Pelegue. Thus Charles hauing made the Lord of Cotigny, Seneschal of Guichen, gouernor of that conquered country, he makes his returne into France. Being at Montauban he lofthold two great captains for famous in his reign, Pailhon and La Hire, more pish in venture and honour then in assistance: yet Pailhon was master of the Kings horse, and his son was Marshall. La Hire left for his chiefe wealth the immortal memory of his loyalty and valour, the which he happily employed in the greatest

Tartas released by King Charles.

The death of Pailhon and La Hire.

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greatest necessity of this Crowne. Names in truth most worthy to be consecrated to the perpetuall memory of posterity, for a president to such as manage armes, and make great profession of honour. And with what title were these most honoured, for their virtues or for their Castles? A happy exchange, to change perishing gold, which oftentimes makes him hatefull that loves it, with the pleasing smell of immortal praise. And a reprobable ambition amidst the reproches of this golden age, which loatheth gold more than honour.

So Montauban was a tombe for their bodies, and the whole world the Epitaph of their praises. At that instant and in the same place, *Charles* ended the controuersie of the Earldome of Cominges. *Isane* daughter to the Earle of Cominge and Boulogne (married at the first to *John* duke of Berry, soone to King *John*,) was after his decease married to *Mathew* Earle of Castel-bon, of the house of Foix. She had one daughter by this *Mathew*, but in that there was no good agreement betwixt them, she makes a Will to bridle her husband, that by virtue of the authority of a father, he should not enjoy her living, insinuating King *Charles* the seventh her heire, in case her daughter died without lawfull heires. In disdaine of this Testament, *Mathew* much younger then she, and who had not taken her but for her crowne, kept her prisoner, an aged woman of foure score yeares.

The daughter of *Isane* of Cominges being dead, the Earldome belonged vnto the King as lawfull heire, by the donation of *Isane* the lawfull heire. So *Charles* was bound by a double bond to defend the gray heires of this old woman, against the insolency of her cruell husband, who finding himselfe supported by the fauour of the Earle of Foix and Armagnac his cousin (having already seized vpon some townes of Cominges, and playing the petty King, during the confusion of times and the neighbor-hood of the English, thought all things to be lawfull. The King adiournes them both to appeare at Tholous (whereas then he established a Parliament for all the Countreies of Languedoc, Foix, Cominge, Gaure, Quercy, Armagnac, Estrac, Lomaigne, Magnac, Bigorre and Rouergue) *Mathew* deliuered *Isane* his wife into the Kings hands, and it was decreed by the Court of Parliament (the which they note to be the first of this solemne assembly) that *Isane* should liue in free liberty out of *Mathewes* power, and should enioy the moiety of the revenues of Cominge, & the rest should go into the Kings cofers. The Earle of Foix & Armagnac yielded vp the townes of Cominges which he had flurped, and was adiourned vnto Paris, to yeeld an account of many rebellions whereof he was accused, especially for that he set in his titles, *Bernard* by the grace of God, Earle, &c. A marke fit for soveraignty, the which appertaines not to Seigneuries subiect to this Crowne.

Thus *Charles* remembers lawes in the heate of warre, but it requires another Commission to execute this decree by force of armes, after the death of *Isane*, who being conducted to Poitiers, liued not long in this liberty. *Charles* being returned to Poitiers about the moneth of March, resolves to imploy his sonne *Lewis*, both to fashion him to affaires, and to draw him from such as would seduce him. He giues him the gouernment of those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Suze and Seine. For the well imploying of this new authoritie, there were two goodly occasions presented one vpon another. Deepe was reduced to the Kings obedience, this was a great anyance to Rouen: for the freeing whereof the duke of Yoike doth besiege it, raising forts to keepe them from all reliefe. This siege had continued nine moneths, very tedious to the besieged, when as behold the Dauphin accompanied with the Earles of Dunois, and Saint Pol, and the Lord of Gaucourt, assailes these forts and forceth them, kills three hundred English, and many Normans, either by the sword or water, and so frees Deepe.

This occasion was followed by another, which chanced in a manner at the same instant. *Isane* Countesse of Cominges dies at Poitiers, soone after she had tasted the aire of liberty, and the good cheere which *Charles* made her. Vpon the report of her death *Bernard* Earle of Armagnac seizeth vpon the townes of Cominges, Doree, Lile in Dodon, Samathan and Lombres, and preparing to warre, he leaues troopes in Arragon, by *Salazard* a Captaine of that country, causing *John* of Lescun a bastard of Armagnac to invade the Kings territories. This exesse might haue proued very preiudiciall, when as *Charles* sends *Lewis* his sonne into Languedoc, with a thousand horse, to quench this mischief in the breeding. Being armed at Rouergue, all yeelds vnto him. Euery thing is opposite to the Earle of Armagnac, The Earles of Perdiac and la Marche, the chiefe supporters of his insolency,

The Parliament of Tholous created.

Deepe besieged by the King and relieved by the Dauphin.

insolency, leaue him in the plaine field. *Salazard* doth likewise abandon him: of such force is a royall matter against a bad cause.

The Earle of Armagnac (seeing himselfe thus abandoned) thrusts himselfe into Lisle Jordan, to dispute his pretensions with more aduantage, but he thrusts himselfe into the yole, for he was taken by *Lewis*, and led prisoner to Carcassone. These happy exploits did greatly recommend the Dauphins iudgment and valour, whom all men held worthy of a great command. *Charles* having commended him for so well doing, would haue sent him backe against the Earle of Somerset, who had raised a great army on the frontiers of Normandy & Britany, the which was like vnto a fire of straw, for having taken la Guiche by force, hee left it as loone for money, and so retired with his army without any other exploit. The heat of the English grew more temperate touching the chiefe points of their affaires. They stood vpon tearmes in the two first fruitlesse assemblies made for peace: but now they seeke the King. The Earle of Suffolke writes vnto him that he hath commandement from the King his Master, not onely to renew the treaty of peace discontinued, but also to finde meanes to marry him in France, hee receiues a fauourable answer from *Charles*, and vnder his safe-conduct comes to him to Tours. *Charles* continued still in an humour to loue peace, and to seeke it, but the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord *Roffe* had no charge but to treat of a generall truce, the which they concluded for a yeare and a halfe: but this shall bee a goodly occasion to send home the English. After a shewer comes a sun-shine, and euen experience teacheth, that after a great rainge comes a long drought. Now we shall see nothing but truces, one after another, marriages and alliances, during foure yeares, which is a preparatiue to a ciuill peace for about a hundred yeares.

This truce being made, they must now seeke warres elsewhere, so fruitfull is our vanity of change, so as we cannot liue without suffering or doing harme to others: when as they treated of this truce, it was demanded by the Ambassadors of both Kings what their men of warre should doe? This truce (say they) will be more chargeable vnto vs then warre, for they must liue: They haue not beene accustomed to worke, and yet they will make good cheere, neither can the poore people endure any more. Moreover, if they haue no worke, they will fight with themselves: wee must therefore calme this storme, and send them to such as loue vs not.

This was the cause of the war in Suisseland, whereof *Lewis* was generall, leading both French and English vnder the same ensignes. *Mathew Guesche* was Colonell of the English forces, for the King of England, vnder the Dauphins command. Hee entred with his army into the territory of Basle, and the Country of Elsas, betwixt Basle and Strasbourg, one of the goodliest and most fertile Provinces of Germany, they terrified Metz, took Montbeliard, and filled all those Countreies with feare and combustion. The moniues of this extraordinary enterprize, may well bee oblerued by that which I haue said: but these causes were farre fetcht, and not to be embraced by two Kings, who but euen now tormented one another, especially by *Charles*, who having suffered so many crosses, should haue horror to cause others to feele the like without constraint, yet he found a pin for all these holes. *Charles* would haue his sonne take Montbeliard, to be reuenged of the Gouernor, for the wrong he had done him, spoiling his Country as farre as Langres in his greatest necessity. He assailed the Suisses (and namely the of Basle) being fauourers of *Eugenius* against *Felix* his competitor, that is to say, against that *Amedee* D. of Savoy, who had so crossed him in his affaires, whom he could neuer loue what frowner hee made in policy. And for that Germany, and that quarter neere vnto Suisseland supported *Felix* against *Eugenius*, he therefore hated them. And to gratifie *Rent* King of Sicilia, who had a priuate quarrell against the City of Metz, he turned his forces against it. But what meaning fower *Charles* had herein, hee embraced this voluntary war with an incredible affection, as if it had beene to defend the heart of his Realme. He himselfe came to Espinall, and having sent his army before to Metz, hee continued the siege five moneths, vntill the Citizens had paid 200000 Crownes for the charges of the warre, and acquitted King *Rent* of 100000 Florins of gold, which they had lent him in his necessity. *Lewis* the Dauphin parting from Montbeliard ruines Portentry, in disdaine of the Bishop, a great solicitor against *Eugenius*, and from thence he enters into the territories of Basle with this goodly and flourishing army, tyed together with so many severall strings,

The Earle of Armagnac taken by the Dauphin.

General truce.

The French and English sent to war in Suisseland.

hee

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greatest necessity of this Crowne. Names in truth most worthy to be consecrated to the perpetual memory of posterity, for a president to such as manage armes, and make his great profession of honour. And with what title were these most honoured, for their virtues or for their Castles: A happy exchange, to change perishing gold, which oftentimes makes him hateful that loves it, with the pleasing smell of immortal praise. And a reprobable ambition amidst the reproches of this golden age, which louch gold more than honour.

So Montauban was a tombe for their bodies, and the whole world the Epitaph of their perils. At that instant and in the same place, Charles ended the countourie of the Earldome of Cominges. *Isane* daughter to the Earle of Cominge and Boulogne (married at the first to *John* duke of Berry, soone to King *John*,) was after his decease married to *Mathew* Earle of Castel-bon, of the house of Foix. She had one daughter by this *Mathew*, but for that there was no good agreement betwixt them, she makes a Will to bridle her husband, that by virtue of the authority of a father, he should not enjoy her living, insinuating King Charles the seventh her heire, in case her daughter died without lawfull heires. In disdain of this Testament, *Mathew* much longer then she, and who had not taken her but for her crowne, kept her prisoner, an aged woman of fourescore yeares.

The daughter of *Isane* of Cominges being dead, the Earldome belonged vnto the King as lawfull heire, by the donation of *Isane* the lawfull heire. So Charles was bound by a double bond to defend the gray heires of this old woman, against the insoleny of her cruell husband, who finding himselfe supported by the fauour of the Earle of Foix and Armagnac his cousin (hauing already seized vpon some townes of Cominges, and playing the petty King, during the confusion of times and the neighbor-hood of the English, thought all things to be lawfull. The King adiournes them both to appeare at Tholousa (whereas then he established a Parliament for all the Countreys of Languedoc, Foix, Cominge, Gaurc, Quercy, Armagnac, Estrac, Lomaigne, Magnac, Bigorre and Rouergue) *Mathew* deliuered *Isane* his wife into the Kings hands, and it was decreed by the Court of Parliament (the which they note to be the first of this soleinne assembly) that *Isane* should liue in free liberty out of *Mathew*s power, and should enjoy the moiety of the réuenues of Cominge, & the rest should go into the Kings cofers. The Earle of Foix & Armagnac yielded vp the townes of Cominges which he had sturped, and was adiourned vnto Paris, to yeld an account of many rebellions whereof he was accused, especially for that he set in his titles, *Bernard* by the grace of God, Earle, &c. A marke fit for souerainety, the which appertaines not to Seigneuries subiect to this Crowne.

Thus Charles remembers lawes in the heate of warre, but it requires another Commission to execute this decree by force of armes, after the death of *Isane*, who being conducted to Poitiers, liued not long in this liberty. Charles being returned to Poitiers about the moneth of March, resolues to imploy his sonne *Lewis*, both to fashion him to affaires, and to draw him from such as would seduce him. He giues him the gouernment of those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Suze and Seine. For the wellimploying of this new authoritie, there were two goodly occasions presented one vpon another. Deepe was reduced to the Kings obedience, this was a great annoyance to Rouen: for the freeing whereof the duke of Yorke doth beseege it, raising sortis to keepe them from all reliefe. This siege had continued nine moneths, very tedious to the besieged, when as behold the Dauphin accompanied with the Earles of Dunois, and Saint Pol, and the Lord of Gaucourt, assailes these sortis and forceth them, kills three hundred English, and many Normans, either by the sword or water, and so frees Deepe.

This occasion was followed by another, which chanced in a manner at the same instant. *Isane* Countresse of Cominges dies at Poitiers, soone after she had tasted the aire of liberty, and the good cheere which Charles made her. Vpon the report of her death *Bernard* Earle of Armagnac seizeth vpon the townes of Cominges, Dorre, Lile in Dodon, Samathan and Lombres, and preparing to warre, he leaues troops in Aragon, by *Salazard* a Captaine of that country, causing *Isane* of Lescun a bastard of Armagnac to invade the Kings territories. This excess might haue proued very preiudiciall, when as Charles sends *Lewis* his sonne into Languedoc, with a thousand horse, to quench this mischief in the breeding. Being armed at Rouergue, all yeelds vnto him. Every thing is opposit to the Earle of Armagnac, The Earles of Perdiac and la Marche, the chiefe supporters of his insoleny,

The Parliament of Tholousa created.

Deepe beset by the King his sonne released by the Dauphin.

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A insoleny leaue him in the plaine field. *Salazard* doth likewise abandon him: of which force is a royall matter against a bad cause.

The Earle of Armagnac (seeing himselfe thus abandoned) thrusts himselfe into Lisle Jordan, to dispute his pretensions with more aduantage, but he thrusts himselfe into the toyle, for he was taken by *Lewis*, and led prisoner to Carcassone. These happy exploits did greatly recommend the Dauphins iudgment and valour, whom all men held worthy of a great command. Charles hauing commended him for so well doing, would haue sent him backe against the Earle of Somerset, who had raised a great army on the frontiers of Normandy & Britany, the which was like vnto a fixe of straw, for hauing taken la Guiberry by force, he left it as loone for money, and so retired with his army without any other exploit. The heat of the English grew more temperate touching the chiefe points of their affaires. They stood vpon tearmes in the two first fruidlesse assemblies made for peace: but now they seeke the King. The Earle of Suffolke writes vnto him that he hath commandement from the King his Master, not onely to renew the treaty of peace discontinued, but also to finde meanes to marry him in France, hee receives a fauourable answer from Charles, and vnder his safe-conduct comes to him to Tours. Charles conuined still in an humour to loue peace, and to seeke it, but the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord *Rosse* had no charge but to treat of a generall truce, the which they concluded for a yeare and a halfe: but this shall bee a goodly occasion to send home the English. After a shower comes a sun-shine, and euen experience teacheth, that after a great rain comes a long drought. Now we shall see nothing but truces, one after another, mariages and alliances, during foure yeares, which is a preparatiue to a ciuill peace for about a hundred yeares.

This truce being made, they must now seeke warres elsewhere, so fruitfull is our vanity of change, so as we cannot liue without suffering or doing harme to others: when as they treated of this truce, it was demanded by the Ambassadors of both Kings what their men of warre should doe? This truce (say they) will be more chargeable vnto vs then warre, for they must liue: They haue not bene accustomed to worke, and yet they will make good cheere, neither can the poore people endure any more. Moreover, if they haue no worke, they will fight with themselves: wee must therefore calme this storme, and send them to such as loue vs not.

This was the cause of the war in Suifferland, whereof *Lewis* was generall, leading both French and English vnder the same ensignes. *Mathew Goeche* was Colonell of the English forces, for the King of England, vnder the Dauphins command. Hee entered with his army into the territory of Basil, and the Countrey of Elsas, betwixt Basil and Strasbourg, one of the goodliest and most fertile Provinces of Germany, they terrified Metz, took Montbeliard, and filled all those Countreys with feare and combustion. The mooues of this extraordinary enterprize, may well be obscured by that which I haue said: but these causes were farre fetcht, and not to be embraced by two Kings, who but euen now tormented one another, especially by Charles: who hauing suffered so many crosses, should haue horror to cause others to feele the like without constraint, yet he found a pin for all these holes. Charles would haue his sonne take Montbeliard, to be reuenged of the Gouernor, for the wrong he had done him, spoiling his Countrey as farre as Langres in his greatest necessity. He assailed the Suisses (and namely them of Basil) being fauourers of *Eugenius* against *Felix* his competitor, that is to say, against that *Amede* D. of Savoy, who had so crossed him in his affaires, whom he could neuer loue what heer sooner he made in policy. And for that Germany, and that quarter nere vnto Suifferland supported *Felix* against *Eugenius*, he therefore hated them. And to gratifie *Rent* King of Sicilia, who had a priuate quarrell against the City of Metz, he turned his forces against it. But what meaning sooner Charles had herein, hee embraced this voluntary war with an incredible affection, as if it had beene to defend the heart of his Realme. He himselfe came to Epiauell, and hauing sent his army before to Metz, hee continued the siege six moneths, vntill the Citizens had paid 200000 Crownes for the charges of the warre, and acquitted *Rent* King of 100000 Florins of gold, which they had lent him in his necessity. *Lewis* the Dauphin parting from Montbeliard ruines Portenry, in disdain of the Bishop, a great solicitor against *Eugenius*, and from thence he enters into the territories of Basil with this goodly and flourishing army, tyed together with so many feuerall strings, hee

The Earle of Armagnac taken by the Dauphin.

General truce.

The French and English sent to war in Suifferland.

1444. hee encouraged 4000 Swisses, being resolute to defend their Country. The English part of them were cut in peeces, but they sold their lives deere, for the Germane Histories report that we lost above 3000 men, although we had the victory.

The Emperor Frederick the third, (a Prince which otherwise loved peace,) upon the complaints of the Cities lying along the Rhine, caused that to be done: To wit, Lewis turned into Loraine fearing to be too far engaged in an enemies Country, whom he had invaded against reason: yet Frederick sent his Ambassadors to Charles, to renew the ancient alliances. So the word of people-eaters passed, falling upon divers quarters both for ever of battle in a field of ripe corn, leaving nothing memorable but a notable example of rashness, making a warre which was neither necessary nor just, afflicting quiet peaceable people without any occasion: Whilest that France and England made sufficient land to weede. Henry the sixt King of England, married with Marguerite of Anion, daughter to the Duke of Anion, and of Lorraine, and King of Sicile and Naples: The Earle of Suffolke fetcht her from Nancy, where Charles was resident, whilest that his army afflicted these poore people. Hee feared and conducted this Princess as his owne daughter, with tokens of joy: but this joy was suddenly converted into heavinesse, by the death of the Dauphins wife his daughter in law, whom he loved deely for her vertues, which made her amiable to all France. She was one of the chiefest in this great solemnity, from the which she went to the bed of death: her death was the sepulcher of her Mother, the widow of James King of Scots, who came to see her: and whilest her funeralls were making, her sisters came from Scotland to attend on her, nay rather to defend with her into the grave, if the humanity of Charles had not requied them, giving them house meanes to maintaine their estates in France. Thus passeth the Ocean of this miserable life, in the which there is more cause of mourning then of joy, both in great and small: The marriage likewise of England, wherein were so great shewes of joy, shall end with a lamentable Tragedy, as we shall see hereafter. The truce was so pleasing to both Realmes, that before it was expired, the Kings of France and England renewt for five yeares more, in hope of a perfect peace, promising by their severall writings published generally, to meet together within like moneths in some convenient place, to confirme this peace so generally desired of all their subjects. And so confirme the assurance of their promises, the English deliver Mans to Charles, with all that he held in the County of Mayen, but he put into the hands of King Rene his father in law, Francis Duke of Britany doth homages to the King for the Duchy of Britanie and the Earldome of Montfort. This was at Calnon: but some moneths after there chanced a tragicall disaster in that house. Francis suspecting that Gyles his brother would deale treacherously with him, by the too familiar correspondency he had with the English, caused him to be put in prison, by the Council and care of Charles who had sent him 400 lances, under the command of the Admiral Coigny. But they dealt worse with him, causing him to die in prison for hunger. The history of Britanie describes this accident very plausibly, but it is true that Gyles dyed being prisoner with his brother Peter, who survived him not long after, having a great remorse for this tragick accident. In the rest of this yeare, and the three following, there is nothing memorable, but the pursuits which Charles made for the re-union of the Church. But not to breake off the course of our history, which is properly to treat of that which concernes our estate, we referre it for a more convenient place: A worke in truth notoriety of a great Monarch, but of a peaceable time, that in the peace of the state, we may see the peace of the Church. The souldiers insolvency was nothing abated by this voyage of Germany: They returne more fiesht, then before against the poore labourer. Charles made new orders to restrain them, causing them to be daely observed: but the increasing violence of the English increased daely, not only by the negligence, but by the command of such as had the charge. The Duke of Yorke being called home into England, the Duke of Somersets succeeded him, a proud man, who thinking to do better then the rest, did absolutely ruine the English affaires in France. Hee dispensed with his souldiers in all their villanies, and kept them ready to breake the truce, vpon any profitable occasion. In the meane time the souldiers ordinary practice was to stand in Sentinell, to surprize some good house in the Countrey, being ill guarded: to rob it, spoile it, and carry away the prisoners by unknowne waies. To this end they had their spies, their guides, and their traitors. The fields were full of robberies, by men disguised in strange and fearful habits,

A truce prolonged for five years.

1445.  
1446.  
1447.  
1448.  
The cruelty of the Duke of Britay against his brother.

A habits, being masked when they espied their prey: and therefore they called them counterfeit faces. But to draw men into danger, they marched like passengers, expecting the commodity to surprize them. There is heard nothing but complaints of violence. All the pursuits which were made to repair the breaches of truce, did but increase the paine and charges of the interested.

But of these small disorders committed by the souldiers, there grew so great an inconvenience, as in the end it filled up the measure against the English, being hated & detested of all the French, for their pride and insolency. Fongeres a Towne of Britany vpon the confines of Normandy, then very rich and populous, being without guard vnder the assistance of the truce, was easily surprized by Francis of Surienne, called the Arragonois, a Knight of the order of the Garter, and a great Captaine vpon the marches of France, obeying the English. The town being surprized by him, (being accompanied with fixe or seven hundred souldiers) suffered all the miseries that might be. They kill, spoile and sacke, ravish women, take prisoners, and from thence they run into Britany, and fill all full of feare and combustion. The Briton appeals to the King, and doth complain to Henry King of England; and to the Duke of Somersets his Lieutenant in France: they presse them to repaire so notable a breach, else they would seeke a meanes of revenge. But they receive nothing but words, disavowed by mouth, and aduowed in effect: for Somersets causeth Saint James of Beueron to be fortified, contrary to the treaty. Charles receiving these bare answers from England, sees which way the chance would fall, and that the game would not passe without blowes, yet he restrained his men with great modesty, holding it for a maxime, that he must vse no force: But when as moderate remedies can take no place with men not capable of reason; then to oppose force against the iniurious passion of his enemy. I read with joy in the Originall, that Charles contained himselfe, and was forced to this last warre, *To haue God on his side, and the wrong on his enemies.* To conclude, this moderate proceeding did to iustifie the good cause of Charles, as it was continued with a happy euent: not only to abate the pride of the English, but to expell them out of the whole Realme: as the iust iudgement of God pursued their arrogancy in this attempt, by the breach of public faith: the vndoubted ruine of humane society, which hath no certaine foundation, but in perfect faith. Here endeth the yeare, but the controuersie shall begin more hotly by iust armes, accompanied with a victorious sentence, the which the Iudge of the world shall pronounce against the pretender of this Estate.

Normandy reduced to the Kings obedience.

THE Duke of Britany first interested by the English, begins first to resist him: but Charles is drawne to force by constraint. The Ambassadors of France and England, were assembled at Louiers, to redresse the breach at Fongeres, when as behold Pont de l'Arche (a town vpon the river of Seine, foure leagues from Rouen) is surprized by the Lord of Brez, for the Duke of Britany. This troubled Somersets, who presently sends to make complaint vnto the assembly. Charles makes him answer, that it is a requittall: but if he will render vp Fongeres, and the goods that were stolne, valued at sixteen hundred thousand Crownes, hee should haue Pont del' Arche againe. The which being disdainfully refused by Somersets, Charles protests by his Ambassadors in open assembly, *That if warre followed (which God forbid) the fault should not be his,* causing an authentick act to be taken by certaine Apostolicke and Imperiall Notaries, for his discharge and iustification: Seeing therefore that this mild course was scorned by his stout enemy, hee resolves to haue his reuenge by force of armes. To this end hee combines with Francis Duke of Britany, to make warre against the English their common enemy, vpon condition the Briton should not treat with him without his leaue. A very needfull restraint, hauing often failed, as wee haue seene. All prepare to warre, in euery place where the English had any footing in Gascony, in Normandy, and in all other parts where there was any remainder of their ancient Conquests.

Guienne shall begin the game: but it shall end in Normandy, to make perfect the French obedience, whereof it offers these first fruits to Charles in the beginning of this yeare, as to their lawfull King. Cognac was surprized for him by Verdun a Gascon, but

Fongeres surprized by the English during the truce.

1449

The exploits  
of the French  
in Guienne &  
Normandy.Townes in  
Normandy  
yield vnto the  
King.

the manner was notable. *Mondot* an English Captaine was gouernour of the place: he was absent when the towne was taken. *Verdun* keeps the gates carefully, that no intelligence might be giuen vnto him, so as he comes to the gates without knowledge of any thing, but hee found foue which added him vnto their prize, being taken prisoners, whereas before he was a gouernour. The same day *Saint Maigrin* was taken by *Alliac* his wife a Gascon. The newes of Cognac and *Saint Maigrin* were scarce brought to *Charles*, when as the Lord of Mouy giues him intelligence, that he had taken *Gerberand*, and the Bailliffe of Eureux Couches, with great slaughter of the English. Complaints are presently made by the English, *Talbot* is the messenger: *Charles* lets them know that they are in the fault, seeing they began first: yet hee offers to yeeld all that had beene taken by his commandement, according to the law of reprisals, so as they would deliuer what they had taken, and suffer his friends and allies to liue in peace. *Talbot* answering, that he had no such charge, *Charles* lets him vnderstand, that hee would redresse it by lawful force: that he did vnwillingly enter into war, yet would hee soone shew the English, that his milknesse had a sting: and so he goes to field with a goodly army. There were three chieftens for thees, the Rendezuous of all the English robberies in those parts, *Vernon*, *Manre*, and *Loigny*. *Vernon* (an infamous place for our deca) was first taken: a Mill gaue them entry by a hole in the towne wall, by the which the water did run to his mill ioyning to the wall. The towne began, and the castle followed: a strong tower divided from the east held out some daies, but it yeelded when as *Charles* arrived. *Manre* yeelded in view of the army. *Loigny* was surprized by *Scalado*, but the English intrinched in the bafe Court, fought it our resolutely, and lost both liues and goods. *Vernon* a towne vpon *Seine* yeelded of it selfe, by the voluntary obedience of the inhabitants. *Ponteaudumer* was forced by the Earles of Eu and *Saint Pol*, where as many English men were lost. But *Lizeux* by the graue aduise of their Bishop yeelds voluntary obedience, and auoides the miseries of the vanquished. *Louiers* did the like, and *Gourmay* was sold by an English captaine that held it. Effay was taken by a gentle stratagem of the Duke of *Alanson*. The Captaine accompanied with the souldiers of his garrison, was gone forth to fish a poole, while hee seeks for fish he is taken himselfe, and his Lieutenant deliueys vp the castle to the Kings seruice. Fescampe is taken by the Abbot, hauing intelligence with the Monkes: and at the same instant a ship arriues out of England, being ignorant of this losse: the French suffer them to land and take them all prisoners. *Harcourt* makes shew to resist, but yeelds by composition after the siege of eight daies. The army marcheth against *Neuf chafell* of *Nicourt*, and takes the town by force, the castle yeelds by composition. The Earle of *Clermont* was desirous to recouer his chiefe house where of he carried the name: his subjects gaue him entry into the towne, and so by the towne he wins the castle. *Saint Lo* at the sight of the army demands and obtains a good composition, with all the neighbour Castles. *Carenten* yeelds after three daies, and *Pont d'Oue* is taken by assault: *Constances* and *Gouray* by composition. *Alencon* freed it selfe from the English, and yeelds to the mild command of their good Prince the Duke of *Alanson*, who shewed his mercy euen to the English being vanquished, to whom he gaue both life and goods.

*Rochequion* was yeelded vp by the Captaine of the Castle, who of an English man becomes French, by the persuasions of his wife, who was a French woman. *Chasteau-gallard* a fort of importance vpon the riuier of *Seine*, endured a siege of sixe weekes, but the presence and good fortune of *Charles*, made him master of the place. *Gisors*, so famous for the English quarrels, was yeelded to the King by the Captaine, who likewise came to the Kings seruice, and in the end *Valonges*, a place of importance, the which hereafter shall come in question by a famous accident.

As the Kings Army made this progresse in Normandy, so it increased daily by their new conquests. *Renek* King of Sicily, and the Duke of Britany, arriue with goodly voluntary troops, and some townes newly reduced to the Kings obedience, with an infinite number of good souldiers: but about all the Court was goodly, by the multitude of Noble men, who went not onely to honour the Kings good fortune, but caried by an inward instinct of his right well gouerned, (as it were by a celestiall guide) did runne to an assured victory, and to the possession of an heires lawfull right. The Dukes of Bourbon, *Alanson* & Britany were there, with the Earles of *Richmont* Constable of France, of *Mayen*, *Eu*, *Saint*

Saint

1449

A *Saint Pol*, *Dunois*, *Caftres*, *Tancarville*, and *Dampmartin*. The Duke of Lorraine, and *John* his brother, augmented the traine of King *Renek*. *John* Iuuenal of Vrsins, Barott of Treignell, and Chancellor of France, was there, hauing succeeded *Renek* of Chastres Archbishop of Rheims, being lately deceased. The Lords of Culant, *Bueil*, *Montgailcon*, *Blainuille*, *Preffigny*, *Brion*, *Prally*, *la Bousliere*, *Monter*, *Aigreuille*, *Malicorne*, and *Han*, with an infinite number of the Nobility.

*Charles* resolved to embrace these goodly occasions, finding (by the obedience of so many Country townes) the way laid open to Rouen, the capital City of that Province, hee determines to besiege it, and all with one consent aime at this goodly mark: as the chiefe of the Kings affaires. But it seemed through the providence of God, that whereas there seemed greatest difficulty, there it proved most easie, by the loyalty of the French, who cannot deny their Prince. The combat was chull, managed more by counsell then by force. The City was much at the Kings deuotion, yet were they kept in awe by the English forces, being masters of the strongest Forts within the City. The Duke of *Boumeret* yet there prelent without authority. *Talbot* must employ all his valour: but neither force, forts, authority, nor valour were of any force, for that God hauing decreed to restore this estate by the means of *Charles* the length inclined both hands and hearts to his decree, the which no mortal man can preuent.

The King being at *Pont l'Arche*, had certaine intelligence from the best Citizens of *Rouen*, that the whole City was resolved to obey him: desiring onely to bee supported by his presence and forces: vpon this aduice hee caualsh the Earle of *Dunois* to march, and to shew himselfe vnto the Citizens: who sends a Herald to summon them to yeild their obedience vnto the King, whom the English were like to haue borne impatient: No Citizen dares shew himselfe vpon the wals: all is filled with enemies. The English haue seized vpon the wals, so as no man within the towne durst approach. Hauing thus marched about the towne in good order, fearing no lesse the lightnesse of the peoples humour, then the Winter which approached (being then October) hee resolves to retire. *Charles* and his Council distrust these popular humors, as not able to draw the City to yeild hee therefore thinks it best to lodge his army about it, and to seize vpon the passages of the Citizens chiefe houses, being the best meanes to draw them to reason. The which was speedily put in practice. The troopes were scarce lodged in their quarters, when as *Charles* lying at *Pont l'Arche*, had intelligence that his seruants had seized vpon two townes, by means whereof they had a quarter of the City. Whereupon the Earle of *Dunois* shewes himselfe presently with the army before the City, and diuides his troopes according to their quarters. The brute of those forces is great vpon their approach: they haue aduice to march, the which they doe resolutely, being set in order, full of generous resolution, as in the Kings presence. The Ladders are set to the wall, and they beginne to mount, all prepare to follow, forty of our men get vp the wall, when as the Lord *Talbot* sties with three hundred desperate English, who hauing cut the Citizens in peeces, charge our men that were ingaged, some they kill, the rest leape from the wals, and few recouer the place from whence they were mounted. The King holding the City wonne, comes to *Darnetall*, when as the Earle of *Dunois* returns to aduertise him of the hard successe of this popular brag, so as all held it for winde and smoke.

In the meane time the Citizens slept not, the little blood of foine that were slaine for all the rest of the Citizens on fire, who resolved to vmaske themselves, and to speake plainly to the English. The whole City is incensed by means of the magistrates, every man prepares his armes against these strangers. The Archbishop of *Rouen* (a name which the historie owes to the truth and honor of the French loyalty) was a good seruant to the King, and had great credit with the Citizens: so as the whole City assembles with him, and by a common consent all resolve to returne to the Crown of France, as to their beginning: *Suweret* and *Talbot* run thither with fifty men, but what is that against a multitude? The Archbishop acquaints them with the Citizens resolution, who in their presence deput the Official to goe vnto the King.

The summe of his Ambassage was, that his Majesty should grant vnto the Citizens of *Rouen* a generall abolition of all that was past, and leaue for the English, and all others of their humors to retire without danger, offering him their obedience as to their lawfull King: that he should come when he pleased, where he should finde the gates open to their

The King  
sends his army  
to Rouen.



1449

their hearts. This resolution deliuered boldly in the presense of *Somerfet* and *Talbot*, amazed them much, their courages were daunted. And what could their weake authority do against the whole body of a City, fortified with the Kings approach, his army, and his right? Thus the City of Rouen sends deputies vnto the King, and obtaine all they demand, who being returned with this good answer, all are satisfied but the English, who keepe the walles, towers, bridge, castle and palace: all this must be fought for. They prepare for force, the people doe the like, all the streets are filled with armed men to force the wals.

The Citizens send againe vnto the King, beseeching him to approach with his Army with all speed, to take absolute possession of his City of Rouen. Attending the Kings answer, the Citizens doe happily win the walls, the towers, and the gates: all that belong to the City obeyes the King, the English with great difficulty recover the bridge, Castle and palace. But they enjoy not these for long: for the Citizens besiege the bridge, and win it, and now the army comes downe the hill. The Citizens as the night threatens, *God save the King*, all break out into joy and triumph. The army enters the City, to the peoples exceeding ioy, attending the King. In the meane tyme, *Katherine* fort is besieged, and yielded to the Earle of Dunelm: *Charles* lodged there whilst the City freed from frangers: the castle yeelds, the palace only remains: *Somerfet* and *Talbot* in these, they are men of action who had wherewithall to fight for their liues: but how they hold out, all being shiphoed to an end.

*Charles* being wholly inclined to clemency, doth willingly see *Somerfet* and *Talbot* at *Katherine* fort, who receiue a law from his victorious hands; yet would hee not admit them with conditions like vnto the Citizens: but he giues them leave to retire with all liues and goods vpon these conditions: That they should leaue their prisoners and armour, deliver vp *Arques*, *Caudeford*, *Tancarville*, *Lillebonne*, *Honnefleu*, and *Moustrouille*, they should pay fifty thousand Crownes presently, and discharge their priuie debts in the City before they departed: for assurance whereof they should leaue *Talbot* (the flower of all their men) with five other hostages, such as the King should demand. *Talbot* remains for a pledge. After ten daies (all articles agreed vpon being performed, except *Honnefleu*) all the hostages haue leave to depart, except *Talbot*, who staid in *Honnefleu* is deliuered. But *Talbot* must haue more tyme to taste the bounty and clemency of our King, and the French courtisie. Thus *Charles* enters Rouen with great pompe, but the peoples ioy exceeded the stateliness of his traine. Their shouts downe the Trumpeters and Clarions, all cry, *God save the King*. This poore people (greedy to their Prince, after so long and cruell a seruitude) weepe for ioy, men and women, young and old, all run, many bon-fires are made, but the fire of publike deuotion burnes cleare. This was the tenth of Nouember in the yeare 1449, a notable date for so many a deliuerance. There yet remained some townes in Normandy to conquer: *Charles* loth to lose any opportunity, or to giue the enemy any leisure to bethink himselfe, made scarce allow of any tyme for the publike ioy and content of his good subjects, presently to field with his army.

*Honnefleu* would not obey the Duke of *Somerfet*, the which hee most desires according to the treaty: there were fifteen hundred English, resolute to defend himselfe, but after fifteen daies siege they yeelded vpon honourable termes, their goods being saved. *Charles* for an increase of the good cheare he had made vnto *Talbot* in his imprisonment, giues him his liberty without ranfome, with meanes to retire himselfe into England and great gifts; but hee shall make him no due requitall of this good and honourable entertainment. Foughten the subject of this last watre, and the cheefe of his good successe, returns to the obedience of the Crowne, through the example of the Duke of Britany: and Belaine with the castle of *Fresnay*, by this of the Duke of *Alencon*. As these things succeeded happily for our *Charles*, so all went cruell in England. The Earle of *Suffolke* governed *Henry* the sixth quietly, being a young man, and of a stout spirit. As all the affaires of England depended vpon this Earle, so did the reputation of the Duke of *Somerfet* (a Prince of the English blood) very zealous of his credit and reputation; and ashamed to bee blemished with these losses in France, laies the chiefe fault vpon *Suffolke*, and others that had the government, and so incensed the people of London against them, as the Londoners transported with cholour for so great a losse, meaning

King Charles  
desires honour-  
ably with  
Talbot.

The chase of  
England.

to punish the offenders, fall vpon the Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord Keeper of the priuie Scale, and kill him in a mutiny: they intend the like to *Suffolke*, if (by the fauour of some of his friends) he had not bene put into the tower of London, to yeeld an account of his actions. *Henry* (who loued him dearly) takes him forth, and sent him into France, for his better safety. But it chanced that *Suffolke* seeking to auoide one danger, fell into another, where hee made his last shipwracke: for being met by *Somersets* people, being his capital enemy, he was taken and beheaded, his head and body were sent to London, and those cruell spoiles set vp to publike view, in places most frequented. In the meane tyme, all England troubled for the losse of Rouen, and the greatest part of the Prouince, resolves to hazard all, to saue the rest of their conquests in France. They had yet in Normandy the Townes of *Cacn*, *Vire*, *Auranches*, *Saint Sauveur*, *Vicon*, *Salpêtr*, *Damfron*, *Cherebourg*, with the strong places of *Tombelaine* and *Briquebeac*, and a great part of *Guienne*. With this remainder the English imagine to recouer the possession of what they had lost. So *Henry* sends speedily foure thousand men, vnder the command of *Thomas Trel*, one of his most renowned Captaines. Being landed at *Cherebourg*, without any losse of time, he besiegeth *Valonges*, a strong place and of importance. At the brute of these forces, all the English garisons assemble, to augment his army, and to fortifie the siege, so as being together, they make about eight thousand men. Our army was lodged in diuers places to refresh themselves since the siege of *Honnefleu*, the season being wonderfull moist in the thaw of the spring; when as newes came to *Charles* of the landing of the English, and the imminent danger of the besieged, the losse whereof were a foule blemish to his victory. To prevent this, he presently sends the Earle of *Clermont* with fixteene hundred lances, whereof the Earle of *Caftres*, the Admirall of *Raiz*, the Seneschall of *Poitou*, and the Lords of *Montgafcon*, *Courran*, and *Rothault* were the commanders. The English army was lodged at *Fourmigny*, a village betwixt *Carenran* and *Bayeux*, in a place of aduantage, to keepe themselves free from such forces as they might doubt should be sent from the King, being then in the Country. *Mathew Gooch* an old English Captaine, came vnto him with a thousand archers. The English being thus fortified, set their backs to a riuer, being flanked with diuers Orchards and Gardens, before them they make trenches to hinder their approach, and in this fort they attend the enemy.

The necessity of *Charles* made them to imagine our French to be more in number then they were, for this troope did not exceed fixe hundred fighting men, whereof an hundred onely, commanded by *Jeffrey* of *Courran*, and *Joachim* of *Rouault*, charged the English vanguard, and hauing slaine three or foure hundred, put the rest of their army in disorder: yet the Earle of *Clermont* seeing the danger he was in with his troope, if the enemy had discovered his aduantage, hauing so great an army against his small forces, sends presently to *Charles* for speedy succours. By good hap as the messenger came vnto the King, the Constable of *Richmont* arises from Britany, who marcheth presently, not giuing his souldiers any leasure to breath, exhorting them to go courageously to an assured victory. His coming brake the stroke, and swayed the victory. He had 240 lances, and 800 Archers, and with him *James* of *Luxembourg*, the Earle of *Laual*, and the Lord of *Loheac* Marshall of France, with the good fortune of *Charles*. He arises euen when as the Earle of *Clermont* was far engaged in the fight, the English had taken two Culuerins from him, and in despite had passed *Saint Clements Ford*, preparing to discharge these Culuerins: when as beheld the Constable comes with his troope with a victorious countenance, who at his first approach wins the bridge vpon the riuer. The English are amazed, especially when they see *Mathew Gooch* (who was somewhat retired from the body of their army to succour at all euents) take the way to *Bayeux*. The Constable makes his profit of this sight, who without pursuing them, chargeth their dismayed troopes.

*Thomas Trel* puts himselfe in defence with the fauour of the riuer, the orchards and gardens: but the Constable commands some of his horsemen to leaue their horses. The Earle of *Clermont* enuiours the enemy on the other side: the English being charged of all sides, feeling the weight of their blowes, giue way, leaue their armes, and suffer themselves to be slaine, and taken to mercy. The courtisie of the French spared many in this slaughter, there were more taken prisoners then were slaine. They buried in three pits 1774. Carcasses, by the report of the Heralds, Priests, and good men that were there. This

The victory of  
Fourmigny  
against the  
English.

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1450

loffe did likewise burie all the conquests which the English had made in Normandy. The Commanders of the army were prisoners, *Tirel, Norbery, Drient, Kirqueby, Warbenton, Appel, Alengon, Vagaier, Caluville*, and a great number of English Nobility, armed with coats of armes: all are led to Charles with their ensignes. An honorable spoile to his triumph, but a perpetual ignominy both to the runners away that saved themselves, and to the cowards that were taken prisoners. This absolute victory cost France but eight men to the end they might do homage to the great God of armes and victories, who by this memorable overthrow made way for our refection. I read with ioy the warrant of the Originall. And therefore wise men doe say, that the cause of the French mens victory, and by his divine power the English were overcome. This victory was given vs from heauen, the 10 of April in the year 1450, and thanks were given vnto God throughout the realm. A solemn procession was made at Paris of 14000 yong children, from the age of seuen to ten years, carefully chosen out, to the great content of the people, going from S. Innocents to our Ladies Church. This notable victory of Fourmigny, did loone after cause the rest of Normandy to yeeld: Vire yeelds by composition, the which was granted to 4000 laces, who might well haue contended for their liues.

All Normandy  
yeelds to  
Charles.

Auranches stood the longer vpon tearmes, through the resolution of 500 volunteers, but in the end they departed with their liues onely, and a white wand in their hands. The strong castle of Tombelaine guarded by a hundred English, yeelded two daies after. Bayeux resolves to fight it out, all prepare to armes. After the ordinance had made a great breach, and the myne ready to play, Charles fearing the sacke of his subjects, as well as of his enemies, would not suffer his men to attempt so dangerous a matter, and the souldiers on the other side cry out to be led vnto the breach. But in the end they march without command, and are twice repulsed, yet *Mathew Gooch* (being amazed at the fury of these desperate men) demands a parlee, the which is granted by Charles, but hee obtained life onely, and a white wand for every souldier: to some gentlemen of marke a horse, and to poore families some carts to carry them. A piteous spectacle, to see 4000 women carrying their children either in their armes, or in their cradles, leaving all their goods and moveables behind them, and hardly carrying a poore clout for their greatest need. *Seniery* comes to him that spoiles for he shall be spoiled: that makes another weep, for he shall have time to weep. Yet Charles caused this troope of nine hundred men being disarmed to be safely conducted with the rest to Cherebourg, a place which they had demanded for their retreat. Bayeux being thus yeelded, the kings army marcheth to St. Sauueur le Viconte, the which yeelds without battery. They had a good composition for the number of men of warre that were in it, being five or sixe hundred: they grant them their liues and goods, retiring to Cherebourg. Charles was loth to lose his men vnconstrained, for that there remained yet some places of strength.

The composition  
at Caen.

Caen (a goodly and populous City) was besieged with great preparation, but to what end should I consume time in the priuate report of assaults, seeing wee haste to the victory? A great peece of the wall being beaten downe, and our men burning with desire to runne to this honourable breach, *Robert de Vere* being Gouverneur, demands a parlee, hee held the Castle, (being one of the goodliest peeces in France) with foure thousand souldiers. So by the commandement of Charles, the Earle of Dunois yeelded them an honourable composition, to depart with bagge and baggage and their armes, except the Artillery: the prisoners were set at liberty, and all that the Citizens might owe vnto the English was discharged, to the benefit of the debtor. All despite the fist of Iulay are conducted in safety according to the accord, and the King makes his entry two daies after.

Falaize is besieged in the meane time, and yeelds the one & twentieth of the same month. Fiftene hundred English of their best souldiers, obtained a good composition to depart with bagge and Baggage. Downfront guarded by fiftene hundred franke Archers yeelds vpon the like composition, the second of August following. Cherebourg (one of the strongest places of Europe in those daies) was the conclusion of that account, and the crowning of this happy worke. It was guarded by 2000 desperate aduenturers, who (wonderfully grieved with so many misfortunes) would be buried in the ashes of this last loffe: but *Thomas Gamel* Governor of the place prevailed more then their obstinate resolution, shewing that they had discharged their duties to their Country in being the last

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A to fight. But nature swayd most with *Gamel*, for hauing his son prisoner with the King, he would not lose himselfe with his sonne. The accord was made absolute for his son: souldiers & his son, and vpon this accord he leaues the towne, and retires last into England, to admonish *Henry* to prouide for Guen, where the whole burthen of the warre would fall. So the 12 of August in the year 1450, Normandy (one of the goodliest and richest Provinces belonging to this Crown) was reduced to the kings obedience, in a yeare and fift daies, hauing remained in the possession of the English thirty years, and so kept by them, as it is a miraculous worke of God they were so easily dispossest. But leaving Normandy, let vs come to Guienne, to finish the restoring of this Estate.

Guienne retournes to the Crowne of France.

Guienne had begun her last feare of Armes by the taking of Cognac and S. Maigrin, as we haue said, whereas the warre continued coldly during that of Normandy. But Charles after the happy conquest of this Province, bends all his forces to driue the English out of Guienne, the which hee had enioyed by a lawful title about a hundred yeares. Charles assembles his great Councell with the chiefe of his Provinces at Tours, for the performance of this voyage of Guienne, and to finde meanes how to maintaine his Army. This done, hee giues the government of Normandy to his Constable, and settled *Peter of Brezay* at Rouen, for the well preteruing of that which hee had happily gotten. And to bee the nearer to his affaires, hee resolves to remaine at Taillebourg for all occurrences. He had then a small army in Guienne, vnder the command of the Earle of Foix, who had not only kept the enemy in breath during the warres of Normandy, but also had won part of the Country, by the taking Mauleon in Sole, and Guisans.

The King of  
England had  
a lawful title  
to Guienne.

Charles giues the command of the army to the Earle of Dunois and Longueville a bastard of Orleans, but the Earles of Ponthieure and Perigort, haue another part, to molest the English in diuers quarters, yet these three armies shall make but one body vnder this Lieutenant generall to his Master, when the necessity of his seruice shall ioyn them all in one. The Earle of Ponthieure did happily begin the conquest of Guienne, in taking of Bergerac, the which was well defended: and then Genac, Saint Foy, and Montferand, and their dependances, by the terror of his victorious armes. Our braue Gascons did no less on their side. About the same time *Amianus d'Albret* Lord of Oruill was in garison at Tarras a towne of good preface, being the beginning of many blessings which God gaue vnto France. He had scarce fixe hundred men at armes, and some good footmen of the Country: but he was well accompanied with *Tokresse, Robin, and Epinasse*, wife and valiant Captaines, and with his generous resolution, the hereditary ornament of his noble House. He shewed by the effects, that we must not number the men, but weigh their valour, for with this small troope hee pretumes to brane Bourdeaux when at their gates, and giues a law vnto the Country of Medoc, making not onely the whole Country to contribute, but also to bring their commodities to Tarras. The Bourdelois (to free themselves, not onely from these brauadoes, but from their ordinary toyle and charge) thrust on by the authority and command of the English, who were then their superiours, leauy eight thousand men vnder their Maiors command. The Citizens promise them a leuay an assured victory, but this troope in encounters them, defeats them, kill and take their prisoners. The next retreat preferred many, but there remained two thousand vpon the place, and the victors led two thousand two hundred prisoners to Tarras, the which were taken like stales in a wee, from whom hee drew great ransomes: with the honour to haue vanquished a great multitude with few men. This only was memorable during that yeare.

Three French  
armies in  
Guienne.

The next shall bring vs in an absolute victory of all that held in Guienne for the English. Charles hauing giuen some respite to his Nobility and men of warre, spent the first day of May to the field. The army was very faire: the Earle of Dunois had the chiefe command, (as we haue said) the which did not hinder *John Duke of Angouleme* (brother to the Duke of Orleans) from ioyning with the Army, with a goodly body of the Nobility: as the Lords of Taillebourg, Pons, Rochefort, and Rochefort, and the Duke of Berry, his brother, was then in Italy for his pilgrimage, which when hee shall retorne with another traine when hee shall bee King.

Philip

*Philip Duke of Bourgogne* was much troubled, in pacifying a mutiny of the *Guetois*, who molested him; when he had most need to succour France, in the conquest of the two Provinces, whereof we now speak. To avoid treachery in the private relaxing of all these sieges, the Kings army did first attempt *Montguyon* and takes it: then the *Baron of Pontieu* arises with his troops, and joynes with the *Earle of Dunois* the General, and so the army (being increased both in men and courage) besiege *Blais*, one of the goodliest fortresses of *Guienne*, a towne seated at the mouth of *Dordonne*, and enriched with a goodly haven of the sea, the which was well fortified and well defended, but in the end the towne is taken by force, and the castle by composition, although the *Citizens* of *Bordeaux* laboured to relecue it with a fleet of five armed shippes.

*Bourg* was added to this victory of *Charles*, and in this amazement *Liborne* (being summoned to yeeld vnto the King) obeys without any contradiction. But their chiefe force was prepared against *Fronfac*: and in the meane time the *Earle of Pontieu* besiege *Castillon*, a towne in *Perigot*, seated vpon *Dordonne*, (the which shall be famous for the warres of our time) and takes it by composition. *Saint Millien* by their example yeelds obedience. In the meane time all march to *Fronfac*, (a place renowned since *Charles Magne*, and one of the strongest fort of Europe) being beleagured of all sides: as all were prepared for some great force, they within demand a parley. Their request was to haue a truce till *Midsummer*, if they were not succoured by that day, they would yeeld the place, and submit themselves to the kings seruice, and employ all their means to draw *Bordeaux* to obedience. These offers pleased the Princes and the *Earle of Dunois* being General. The day being come, no succours appeare, and so *Fronfac* is yeelded vnto the King, to the incredible content of the whole Army, which expected great resistance from this vincible fort.

If the *Earle of Dunois* preuailed well on this side the riuer of *Garonne*, on the other side the *Earles of Foix* and of *Armagnac* failed in no point of their duties: hauing the *Rion*, they ioyntly besiege *Acqs* a towne of importance in that Country. These exploits performed in lesse then two moneths, did as much encourage the *French* as did daunt the *English*, who could not keep the townes (which yet held for them) from falling of the *French*, and much more in the champion Country hauing more liberty, as the Nobility together with the townes, resolute to expell the rest of the *English*, as the King might be wholly obeyed. Onely *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne* remayned: the most important townes of that Prouince, whither the whole force of this royall Army did march, but the *Citizens* of *Bordeaux* (loth to be forced) resolute to obey. Being vanquished, they treat and make a profitable accord, as it is set downe at large in the Originall. Their freedoms and priuiledges were confirmed vnto them by *John Laueval* of *Vien* Chancellor of France, they brought their keyes to the *Earle of Dunois*, (as *Licutenant* general to the King in his army) and receiued the *French* into their City with exceeding ioy, the first day of *August* to the great griefe of the *English*, who see themselves expelled out of the whole Realme, but they shall yet make a new attempt.

The oath of fealty was authentically made to *Charles* the 7. both by the citizens of *Bordeaux*, and by all the Estates of *Burgundia* as to their King and lawfull Prince, renouncing the *English*. The Nobility held vp their hands first in this oath, and namely, the *Lords Elparré, Montferrand, Duras, Rolan, Pucols, Lansac, Lisle, and Anglade*, amongst which how many proued perjured? The Archbishop also did take the same oath of homage and fealty to the King, with *Gastien de Foix*: onely *Capit de Buche* would not take the oath for his person, but he submitted all his lands to the obedience of the *Crowne*, an error which shall be prejudiciall to the whole Prouince. Thus all *Guienne* was made subject to the Kings obedience, except *Bayonne*: for the reduction of which towne (being needfull to keepe together so great an army,) every Nobleman was commanded to returne to his house, and that the *Earle of Dunois* should continue there to employ the forces of the Country at this siege. So the Princes of the blood depart, accompanied with twenty thousand men, whom they dismisst euerie one into his Country. The *Earle of Foix* joyned with the *Earle of Dunois*, and they besiege *Bayonne*, the siege was long, painfull, and dangerous: the which might haue bene more easie and speedy by means of the army which was ready. But in such the niggard spends more than the bountifull man in euery degree: yet in the end *Bayonne* submits to the obedience

A the *Crowne* vpon these conditions, That the towne-men of *Bayonne* should deliuer *John* of *Beaumont* their captaine into the Kings hands, with their owne persons and their goods to be at the Kings will and discretions; and to reparaire their disobedience, and to purchase the Kings fauour, they should pay forty thousand crowns, whereto they are bound by the *Earle of Foix*, General of the army. This accord was confirmed by the entry of the said *Earle* into the towne, who took a solemne oath in the kings name. *Charles* forgives the inhabitants halfe their fine, and confirms halfe their priuiledges. The three estates of the Country of *Burdellois* send their Deputies vnto the King, who was then at *Taillevbourg*, to confirme their oaths, and homages already taken by his Chancellor: and the King likewise doth ratifie their priuiledges, and receiues them into fauour, so as *Guienne* seemed to bee reduced to the Kings obedience, to the incredible content of the whole Realme; and so this year ended with an vniuersall ioy.

But fewen or eight moneths were scarce spent in this publike ioy (such as the *French* might haue in euery corner of their Country, inioying peace; the which they had not tasted these hundred yeares, and which in outward appearance there was no hope to recouer, the *English* and *Bourguignons* hauing taken such firme footing in all parts) when as behold, a great lurch seemed to expose France to the mercy of a more horrible and dangerous storme. For *Talbot* comes to the gates of *Bordeaux*, with goodly troops of *English*, where he was receiued, and tooke the *Seneschall* of *Guienne* prisoner, being *Gouernour* of the towne, with *John de Foix* Deputy *Maier* of *Bordeaux* and in a manner the same day, the Nobility which had giuen their faith vnto the King, (noted before by their speciall names) deliuered all the chiefe places of the Country to the *English*. *Fronfac*, *Colceures*, *Castillon*, *Chasteau-neuf* in *Medoc*, *Cadillac*, *Lancon*, *Saint Macaire*, *Liborne*, and *Saint Millien*. And after *Talbot* (who came but to discouer there arised the next day in safety, four thousand fighting men from England with fourscore ships laden with meale and salt meates, to victual the Towne. The amazement of this losse was as great, as the ioy had bene of gaine. *Charles* was then at *Tours*: the *Earle of Clermont* (surnamed *Charles Duke of Bourbon*) was *Gouernour* of *Guienne*. He commands him to haue a care to the preservation of the rest of *Guienne*, and presently hee sends six hundred men at armes, vnder the command of three Marshals of France, and the *Lords of Oual* and *Rouhaute*, who were then neere the King, and sends for the rest of his forces with all speed. But whilst that all prepare to reparaire this losse, may wee not examine the motive of this great and sudden change? Some new Writers accuse the ill vsage of the *French* to this people newly conquered, which made them to wish for the *English*, being more mild and temperate *Lords*: others blamed the negligence of our *French*, vsnt to keepe that which they had so valiantly gotten. But who is he that can find this first cause truly noted, hearing the whole History speake and representing the discontent of the *French* nation against the government of the *English*? And why did the King dismisst his army, but to ease his people, euen with the prejudice of his owne affaires?

As for our negligence in keeping of that which we haue gotten with much paine, it is too well known by memorable examples: but seeing the affection of the people of *Bordeaux* had bene confirmed by many proofes, in this voluntary obedience, to what end had it serued to put them in fetters, as a people vanquished by armes, and force them to obedience? But to find out the causes, we must examine the effects: *L'Esparre*, *Montferrand*, *Duras*, *Anglade*, *Rolans*, and other specified in the Register of the oath, will bee found straight waies reuolted in these places. *Capit de Buche* protested openly, that he was not the Kings seruant, so as hee might without reproach cary armes against him for the King of England his master: He might remaine peaceably within the Country, inioying his houses, being vnder the Kings protection, and so make his trafficke for the *English* at his pleasure. *John King of Nauarre* an *Aragonais* both by birth and humor, was an enemy to *Charles* for two respects, as hauing married the heire of *Nauarre*, and with that marriage troubled the reignes of *John* and *Charles* the 5, and as an *Aragonais*, by reason of the quarrels of Naples; against the house of *Aniou*. These were two instruments to moue many mens miades. It could not otherwise bee, but the authority and command of two hundred yeares, had purchased England many seruants, and such as had alwaies held the *English* party

*Bordeaux* makes a composition and yeelds.

All *Guienne* swears vnto King *Charles*.

*Talbot* enters *Bordeaux*, with new *English* troops.

The King of *Nauarre* an enemy to King *Charles*.

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party against France, and were not reclaimed to the Kings obedience but by force, could not beleue that they had any such part in the Kings fauour, hauing brought nothing to his seruice but necessity and constraint: These men being wonne, doe animate, or rather force the people, making themselves the strongest, in places where there were no guards, whereof they were not only wearied, but plunged in the trust and assurance of a profound peace. Who seeth not then, but this made the way more easie for these disloyal men, to surprize those towncs which they had deliuered to the English: but from whence soeuer the mischiefe came, this was the remedy.

Talbot was the Kings prisoner, & wee haue said, at the taking of Rouen, Charles shewed him all the fauour a man might hope for of so great a Monarch: he gave him all libertie without ranfome, and had honoured him with goodly presents: yet he is become head of the English army, which were esteemed eight thousand fighting men, and made it directly against the Kings army: which made him to recouer what had been lost, and to preferue what remained. Castillon was become English. The Earle of Ponthieus with the Admirall and Marshals of France, besiege it, attending the King, who came posting to quench this fire. Talbot makes haste from Bourdeaux with the choicest of his men, bearing an assured victory in his conceit, being ignorant that hee went to seek death. At the first charge our men begin to waver vpon the braueriall of Talbot, but they gather themselves together againe, with great resolution, to stay the course of the fire: Talbot on the better side, incourageth his men as going to a banquet, and goes to a battell, he beates out the heads of pipes of Wine, to make his men drinke, himselfe being drunke with presumption, and making his Soldiers drunke with the vaine hope of victory; being mounted vpon a little Nagge, but followed by fixe or seuen thousand men, they come to fight. The combat was fierce, but the English are repulsed, scattered, and ouerthrowne. There were two thousand slaine vpon the place, and amongst them, Talbot was ouerthrowne from his horse and slaine, with his Sonne. The Earle of Calais (lonne to Capital de Buche), Montferrand and Anglade are taken prisoners: Esparre escapes for another time. In the end Castillon yeelds at discretion. Saint Million and Libourne returne to the Kings obedience, to the great content of the inhabitants being surprized to their griefe. Charles did also warrant them from all losse in this repulse. Cadillac, Lango, Villandras, and Saint Maquaire, make off the English yoke at one instant, and open their gates with their hearts. The Kings army goes from thence to Bourdeaux, being full of Englishmen, but fuller of feare, seeing the English loth to buy it so deare as Talbot had done: so as they suffer the French to wander at their pleasure vp & downe the Country of Medoc. This victory was due to the presence of Charles, who being armed at full fac, (the which was held a place invincible by force) it yeelds as vanquished. The English haue their liues granted them, with a white wand, through the bounty of Charles. He doth not so intreat the reuolted French, for the captaine of Cadillac being taken, is beheaded for an exemplary punishment.

From thence he comes to Bourdeaux, (the which was the chiefe place of his affaires) but the multitude that came vnto his seruice was admirable, they came from all parts (knowing that the King was present,) so willingly doe the French obey their Prince. There were 4000 English remaining in the towne, and as many of their faction, being drawne together from diuers parts of the Country: the siege continued two moneths, Charles had built vp Bulwarke to stop the entry, and to encounter the English defence, but there were no memorable assaults. The sickness which increased in the kings army, hastened the composition for the City, the which he might haue forced, but that he desired to spare the blood of his subjects. The composition was thus made: That all the English should passe into England with their goods: that the Citizens of Bourdeaux should be all in the Kings protection, taking a new oath, neuer to rebell against him their Soueraine Lord.

And for that some of the Country, and of the City of Bourdeaux, had drawne in the King of England, contrary to their oath, the King (pardoning the great multitude) should chuse twenty at his pleasure, to banish them out of the Realme, their goods remaining forfeited to the Crowne: of this number were Capital de Buche, and Candal his sonne, Pirras, Anglade, Rosan and Esparre, who in the end lost his head, being found guilty of a new treason, a yeare after this pardon. The Citizens of Bourdeaux renew their oath of fealty,

The English  
defeated, and  
Talbot slaine.

Bourdeaux  
besieged,

And yeelded  
by composition  
to the King.

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A long while, and receive a great garison to prevent all surpris: they build two strong Castles to the one towards the Sea, called Castell Trompette, another towards the maine, named Castell du Ha. The Earle of Clemon, gouernour of Guienne, remained in the Guienne to settle the Kings authoritie. Charles ended this true commendation in the recovery of his losse, to haue doubled his army by the good order which he caused to be carefully obserued, and by his victory, in vanquishing his enemies, not only by force, but by clemency and his subjects by love and mildnesse. So as both the treachery of these English, and the rashnesse of his enemies with their new attempts, were paines due to his victory, the more admirable, for that he doth vanquish, when as hee loosed, and quitted: shewing, when as in show he was lost, and forced as it were to waver, for the degree he had of peace, he stepped the fruits both of warre and peace, in fighting valiantly, attaining also victory modestly to the eternall memory of posterity.

Charles returns from Bourdeaux to Tours, having happily finished his double and taken. But in the inconstancy of this world England which had so much troubled vs, takes occasion to trouble it selfe; for the losses which they supplied to haue made of that which they had taken from vs: and as affection is wayward and often blinde, so it sowes dissention vpon strange subjects. The Dukes of Yorke, Somerset, and Gloucester, accuse one another, and make factions within the Realme. Richard Duke of Yorke (being a branch of the blood royal) pretended the Crowne to belong more iustly vnto him, than to Henry the sixt then reigning; but contemned, by reason of his great losses, and of his manifold defects: Somerset being fauoured by the King (as the ring-leader of his faction) was perswaded by Yorke, and so cunningly, as the Londoners (hating him as the cause of all the losses in France) put him in prison; but in the end hee was freed by the Kings authority.

This dissention burst out into open warre, vnder the names of two factions, Lancasters; from whence King Henry was descended, and they wore the Red Rose for a mark, and Clarences from whence the Duke of Yorke tooke the beginning, bearing the white Rose for a distinction. This rancor of parties hath bathed all England with the blood of her subjects: two yeares shall not passe after the losse, but Somerset shall die in a battell, and King Henry the sixt (who had cast himselfe as King of France) shall be prisoner: and whereas he sought to ioyne the Crowne of France to that of England, he shall lose that of England, both for him and his: teaching vs that wee must neuer thinke to doe harme to another, but we shall receive our share againe, and not to despaire in our greatest afflictions. The beginning of this raigne did represent vnto vs a ruined Realme, and this end restores it to her first beauty. Thus was this Realme restored; from the which the English were quite expelled, except from Calais, and the heyre recovered the possession of his right, the which his successors enjoy vnto this day.

The manner of this singular deliuerance, is worthy to be obserued, vnder the conduct of the first mouer, the which the wife acknowledgement to be in the providence of God, the Soueraigne of Soueraignes, and the preseruer of States, whereby he maintaines the society of Mankind. Truly in the course of these ordinary meanes which wee seeke after, Charles holds the first place, being both capable of counsell, and full of resolution to put in execution. Hee was assisted by great personages in the government of his affaires: And for the warres, hee was furnished with two Constables, which trusted him faithfully, the Earle of Boucquian in his aduersity, and the Earle of Richmond in his prosperitie; of two Chancellors, worthy men, & fit for the time: Ranald of Charres Archbishop of Rheims, and Robert of Vrsins, Baron of Treignel, the one for the beginning, the other for the end of his affaires: And for Warriours, hee had as resolute and happy Commanders, as might be found in any Raigne, of whom hee had great need. But from all this wee must ascend vnto the soueraine cause, who hath shewed vs the rood, and cast it into the fire, when it is pleased him: that by the example of our Ancestors, we may more perfectly obserue the causes and remedies of our difficulties.

Now we draw neere vnto the end of this raigne: but before we conclude, wee must observe the estate of the Church, and finish the discourse of the Schisme, whereof we haue shewed the beginning and proceeding. We haue made relation of this inexcusable confusion, vntill the Councell of Pisa, which (supposing to reforme the scandalous disorders of the Pope being enemies, Gregory and Benedict) advanced a third, which was 1555

Troubles in  
England.

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Council of  
Constance.

23. So as at one time there were three Popes; *John* at Bologna; *Gregory* at Remis; and *Benedict* to be resident at Rome; and *Benedict* at Avignon. This multiplicity of Popes bred much disorder, to the great scandall and prejudice of all Christians. So *John Sigismund* (now above cure this infirmity of the minde, by force) resolved to have vantage vnto the authority of the Church: and to that end he passed through France, England, Spaine and Italy, perwading all Kings, Princes, and Potentates, to hold a Councell at Constance, whither the Emperours of Constantinople and Trebizonde, with the Churches of Greece, their Ambassadors, and all Christian Nations assisted, to the end this Councell might be oecumenicall and vniuersall. In this Councell, *John* the 23. (being accused and found guilty of grievous crimes) was first depofed and then imprisoned: *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth, were likewise depriued, and *Otho Colonne* a Roman Gentleman, was chosen Pope by the Councell, and called *Martin* the first. This decree of the Councell, was accompanied with great and generall complaints, by reason of the contested estate of the Church, the which had exceeded farre in some places. *Saine Bernard* begun in France, as doth appeare by diuers places of his writings; and by bookes written vpon this subject. But many of his disciples had followed him in great numbers, *Gilles de Roquetaillade*, *Thomas Gentil*, and *Nicholas Clemangis* had filled all France with the complaints. But in England *John Wicliffe*, and in Bohemia *John Hus* had perwaded men with greater vehemency: for Bohemia was ready to disclaime the Popes authority. *John Hus* teaching them not only to leaue the abuse of manners, but the doctrine it self: as is contained at large in the Ads of the Councell of Constance. It shall be sufficient to quote them, my stile not permitting me to set them downe at large. The Reader shall be careful to see the grounds of this Controverfie, may goe vnto the Original, and will observe the effect according vnto the duty of the History. *Wicliffe* doctrine was condemned. *John Hus* and *Jerome* of Prague came to Constance, (having a passport from the Emperor *Sigismund* and the Councell,) but they were condemned and burnt as Hereticks. *Hus* in the Bohemian tongue signifies a Goose. *John Hus* when as the Iudges had pronounced this sentence that he should be burnt, he said vnto them: I appeal from vnto the *soueraigne Iudge and preserver of all truth, who a hundred yeares hence, shall raise up of my ashes a Goose which shall not suffer himselfe to be raised.* So as *John Hus* was burnt the yeare 1417, and *Martin Luther* began to shew himselfe in the yeare 1517.

John Hus, and  
Jerome of  
Prague con-  
demned and  
burnt.

There were great complaints against the abuses of the Church, made by *Peter d'Almon* a Cardinal, and *John Gerson* Chancellor of the Vniuersity of Paris, and Deputy of the French Church. The Colledge of Sorbon had given him great instructions vpon this subject, but nothing was effected. They only make the Pragmaticall Sanction, to suppress the Popes authority. *Gerson* returning from Basil dyed for griefe at Lyons. But this Councell did not end those two difficulties for the which it had bene called: for *Peter de la Lune*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, being depofed by the Councell, and recreated *John* Arragon, had so incensed *Alphonfus* King of Arragon, as he supported him with violence against *Martin* the new Pope. And the Bohemians were so moued with the death of these two peronages (whom they reuerenced) as they tooke armes vnder the Command of *Zizka* a very famous Captaine, and did much annoy the Emperour *Sigismund*. *Peter de la Lune*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, held his Court apart, dying at *Lambeth* a Towne in Arragon, as *Martin* did at Rome; but this humour brought him to his graue.

After his death the Colledge made choice of *Giles Munion*, who was called *Clement* the seauenth, *Martin* dyes in the other fear, and his Colledge doth choofe a Venetian of the family of Condeme, and calls him *Eugenius* the fourth, who finds the meanes to cause the *Antipope Clement* the seauenth to relinquish. But the Bohemian action was of more difficulty, for they spake boldly, being in armes: and *Sigismund* the Emperour prefert to haue audience for them, having receiued great reproaches, for that (to please the Pope) he had violated the publicke faith, and suffered the breach of his passport. These causes made *Martin* the first to call a Councell at Basill, whether the Bohemians had free liberty to come: but the Emperour gaue them hostages for their surety, trusting his word no more, the which he had broken in the death of their Countrymen. There were likewise many more besides the Bohemians which desired some redresse for these visible confusions: as it was there freely disputed of the necessity to reforme the Church, being set to begin

The Councell  
of Basill decreed  
against the  
Popes authori-  
tie.

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A first with the Pope, and not to suffer the fore-past disorders, to the great scandall of all Christians: and that (to avoid a future inconuenience, by the generall discontent of all men) it was reasonable he should submit himselfe to the censure of the Councell, whereunto he was subiect.

As the Fathers of the Councell, with a generall consent had thus concluded, and had drawne articles, that the authority of the Councell was above the Pope: *Eugenius* fore-seeing the prejudiciall consequence of this Decree, resokes the Councell assembled at Basill, for certain great considerations, which (said he) proceeded from the holy Ghost, and transported it to Bologna, to the exceeding discontent both of the Fathers and the Emperour. They resolute to oppose themselves against this brauado of *Eugenius*, and to withstand him by the like authority of the Church, whereby he sought to ruine them. By the authority of the generall Councell lawfully assembled, they giue him an assignation to appeare before them; and in case hee disobeyes, they declare him degraded and excommunicate. *Eugenius* (to calme this storme) makes shew to yeeld vnto this Decree, and promitteth to obey, yet seeking meanes vnderhand to crosse them, relying vpon *Charles* the seuenth, who followed his party. It chanced also (as *Eugenius* desired) that the Emperour *Sigismund* (who was the chiefe opposer to his designs) dyed during these disorders: yet the Councell of Basill was not dissolued, but was resolute to continue firme. *Albert* of Austria is chosen Emperour after *Sigismund*, and succeeds him both in his desire to continue the Councell at Basill, and in the Imperiall dignity.

The Councell  
of Basill sum-  
mons the Pope  
to appeare.

Matters grew then more violent, our *Charles* the seuenth (being loth to yeeld in any thing to the Emperour, having made a generall truce with the King of England, as we haue said, the English likewise holding with *Eugenius*) sends his sonne *Lewis* neere vnto Basill, with an army compounded of French & English vnto, to nourish this notable disunion, the issue whereof was as we haue said. The Councell of Basill incensed by these bitter and violent courses practised by *Eugenius*, in the end they resolute to degrade him, and in his place they choofe this *Amedee* Duke of Sauoy (of whom we haue spoken in diuers places) hauing made himselfe a Monke, of purpose to be chosen Pope, amongst so many which aspired to this dignity, and was called *Felix*. But this cured not the disafection: for at this new election of a Duke of Sauoy to the Pontificall dignity, all Kings, Princes and Potentates were moued (France, England, Italy and Spaine) at so strange a proceeding, and disauow *Felix*. In the meane time the Colledge of Cardinals at Rome, choofe *Thomas Savoyan* Pope, and name him *Nicholas* the first, a man commended in histories, fit to suppress this Schisme, and to reduce the Church to vniou, being wise, modest, learned and quiet: all Kings and Christian Princes allowed of him by a generall consent. *Felix* was supported by the Germans, for *Albert* fauoured him, but he dies soone. *Frederic* the third succeeding in the Empire, a wife and a modest Prince, who (not to contradict the Germanes at first) followed their humour in fauouring of *Amedee*: but in the end ouer-ruled by a generall consent of all Christendome, he vseth his authority with *Amedee*, to make him renounce his Popedom. Our *Charles* doth likewise interpose his authority, and sends *John* Iuueual of Vrlins his Chancellor vnto him, being well accompanied, who findes him at Lozanna, where he had made his pontificall seat with a rarely colledge of Cardinals. He feared the King more then any man liuing, whom in his conscience he had moued to a iust dislike of him, when as he made a good shew, and yet betrayed him in his greatest afflictions (crosses which wound euen the very heart of a generous minde.) Moreover, *Charles* was both strong and neere at hand, to controule him, if he should continue obstinate. *Felix* stands vpon termes; but in the end, (when as the Kings Ambassadors spake vnto him of force) he grew more myld, and treated this businesse by the Kings authority, protesting that for his sake he did willingly resigne his right. Thus all obey *Nicholas*: and *Amedee* had a Cardinall haue with the title of Saint *Sabine*, and was Legate ouer his Countries, and of some part of Germany. This was the end of that feuer which so much commoted all Christendome: the reign of *Charles* being honoured with the blessing of God, to haue bene a solemne Theater both of the restoring of the Realme, and the reunion of the Church. But alas, during these trouell confusions of the western Church, the Christians of the East (who endured much) were now utterly ruined: Was left them in very poore estate vnder the reign of *Charles* the sixt, in the yeare 1396. In fifty yeares (during the scandall of this miserable Schisme, and the willfull warres of France and England) there happened a greater

The Duke of  
Sauoy made  
Pope.



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The miserable  
state of the  
East.

greater alteration. Our Kings and Princes had laboured long in vaine to recover the holy land, consuming an infinite number of men and inoney, and prevailing nothing. But Constantinople, the head of the Easterne Empire, remained still in state, with Greece, Macedonia, Thessaly, and a part of Natolia, whereof Trebizonde was the chiefe of that Empire. In this weaknesse which drew nere to a totall ruine, the Christians vanity was so great as to make two Empires, the one in Europe, and the other in Asia, and then either Empire being divided into diuers parcels, held by sundry Despotes or soveraign Lords, that among so many Masters there should be none at all. These confusions did bring in, fortifie, and wholly settle the Turkes, who were the horrible instruments of *Mahomet*, and enemies to all Christendome. I enter not into the particular discourse of this Easterne History: it belongs not to my subiect. I onely obserue the continuance of time, to shew the estate of the Church, and the Empire, with our Monarchy.

After our French had abandoned (as we haue said) this imaginary Empire of the East, the *Palatines* seized thereon, and governed it diuerly, according to their passions: *Michael*, *Andronicus*, *John* and *Mazuel*, hauing brought vpon the stage, both in diuers occasions and with diuers successe, the most horrible Tragedies which impiety could deuise to the great dishonour of the Christian name: in the end *Constantine Palatogue* gives the last acquaintance of the ancient possession of the Empire, to make a new bond in fauour of the Turkes, that his name might be answerable to his miseries. Wee haue shewed what a breach *Baiazet* had made in Hungary, making so great a slaughter of the French, when as he tooke *John Duke of Bourgoigne* prisoner. This beginning of a victory had in few proceeded farther and ruined Constantinople, the which he besieged, but that God (who would suffer the Christians to breath for their amendment) suppressed this Tyrant by another Tyrant: for *Baiazet* being taken by *Tambrlane*, did then suffer for his cruelty, but he left the conquest of the great Citie to his posterity, at such time as the wise and iust providence of God had decreed it: the which was fifty yeares after: for the battell wherein *Baiazet* was vanquished, after he had ouerthrowne our Christians, was giuen in the year 1395, and Constantinople was taken the year 1453, the 9 of May, by *Mahomet* the second, Grand-child to *Baiazet*, a fit instrument to punish the impiety, cruelty, and all other kindes of execrable dissolution which then reigned among the Christians, and euery among those which had the chiefe command.

This *Mahomet* was the sonne of *Amurath*, borne of a Christian, the Daughter of the Despote of Seruia, & instructed by his Mother in the Christian Religion, to be the more fit to chastise the Christians, who (confessing God in their mouthes and denying him in their deeds, could not be reined by a fitter instrument and more answerable to the crime whereof they were guilty, than a tyrant Atheist, who hauing tasted the true Religion, had spued it out, hauing no Religion, & mocking at all that carried the name of Religion. This *Mahomet* (seeking to settle his Empire as the eldest of his house, being loath to haue any companion) caused his two brethren to be slaine, *Turpin* and *Calepin*: the one he drew ned in a bason, the other he caused to be strangled. Hauing murdered his two brethren by two of his Bashaes, *Mosfes* and *Hely*, hee puts these murderers to death for his brethrens blood, shedding their blood who had become the instruments of their murders. Hauing thus settled his Empire by these solemnities, hee applies all his wit to ruine the Christians, being diuided of themselves by strange factions, and as it were inviting him to their ruine. He seileth vpon the Empire by degrees, being called in by the Christians to decide their quarrels, and fortifying the weaker of purpose against the stronger. A potent man, painfull, active and imperious, getting authority by his fearfull tyranny. Being seized vpon the Country, hauing incombred the Christians affaires, and diuided their minds by sundry intelligences, it was easie for him to besiege Constantinople: for who should succour it? The greatest enemies the Christians had within the Countrey, were the Christians themselves. The *Latins* (with the Churches of the East) had had recourse to the Pope, Emperor and King of France, and by their fauour to the Countess of Pila, Constance and Basill, one after another: but they returned with nothing but winde, despaire and mockery. Thus *Mahomet* (well assured of his enemies estate) besieged Constantinople, the which was now but the shadow of the Empire: a great mass of building, testifying, that the beauty of the Empire was decayed. The Emperor *Constantine Palatogue*, (who resigned his authority into *Mahomet*) had onely a few soldiers from

Mahomet  
cruelty against  
his brethren.

1454

Constantinople  
taken by the  
Turkes.

A from Genoa and Venice. *Mahomet* had two hundred and fifty ships of warre, and two hundred thousand fighting men: amongst the which the most warlike were leaued in those Countreies which made profession of the Christian Religion. The besieged seeing their estate desperate, fought to sell their liues dearly. But what could they doe? their walls being battered downe by the horrible thunder of the Turkish artillery, their port forced by their armed ships, and they themselves oppressed by so infinite a multitude. So as a general assault being giuen, Constantinople is taken by force. The City thus forced on the one side: as *Constantine* and many of his troope sought to saue themselves by a gate that was free, they were furiously pursued by the victorious Turkes, and the port being stoped by the multitude, many were smothered, among the which *Constantine* was found dead.

Constantine  
Emperor  
smothered.

The Turke incensed for the losse of so many of his men, glutted himself with the slaughter of the poore Inhabitants of Constantinople, killing all indifferently, without respect of age or sexe, young and old, women and maidens, with such exceeding cruelty, as no man can write it without terror, nor read it without teares. When wee shall set before our eyes this goodly Countrey of the East, this Capitall Citie of the Empire, where the voyce of the Gospell had founded in the sacred mouthes of so many holy personages, and famous Doctors of the Church, which haue serued happily in their times, to become now the dungeon of impiety, the fortress of error, the rendezvous of all barbarisme and iniquity: where *Mahomet* raised himselfe about the Kings of the earth, and threatens Christendome proudly, hauing an Empire not onely fashioned, but also fortified with the force and power of so many Kingdomes. But alas! what speake we of Constantinople the last of our losses in the East? When we begin by Ierusalem; the chiefe Rendezvous of the Elders of the house of God, from whence the Gospell flowed, where the holy mouth of the Sonne of God and of his Apostles haue founded out: when we continue by Iury, a Land which hath so long nourished the true Church, and beene the guard of the doctrine of health: when we crosse ouer this great Countrey of Asia, and from thence passe into those goodly Prouinces of Europe, Greece, Macedonia and the neighbour Nations: when cast our eyes beyond the Sea, and behold from our windowes the heauens, vnder which Asicke lyes, heretofore replenished with so many goodly Churches, and enriched with so many excellent Doctors, and yet all these great and large Countreies are at this day the receptacles of *Mahomet*, where he vomits forth his blasphemies, and spoyle the miserable remainders of the poore Christian Church: where hee takes the Tithe of sonnes and daughters to giue them to *Molue*, forcing them to leaue the truth: where hee hath ouerthrowne all liberty, to plant his absolute tyranny, banished all learning and euery thing that may put man in mind that he is a man.

What may wee say in comparing our selues with them? are wee better then so many that haue liued in those desolate places, making profession of the same Christian religion, and the same hope of eternall life? Are our Prouinces stronger, more fertile and richer then theirs, and our Townes stronger and better peopled? O Christians! if he be wise that takes warning by another, how much should these examples serue vs! The same way which the capital enemy of the Church hath made to *Mahomet* to inuest him in the Empire of the East, is it not open by our common dissensions? A miserable date: the end of the warres betwixt France and England was the confirmation of the Ottomans at Constantinople; and the beginning of many miseries to many Nations, as we shall see in the following Reignes.

But as misery is good for something, nay rather as the providence of God is admirable, who can draw light from darkenesse: by the ruines of the Easterne Churches, those of the West haue bene enriched. The ignorance of all Learning was very great throughout all the Westerne Prouinces, since the rule of the Gothes. The knowledge of Learning and Sciences being banished out of the East by the Turke, came into the West, so as by a singular miracle, the West is now become East, this goodly Lampe hauing lightened the Prouinces, to bee a Herbinger to the Gospell. But the planting of the Muses is due to the Reigne of *Francis* the first, as well King of the Muses as of the French. The shipwracke of Constantinople did cast these great personages into Italy, the which haue giuen a beginning of solide and perfect knowledge to our Nations, *Emanuel Chrysoliras* an Athenian, *George Trapezondae* or of Trebizonde, *Theodorus Gaza* a Macedonian, *Ierome*

1454

Learned men  
came into  
Europe.Printing in-  
vented.

*Ierosme Spartiate, Gregory Tiphernas, Iohn Argypolis of Constantinople, Leonicus Char. A condil an Athenian, Marcus Musurus a Candior, and Iohn Lascaris.* These have begun, but our men have followed, as they have furnished them in the knowledge of these goodly professions.

Almost about the same time the Art of Printing had his beginning. Some attribute to the year 1440, to *Iohn Gutsenberger* borne at Strausbourg, others to *Iohn Faust* Mayence, in the year 1452. Doubtlesse it is an excellent invention to increase knowledge, although the vanity and malice of men makes it oftentimes their bane, to the prejudice of the truth and all good manners. But having wandred over so many strange Countries, Let vs returne to France, from whence having expelled the English, and reduced this Monarchy to her ancient beauty, by the means of our *Charles*, we must now see the last act of his raigne and life.

*The last Act of the Raigne and life of CHARLES the Seventh, contained in seven years.*

*From the year 1454. unto 1461.*

1455.  
1456.  
1457.  
1458.  
1459.  
1460.  
Observations  
for the dis-  
course.

King Charles  
and the Dauphin discon-  
tented ne  
with another.

**T**His last Act of the life of *Charles*, contains a notable president of the vanity of this world. *Charles* had passed a languishing youth, borne in the weakness of his father, and bred up in the cruelties of his mother: he began his life with poverty, the which was continued in the despaire of his affaires, and yet he purchased peace to his Realme; but now he cannot enjoy it, banding against his owne blood, and living in so wilfull a waywardnesse, as in the end he brought himselfe vnto the graue after a terrible and tragical manner. The whole Realme being in quiet after a long and tedious warre, beheld a new storme arise in the Kings house. *Lewis* the eldest sonne of *Charles* and Dauphin of *Viennois*, was not well satisfied with his father, and his father lesse with him. The occasions are rather probable then true, as they are observed by Writers. For to what end should *Lewis* be so discontented with his father, for that he was given to the loue of Ladies? It is more likely that the iealousie of command, was the cause why the sonne was not well satisfied with the credit his father gaue him in the State, and the father feared lest he should attempt more then was fitting. But whatsoeuer it were, behold a divorce betwixt them. *Lewis* was not able to endure the waywardnesse of his iealous father, craues leaue to make a progresse into Dauphine, to visit his subiects, and he obtaines it; but he spends two years in this voyage. Newes comes to the eares of *Charles*, of the carriage of his son *Lewis*, the which he did interpret according to his iealousie: secret spies fly out to observe the Dauphins actions, describing them according to the humor of *Charles*, and flattering his passions. They observed what men repaired vnto *Lewis*, and chiefly what great personages he entertained, *Iohn Duke of Alanson* (Godfather to *Lewis*) the Dukes of *Bourgongne* and *Sauoy*, and the Earle of *Armaignac*, were those on whose loue the Dauphin chiefly relied. Hee had likewise neede of money, considering the great charges of his traine, and the small meanes his father gaue him. This necessity made him to entertaine *James Cœur* a rich man, and very industrious to finde meanes to haue money.

This familiarity was very displeasing to *Charles*, who was not onely iealous of *James Cœur* his purse, but also of his good iudgement. All these were deepe in disgrace with *Charles*, but the weakest shall goe to the wall. The Kings choller increased hourly, for that *Lewis* came not vnto him; but hee delayed the time, and avoided his fathers commands with frivolous excuses. *Charles* thinks to force him, by taking away the means to entertaine his traine: to this end hee reuokes his assignations, and commands his Treasurers and Receiuers of Dauphine, not to furnish him with any thing. *Lewis* takes it by his owne authority, and forceth them to obey him. The Officers complaine to the King, and they must haue men to resist this force. The poore subiects pay all, and complaine with the Officers. Thus the irons grow hot by degrees, especially in the fathers conceit against the sonne, by whom hee sees himselfe disobeyed with a publike scandal. So hee takes counsell of his choller, and resolues to force him to that which he could not willingly haue.

With this resolution hee leaues troopes, giuing the charge thereof to *Antony Chabannes*

1459

The King sends  
an army against  
the Dauphin  
his sonne.

**A** Chabannes Earle of Dampmartin, to leadethem into Dauphine, commaunding him to seize both on the Dauphin and on the townes of that Prouince, and with him hee sends the Lord of Chastillon to gouerne the Country, and to haue a speciall care to disperse all his sonnes intelligences, being resolved to follow after with new forces. A dangerous Commission for these two seruants, who in time shall smart for it: but a more miserable employment of a father against his owne sonne, and an vnnatural feare of a child, flying his father as his enemy: for the Dauphin seeing his Country of Dauphine in armes against him, and his fathers forces to approach, persisting wilfully in disobeying of his fathers command, he resolues to retire himselfe into Bourgongne. *Iohn de Lefeu*, ballard to the Earle of Armaignac, was his great Counceller, with *Lewis* of Chaalons Prince of Orange, with whom he was when these newes were brought vnto him. And for that Orange is inuironed with the territories of France, *Lewis* (being loth to be ingaged) departs secretly and slips into Sauoy, being accompanied with these two good guides and their troops, having some houles fauourable for him in Dauphine, from whence he passeth into Sauoy, and so comes safely into the Franche-Comre, and then into Brabant, where he was honourably entertained by the Duke of Bourgongne.

*Charles* seeing his sonne gone out of the Realme, resolues to punish such as he held to be the cause of his departure, and that were in his power. Hee begins with the Earle of Armaignac, who had giuen him *Lewis* his ballard sonne for a guide: hee dispossesseth him of Armaignac and Rouergue, so as with great difficulty hee saues himselfe in Arragon: the colour was, that he would not obey the King, but opposed himselfe against the Archbishop of Aix, who was preferred by his nomination, with such other trifles of no moment.

Charles spoiles  
the Earle of  
Armaignac.

But *Charles* himselfe takes the charge to subdue the Duke of Sauoy, against whom hee had an hereditary hated. The Duke prevents the danger, and by the intercession of the Cardinal of Eftouteville, he makes his peace with *Charles*: hee giues him his children for hostages, and discouers what the Dauphin had said touching the Marriage: his daughter *Charlotte*, whereunto he would neuer agree without the Kings consent, and so they part good friends in fiew. And for the effecting of that which concerned him most, *Charles* sends to the Duke of Bourgongne, to demand his sonne, and to let him vnderstand that he fed the Foxe which should deuour his pulleine. The Bourgongnon excuseth himselfe, and so doth the Dauphin *Lewis*, with so great shewes of reason, as it seems *Charles* should be content: but yet he parts not from Brabant, being entertained with late by *Philip* according to his greatnesse. *Charles* is more incensed by this delay, the which he takes for a denyall, and doubles message vpon message, and to his words he adds deeds. The Duke of Bourgongne had a notable quartell with the Gantois, who were mutined, by reason of some impositions vpon Salt. *Charles* fauours the Gantois against *Philip*, whom he commands to suffer them to liue in peace, being subiect to the Crowne: and if hee had found any advantage, he had made Warre against him: which the Bourgongnon fore-seeing, he fortifies his frontiers with new Garrisons, and hee himselfe remains there to stand vpon his guard, to prevent all accidents. In the meane time; *Lewis* being a Widower (as wee haue said) by the death of the Daughter of the King of Scots; hee marries *Charlotte*, Daughter to the Duke of Sauoy. *Charles* was wonderfully disconcerted with his new presumption of his sonne, who was a young man, obstinately bent to his owne will, yet had hee before giuen halfe a consent to this marriage treating with the Duke of Sauoy.

Lewis marries  
against the  
great dislike  
of his father.

Fourte yeares passe and more in those domestical broyles, but to what end serues it to relate euery particular, hauing so large a subiect: I haue faithfully continued this discourse, according to the truth of the matter, and the course of ymes. Before we speake of the Duke of Alençon, *James Cœur* remains a principall part of this criminall subiect. The Treasurer was likewise blamed; not onely for that he furnished the Dauphin with money too liberally, but also directed him with his counsell; being a man of judgement: I know the greatest part of Writers note this accident on his wife; both vpon another subiect, and at another season. As for the time, it is manifest error in the calculation of *Alençon*, who referres this sentence to the year 1452, and little yeares after; hee employs *James Cœur* in an honourable Ambassage, to *Felix* the fifth duke of Sauoy and Pope. But this is not the first contradiction of dates we find in this Author, who had

Lewis was  
banished.

Hh

viewed

1458

viewed the affaires of France by the eyes of another. As for the effect, hee reports that which all the world knew: that *James Cœur* was accused to haue robbed the King, and to make his great traffike in the Leuant more free: to haue had intelligence with the Turke, and to haue assisted them both with armes and counsell. These were capital crimes, and yet hee escaped for a fine of two hundred thousand Crownes, and banishment: and thereupon the Lady of Mortaing was punished, as having wrongfully accused him. Yet I find that more likely which the Seigneurs of Lodun and Saint Pons, Gentleman of Viareux, dying very old, affirmed to haue heard, the one of his Uncle, the other of his Grand-father, both household seruants to the Dauphin, that the very cause why *James Cœur* was thus intreated, was for that he was too familiar with *Lewis*, as one of the instruments of his youthfull pleasures. Let every man beleue what he thinks most probable, whilest we finish this processe. The Duke of Alanson was prisoner at Loches, whilest that *Charles* toiled himselfe to punish the Earle of Armagnac, and to recover the Dauphin his sonne. They would haue forced this Prince to haue answered before the Constable of France, and the four Marshalls: the which he refused, challenging the priuiledges of the Princes of the blood. So *Charles* (after that he had caused him to languish about a yeare in prison, sends for all the Princes of the blood royal, the Peeres of France, and the officers of the Crowne, to meet first at Montargis, and then at Vendome. Hee sends this charge especially to *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, who preparing a great army to assist there, was countermanded: & so by his example, nor any of the Princes, & but very few of the Peeres, were present at this arraignment. But the King (meaning to proceed at what price soeuer,) names certain Noblemen that should supply their places that were absent in this action, that nothing might want of all necessary solemnities to iustifie the condemnation. To conclude, according to the forme set downe in this processe, *John* duke of Alanson was found guilty of high treason, practising to bring the English into the realme, the ancient enemy of this Crowne: witnessses are produced, letters auented, and the confession of the accused: what more? Sentence was iudicially giuen, that he should lose his head, & forfeit all his goods, all being at the Kings good pleasure: the which neither Prefident nor Councillor durst contradict: yet *Charles* giues him his life, condemning him to perpetual prison, and his goods to his wife and children, where he continued but two yeares, for *Lewis* being King, he freed him from prison, & restored him to his dignity.

It is a hard law, when force is ioyned to a Kings command. Howsoeuer it were, the cleere sighted iudge, that the Kings ialousie was the true cause of the condemnation of this poore Prince, who had alwaies serued the King faithfully, and the King had loued him about all the Princes of his blood honoring him so much as to make him his Godson, carrying his eldest sonne *Lewis* to the Font. This his familiarity with his Godson, and the credit the Dauphin gaue vnto his counsels, was held to be a dangerous reftimony against him. Were it then iustly or vniustly that this Prince was thus intreated; who seeth not here a great proofe of the inconstancy of this world of great friends they become capital enemies: neither blood, nor the gages of loue in so holy a thing as the badge of our Christianity, can subdue the violence of passion, the which hath no restraint: yet euen that which should be of most force to vnite loue, hath most power to breed and increase ialousies. A notable preident in two so great personages. Passion makes these two great Princes prisoners, borne of one blood; the one a King, the other capable of a Kingdome. The one is prisoner at Loches with his guard, the other at Vendome or at Tours, in the greatnesse of his Court. This is the difference, the one endures paine forceably, the other voluntarily. But he that commits a sinne, is hee not a slave to sinne?

After this condemnation, *Charles* seemed alwaies grieved both in minde and countenance, the ialousie which he thought to quench, in suppressing him whom hee suspected, so increased, as in the end it was the cause of his death. Hee suruiued little: about two yeares after this Tragedy, the which happened the tenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1458, and the King dyed the two and twentieth day of July, in the yeare 1461, which time was vnto him a languishing prison, or rather a pining death. Doubtlesse he that serues God doth reigne, and he that serues vice is but a slave: the Crownes and scepters of kings haue no exception in this. The quiet of a good conscience is true liberty: And who can haue a good conscience, but in doing well? How farre better, and more honourable

1459

A honourable had it beene for *Charles*, to haue beene beloued and respected by his sonne *Lewis*, who being growne great, and hauing giuen many testimonies of his iudgement and valour, might well haue eased him in his greatest affaires, as *Robert* did *Hugh Capet*, being associate in the same reigne, to be honoured and serued by the Princes of the blood, especially of this his trusty friend, who had giuen him so many proofes of his loyalty in his greatest affaires, and receiued likewise from him such firme gages of his loue, and to reape the fruits of this so much desired peace, the which he had purchased for all his subiects. But if he afflicts others, he hath a good share himselfe. He makes his sonne to die, and to beg his bread in a strange Country: he causeth a poore Prince of his blood to languish in prison: and he himselfe feels in his soule a continuall torment of griefe, a fire of chollier and torture of ialousie, trusting no man, but liuing in continuall feare, and was this man at rest? A strange torment, he hath brought peace to all men, and cannot inioy it selfe, hee hath bread and cannot eate it.

But what read I in the Originall of the manners of our *Charles*? This King *Charles* (saith *Montfret*) after his reconcilment with *Philip* of Bourgogne, was of a good life and descent, but when he had recovered his realme, he changed his manners and polluted his life, in maintaining dishonest women in his Court, leaving the company of a good and loyal wife, suffering more honour and reuerence to be done to those women by the greatest of his Court, then to the *Queene*: they being more richly attyred then the *Queene* her selfe, the which was an ill preident in such a person: yet he gouerned his Realme very nobly and wisely, and was indued with goodly vertues, maintaining iustice throughout his whole Realme. *Montfret* and the History of *Saint Denis*, excuse the loue of false *Agnes*, and here they accuse *Charles*. My dute is to quote euery part faithfully in this my Inuentory, in the which there is nothing of mine owne but the bare report, whereby it appears, that vertues are mixt with vices: and that it is more easie to beare aduersitie then prosperitie. Let the example of *Dauid* be confronted with this: Wine causeth drunkennesse, and water tempests. Sometimes age is more weake and imperfect then youth, to the end the whole honour of any good that is in man, may be ascribed to God, who is the Author thereof. Joy and griefe, ialousie and loue, be they not contrary affections? and yet behold they are both in one subiect, *D*isturbing him diuersly. Inconstant nature of man! who is a slave to sinne, by the meanes of sinne, which receiues the motions of diuers winds, from North, South, East and West, both sowre and sweet.

It will be now time after all this, to shew the end of our *Charles*: but wee may not omit some notable things which chanced in this season, during the ebbing and flowing of these seven variable yeares. *Lewis* the Dauphine was resident at Genepe in Brabant, and married with the daughter of *Sabbey*, by whom he had a sonne. The Duke of Sauoy with his wife (who was daughter to the King of Cyprus) came to visit *Charles*, and to pacifie him, with hope that he should soone see his sonne, with this new gage of loue, but all this did but ease and not cure *Charles* his infirmity. We haue said before, that *Henry* the 6 King of England, was put in prison by the Duke of Yorke, who pretended the Crowne to appertaine vnto him by a iust title then vnto *Henry*. He makes an accord with the Duke of Yorke, to free himselfe from this captiuitie: that *Henry* should inioy the Crowne during his life, but after his decease it should come to the Duke of Yorke, and to his Heires after him: and so the Prince of Wales, sonne to King *Henry*, should be excluded from the succession of England. By this second *Henry* was released, but *Charles* his wife (daughter to King *Rene* of Sicillia) shewes her selfe more resolute then her husband, who (having provided for her affaires) disauows this accord as preiudiciall to her son, & against the lawes, which allow of no forced contract made by a prisoner: and so she armes to maintain her sonne the lawfull heire of the Crowne. The Duke of Yorke likewise leaues his army to frustrate the *Queenes* designs. At that time the *Queene* did win both the victory and the heads of the Duke of Yorke, of his second sonne, and of the Earle of Salisbury his chiefe partizan, whom she took prisoner in the battell and caused to be beheaded, but she shall haue her turne.

In the mean time these troubles which had an occasion vnto *Charles* to attempt against the English: although (transported with these home bred discontentes) he had a troublesome enemy within himselfe, without seeking one beyond the seas. This was done by the counsell and advice of the Constable of Richmont, who fearing the Kings humour, and

1460

and loth to deale in these discontentes, laboured to diuert him, giuing him a better subiect to exercise his spirit. It was also happy for the Constable, that hee was farre off, being likely that ieaousie would haue brought him first in question, whom *Charles* loued not much, for the crosses he had receiued by him in the beginning. The cause which had drawne *Richmont* from Court, was honourable for him: for by the death of *Peter Duke of Britany* his Nephew, he was called to the Duchy. Being Duke he would not leaue the Office of Constable, notwithstanding all the intreaties of his subiects, being desirous to honour that charge in his age, the which had honoured him in his youth, although he enjoyed the Dukedome but three yeares, dying with the good opinion of all France, hauing sufficed it much, both with his counsell and valour.

Enterprise against England.

This aduice to attempt againe England, giuen by the Constable, was executed by the Normans, vnder the command of *Peter of Brezay*, Seneschall of Normandy, accompanied with a good number of the Nobility of Normandy, and foure thousand fighting men: these might doe some great exploit in a Country diuided and troubled: but God hath pointed the limits of Kingdomes; and that great ditch of the Sea is sufficient to distinguish these two Monarchies, who haue enough to content them without attempting against their neighbour. To conclude, this army lands in England, and takes Sandwich, the which they presently spoile and leaue, and so returne to Henneuesen, from whence they imbarqued, carrying away foreot prisoners and spoyle. Their speedy returne was chiefly to saue their liues and goods, which had bene in great danger, if they had ingaged themselves farther, for any rich spoyle.

A strange death in the middle of ioy.

*Charles* was intreated by *Ladislaw* King of Hungary, sonne to that great *Iohn Huniade*, one of the strongest Champions against the Turke) to grant him *Magdalene* his daughter to wife, the which he did. As he prepared for this voyage, & a stately traine for his daughter, which might equall or surmount the Ambassage sent from *Ladislaw*, newes came of the death of *Ladislaw*, (a young man of twenty yeares of age, and of a generous hope) being poisoned at Prague: whose death was the cause of many miseries, as we shall hereafter see. Their ioy in France was changed to mourning, and the Wedding to a Funerall: to the great griefe of *Charles*. But to put him in mind of necessary causes, amidst these voluntary afflictions, it chanced that the Mother of *Iane* the Virgin (to purge the blood of infamy in the death of daughter, being condemned as a Sorceresse by the Bishop of *Bayes*, to please the English) obtains a reuocation of this sentence from the Pope, & *Charles* confirms it, causing it to be solemnly published to the content of all French-men, to whom the remembrance of this generous spirit shall be for euer pleasing.

The tragical death of Charles.

In the meane time, this ieaousie which was seld in the heart of *Charles*, is fed by the daily whisperings of this household flatterers. And now behold a strange accident: A Capitaine (in whom he had great confidence) assures him that they meant to poison him: he beleeueth it, and plants this apprehension so firmly in his minde, as he resolues neither to eate nor drinke, not knowing whom to trust. He continued obstinately for seven dayes in this strange resolution, the which in the end brought him to his graue: for being obstinate in this humour (not to eate, notwithstanding all the persuasions of his Physicians and seruants,) the passages were so stunk, as when he would haue eaten, it was then too late: and feeling his forces to decay he provided for his last Will, and dyed the twentieth day of Iuly at Meun vpon Yeure in Berry, in the yeare 1461, hauing liued nine and fifty yeares, and reigned nine and thirtie, leaving two sonnes, *Lewis* and *Charles*: the first shall reigne after his father, and the second shall be the cause of new troubles in France, but not such as haue reigned vnder our *Charles* the seuenth.

His disposition.

A Prince who hath as much aduanced the French Monarchy, as any King that was commanded: for finding the Realme ruined, he hath restored it: his Predecessors had plained the English in the bowels of the Bastard; he expelled them, bringing in a gentle peace after an intestine war of 100 yeares. A friend to Iustice, good order, and the people, resolute in great affaires, capable of counsell, wise, courageous, happy in the execution of good counsells, and happy in seruants that haue faithfully serued him to the end of his work, his reformation, whereunto God had appointed him. But these great and heroicall vertues were blisfied by some vices, which were more visible in his prosperitie, than his aduersitie: for affliction restrained him, but his happy successfull put him up, and gave scope to his humours, making him suspicious and ambitious, to the prejudice of his affaires, and

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1461 His impetuous fictions.

A and dishonour of his person. On the one side, vngouerned loue to strange women, making him to forget the lawfull loue of his wife, and to lose both time and iudgement, whereby he blemished his reputation, both with subiects and strangers. On the other side, presumption of his good successfull, made him vnpleasing vnto his best seruants; yet, euen to his house, and in the end it brought him to his graue, after a most fearefull & tragick manner, leauing in his vertues, an example to be followed, and in his vices to be avoided, with a visible proofe in his happy successfull, That God vseth weak instruments, to the end that he might be knowne to be the Author of the good worke they haue in hand, that his grace seeming strong in their weaknesse, the homage and honour of all good might be giuen to him: for whoseuer glories, let him glory in the Lord.

*Charles* had not sooner closed his eyes, but posts fly to Geneepe in Brabant vnto *Lewis*, to aduertise him of his death. The original notes it for exceeding speed, that through the diligence of *Charles* of Anjou, *Lewis* was aduertised of the death of his father, the very same day hee dyed. This post was speedy, yet slow in regard of the desire *Lewis* had to returne into France, and to take possession of this goodly Crowne, which attended him.

## LEWIS the eleuenth, The 55 French King.



As it not then likely, that this so happy a Catastrophe of the latter reigne of *Charles*, should haue purchased *Lewis* as happy and peacefull a Crowne, as his Fathers had bene painful and full of crosses? But the heires of worldly possessions (which we call the goods of Fortune, and of the body) doe not alwayes inherit the same humours and complexions of their predecessors. *Charles* was of a courteous disposition, affa-

The disposition of Lewis the 11.

ble, a friend to Iustice, and capable of Counsell: hee leaues *Lewis* his eldest sonne, a Prince in truth, humble in words and shew, wife in aduersitie, painfull, a free entertainer of men of merit, curious to know all men, of a good capacity, perfect in Iudgement, and very continent. But these vertues were blemished with many vices: ill-tongued, reuengfull, cruell, full of fraud, dissembling, distrustfull, variable, a friend to base people, and an enemy to great persons, yet willing to reape the wrongs hee had done to many. But let vs impute this alteration to the multitude of his forraigne and home-bred foes, who had greatly altered the good seeds which nature had planted in him. That which plunged him into a labyrinth of troubles and afflictions during all the course of his life, was, that at his first coming to the Crowne, hee discountenanced most of the Princes & Noblemen, whom *Charles* had fauoured; preferring mean men to their places, changed (in a manner) all the ancient Officers of the Crowne, and cashiered and discharged the old Companies of men at armes; whereby such as hated him, did take him as an enemy to all valour and vertue. *Lewis* the Dauphine at the age of eleuen yeares, was rashly ingaged by some Noblemen and others of the Realme, in the Warre called the Praguerie, against his father, who speedily suppressed it by his resolution, as wec haue seene. Being come to the age of man, hee married with *Marguerite* Daughter to the King of Scots: and as hee fell rashly in loue, so hee reaped nothing but repentance.

After her death (not able to beare the vnpleasing waywardnesse of his father) hee retires into Dauphine, and takes to his second wife, *Charlotte* daughter to the Duke of Sauiy, by whom hee had *Joachim*, who dyed young, *Anne* married to *Peter* of Bourbon, *Iane* the wife of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, and after King of France, the twelfth of that name; *Charles* his successor, and *Francis* who dyed likewise in his infancy. In the end *Charles* going to suppress the practices of his sonne in Dauphine, and the neighbor Princes, *Lewis* abandons the Countrey, and retires to *Philip* Duke of Bourgoigne, at whose charge hee was entertained sixe yeares.

*Charles* being deceased, *Philip* of Bourgoigne (to perfect this good office of Hospitality

H b 3

italy

1461

talitie to *Lewis*,) accompanied with *Charles* Earle of Charolois his sonne, *Lames* of Bourgogne Earle of Estampes, Adolfe Duke of Cleues, the Lord of Rauestin his brother, nephewes to the said *Philip*, the Earles of Nassau and St. Pol, and with many other Noblemen of the Netherlands, conducted him into France, with foure thousand horse well appointed, chosen among a hundred thousand fighting men, the which *Philip* had leaued vpon a brute that some Noblemen of the Country would aduance *Charles* the younger brother of *Lewis* to the Crowne. *John* Duke of Bourbon (the Duke of Orleans as well for his old age, as for that he mourned for King *Charles* decaise, came not from Paris) *Peter* and *Lames* of Bourbon brethren, the Earles of Eu, Vendosme, Dunoi, Graigne, *Philip* of Sauoy, with the greatest part of the Princes, Noblemen and Officers of the Crowne, goe to meet him, and conduct him to Rheims, where he is solemnly anointed and crowned by *John* Inuencal of Vrsus Archbishop of that place, assisted by the Cardinal of Constance, the Patriarke of Antioch, the Popes Legat, 4 Archbishops, 17 Bishops, and 6 Abbots, the 15 of August, 1461, being about 38 yeares of age. Two days after, *Philip* did him homage for his Duchy of Bourgogne, as Peere and Deane of the Peeres of France: for the Earledome of Flanders as a Peere of France, and for the County of Artois and all other lands hee held of the Crowne. Then made hee a sumptuous and stately entry into Paris, with very ioyfull acclamations of the people, as you may see at large in the Originalls.

After many sports, Tourneyes and publike feasts, *Philip* taking leaue of the King, exhorts him to lay aside all hatred and spleene conceived against some of his fauourers ancient seruants, from whom he should draw as many good seruices, as they had giuen testimonies of their loyalties to their lawfull Master: to liue in loue and vnith with his brother *Charles*, and to aduance him according to the degree he held within the Realme. *Lewis* was no sooner intalled, but the Inhabitants of Rheims minister an occasion to imple the first fruits of his forces. About Saint Remy the Collectors of imposts were taken, and their contracts burnt in open street. The King sends thither many followers disguised like Merchants and labourers, who entering secretly, and at diuers gates, become the stronger and are presently followed by some troopes led by the Lord of Mouy, who fall vpon the towne, takes 80 or a 100 of the most culpable, puts them to death & suppresses the mutiny. About the end of the yeare *Lewis* made a progresse into Touraine, when the Earle of Charolois coming from the pilgrimage of Saint Claude, did visit him, and the King (in reward of the kindeesse he had receiued from *Philip*) gives him the gouernment of Normandy, with 36000 franks yearly pension: for the non payment whereof there will soone grow great dissensions and ciuill warres. In sooth the words of a Prince should be held for Oracles, neither should he be lesse iudicious then constant in his promises. The Duke of Alencon was set at liberty, whom *Charles* the seueneth had restrained. But oh the vanity of man! we shall see him hereafter a prisoner, and condemned vnder his authority, who now giues him both life and liberty. Then the King gaue to his brother the Dukedome of Berry for his portion, and assigned the Queene his Mothers dowry (who shall not long enioy it, but dies in the yeare 1463,) in the Country of Xaintonge; with the towne and gouernment of Rochell, Chinon, Pezenas, and other places. Then he went in Pilgrimage to Saint Sauueur of Redon in Britany, where the Duke did homage for the said Duchy, the County of Montfort, & other places which he held of the Crowne. But deuotion did not so much draw *Lewis* into Britany, as a desire to discover the Dukes affection, his Country, and Forces, whom hee held in seculousse, and which shall easily draw the Duke into the vnion of the malecontents, as we shall see, which will fall out happily for him, to disappoint the King of the prey he hunted after in Britany.

*Lewis* in the meane time, carelesse of *Philips* aduice, notable well so indure the sight of his fathers spies (whom hee accused as the motives of his disgrace) changeth the gouernours of Prouinces, and most of the Officers both for lustice and warre: he placeth new, being chosen out of those that had beene companions of his fortune, the which (to engauate) they called a banishment, imputing it to them that were displaced. Moreover, he prohibited all Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen, the sport of Hawking and Hunting, vnder great and odious punishments, no further then hee should permit: a second brand of the following combustions. Now the King of Arragon (seeking to reduce

Whellome admonitions of *Philip* to *Lewis*.

Every Franke is worth two Gallings.

The Duke of Alencon inlarged.

1462

A his rebellious subiects of Barzellona to their duties by force) ingageth the County of Roussillon to *Lewis*, for three hundred thousand Crownes, whereof hee receiued fifty thousand presently, being followed with a goodly and mighty Army, to succour the said King, vnder the command of *Lames* of Armagnac Duke of Nemours. *Henry* King of Castill, complains by his Ambassadors of these succours giuen to his aduerfary, which was a breach of the League betwixt France and Castill: The King as well to end this quarrell, as that which *Bianch* the only daughter and heire of the King of Nauarre wife of the said King of Arragon, had with the King of Castill, by reason of some places in Nauarre) goes to Bourdeaux, and there concludes the mariage of *Antigardene* of France his sister, with *Gaston* the eldest sonne to the Earle of Foix, and presumptiue heire of Nauarre, who lay hurt at Libourne with a Lance at a Tournay, whereof he dyed, leauing a sonne and a daughter: *Francis Phabus* his successor, (who reigned but one yeare) and *Katherine* who succeeded him, and was married to *John* of Albret: then he goes to Bayonne, where the King of Castill comes vnto him, and ends all controuersies: A dangerous and farall enteriew: for these two great Princes, the most strictly allied of all Christians, of ancient time from King to King, from Realmes to Realmes, and man to man, bound by great curses to maintain this necessary league, the which neuer yet had any breach, they now conceived a contemp and disdain one of another. The French of the Castillians sumptuousnesse and pride, in their words, countenance, and apparel: The Castillians of the plainnesse of the French attire, for *Lewis* had short garments, and of bad stuffe, the which the Spanish nation did impute to miserableness, wherewith he was neuer blemished. So as from that day, these Kings did neuer loue; but both nations continued such a mutual hatred one against another, as they haue left it hereditary to their posterity: and we haue felt the bitterness of this oldleuaine in our late and more then vicuall tumult. So perillous shall the enteriew be of our *Lewis* with *Charles* of Bourgogne (who shall hereafter come often in place) at Peronne, as we shall see.

*Lewis* being returned to Paris, as by the purchase of Roussillon hee had fortified his Realme towards Spaine, so desired he to assure on the other side, redeeming the townes lying vpon Soimne, the which had beene ingaged by the treaty of Arras, to *Philip* duke of Bourgogne, for foure hundred and fifty thousand Crownes, with this condition, that the King should maintaine all the Officers aduanced by the Duke in the said townes: a promise without performance, for after the oath taken to serue him against all persons, at the first he tooke away the gouernment of Amiens, of Arras, and of Doullans from *Sauuse*: that of Morraigne from *Hautbourdin* a bastard of Bourgogne: and the Bayliwick of Amiens from the Lord of Creuencœur (whose lands he did confiscate soon after) aduancing to these offices *Lannoy* the Nephew of *Croy*, whereby he did greatly discontent the Duke, and the Earle of Charolois his sonne more, who in despite of the said redemption, did afterwards chase away the Lord of *Croy*, with his whole family, and confiscate their goods, they being the meanes thereof. Being retired into France, *Lewis* gaue him the County of Guinnes, with the office of Lord Steward of his house. A discontent which shall hasten the Charolois to arme against our France. Moreover *Lewis*, to tye the Pope vnto him, (by the meanes of *John Balne* Bishop of Arras, (who since was made Cardinall, in recompence of so good a seruice done to the Court of Rome) sends *Godfrey* Bishop of Albi Cardinall of Abbeuille vnto him, to renounce all rights of the pragmaticall Sanction: So doing, the Pope promised to send a Legate into France, that should giue all benefices; so the end that all the money which should be raised thereby might remaine within the Realme, and bee no more transported to Rome. But the Pope being seized of the charter of the said Sanction, made no accompt to performe his promise, and to please the Romans, he caused it to bee dragged through the streets. So as *Lewis* being thus deceived, did forbid to cary any more money to Rome, nor to bring any Bulls from thence.

He made *Sforza* Duke of Milan his vassall, giuing him Saouonne which the French held, (a heauy moeting of lamentable warres, which followed) and receiued his homage. But whilst he labours to purchase friends abroad, hee procures himselfe infinitely mighty enemies at home, the Princes and Noblemen to whom the first places in Court, and offices of the Crowne did appertaine, seeing themselves with great indignity supplanted by these new comers growne vp in one night, and put from the Kings fauour, they found one another

*Lewis* purchaseth the County of Roussillon.



1463

The league of  
the common-  
wealth.The chiefe of  
the league.

another, both by mouth, writings, and by diuers messengers: being assured of their actual losses, they open their minds, discover their conceptions, and conclude, *To defend and maintain their dignities.* For (say they) to what end doe wee suffer the indignities and braueries of these new upstarts? we should shew want of courage not to apprehend the wrong the King doth vs. Wee haue armes, men, friends and money to force him to reason, seeing we are debarr'd his presence by these base people that possesse him. The chiefe were *Charles Duke of Berry* the Kings brother, *John Duke of Bourbon* who had married *Charlotte* the Kings sister, *Francis Duke of Britany*, *John Earle of Dunois*, *Isard brother to Lewis Duke of Orleans*, the Duke of Nemours, the Earle of Armagnac, and the Lord of Albret. The Duke of Berry was easily drawne into this league, discontented to haue no better portion then Berry. The Duke of Bourbon had not yet receiued his mariage money. The Briton could not digest foure hard conditions, the which Lewis (hauing an army ready in case he refused) required of him: That he should no more trouble himselfe, *By the grace of God Duke of Britany*; That he should coine no more money without his permission: That from thenceforth the King should leaue taxes and subsidies in Britany, and not the Duke: And that all that were benefited within the Dukedome, should acknowledge him immediately for Patron and Soueraigne. Priuiledges which still then had bene alwaies expressly refused to all the Dukes his Predecessors, in the homages they did to the Crowne. The Earle of Dunois had alwaies bene the chiefe of the Army, and Lieutenant General to *Charles* the seuenth, and now is deprived of all his Offices and dignities by *Lewis* his sonne. So every one pretended diuers causes of complaint.

*Charles* of Berry must cary the bable, a yong Prince and credulous, an age which doth easily be men bold and rash, for they would vie him as the reuenging instrument of their passions. But where is the meanes to draw him from Court without lesaule? Behold an occasion is offered. After that *Lewis* had visited the townes of Picardy lately redeemed, hauing crossed Normandy and Touraine, hee passeth to Poissiers, leading *Charles* his brother with him. *Lewis* going one day to his deuotion, *John of Rommille, Tanneguy* of Chastell (Nephew to that *Tanneguy* that was charged for the death of the Duke of Bourgogne) agents for the Briton in this action, vnder colour to say, *Charles Duke of Berry* to the hunting, they lead him into Britany. *Tanneguy* was discontented, for that hauing disbursed fifty thousand Francks at the funerals of *Charles* the eleuenth, in the absence of *Lewis*, he had neither recompence, nor any thanks of the King, and was not satisfied for the space of ten yeares. There remained nothing but to be assured of *Philip Duke of Bourgogne*, who euen then had great cause of discontent: for during the partialities of England, betwixt the houses of Lancaster and Yorke, *Lewis* supported *Henry* against *Edward* (he being of Lancaster and this of Yorke) for that *Henry* had married the daughter of *Kene King* of Sicilia, and by consequence was neere kinsman to *Lewis*. In fauour therefore of this Queene, he makes a proclamation in the territories of the Duke of Bourgogne, forbidding them to aide or assist *Edward*, terming himselfe King of England. And for a greater disgrace, King *Lewis* would impose a custome vpon the salt in the Duchy of Bourgogne.

The Bourguignon opposeth: he protests that *Edward King* of England is his ally, and that he could not deny him succors being required. As for the custome he shewes forth the ancient priuiledges of Bourgogne, and intreats the King to forbear in the execution of this charge. Behold a sharpe touch, which might easily open the Dukes eares, to hearken to these malecontents: yet would he not enter, but suffers the Earle his sonne to vie all his meanes for this effect, being discontented for the gouernment of Normandy taken from him, and his pension not payed; for the redeeming the Townes vpon Somme, and the aduancement of Croy in France. And although the passing and repassing of the Agents and factours of these Princes were very secretly performed by men disguised like religious men, pilgrims and beggers, yet could they not worke so secretly, but the King had intelligence, that the Britton had sent to practise the loue and league of the King of England, and that by *John of Rommille*, Vice-chancellor of Britany, he had made a strict alliance with the Earle of Charolois, a violent and valiant Prince. Thus the King sends the bastard of *Rubempré*, a sea Captaine, to surprize such as he should find passing out of Britany into England, or from the Bourguignon to the Britton. This bastard

1465

Ambassadors  
from Lewis  
Philip.

A lands at la Haye in Holland, he enters the towne (with three in his company) where then the Earle was resident. Being examined of his quality, and of the cause of his landing, he makes some difficulty to discover himselfe. He is put in prison, as a pirate, sent (said they) by *Lewis* to surprize the Earle treacherously, and so to preuaile more easily with the Duke his father. This brute was dispersed through the Country, which made the King odious. At the first report of these newes, *Philip* being at Hedin, dislodged without taking his leaue, although hee had promised not to depart without speaking againe to the King. *Lewis* (aduertised of the bastards detention), sends the Earle of Eu, the Chancellor *Morvilliers*, and the Archbishop of Narbonne to Liller: they accuse his sonne of treachery and infidelity, for that hee had made a league with the Duke of Britany, a friend and confederate with the English: he complains of the restraint of *Rubempré* his seruant: and demands amends for words giuen out against the Kings honour: that the prisoner should be enlarged, and for expiation of the crime, that the authors of this slander should be deliuered into the Kings hands (especially *Olivier de la Marche*, one of the chiefe in the Dukes Court) to be exemplarily punished. The Chancellor who deliuered the speech, being but a blunt man, made it as bitter as hee could, and omitted nothing that might make the fact odious and criminall (for the which hee shall in time and place, be disallowed by the King and lose his office) adding moreover, that he could not conceiue the cause of the Earles discontent, if it were not for the pension and gouernment which the King had giuen him, and since taken away.

*Philip* answers, that *Rubempré* being charged with many crimes, was iustly taken, and in a County where *Lewis* had no right. If the informations did acquit him, he would send him to the King. That *la Marche* was of the County, and therefore the King nor to bee his competent iudge; yet if hee had done or said any thing against the honor of his Majesty, he would punish him to his liking. *Morvilliers* insists, vrging that *Philip* should not deny the King, and that he should command his sonne, not to entertaine any bad conceits of his Majesty, nor beleue the slanders imposed vpon *Rubempré*. The duke replies: That till then hee had neuer denied the King any thing: and contrariwise the King had failed of his promise, in that contrary to their transaition he had fortified the Townes redeemed, with great garisons, the which hee should haue inioyed during his life; and taken an oath of the Nobility, to cary armes indifferently against all hee should command. That if his sonne were ielous and distrustfull, hee took it of his mother, who had often suspected him to goe to other Ladies: and not from him, who suspected no man. The Earle of Charolois toucht with the Chancellors speech, would haue taken the defence of his honor and the Duke of Britanies: but *Philip* tearing left choller should transport him beyond reason, commands him to prepare for the next day. The night brings Counsell. The Earle hauing considered well of his plea, answers very respectfully: yet he maintains, that the proceffe of *Rubempré* would shew, that his imprisonment was both iust and duly made. That he had made an alliance and strict league with the Duke of Britany, being brothers in armes, but their association did nothing preiudice the Kings seruice, nor the good of his Realme, but rather their common forces should bee alwaies ready for the preservation of his Crowne and the publique good. As for the losse of this gouernment & pension (whereof he had neuer receiued but one quarter) he was nothing displeased: that as for any wealth and honours, the fauour of the Duke his Lord and Father did suffice him.

Thus the Ambassadors returne nothing to *Lewis*, but threats from this Earle, who charged the Archbishop of Narbonne particularly with this speech. That within one yeare he would make the King repent the injurious words hee had caused his Chancellor to giue him, in the presence of the Duke his father. And hauing speedily assembled a great Army out of Artois, Hainault, Boullen, Flanders, Holland, & Brabant, consisting of foure thousand men at armes, and eight or nine thousand Archers, vnder the ensigne of *Lewis* of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Paul, and afterwards Constable of France; the Lord of Rauestin brother to the duke of Cleues, *Anthony* bastard of Bourgogne, *Isard*, *Amour*, bastard brother to the Earle of Saint Pol, *Conia* and *Lalaise* valiant and wise Knights, with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, and great store of Artillery and carriages, hee enters into Picardy as Lieutenant General to the Duke of Berry, taking armes to releue (sayes hee) the people surcharged with taxes and subsidies; and to re-

cours

1465

The Earle of  
Charolois en-  
ters Parys.He takes Nefle,  
Roy and Mont-  
chery.

cover their ancient freedoms and liberties; to restore the Nobility to their honours and ancient dignities, and to give unto the Clergy their rights and preeminences. In truth these were goodly shewes, able to persuade the credulous, and to supplant the affections of the simple.

For the first fruits of his forces, he takes Nefle (a little Castle neere unto Noyon, in the which there was a garison) Roy, Montdidier, Beaulieu, and Pont Saint Maxence: then having passed the rivers of Somme and Oise, hee comes with little spoile of the Country, to Saint Denis, where all the confederates should meet, but they failed of their appointment. Having presented himselfe before Paris, and skirmished at the gates with some losse to the inhabitants, supported only by the companies of men at Armes of Charles of Melun, Bayliffe of Sens, of the Marshall *Joachim Rouault*, and the Lord of Nantouille, afterwards great Master: he seized vpon Saint Cloud, where his army passed the Seine, to draw towards Etampes, and to ioyne with his confederates, whom the kings army stayed in their march. In the meane time the Duke of Bourbon seizeth vpon the Kings reuenues and treasure, and of the chiefe Officers, from whom hee might draw any money. Then did *Anthony of Chabannes* Earle of Dampmartin escape out of the Bastile at Paris, whom *Lewis* held prisoner, for that he had made warre against him in Dauphine, by the command of *Charles* the seuenth, vntill he had provided such caution as he demanded for the performance of the condition, for the which hee had given him his life. That he should passe the remainder of his life an Exile at Rhodes. Who going through Gafinois, tooke and spoiled the Castles of Saint Forgeau, and Saint Maurice, and caried away the Captaine prisoner, which was *Jeffrey* the sonne of *James Cœur*: hee seized vpon Saint Pourcain, and being aduertised that the King sent to besiege him by the Bayliffes of Sens and Melun, he retired himselfe to the Duke of Bourbon. This sight did suddenly draw the King vpon the Duke. The places of Bourbonnois were in a manner all taken and assured: but having intelligence that the Duke of Nemours, with the Earles of Albret and Armagnac did march, and that succours came to the Duke of Bourbon out of Bourgongne, leauied by the Earle of Beaulieu and the Cardinall of Bourbon, brethren to the said Duke (the which were of more shew then profit) he willingly hearkens to an accord with these Princes, wrought by his sister being wife to the Duke of Bourbon, that they should beare armes for the King, and labour to win their confederates vnto him. A conuention ill obserued, by meanes whereof *Lewis* had caused the siege of Rion in Auergne to be raised, the which was at their deuotion: this done, he goes towards Angers, to try if by mildnesse and good meanes he might reclaime his brother being in Britany. Not able to effect it, and hearing the Earle of Charolois approached with great expedition to Paris, he leaues *Rene* King of Sicily and duke of Aniou, and *Charles* Earle of Mayne his Vncles by the motherside vpon the frontiers of Britany, to hinder these great forces from ioyning with the Bourguignons. And left the Parisians (abused with this goodly shew of the common-weale) should receive them, he being so farre from them, he caused his Vncles to aduance, who dislodging alwaies before the Britton, did greatly annoy him for want of victuals, and hindreth his march, and he himselfe posts to Ordeance with speed, and from thence to Chastres vnder Montchery, with no intent to fight vntill hee had visited Paris, and gathered a greater power, but necessity forceth him. The Earle of Charolois hearing of the Kings approach, marcheth towards him with the bastard of Bourbon, commanding the reuerward to ioyne with the Earle of Saint Pol, who led the forward, and takes his place of battell in the plaine of Montchery, where they appeare at the break of day the 27 of Iuly. Having discouered the Kings army led by the Lord of Brezay great Seneschall of Normandy, he commands all his archers and the greatest part of his men at armes to leaue their horses, and euery man to plant a stake before him in the foremost ranks to withstand the fury of the horse: behind he compasseth himselfe in with his carriages, and on the flanke he fortifies himselfe with a forest adioyning, having resolved to fight on foot in a place of aduantage for the foot, before that all *Lewis* his troopes were ioyned. *Lewis* had about 2200 well appointed Lances, besides the Nobility of Dauphine, and some great Gentlemen of Sauoy and Bresse, a great number of Archers, and other men of war, but not equal to the Bourguignon. God, who disposeth of battels, would now chastise our King, but not to his ruine.

The Earle of Charolois like a great Commander vsed a good stratagem, seeing the French

The battell of  
Montchery.

1465

A French army could not descend into the valley of Torfou, but by small troopes: for when as the forward appeared, they were not about 400 Lances, yet hee gaue respite to them that were farthest off to set forward, whilst the two armies spend the time in light skirmishes and Cannon shot. Having past some foure houres, the Earle aduertised that the Parisians (being sent for by the King) might come & compass him in behind, he aduanceth first four forward doth likewise march, but he beats them backe vnto the village, and (to dislodge them from thence) hee fires certaine houses, so as the wind drives the flame and smoke into our archers faces, who did likewise fight on foot: he forceth them abandon the place and to recover their horses. The Bourguignons likewise mount and gallop after our runnawaies, but they had recovered a long and large ditch which they found by chance in the field with a strong quick-set hedge, behinde the which they breasted, whilst the enemy laboured in the pursuit: but issuing at either end in troope vpon the Bourguignons, they charge them so resolutely, as they turne their backs, ouerthrowing their own archers in the flight: some recover their carriages, and some the Forest: amongst others the Earle of Saint Paul and his brethren, the Lords of Rauellin, Haplaincourt, d'Aimeries, d'Inchi, Rabodonges, and many others. The Nobility of Dauphine, Sauoy and Bresse had the chiefe honour of this defeat. The archers thus broken, they remained at the mercy of the French. But being pesterd with the baggage, some Bourguignons rallied together, turne their carts, compass them in, and beat them downe with great beetles of lead. And to increase the losse, the Earle of Charolois fighting on the right hand towards the Castle, had an easie victory ouer our men, chafing them backe about a thousand paces. But having intelligence that they were ioyned againe, and that if he passed but two arrow shoots farther he should be taken, he returned suddenly, and encounters an amazed troope of footmen flying in the village. He chargeth them, but no man turnes head, sauing onely one souldier who strucke him on the breast with a borse-pike, but the foot-man lost his life with some few others, who could not in time recover the gardens and orchards. As hee passed against the Castle, hee met by chance with a troope of men at armes, which saued themselves from the rout at the carriages: one of them in the charge giues him a dangerous wound in the throat with his sword, by reason of this beuer that was false. *Jeffrey* of Saint Belain, called *La Hire*, Bayliffe of Chaumont, and *Gilbert* of Grassy knew him. They presse him to yeeld and not to bee slaine: but behold the sonne of a Physician of Paris, called *John Cadet* (the history in truth owes his name for so worthy an act) being big and mightie of body, mounted on a horse of the same proportion, rushes through them, and diuides them that held him. Then happily arriues the Bastard of Bourgongne, and the Earles guard, by meanes whereof the French retire themselves to their ditch, where they had bene in the morning. During the which, a false brate of the Kings death had almost ouerthrowne all: for euery one began to faint. The Earle of Mayen, the Admirall of Montauban, and the Lord of Barde embracing this common belief, fly with all the reuerward. *Lewis* aduertised of this amazement, takes off his helmet, shewes himselfe to his souldiers, and so assures them that he is aliue. On the other side, the Bourguignon rallies his men disperfed and wearied, ready to fly if they had bene charged. At the same instant the Count St. Paul, goes to the field and gathers together vnder his ensigne about eight hundred men at armes, and but few foot. Behold, the two armies standing in battell one against another, mutually discharged their Cannon. The night approached which ended the battell: an encounter, where the notable flying on either side did wonderfully moderate the fury of the fight. The which being thus ended, the King was conducted by the Scots to the Castle of Montchery, having neither eaten nor drunk all that day, and then he retires to Corbell. The Earle keeps the field, spoiles the dead, and therefore holds himselfe a Conquerour. Amongst the Kings men were knowne *Jeffrey* of Saint Belain, the great Steward of Normandy, *Capitaine Holquer* Bayliffe of Eureux, with many Gentlemen, to the number of foure hundred horse and but few footmen. Of Bourguignons the Lords of Lalain, Hames, Oigny, Watemaign, almost all the Earles archers: *Haplaincourt*, *Aimeries*, *Inchy* and many others were taken flying, and being prisoners to Paris of foot-men there were more slaine, then of the Kings part. All which were esteemed by some, at two thousand of both sides: others held it at three thousand five hundred: but all assente constantly, that there were more Bourguignons then French, although *Lewis* lost more horsemen.

Charles of Bour-  
gongne when  
taken and rescued.A famous battell  
telling for running  
away.

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In truth, the firme resolution, the constant labour, the dangerous hazards, manfully passed by the King, were sufficient motives to encourage his men to honour: and it had been well and courageously followed, notwithstanding his small number, and want of artillery, the Earle of Charolois souldiers had digged their graues at Montlehrie. Three daies after the battell, the Earle of Charolois being aduertised that his confederates approached, went to receiue them at Estampes. The Dukes of Berry and Britany, the Earles of Dunois and Dampmartin, the Lords of Loheac Marshall of France, of Buell, Chaumont and Charles of Amboise his son, all disgraced by Lewis, and put from their offices, although they had well serued the King his father. They brought with them (saith the History) eight hundred good men at armes, most Britains, who had newly left the companies, every one pretending some discontent. Of Archers and other men of warre resolute and well appointed, fixe thousand on horse-backe, all of the Britons charge, who assured (by some men at armes that fled) of the Kings death, promised him selfe much good in conceit, in case the Duke of Berry came to the Crowne. And if at that instant they would haue giuen him credit; they should haue suppressed the Bourguignons, or at the least diminished them, verifying, That there is final loyalty, and lesse pay in men of warre.

the Duke of  
Berry loathes  
the situation of  
his house.

On the other side, the Duke of Berry began to loath these broyles: for in open Council, hauing viewed seven or eight hundred hurt men wandring vp and down the towne he said: *How much more glad would I haue bene, if this warre had neuer begun, then to paye my selfe riches and honour with the price of much blood.* A speech wherof a milde Prince and not bloody: but ill digested by the Bourguignon, supposing that Charles would easily make his peace vpon the least motion made by Lewis. And to assure him selfe as well without as within the Realme, he sends William of Cluny (afterwards Bishop of Poitiers) to Edward King of England, although hee had alwaies supported the house of Lancaster, from whence he was issued by his mother, against that of York. Hauing refreshed their troopes they all dislodge from Estampes, and take the way to Saint Maurin of Larcham, and Moret in Gasinois, and hauing an intent to passe riuer of Seine, the Earle employes many coopers to make pipes, hauing brought great store of stiffe for that purpose, wheroun a bridge was made (for want of conuenient boates) through the fauour of the Cannon, which the Earle had planted in an Island in the midst of the riuer.

There ioynes with them John Duke of Calabria the onely sonne of Rene King of Sicily, the Prince of Orange, Thibault of Neuf chasteil Marshall of Bourgogne, and Messias his brother, the Marquis of Rotelin, the Lords of Argueil and Thoulougeon, with many others, leading nine hundred men at armes, of the Duchy, and Countie of Bourgogne, Sixscore men at armes barded Italians commanded by Galeot and Campo-basso, four hundred Germane Crosse-bowes sent by the Count Palatine, and five hundred Swisses (the which were the first that came to our warres, a fatal and lamentable alliance for the Bourguignon, as we shall see in his place) of other footmen very few. All this great rent of an hundred thousand men, enuiour Paris, they seize vpon Saint Maur, Pont Charenton, Conflans, Saint Denis, and other places thereabouts, they tyre the inhabitants with continuall skirmishes, euen at their gates: and shake their affections by practices and deuices. The Duke of Berry writes to the Clergy, to the Court of Parliament, to the Vniuersitie (which then was in great credit in Paris) and to the Bourgeses to stay one a part, shewing them that all these forces tend not but to the peoples ease and profit: and requires them to depute men of iudgement and learning, to vnderstand more at large the causes of this great assembly.

Ten Deputies heare their complaints, being led by William Chartier Bishop of Paris, they report it to the Councill of the City, who answers: That the City shall bee free for the Princes to enter into at their pleasure, they and theirs abstaining from violence and paying their expences. Surely this would haue bene a conquest of the City of Paris. But the great Master of Nantouillet, the Marshall Isachim, and other Capitaines raised view of their Forces, and by this means retaine the Parisians, who changing their mindes, are fully confirmed by the arrival of John of Rohan, Lord of Montauban Admirall of France, with great troopes of men. O light and inconstant people! how easie is it to moue thy affections, and to make thee in an instant to applaud that party which

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A which euen now thou didst abhorre. But let vs leaue them in this good humour, and see what remedy the King had for these garboyles, attending the succours the Duke of Milan sent him.

Lewis being (after the battell) retired from Conflans to Paris, flatters the peoples humors, treats popularly with them; creates a priuy Councell of fixe Counsellors of the Court, fixe Doctors of the Vniuersitie, and fixe Bourgeses, to gouerne his affaires, according to their aduice and direction: he leaues 600 Lances in Paris, vnder the command of the bastard of Armaignac, Earle of Combringe, Master of Gilets, of Saint Simon, Bay-liffe of Senlis, la Barde, Craon, Charles of Maurs, and Charles of Melun his lieutenant, in the said towne. Then he goes into Normandy, to assemble all the Nobility and men of warre he could: from whence he sent the Earle of Ruoto, haue the command of the warre, and of the City, followed with two hundred Archers well in order. The Earle being arrived, he sends the Lord of Rambure to the Leaguers, offering to bee a mediator for their discontent vnto his Maiesty, but it was without effect.

The King hauing intelligence of the confederates traffike with the Parisians, knowing that this people doth easily change their affections with the successe: and foreseeing that this baite of the Commonweale, would soone bewitch them, displeased also that the Bishop had without his knowledge treated of an accord, hee hastens his returne, accompanied with the Earles of Mayen and Ponthieure, the forces of Normandy. And for the first fruits of loue to his subjects, hee confirmed all the priuiledges they enjoyed in his fathers life: hee abolished all new impositions, and retained none but the ancient and ordinary farmes of Merchandize that is sold by great: then did hee punish, either with banishment or death, such as had yeelded to the reception of the heads of the League into the City. Hee doth sharply blame the Bishop, (at the infligation of the Cardinal of Albis) to haue bene a dealer in his absence for his enemies, with an inconstant and ill-advised people: and hauing provided for the fury of the City, hee prepares to offend and defend. The Bourguignon likewise vieweth all force, making great and daily skirmishes with the Parisians, sometimes chasing and sometimes chased. And hereupon comes new supplies to the Leaguers, the Dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the Earle of Armaignac, and the Lord of Albret (notwithstanding the former treaty) with about fixe thousand men.

Means to pac-  
cise a people  
that wauert.

On the other side, the King receiued from Francis Sforze Duke of Milan, fixe hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, commanded by Galeas his eldest sonne, with this Councill of State: That to diuide this company, he should yeeld to all conditions, and only preserve his men. An aduice which Lewis shal cunningly put in practice speedily. These Milanais were employed in Bourbonnois, vntill newes of the peace shall come. The Earle thus fortified, offers battell, but the King would not hazard any thing, desiring to disperse this mistle cloud without effusion of blood. And to annoy them of Conflans and Charenton, he sends foure thousand francke-archers, and about foure hundred pioneers, supported by the Nobility of Normandy, and some men at armes, who plant themselves vpon the riuers side, right against Conflans, at the English port, where they make a large and a long trench vnto the City, with a Bulwark of wood and earth, wheroun they plant many peeces of artillery, which at the first drues the duke of Calabria out of Charenton, with great losse of his men, and an extreme terror to the Earle of Charolois, who lodged at Conflans in a house belonging to his father. Two Cannon shot passed through his chamber being at dinner, and slue his Trumpeter, carrying a dish to his table. This amazement makes him goe downe with speed: he fortifies his lodging, pierceeth the walles, and plants a cannon for a counter-battery.

A politicke  
aduice.

But they must dislodge these francke-archers, and prevent the losse they receiued from the other side of the water. For the effecting of this, hee obtains a truce for two dayes: in which time he made a bridge of boats. The bridge almost finished, the francke-archers leaue their trenches, carry away their artillery, and retire to the suburbs into the Catholians cloister. A part of the Bourguignons army passeth the water: they enter the suburbs of Saint Marceau, and skirmish, but with little losse on either side. Hereupon our Capitaines resolute to assaile the enemy in diuers parts. A page sent by night giueth them intelligence. At the break of day some horsemen charge home to the artillery and kill a Canoniere. This was in shew the effect of the pages aduertisement. All arme: they make

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make barricadoes and stand firme. The Artillery thunders: the Kings answers them. They send forth two hundred horse to discover: who see a troope issuing forth the City to learne the cause of this tumult, and moreover a great number of Lances in conceit and so they report that all are come forth in battell; but the day breaking they proue but shuffles. So this alarme turnes to laughter. In the meane time they treat of peace, but the demands of the confederates were excellent. The Duke of Berry demands Normandy for his portion.

An enteruew  
of the two  
Commanders.

The Earle of Charolois, the towne of Somme lately redeemed. For the better effecting hereof, the two Commanders conclude of an enteruew. The King mounts vp the wall right against the Bourguignons army, accompanied with the Lords of Montauban Admirall, *Naitiviller, du Lau,* and few others. The Earles of Charolois and S. Pol, come receiue him. He then offers to giue his brother the Prouinces of Bry & Champagne, accepting Melun, Meulan, and Montereau, the which he would not accept. Hee grants Charolois his desire, dil auowes Mouilliers in certaine speeches, wherein he faith, he had exceeded his charge: & for the Earles sake he promifeth to giue the office of Constable to the Earle of S. Pol. These entercoures of either side proue fatal for the King: for he fides that the Princes do daily suborne more of his men then he can draw from them: he hold, Pontoise is deliuered to the Britton by *Sarhier*, commanding there vnder the Marshall *Teuchin*, and to finish so notable a victory, hee marcheth towards Meulan to the famous rent: but the inhabitants being aduertised, he returns without effect. There grows and ther vpon in Paris the souldiers want insolently, that the citizens goods are at their free disposition: that they will take the keys of their houses from them, and for a need will pull the chaines out of their streets. Hereupon the Prouost of Merchants calls the Capitaines of the quarters, and chiefe of the City to Councell: hee commands them in night to make fires at all the corners of the streets, and to watch in armes, euery man in his quarter. The people stand vpon their guard, ready to attempt some great action. The King himselfe goes the round, he finds the gate of the Bastile towards the fields open; at the artillery cloyed. But on the prouidence of God! misfortune is good for something. These vnexpected fires disappoint the conspirators practices, they hinder the approach of the enemy, and saue the City. Moreover, Gisors is beleagred, and the garison abandons it. But that which imports more, the widow of the great Seneshall of Breau (gouerned by the bishop of Bayeux) then resident at Rouan, with some other Partisans, giues *John* Duke of Bourbon entry into the Castle, and so into the City. The City desiring long to haue a Duke remaining in the Country, consents to this change, and *Lewis* to the said Duke, for the Duke of Berry. In a manner, all the Townes and Castles of the Prouince follow the example of their capitall City.

The peace of  
Constans, and  
the conditions.

O strange chance! The Bourguignons army was now reduced to extreme necessity of victuals and money, so as all the Noblemen dreamed only of a retreat. And yet (an admirable thing) the price of victuals was not risen in the City. So many stormes caused *Lewis* to demand a second interview, before that the yielding vp of Rouan should be known to the Earle. He grants the Duchy of Normandy to his brother: restores the towne vpon Somme to the Earle: to the Britton his County of Montfort, with promise to defray his charges: he giues the office of Constable to the Earle of S. Pol: he promifeth vnto *John* Duke of Calabria, men and money to recouer his Realme of Naples: to pay what had bene promised for the marriage of his sister to the Duke of Bourbon, with the execution of other clauses contained in the contract: to restore vnto all others their goods, offices, and dignities, which they had enioyed vnder his father *Charles*. He grants vnto the Princes, that not any one should bee bound to come in person at his summons, but should discharge their homage and duties, in sending such forces as they were bound to furnish at need. To conclude, all the publicke good is turned to priuate interest. The Earle of Charolois accepts these conditions so willingly, as discoursing with the King, the vehement desire he had to see the execution of this treaty, carries him into the trench of the bulwarke of Francke-archers, by the which they entered the City. They Bourguignons hauing lost him, cry out that he was slayed. The chiefe assembl together, they tremble, they condemne their Earle of rashnesse, alleaging the inconuenience happened to the grandfather at Montereau, in the presence of *Charles* the leueneth, and they begin to talke of their safety: but as they walked into the field on horsebacke, behold they discouer about

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A about fifty of the Kings hoile; conducting the Earle to his father. So euery one returned his spirits, and joyfully commend the Kings delay.

Two dayes after the treaty of peace was ready, and *Lewis* on either side, at Bois de Vincennes, *Charles* the Kings brother, did homage for the Duchie of Normandy, the Earle of Charolois for the Townes and land in Picardy, and likewise the rest that had homage to do. The Earle of Saint Paul took his oath for the office of Constable: the Earle of Montfort receiued their goods and houses. So the Duke of Normandy was conducted to Rouan by the Duke of Britany. The Earle of Charoloisooke his way to Amiens, and receiued homage of the inhabitants of all other places that were restored vnto him by the peace. Then he entered into the Country of Liege, which had rebelled vnto his father, against his father, vpon the first brute of the overthrow of the Earle his founder at Montsieghy, without attending the faith. Hee pacified the Country, and returned into Brabant. This was called the peace of Constans, which was but continued the 21 of October 1465; the which the Bourguignon had not so easily yielded vnto; hee had receiued (besides that refreshing of men and money, which *Philip* sent him by the Lord of Sancerre)

and was an act of great import, for *Lewis* to disperse these Princes so cunningly: hee did well foresee that the Charolois beinge from them, and busied in his owne Countries, would hardly recurre in the winter season. Moreover, he knew well the meanes (as he was an excellen plotter of factions) how to diuide the Dukes of Normandy and Britany. And in truth they were scarce arised in their new Duellies; but all the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Captaines, expected some preferment from *Charles* Duke of Normandy, lately aduanced by this peace; and moreover the Duke of Britany, who had bene formerly engaged in the change, was little amended by the treaty: they all by a generall discontent (tho a notable subject of distrust of their new Duke) so as there is spread abroad all rumors, that the Brittons would carry *Charles* into Britany. Vpon this brute, the Dukes seruants and the inhabitants troope together, they runne by heapes to Saint *Katharine* Mount, where *Charles* remained yet, attending the preparatives of his entry) they ledde him into the City, without any other assistance, but the Clergie in their ornaments. The Duke of Britany, fearing the mutiny of this people, retires vnto his Country: and in his way hee takes some Townes in Normandy, wherein hee leaueh diuers garisons.

*Lewis* sees vpon  
his brother.

*Lewis* imbraceh this occasion; and vpon this diuision marcheth against his brother, meets with the Duke of Britany at Argenton, to winne him from the alliance of the Duke of Normandy: hee takes from him (by the Duke of Bourbon newly reconciled) Eureux, Vernon, Louiers, Pont de Larche, and other places: and by *Charles* of Melun, Gyfors, Gournay, Chailly: and consequently all bafe Normandy. Caen held with some other places, being in the hands of *Lefant*, a trusty seruant to both the Dukes. *Charles* abandoned by all men, and set vpon by so mighty an army, resolues to retire into Flanders, and seekes to the Earle of Charolois, whom this diuision did much grieue: for he desired about all things to see a Duke in Normandy, the which should greatly weaken the King. But the time was vnseasonable, being busied against the Liegeois. Yet for a prooue of his good happe, he labours to put some troopes (gathered vp in Picardy) into Depee: but *Lewis* presents him, and compounds with the Gouernor. Hereupon the two Dukes reconcile themselves, considering (but too late) that as their diffention had already ruined the one, so might it easily overthrow the other: according to the saying, *That by concord small things increase, but by discord great are overthrowne*. In truth it is a hard matter for great men to entertaine friendship long: and for the State it is necessary to haue one ouerigne head ouer all, who by his judgment, wiledome, and credit, may retaine the subjects in obedience.

The Dukes of  
Normandy and  
Britany are re-  
conciled.

So the Duke of Normandy begs helpe of the Britton, being poore, overcome, and abandoned now in his aduersity, of all them that during his prosperity had grounded the anchor of their hope vpon his fortunes, and had newly made their peace with the King. The Duke of Britany receiues him, and in his fauour sends an Ambassage to the King: giuing him to vnderstand, that for the honour of his blood, and respect of his Matelie, hee had receiued him; seeing him a fugitiue, and vnprouided of necessary meanes to entertaine his estate. Thereupon *Lewis* makes answer, that he could not dismember

1467

Normandy, the goodliest flower of his Diadem from the Cedre of France, whose demelines are inalienable. The Duke replies, Adds to give a portion to his brother grounded in part of the *Succession*, rights was an alienation of long time executed in France, seeing that many held it even then by the same title: But they commonly say, it is in vain to preach to them that care not to do well. *Lewis* could not yield to the protestment of his brother: and the Britons Ambassadors trusted with no other and were but a bare confession, that it was reasonable to give him some portion, and that he would consider of the quantity thereof.

Roman returns to Lewis

Thus Rouan (wanting their Duke some few daies) yielded the King obedience in small adoe: who suddenly saileth away to be executed of his brother *Charles* to his father. The Lord of Esternay, taken by *Charles* of Melun great Master, in a Frigate, accompanied with an *Augustine*, was beheaded: yet some suits that he had were drowned in the river of Vre. The King offended with the emertuousness which the Duke of Britany had given to his brother, and advertised that *John* Duke of Calabria was dead beyond the mountains, he calls home the troops he had given him, to have the greater force to strike the Briton, for receiving of his enemies, and practising intelligence within his Realme. And even then the D. of Alençon promised to give the Duke passage through his Country, if he would enter into Normandy. Morgouer, so many Ambassadors from the King to the Duke and Earle of Charolois, and from them to the King, from the Earle to the dukes, & from them to the Earle, were but to discover their humors, and under colour of faith, to withdraw mens affections. So the Duke of Britany, not able to persuade the King to reason, enters into Normandy, takes Caen, Bayeux, and Auranches: he burns Meruille and some other places, whilist that the King assembles the forces of Anjou, Bourgois, and Normandy: and the Earle of Charolois resolves to recover his confederates, having suppressed them of Liege and Gant. And for that our *Lewis* had been so confusedly incombred amidst the complications of those people, let us leave France, to learn better the cause, the proceeding, and the end of these warres.

The Liegeois, hereditary and capital enemies to the house of Bourgongne, (seeing that tend to open warre betwixt the King and the Earle of Charolois) seeketh the kings friendship & alliance, and they obtaine it, upon condition to enter presently into the Countie of Hainault and Namur, belonging to the Duke of Bourgongne, with alliaies of hostility: the King promising vnder his seale, to succour them with two hundred men at armes (every one having three horses at the least) and not to treat any accord or peace with the Duke without their consent, and to comprehend them in it: putt vp with this favour and imagined succours, they send a Herald to *Philip* being at Brussels, with letters, desiring the Earle his sonne with fire and sword, and thereon demand an answer.

The Duke having read these letters, delivered them vnto the Herald, willing him to carry them to his sonne. So he returns to Liege, but hee is presently sent backe with other letters, desiring the Duke himselfe and all his allies. And suddenly they breake into the dukes Country, they spoile, ravish, burne, and omit no outrage that one enemy may doe to another. *Philip* assembles the forces of his Country, and sends for the dukes of Cleues and Gueldres, the Earles of Nassau and Horne, the Marquis of Rothelin, and others that were neighbours to Liege. But this multitude finding the King to faile them of his promise, and that they were not able to resist so great forces, they shut themselves vp within the wallles of Liege. Then at the first and false newes of the overthrow of the Earle of Charolois at Montleheric, (as the passions of a disordered mind doe easily make man to beleue what hee witheth) they take a subiect of new folly. Those of Dinan especially (a people of Liege, proud and arrogant to haue at sundry times endured severall sieges of Emperours and Kings, yet neuer conquered) make a picture very like to the Earle of Charolois, and attired with his Armes, they carry it in troope neere to the vines in the Country of Namur: they set vp a high gybbet in the sight of the Citizens, and there they hang this Image, crying with open throat, *See there the sonne of your Duke, that false traitor the Earle of Charolois, whom the French King hath, or will cause to be hanged, as you see here. Hee termed himselfe the sonne of your Duke, hee lyed: hee was a villaine bastard, changed in his infancy with the sonne of the Lord of Hainberghe, an Bishop. Did he thinke to raine the Noble house of France? From these and such like insolent speeches, they come to deeds, armed against the subiects of *Philip*, with fire and sword,*

A horrible outrage committed by them of Dinan.

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A the instruments of their horrible outrages. This was not all, the father must receive the like disgrace by his picture, the which they carried to the dung-hill before Bouvines, and setting it upon a peece of wood, *See here (say they) the seat of the great Toade your Duke.* Those of Bouvines exhort these mad men to performe the duties of good subiects to the Duke, before that matters grew more bitter. But the bearer of this good and whollome counsell, returned without his head: they fend an innocent child, with the like Letters, hoping his tender age would moue some respect, and mollifie these cruel and unnaturall minds, but in despite of the Duke and of their neighbours, they killed him most barbarously, and tare him in peeces.

Of insolent people: which hath not yet learned, That there is no vice wheron God doth more often show his iudgements, then vpon pride. The great wealth thou hast gathered during thy long felicity, hath it so furiously transported thee beyond the boundis of obedience, and to what end is thy great wealth, but to draw thee headlong to thy ruine? *Philip* takes his revenge by the defeat of foure thousand Liegeois, fortified within Montena, a village five leagues from Liege. The Earle of Nassau did this exploit, but the Duke would be present in person with the Earle his sonne, at the taking and vnted defolation of Dinand. He besieged it with about twenty thousand horse, beside foot, which were in great numbers, takes it, and destroys it, and drages eight hundred prisoners chained together, to be drowned in the Meuze before Bouvines: an expiation for the tyrannicall indignities they had endured by the Dinandois. Those of Liege did for this time escape the like fortune, but it was deferred, and behold another cause of indignation, which they procure to themselves. *Lewis* of Bourbon Bishop of Liege by resignation, and admitted to the dignity by the intercession and fauour of Duke *Philip* to the Pope, begins to preferre the most confident and trusty seruants of the said *Philip*, to all offices and dignities within the towne. The people are grieved thereat, they mutiny and expell the Bishop. This revolt against their spiritual and temporall Lord, procures the Popes Excommunication against them. *Philip* after the destruction of Dinand turns head against them: but terrified with so sharpe a punishment, they fly to the Earle of Charolois, who is a meane for their peace and pardon, paying fixe hundred thousand Florins of the Rhin in fix yeares, and three hundred hostages for a securitie of their deeds and promises, specified by the Bishop. Thus this people restored to fauour with their Prince, and reconciled to their Bishop, were absolved of the Excommunication by *Onuphrius* a Romane Citizen and Bishop of Troyes.

Whilist that *Philip* subdues the Liegeois, *Lewis* employes his whole study to ruine the house of Britany, and to confirme a truce with the English, who threatned France with a new descent during our diuisions, and hee practiseth the Bourgignon by all meanes. And to presse him to renounce his brother *Charles* and the Duke of Britany, hee takes the Liegeois into his protection against their Duke, in case hee shall hereafter wrong them: to the which he doth signifie vnto him by the Constable of Saint Paul, and the Cardinall *E. Balne*, offering notwithstanding to renounce their alliance, if hee will likewise abandon his brother and the Briton. This brauado proceeds to effects. He sends them 400 Lances of his Odnances, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Dampmartin, the Lords of Salezan, Conyhem and Vignolles, with 6000 Archers. The Earle of Saint Paul, (but without the Kings authority) led them some troopes speedily leaued vpon the frontiers of Picardy. The first act of his Tragedy, which in the end shall make him leaue his head at the Greue in Paris. But it was now time for *Philip* to leaue the troubles of this world, to enjoy an assured and eueralasting rest in heauen.

This inconstant and mutinous people, supposing by the decease of their Lord, to be at libertie, they breake out, go to field, recover all the townes, chase away the garisons placed by the deceased Duke: spoile and sacke the places they take by force, without any care of their ingaged hostages, who were all ready to bee sacrificed by *Charles* the new Duke of Bourgongne, to requite the made insolencies of their Countrymen, yet hee referres the reuenge for a more famous memory. Hee parts from Louvain in armes, and well accompanied, and goes to besiege Sainttron. The Liegeois (to raise the siege) issue forth with thirty thousand men, some five hundred horse, and great store of Artillery. The Duke turns head againe, chargeth them, and ouercomes them, hee kills about nine thousand: the approaching night faues the rest. Presently after this charge,

The Liegeois rebell against



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charge, the Duke (puff vp with this good successe) speaks bigge, hee writes vnto the Constable like a Rodomont, answerable to the speeches hee had with him at Louvain: *That hee beseeched the King for his sake to attempt nothing upon the State of Britany: notwithstanding him of the memorable battell which hee had wonne.* After the which Saint Lewis yields vpon conditions, and the tenth man is chosen out at the Dukes pleasure, and then beheaded. Tongres was no better intreated: and these miserable wretches thus tithed, were for the most part of those hostages, which hee had freely taken home, vpon condition to employ themselves to pacifie the seditious humours of their fellow Citizens.

In the end, as he turned all his forces against Liege, premeditating with himselfe of lamentable and bloody reuenge, beheld three hundred of their best Citizens come forth in their shirts, bare-headed and bare-legged, bringing the Keyes to the Duke. Hee took the City by a great breach of twenty fadome, beaten downe in the wall, disarmed the inhabitants, take from them their artillery which remained, razeth all the Towers & town-walles, and chaggett them with heavier imposts then euer his father had done. A waile of heauen which quencht the fire of sedition, which began to flame at Gand, a rising people, and second to the Liegeois in inconstancy: of whom it is commonly said: *that they loue the sonne of their Prince, but not the Prince himselfe.* So the Gantois bring vnto him on foot as farre as Bruxelles, the seuentie and two banners of the occupations, which hee had granted them at his entry, with all the priuiledges and letters they had tumultuously wrested from him.

Charles sent the said Banners to *Bologne la grasse*, to accompany those which his Father had in like sort taken from them: hee disannulled their priuiledge of the law, whereby the people had right of fixe and twenty Sherifes of the towne, to choose euery yeate two or twenty, & the Prince but foure: hee condemned them in thirty thousand Florins to himselfe, and fixe thousand to his officers and followers: All other townes compounded for money, and then he made his entry armed into Gand. Thither came Ambassadors vnto him from Lewis, labouring to draw him to consent to the warres which hee pretended to make in Britany: the which notable to obaine, the Winter was spent in sending one another: and Summer being come, Lewis enters the said Duchy, with an army of seven men: and at his first arrival hee takes Chantefle, and Ancenis, and after some other military exploits, hee forceth both his brother and the Duke of Britany, to accept such conditions as he would prescribe vnto them: That they should renounce all alliance, and especially that of the Duke of Bourgongne: That his brother Charles, lately Duke of Normandy, should haue twelve thousand Franckes a yeare rent, for his portion, issuing out of some lands which should carry the title of a Dukedome or County, and three thousand Franckes for his pension; but there is much difference betwene promise and performance.

In the meane time Charles of Bourgongne, at the instance of his allies, was already advanced to Peronne. Then had Pope Pius the second sent a Legate into France, for the nunciation of the Pragmaticke Sanction, made by Lewis at his comming to the Crowne. The Parents are read in the Chastelet without contradiction. Balus comes to the Palace the first of October, to haue them in like sort published: But Master Iohn of St. Romain, the Kings Proctor generally, opposeth himselfe directly against the execution thereof, withstanding the iniurious threats of the said Cardinall: *Replying* (saith the Originall) *that hee had rather lose both his office, and all his wealth, then to doe a thing against his conscience, to the hurt of the Realme, and preiudice of the Kings dignity.* In the end, the Rector of the Vniuersity, (for then they maintayned by faithfull obedience their ancient authority) and the Deputies thereof, goe to the Legate: they appeale from him, and the effect of the said Letters to the holy Councell, the like they doe in all other places where need required. They protest the like at the Chastelet, and depart not before their opposition be registered.

Hereupon the King sends the said Legate and Cardinall with Iohn Ladrische Treasurer of France, to the Duke of Bourgongne, to signifie vnto him the accord made with his brother and the Duke of Britany, and to treat of a peace with the said Duke of Bourgongne, but alwayes tending to diuide him from them: and (for a baite) hee promiseth to give him sixscore thousand Crownes of gold, the one halfe to be paid before hee should

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Lewis soliciting the Liegeois to a new rebellion.

A gish, for the charges of his leaue: and hoping to win him wholly to his will, he concludes an interview at Peronne, by the means of the said *Galas*, and to this effect: the Duke writes him a letter with his owne hand, as a warrant to goe and come. And in the meane time, that Charles (bush at home) should no wayes hinder Lewis in the Warre hee pretended to make in Britany, (for he still gaped after the conquest of that Province) hee had sent againe vnderhand, to sollicite the Liegeois to a new sedition, wherunto they were so prompt for their owne good: they arme, and by stealth surprize Tongres; and carry thence the Bishop with many Chanoines (whom they hated to the death) prisoners to Liege. Yet some-what respecting the Legates presence, they were content to pull out the hearts of three or fixe of them, in sight of the Bishop, when an outrageous violence, shewing one of them into many peeces, the which with a brutish dirision they cast one at another like vnto Tennis Balls.

These two Princes liued in continuall distrust, and feared one another: for the safety of their persons at this meeting, they fortifie themselves with great forces. Lewis to free the Duke of all ielousie, comes ill accompanied, but he is followed by Iohn Duke of Bourbon his brother in law, the Cardinall brother to the said Duke, the Constable of Saint Paul, the Cardinall Balus, (a man which dealt much in matters of warre and state) by *Antony* of Chastel, newly receiued in fauour, and many other Commanders of troopes. Charles had sent for the army of Bourgongne, where there were many Noblemen in former times ill intreated by the King: as *Anthony Chastellaineuf*, Lord of Lau, who had escaped from Vison, a strong place in Auvergne, where Lewis kept him prisoner, vnder the guard of Charles of Melun, who (sparing his own head) imbrued three scaffolds with blood, with that of Charles of Loches of Remones, son to the wife of Charles at Tours; and of the Kings Proctor of Vison in Meux: *Ponce de Rinsore*, of *Vrfe* (afterwards Master of the Kings Horse) three Princes of the house of Savoy, that is to say, the Lord of Bresse, the Bishop of Geneva, and the Earle of Rhosmond, brethren followed by many Gentlemen, Savoyards and Bourgongnons. The King seeing all these within the Towne, and the Army lodged thereabout, finds that he wrought pollicely: but cunning is preuented by cunning. So the prouidence of God blinds man in his owne malice, and shadowes his eyes, to discern him in his fraudulent designs. And to increase his folly, he requires the Castle of Charles to lodge in: for that the greatest part of those that were last come, were ill affected vnto him. What then? an enemy that had a desire to crosse the policies of his aduersarie, would he refuse him this Cage, that sought to intrange himselfe in his owne snare? yet he perswades him to feare nothing. Let Princes learne not to commit themselves rashly to such assemblies, the very baits of deceits, collusions and peruries.

The newes of this second mutiny at Liege, being reported vnto the Duke, he suddenly catcheth the gates both of the towne and Castle to be shut, but vnder a cold pretext. That one had lost a male full of Jewels and money. Lewis seeing himselfe coopt vp, and many marches at the gate, being lodged moreouer right against a great Tower, whereas the Earle of Vermandois had once caused Charles the Simple his Predecessor to die, blame him not if hee feared. So (as an ancient said) *Malice drinks the greatest part of her owne poison.* They could not treat of a more important matter, then the life of a King of France and of his Estate. Charles doth first impart this busines to some of his Chamberlains & Groomes of his Chamber (amongst others to the Lord of *Argenton*, to whom the King since gaue this commendation, to haue bene a great helpe in this pacification of Peronne) who then tempered this spleen all they could. He holds a Councell the most part of the second day, and almost the whole night, hauing all the desire in the world to doe the King a shrewd turne, who in the meane time practise with all vehemency such as hee thought might serue him: he vnfurnished his most trusty seruants, being farre from his Treasure, commands to make distribution of fifteene thousand Crownes: (but the Commissary retayned a part as the King was since aduertised) he giues to some, and promiseth to others. In the end their resolution in counsell was, that Lewis his excuse should be admitted, who did sweare that hauing sent his Ambassadors to Liege, when as the Duke did some against France, the great affection hee had to a final and vniuersall peace had so transported him, as hee had forgotten to conteraund them. Thus promise being made to Charles of Bourgongne, to accompany him at his request in the voyage of Liege, and to

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The Kings Proctor generally opposeth himselfe stoutly against the Popes proceedings.

\* Philip de Commines.

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A peace be-  
twix Lewis &  
Charles of  
Bourgonne.

give unto *Charles* his brother the Earledomes of Brie and Champaigne, (which the Bourguignons did, that as need they might haue more meanes to succore one another) the treaty of Arras and peace of Charenton were reconfirmed & sworn vpon the crosse, which *Charles* made was wont to say, called the crosse of victory.

Truly experience hath alwayes testified, that Princes do more wisely pacifie their quarrels by graue and trusty seruants, then by enterviews, from the which such as haue had any matter to determine together, doe seldom part without mutuall dislikes and enuies, the seeds of diuisions and warre, the which may be long smothered, but at length it breaks forth. From henceforth you shall see vpon this stage a wretched people, pained yet with the Bastardies lately received: but not yet vanquished, and so much the more lamentable, for that their owne calamities cannot make them wise, who having obliuiously rebelled against their naturall Prince, and indiscreetly embraced our Kings quarrell, headlong to their totall ruine. *Lewis* was engaged by promise, and summoned to perform it. Besides the Scots of his guard, he sends for three hundred men at armes, having with him *John* Duke of Bourbon, *Charles* Cardinall of Bourbon and Archbishop of Lion, and the Earle of Beauieu brothers to the Bishop of Liege. A City then of the signesse of *Joan*, exceeding well peopled, seated in a mountainie Countrey, fertill, watered with the river of Meuze, which runs through it; but by the last yeares drouth almost all dismanned, and greatly weakened of men, so as the Marshall of Bourgonne and the Lord of Humbercourt leading the forward and gaping after spoile, thought to haue entered at their first approach, before the King or Duke were arrived. *John* of Viletre chiefe Tribune of the Liegeois, and other Captaines seeing them lodge confusedly in their suburbs, they issue resolutely by the old breaches, and kill about eight hundred men; amongst the which was a hundred men at armes: they hurt many, and amongst them the Prince of Orange. All the people were ready to make a generall fallie, but some Canonadoes shot into the street kill very many, and keepe in the rest. The Tribune was hurt, and dyed within a few dayes after, with some other Captaines; whilst the two Commanders arrived, and took their lodgings, *Lewis* in a great farm, a quarter of a league from Liege, *Charles* in the best of the suburbs, where the King went to lodge the next day night against the Bourguignons lodging. This approach breeds a great distrust, for *Charles* doubted that he would cast himselfe into the towne, or practise something against him, or at the least cast himselfe before the taking of the towne. To be the better satisfied, the Duke doth lead three hundred of his men at armes in a barne betwixt his lodging and the Kings, the better to obserue the Kings actions.

In the meane time, they make a good shew, and keepe good guard vntill the nine and twentieth of October, the eight day of the siege, when as *Charles* and all his men disarmed themselves to be the more ready the next day for the assault. During these eight dayes, the besieged gaue liberty to their Bishop to goe to the Duke and to offer him their towns and goods, desiring nothing but their liues. But he had refused a sharpe reuenge, and raynes the Bishop, not accepting of any offer. The Apostolike Legat had no money credit with *Charles*, neither was he so happy as he expected. The Liegeois abandoned by the French despairing of all foraine succors, and of all grace with their Prince, beheld a troope of fixe hundred choile men of the Countrey of Franchemont issue forth, haile for their guides the Masters of those two lodgings where the Generals did lie. The party was well made, and the enterprize great, but ill managed; yet did they hardly faile in it. The guides should lead them secretly through the hollow rocks neere vnto these Princes lodgings, to surprisethem, kill them, or at the least to cary them away before their guards were in armes.

Moreover all the people should issue forth by the gate and breaches right against the great street of the suburbs, and with their cries and fighting discomfort the whole army, or at the least sell their liues deare, in dying gloriously. They issue forth, kill the sentinels, and staid at a pavilion in the which the Duke of Alencon, and the Lord of Craon were lodged, where they slew some seruants with their halberds and partizans; they charge euen vnto the grange, whereas the three hundred men at armes were in their first place, the whole multitude runs thither, and troubles both Nations; some crying, *God save the King*, others *God save the Duke of Bourgonne*, and some also cry *God save the King*, and fall to slow diuision betwixt the French and Bourguignons.

They

The Liegeois  
disparaging  
hazard all.

They awake, they arme and defend the entry. In the meane time succors come from all parts to the Duke, being charged by a Squadron led by the master of the lodging. Hee is daunt first, and then all his company. The King is no lesse amazed, his host compaseth his house with another band. The Scots are about him, they first kill the host, and then his followers: and so the multitude recouers the towne in disorder. The two Princes talke together, and thanke God for their deliuey, and with a iust cause: for if these desperate men had not beene liued at the Pavillion nor at the grange, without doubt they had had these two Princes at their discretion: but God would reuerse ours, for the restoring of his Church and the ease of his seruantes with the Bourguignons losse: and the Bourguignons for a moste tragick end. Our *Lewis* grew likewise pale with distrust, foreseeing that if he should take the towne by assault, the burthen might light on him, and that he was engaged to be stayed and taken, being the weaker in the army. There was no hope of staying, then was well guarded: and his honour likewise engaged. Thus he stood vpon that rocke, yet resolved in them, and alwayes an absolute dissembler. A miserable estate of these two Princes, who of late had solemly sworn a peace, and yet one could not assure himselfe of another faith. This desperate fallie had amazed the dukes men, who (vnto the King advice) would willingly haue delayed the assault for some dayes, but *Charles*, constant in his designe, lets *Lewis* understand, that if he pleased hee might retire to Namur vntill the towne were taken; as for himselfe hee would not part without seeing the issue the next morning: but *Lewis* was engaged to honour, who would neede giue the least suspicion of cowardise, he therefore answers, that hee would take his part of the sport. The day being come, every one repairs to his Colours, the signe is giuen by a field peece and two shot of a serpentine to the end the vanguard lodged on the other side should charge at the same instant. The trumpets and drummes found, the companies approach, and all march resolutely. But when they thought to ioyne, they found insupportance. These chiefe Commanders were dead, the most apparent being flung out of the towne, some one way, some another, the common people were gone to dinner, saying that to morrow would be a day of rest. So the whole army, consisting of about twenty thousand men, enter at both ends, and find themselves engaged: they kill at the first encounter two hundred men, women, children, and religious indifferently: they ransacke houses, and make spoile the City, and holy places: the Duke takes the great Church of Saint Lambert with great difficulty, the people flye ouer the Meuze, and fo themselves in the forest of Ardennes, and other places thereabouts, where to increase their misery, some gentlemen (who till then had held their party) strip them, kill a number, and take the best prisoners, and by this treachery and pious stratagem make their peace with the Duke. Many dyed of hunger, cold and sleepe, the History makes mention of a gentleman that had the palsey in one legge, and a page that had syne fingers, of which and faint off. The wine was frozen in the pipes, and for three dayes was cut out with hatchets. And for the last act of this tragedy, the Duke doth place four thousand men about the quarters of the City, to beat downe the bridge vpon the Meuze, to demolish the houses of the Clergy about the great Church, & to preserve the other Churches from ruine, whilst that others set fire on the towne, quench the walls and fill up the streets. Wrath and victory doe neerer forget any kinde of reuenge. And if we shall beleeue some writers, there perished about fifty thousand soules in this warre, most cruelly beyond all bounds of humanity. *Leuans* O ye nations, consider your liues in the obedience of your Soueraignes, and not so invade your selves, as by in Princes quarrels, who retire themselves easily out of the mire where they leaue you engaged, and charge is a president vnto you, wherein you may obserue the iust judgement of God vpon a cruell robbish people, enemy to all sovereignty, both spiritual and temporal, of long time subjected to dayly rebellions, vntill their generall ruine. As yet haue brought our *Lewis* to Liege, so let vs returne him into France. *Charles*, exceeding proud with the happy successe of his designe, suffers himselfe to be sought vnto by mediators from the King for his departure: and afterwards see himselfe moued him, as desiring to goe and cause their accord to be proclaimed and registered in his Court of Parliament at Paris (which else were of no moment) and the next yeere to meet in Bourgonne, and to feast there another seasonally for a monthes space. *Charles* (having drawne a promise from the King, to confirme all he had sworn at Peronne, yeelds, but not without guiding and

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The King and  
Duke in great  
danger of their  
liues.The miserable  
estate of two  
Princes.

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*Lewis pretends  
a colour to get  
leave to depart  
without trou-  
ble.*

having accompanied him halfe a league, he causeth him to be conducted to the frontiers, by the Lord of Cordes, & Murs great Bayliffe of Hainault. A pitious spectacle to see a Soueraigne reduced to that extremity, as to humble himselfe before this wretched man; yet we must haue patience for seuen yeares, and then shall we see a strange alteration of fortune: and yet seuen yeares after, another Catastrophe no lesse tragical in this kind of Bourgongne: and the vniuing of the said Duchy to the Crowne of France.

After the Kings departure, Charles enters the Countrey of Franche-mont he kills, burns and makes all desolate: then (glutted with reuenge) hee returns into Brie, Lewis taking his leaue of the Duke, demanded of him capitoully in what his brother was in Britany, would not accept the portion he had given him; how he would bring him to gouerne himselfe: and the Duke answered, that if he were so mean, it should please him whatsoeuer they did. This speech was cunningly construed by the King; for hee inrouled the said vniung in the Court of Parliament, and proclaimed it throughout the streetes of Paris: he offers Charles, Guichart, and Chappaigne his brothers, a labour hood with the Bourgignons being suspected into him; Charles doth not like to displease the Duke of Bourgongne, who by Ambassadors and admonitions extorts him to change: for if happily the King should annoy him, he might daily haue new wrongs of Bourgongne.

Charles was in all things gouerned by another, namely by Odet de Noie Lord of Ligon and afterward Earle of Comingess. Lewis subornes him, and by his means winnes of him to accept of Guienne, as more plentiful and rich, with men all affluences to such as hee thren and good friends. For confirmation whereof they were at Chartres and feast together, then they depart, Lewis into Touraine, and Charles into Guienne. The Duke of Bourgongne grieved with this exchange, employs the Cardinal Baluz, a turbulent and pious member in a State, a dissoluer, and taking pleasure (as they say) continually in his finger betwixt the barke and the tree. A wicked man: The most which Lewis could in this man, was the means to procure him a Cardinals hat, and towarden the King he sent an ambassage to Paul the second, and also one of his most noble seruants, to persuade the Pope to desist from the ventral he had made thereof, being advertised of such things that did dislike him; at which vigorous perswasion Cardinals hat was granted him: yet behold he writes to the Duke of Guienne in the name of the Bourgignons, in this charge, *that hee deceiue, dividing him by this means from his friends, and in the rate: and by other intelligences hee subuerteth the Bourgignons. That the year cometh betwixt the two brethren was a bait to surprise him: the which the King desired, and thus his brother had visited the new Duchy, and set an order in his house. Let him therefore arme and begin fight.* These letters are surprised, with other instructions, so as the Cardinal is rested and carried prisoner to Montesson; where he shall continue eleuen yeares. Lewis having thus platted this peace with the Bourgignons, comprehended the Briton therein, and then the Duke of Guienne to his brother Charles for his portion, he had no more to fight enemies against whom he should employ his forces: yet would hee I dismisst his troopes, for there came a new task in hand: To keepe them in practice, he sends part of them vnder the command of the Admirall barbaz of Bourbon (for Montesson was dead) and the Earle of Dammartin, into Armaigne: He had bene once the War of the common wealth, and this enterprise did alwayes sicke in Lewis his stomach. At the first without any effusion of blood, they make him peaceable possessor of the Countrey, whereof they must his brother, and so the yeare ended.

But let vs see the first fruits of the following yeare. To be reuenged of Charles of Bourgongne, hee must haue some apparant colour. Lewis doth vnder-hand practise the townes lying vpon the riuier of Somme: animates the Nobilitie of the Countrey to complain in the Parliament at Paris of the difficulty they had to receiue iustice, and a charge on to requite the Kings assistance and fauour. Moreover, they charged the Bourgignons, that hee extended his limits farther then he ought by the treaty, and vnrped the Kings rights and prerogatives, forcing some Lords, whose lands did hold directly of the King, to doe him homage and seruice against all men. Vpon colour of these complaints, Lewis sends the Estates at Tours, in the moneth of March and April, (the which was all hee euer held: ) but he calls none but his most confident seruantes; who would not commit him in any thing. For a conclusion of the assembly, the Duke is summoned to appeare

*A bad disposition  
of a Cardinal, whom  
Nir. Gil calls a  
small incar-  
nate.*

*Cardinal Baluz  
committed to  
prison.*

At the Parliament of Paris. Hee retains the Officer many dayes at Gant, and in the end sends him backe.

As all things were prepared to ruine the Duke of Bourgongne; behold there falls out another matter of some moment in this action. The Earle of Warwicke (hauing about all others supported the house of Yorke against that of Lancaster (had besides his patrimony enriched himselfe about foure score thousand Crowns a yeare reuennue in rewards and Offices by Edward King of England, Competitor to Henry the 6, whom he kept prisoner at London, which Henry had to long ruled out of France. This his great credit draws seaulouse after it; too ordinary in soueraigne Princes, especially to them whom they haue raised vp: whereby the Earle falls into some disgrace with Edward. The Duke of Bourgongne, to whom the Earles great authority, and the secret intelligences he had with our Lewis was wonderfull odious and suspect (for the Duke had married the sister of Edward, to fortifie himselfe against Lewis, not for any affection he bare to the house of Yorke, being by his mother issued one of the house of Lancaster) feeds this hatred of Edward against Warwicke, who finding himselfe forced to yeeld to the stronger, resolueth to retire into France: hee leads with him Margaret the wife of Henry, daughter to René King of Sicilia: the Prince of Wales sonne of the said Henry and Margaret: the Duke of Clarence son in law to Warwicke, and brother to Edward, the Earle of Oxford, with their wiues and children, and many followers. In his passage he takes many ships from the Bourgignons subiects, and fells the booty in Normandy. And for a requirall Charles causeth all the French Merchants to bee taken that were come to the faire at Antwerp: he complains to the Court of Parliament at Paris, of the reception the King had made of the Earle of Warwicke, threatening to fetch him whereloeuer. But the arrogancy of his words was but the leuaine of his spleene.

Lewis gives such entertainment to the Earle of Warwicke, as hee might hope for: hee armes all the ships he can find in his fauour: by means whereof hee returns happily into England, and gathers together an infinite number of men, which ioine with him from all parts: he marcheth against Edward, & forceth him to flic to his brother in law into Holland, being accompanied onely with seuen or eight hundred men for his guard, without money, and without apparell, other then for Warre. Hee draws Henry out of prison, where he himselfe had formerly lodged him, and instals him againe in his royall State.

Edward (notwithstanding the presence of the Dukes of Gloucester and Somerset, sent by Henry) obtains of the Duke of Bourgongne (but vnderhand and secretly, for that hee would by no means incense Henry, whom all England now obeyed) succours of men, ships and money: hee returns into the Realme, is receiued into London: hee meets with the Earle of Warwicke, fights with him, and kills him, with his brother the Marquis Montagu, and cuts all his army in pieces. The Duke of Clarence (before the battell) goes to his brother Edward, and with his owne hand slue (as some write) Henry, whom Edward had taken in London and led to this battell: this was in the yeare 1471 on Easter day. This happy victory is seconded by another no lesse famous. The Prince of Wales sonne to Henry, follows after, with whom the Dukes of Gloucester and Somerset had already ioined, leading forty thousand men of his faction. Edward putt vp with the prosperous success of his first victory, marcheth towards him, fights with him, kills him, takes the Earle of Somerset prisoner, and the next day cuts off his head.

To conclude, Warwicke had conquered the Realme of England in eleuen dayes: and Edward recovered it in twenty, and remained in peaceable possession vnto his death. If the Earle had patiently attended the great forces which Prince Edward brought vnto him, who will not thinke but he had remained a conqueror: But he feared Somerset, whose father and brother he had put to death, and hee must feele the effects of the diuine Oracle: *He that hath shed mans blood, his blood shall be shed, for God hath made man after his owne image; and: A Wither that hath taken the sword, shall perish by the sword.* In the meane time whilst these stirres are in England, Charles the eight of that name, afterwards King of France, was borne vnto Lewis at the Castle of Amboise, a happy propofan old decayed father. This birth causeth the Princes hereafter to be lesse respected, and the King more feared and honoured, who hauing now an heyre to whom hee might leane the Crowne, bandies all his wits, to weaken his enemies, as well for his owne priuate regard, as to leaue the Realme whole and peaceable to his successor. Charles of Guienne liued for few, in good

*Edward King  
of England and  
the Earle of  
Warwicke  
disputed.*

*Warwicke flies  
into France.*

*The Earle of  
Warwicke  
slaine and his  
whole arme  
defeated by  
Edward.*

*The Prince of  
Wales sonne  
to Henry, de-  
feated by  
Edward.*

*Gen. 9. 6.  
Mat. 26. 52.  
Apoc. 13. 10.  
Charles the 8;  
borne.*

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S. Quintin taken from the Duke of Bourgogne, Amiens yields to the King.

good amity with the King. *Francis of Britany* (although he had preferred the order of the Golden fleece before that of Saint *Michel*, the which *Lewis* had offered vnto him) being loath to lose assured friends, to accept the friendship of a Prince in whom he could repose no confidence, yet he contained himselfe. *Charles* of Bourgogne wore the garter openly, and molested the Kings subiects and friends. Moreover, *Lewis* had iust cause to be grieved for the brauadoe done him at Peronne. The Nobility thrust him on, namely the Constable of Saint Paul, fore-seeing that the continuance of peace would be a great hinderance to his great Offices and pensions. He had a pay without cheeke for four hundred lances, of forty thousand frankes yearly, besides the fee for his Office, and allowance for many places where he commanded. Men fish most freely in a troubled water. He offers the King to take Saint Quintin by meanes of the credit he had in the Conmy: most of his liuing lying thereabouts, and vaunts to haue great intelligence in the Low Countries.

The Duke of Guienne offers both his person and his meanes, with five hundred men at armes for this war, but it was the least of his desires, for he was corrupted with the insinuations of that age, in the which all great men sought to maineine themselves with the meane one of another. The Duke of Bourgogne takes the alarme, put the greatest forces he can to field, entertained with halte their pay. *Lewis* suffers him to man on four or five moneths, entertayning him with sundry Ambassages, to cease him from all feare, so as troubled with that great charge, in a season when as money was scant, he dissolues this army, and leaving his frontier towne unfurnished, retires into Holland. In the meane time *Arthur* of Longueval takes Saint Quintin, the Constable enters it with two hundred lances, and takes an oath for the King. They practise Amiens: the Kings army comes before it, one part holds for the King, another for the Duke, who might haue assured it, if he had had sufficient forces ready to enter, but four or five hundred horse (with the which he came posting) would not suffer him to hazard his person.

The Kings friends discovering this brag, double their courages and let in the Kings army. *Abbeville* meanes to follow, when as the Lord of Coudes enters for the Duke and assures the place. The Duke vnto provided of men, and doubting the intelligences which the Constable bragged of, retires with teares and speed to Arras, to haften a leaue both of men and money. Thither notwithstanding the promise which *Charles* of Guienne had made to the King) comes a secret messenger vnto him, with this aduice written and signed by the said *Charles*: Labour to content your subiects, and then take no care, for you shall find friends; but these were but iests. This letter makes the Duke breathe: he sends to the Constable, to let him vnderstand, that this warre was without desie or summons, intreating him, not to deale against him according to the rigor of his present forces. The proiect of the dutes of Guienne and Britany with the Constable, was to imbarke these two great Princes in mutuall warre, in a season of aduantage for *Lewis*: that the Bourguignons necessity (being abandoned of his allies) might force him to giue his only daughter to the said Duke of Guienne: the which he had often promised, but without performance: whom (as *Seneca* in *his Hippodamia*) he promised to many, and gave her not to any.

Charles of Bourgogne abandoned of his friends.

So this Constable who tooke delight to nourish these Princes in feare, and mutual trust, answers the Bourguignon: that the King had a strong and flourishing army, and great intelligences in his Countries, that he knew no better expedient to avoid this storm, then to accomplish that to the Duke of Guienne, which he had so often reiterated: which done, the Dukes of Guienne and Britany would declare themselves for him, and would succour him with their forces. But what shall the Constable get to entertaine these princes in distrust and ialousie one of another, either of them being too cunning to discover his policies? Within short time both of them (having ioyntly conspired against him) shall set his head to sale, and in the end plant it vpon a scaffold for a spectacle. The Britton writes to him in the like and more rigorous teames: suffering the Lord of Lelou to lead a hundred men at armes, Britains to the King. This proceeding caused *Charles* of Bourgogne to conceiue a great hatred in his heart against them all: but misfortune good for something. It made them the more affected to the Kings seruice during this war, so as at this time the Bourguignons estate was in great danger, whereas by the said marriage he had wonderfully weakened the King: but man purposeeth and God disposeth.

It is commonly said, that halfe the world knowes not how the other liues: and the ordinary

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Lewis liues in Picardy.

A ordinary custome of man is to be cleere sighted in other mens affaires, but blind in his owne. Behold two Princes incensed one against another, and yet who should examine their consciences could allege but frivolous pretences. *Lewis* hating put foureene hundred men at armes, and foure thousand franke archers into Amiens, commanded by the Constable, and other chiefe Officers of the Crowne, assembles the body of his army at Beauvais, having with him the Duke of Guienne his brother, *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria, the eldest sonne of *John* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, the only heire of the house of Anion, and a great number of Nobility, whereby he recouers Roye, Montdidier, Abbeville and all the Country of Ponthieu. *Charles* passeth the riuier of Somme, takes Piquigny, plants himselfe betwixt Bapaume and Amiens, and keeps the field about fixe weeks, with a firme resolution in shew, to fight with the King if he presented himselfe.

But blockt vp within his campe, and seeing himselfe (ready through want) to be forced to yeeld at the Kings will and discretion; his Maiesties army in Bourgogne (commanded by the Dauphin of Auvergne, sonne to the Earle of Montpensier, in the which were the Earle of Cominges, the Lords of Combronde and Chateaufort, Master *William Cousin* and others) having likewise vanquished all the enemies forces, *Charles* by a letter of his owne hand, humbles himselfe to the King: he is grieved that he had so wronged him for anothers pleasure, not being duly informed of all things.

Charles humbles himselfe.

Vertue finds some respect euen in an enemy. *Lewis*, who vnder a simple bait to recouer the towne vpon Somme, had not so hotly kindled this quarrell, without the great intelligences wherewith the Constable had abused him, especially in the towne of Antwerpe, Bruges and Brussels: he grants a truce for one year. This was the fourth day of May. An unreasonable truce for the Constable (who then serued his master, without dissembling) and other horie-leeches, whom neither troubles, oppression of the people, nor the tediousnesse of affaires did any thing touch, but as pleasing to the Duke as the peace of Conflans. So the King returns into Touraine, *Charles* into France into Guienne, the Duke of Bourgogne into Hainault, where he assembles his Estates, and shewes the losse he had received, for that his men at armes were not so soone ready as the Kings, and giues order to be no more surprisled vnawares. Thus the Estate is pacified, but the Duke of Guienne was no sooner returned home, but there springs vp new feedes of diuision. He receiues the Earle of Armaignac into fauour, and restores him to full possession of the Lands which the King had confiscate. *Lewis* moued with this reconciliation, sends forces and takes the lands into his owne hand, disappoints the Earle, whom he knew to be a stirring and a factious man: and euen then he resolved to dispossesse his brother of the Duchie of Guienne, as he had done of that of Normandy.

And obtains a truce.

New troubles by the Duke of Guienne.

The Duke fore-seeing this storme sends often to the Bourguignon, and vnder colour to seeke his daughter, labours to bind him more strictly vnto him by that alliance. The Bourguignon hauing his heart putt vp with as great conceits, as his person was susceptible of itself, but exceeding the capacity of his sense, he sed him with hope: yet had he no such reasoning, but preferred her, as a most pretious iewel to be courtied by many, and to serue him at need, according to diuers occurrents, both of their persons and meanes. Neither would he haue so great a sonne in Law, as the only brother of a King of France, whom he might not rule at his pleasure, neither could he digest the words and proceedings of the Duke of Britany and the Constable. The Constable would haue the Duke of Guen beholding vnto him for this marriage, the Britton repined he should haue the honour. The King comes to crosse it, and with reason, for this alliance had wonderfully fortified his brother, who (being ioynd with the Duke of Britany) had greatly crossed the Kings Estate and his Childrens. Moreover, the King of England did much dissuade the effecting thereof: (said he to the Duke of Bourgogne) if the King of France comes to die without children, his brother succeeds to the Crowne, and this marriage vnto it to so many Prouinces and Seigneuries, the estate of England were neere her ruine.

But to what end serue these affectionate and contrary pursuits? Alasse! some one thinks himselfe found, that carries death in his bosome. But he that reigneth in heauen laughs them to forme: within few monethes our *Charles* of Guienne, leauing the world, shall leaue his loues. So it is, that their vehemens soliciting, extorted some verball promise, confirmed by a letter, but he had great Cornualis, who all pretended to haue the best

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Carnials for  
the heire of  
Bourgonne.

best part in the pie: *Nicholas* Marquis of Pont, sonne to *Iohn* Duke of Calabria and *Lewis* raine, *Philip* Duke of Sauoy, *Maximilian* Duke of Austria, sonne to the Emperour *Maximilian*. All these marched in equal rancke: but in the end *Maximilian* shall be conquerour, yet not during the life of *Charles* of Bourgonne. This marriage gave a good favour to these Mediators, but vnder the shadow thereof, they treated of other matters. They must auoide this storme, ready to oppress the Duke of Guienne. Behold therefore the publike Ambassadors, and priuate messengers of these three Dukes, are sent respectively one to another. The Lord of Vrie and *Pencez de la Riviere*, Agents for *Charles* of Guienne. The Abbot of Begard, since Archbishop of Lion, is an instrument for the Britton to the Bourguignon, they take the King to haue practised and suborned, what friendship, and what by force, the Duke of Guiens seruants: to haue already dedicated place belonging to the Lord of Elitillac, with many other things: shewing that the King would soone dispossesse his brother of Guienne, if he were not speedily prevented, for to this effect he was armed, and ready to enter into Xaintonge. The Duke of Bourgonne sends often to the King touching these affaires. The King excuseth himselfe, and accuseth his brother, as haue treated with the Earles of Armagnac, and Poitiers, to his prejudice, seeking to enlarge his limits without his priuaty, and to enter into factions with his enemies: yet he prometh to suffer him to enioy his portion peaceably.

Anew league  
betwixt the  
Dukes of  
Bourgonne,  
Guienne and  
Britanie.  
against *Lewis*.

This promise carries no credit, and workes lesse effect: the Dukes of Guienne and Britany insist: they presse the Bourguignon: yet that it may be done without the assistance of the English, the ancient and generall enemy of this Realme, seeing that all their common designs, tended but to the good and ease of the publike: that his assistance, with great intelligence he had with many gouernours and Captaines of places, did not make them sufficiently: pleasant people, to seeke with a bloody wound once againe to the common people with this baite of publike good, and to couer their priuate ends with so pleasant a shew. *Charles* of Bourgonne calls the stone and hides his arms, and is better to disguise his proceeding, he forces the English secretly to invade France on one side, whilst that he seemed blind, and not to see it. But it was in vaine, the English he more willingly assisted the King, if this marriage had not allyed the 2 houses of France and Bourgonne. In the end, behold a number of Princes in great perplexity, the which more lamentable, for that they shall trouble their heads with so many preiudiciall and extravagant conceptions: this confusion shall in few yeares oppress them in a manner all, and *Lewis* (particularly fauoured of heauen) shall suruiue them and carry away the spoiles. They preuaile thus much, the Duke of Bourgonne (possessed with an earnest fire to recouer Amiens, Saint Quintin, and other townes vpon Somme) armes two hundred lances, three archers to a Lance, well armed, well mounted, and good leader. What doth our *Lewis*? In truth hee had too good a iudgement to want his fight, and hee that thought to surpriseth shall be surpriseth. To diuert the Bourguignons leauy, he had often sent the Lord of Craon, and the Chancellor of Oriole, who being very truly seruants in the end conclude an absolute peace. The King yieldeth to the Duke the foresaid townes, he abandons vnto him the Earles of Neuers and S. Paul Constant: the one (hauing serued the King loyally at Peron) had purchased the Dukes indignation, the other (hauing nourished hatred and distrust betwixt these two princes for his owne profit) had so vnreconciledly estranged them from him, as they bandy ioyntly his destruction, & giues him all their lands to incorporate them to his owne, if he could. The Duke in exchange, forsakes the dukes of Guien & Britany, & their Seigneuries, to dispose at his pleasure, promising not to deale as all in the warres which *Lewis* pretended against them. A foule and dishonest trafficke, made to the prejudice of so great personages.

Notable deceit and treachery.

The Duke signes and wears this fraudulent and counterfeit peace. A blow able to amaze the Dukes of Guienne and Britany at the first hearing, to see themselves thus abandoned of their chiefe support. But he repaires it with an after-blow, and by letters of credit written with his owne hand, giues them aduice to continue their course: that his intent was only to recouer his townes vpon Somme: which done, he will beseech the King by especiall Ambassadors to desist from making warre against them, and vpon his relation he will succour them with body and goods: that as the King at his pleasure had broken the treaties of Confians and Peronne, so might hee infringe his promise and oath. As for the Earles of Neuers, and S. Paul the Constable, although he had a iust occasion to hate them,

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A them, yet would he remit their iniuries, and suffer them to inioy their owne; and beseech the King to doe the like by the Dukes of Guienne and Britany, suffering euery one to liue in peace and safety, vnder the Articles respectively accorded: if not, he would succour his allies.

*Craon* and *Oriole* had likewise sworne for the King, leading *Simon* of Quinchi (a gentleman bred up in the Dukes house) to recieue the oath of his Maiesie. But from a new suspect springs a new proiect. Behold newes are brought, that the Duke of Guienne is sicke, and without hope of recovery. Vpon this aduice, the king delays the oath, finds euasions, attending the course of his disease, and in the meane time doth speedily seize vpon many places of Xaintonge: he doth presse Rochel, the which (vpon these accidents of reconciliation and sicknesse) inclines to a composition: hee withdrawes many of his brothers chiefe seruants, and resolues to signe this peace, as the fawourable euent of his affaires should lead him: and in the meane space he protracts time with the Bourguignon, during the which *Charles* Duke of Guienne dies at Bourdeaux, the twelfth day of May, by the which *Lewis* recouers the Duchy without blowes; and moreover, retaines Amiens, and Saint Quintins.

The Duke of  
Guienne dies.

O subtill wits! both deceiuers, but not of like industry: for our *Lewis* shall mote easily avoid the snare. But oh death in generall! which by the dissolution of the body & soule, doth dissolve great designs: The Britains were ready to enter, building vpon great intelligences and practices within the realme: the which without doubt had much troubled the State. But oh vnseasonable death in particular! how fitly shalt thou serue to shadow the fishy and hateful (yet well coloured) reproches of enemies, and the murmurings of the most respectiue? A death too much neglected, but by some affectionate seruants to the deceased duke, who discover, that *Jourdain Faure*, born at Die in Dauphine, great Almoner to the Duke, and Abbot of S. *Iohn d'Angely*, assisted by *Henry de la Roche*, one of the said Dukes kitchen, had hastened his death by too violent a poison, as with a strange and lamentable contraction of his sinewes, his haire fell off, and teeth fell out before his death. The Lord of Lescut retired himselfe into Britany, leading prisoners with him these cursed murderers, where the Abbot was found one morning strake dead in his Chamber with a Thunderclap, *Having his face swollen, his body and visage black as a coale, & his tongue hanging halfe a foot out of his mouth*. God doing that Iustice in the twinkling of an eye, which men desot. Let vs confesse the truth, and without passion: the vertie of the Historie doth presse vs vnto it: that *Charles* had bin an ill brother, and ought more honour and obedience to him, to whom that great Author of Nature had giuen the right of eldership above him, yet should he haue bin regarded as a sonne of France, and from his infancy recieue a portion fit for the entertainment of his estate and house. Kings haue alwayes power to controule the insolencies of their neere allied, when they forget their duties.

Note the murder  
of Princes.

But howeouer, let vs obserue the order of diuine Iustice, who easily raiseth vp homebred scourges: but in the end he doth cast the rod in the fire. *Lewis* must bee measured with the same proportion he had measured his father, and *Charles* must suffer for the rashnesse of his rebellions.

This death being little lamented, makes such to speake, as had but too diligently obserued *Lewis* his speech, hearing one day of the death of the King of Castiles brother: *He is but too happy (saith he) to haue lost his brother*: but hatred and ill will ground their passions euen vpon needlesse points.

At the same instant, *Nicholas* Marquis of Pont, heire of the house of Aniou (one of the aboue named riualls) made sure to *Anne*, the eldest daughter of *Lewis*, abused with the great (yet vaine) promises of the duke of Bourgonne, renounced this so worthy alliance of his souereigne Lord, for a frustratory hope, which the vassall gaue him to marry his daughter: but hee was ignorant that death the yeare following would punish this rashnesse, and prevent him from the inioying, either of *Anne* or *Mary*. A season likewise famous by the death of *Charles* Earle of Eu, a wife and veruous Prince, whose faithful service to France deserues this testimony: that being sonne to *Philip* of Bourgonne, Earle of Neuers & Bethel, and grand child to *Philip* the Hardy, a son of France, and duke of Bourgonne, and by consequence neere kinsman to *Charles*, yet in all these combustions, he had faithfully serued the King, and preferred the Flower de Luce before the Red-crosse. Let vs likewise obserue the death of *Willia* *Gharrier* bishop of Paris, who (after his

This Marquis  
of Pont dies,  
and the Earle  
of Eu.



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The Bishop of  
Paris dies,The Bourguignons  
practices  
against Lewis.

conference with the league before Paris, in the Kings absence) was alwayes in such disgrace with him, as after his death, Lewis caused his Epitaph to be changed, making mention of the bad seruices he had done him, during the warre of the common-weale, suborning the Inhabitants in fauour of the Bourguignon. The death of the Duke of Guienne had wonderfully afflicted Charles of Bourgongne, and to encrease it, he had intelligence, that the Britains would not arme, considering that he was dead for whom they should rise. In the meane time the chance was cast: he had bene at great charge, and to winne had without restitution, were a shame: but that which made him mad, Amiens & Saint Quintin were lost: he must hazard all. And first he writes to many townes: he chargeth the King to haue consented to his brothers death, and labours to draw them into armes, declaring himselfe their Protector, but no man stirres: so the small effect of his letters, sent him on fire, and in his choller he marcheth to Nefle in Vermandois: hee spoyle, burnes and makes all desolate, bessegeth the towne, batters it, and takes it: kils the greatest part of five hundred Archers, commanded by one called Little Picard, takes some, and amongst others the Capraine, and cuts off some of their hands. Many souldiers and townsmen flying into the Church, are barbarously slaine at the altars, imbracing the Images: the Duke enters himselfe into the Church on horse-backe, and seeing the caualiers, Behold (sayes he) this is goodly, I haue good Butchers: then he burnes and razeth the place.

Fiftene hundred franke-archers being in Roye, vnder the command of Peter Aubert, Bailiffe of Melun and Noien, are amazed, and at the Dukes first approach, abandon the Towne, and yeld it vnto him; Loifer of Balagni, Mouy, Rubempre, and others of the arrierban, with about two hundred lances compound, leauing horse and armes, euerie man at armes only hath a horse. The Duke puts a garison therein, and likewite into Montdidier. Thus he hotly pursues his conquests: but Beauvais cooled this heat. He did beleager it (being vnprovided of men warre:) the Inhabitants were commanded then by the aforesaid Balagni, and some few men at armes, so as they were not able to fauour the towne, without the present assistance of him, who doth loofe and restraine the reins of his Iustice at his pleasure. At their first approach, the Lord of Cordes leading the vanguard, plants two Canons against the gate, makes a great hole, but for want of munition the battery ceaseth, they come to blowet, the one to enter, the other to defend the entry, and they presse the Duke to fet forward: the defendants ready to be forced, set fire on the portal, which makes the assailents to retire. The Duke arises, and suffers the fire to take his course, hoping in the end the towne would be his. And indeed if he had lodged a part of his army towards Paris, there had bene small hope of safety. But God had otherwise decreed, for in sight of the enemies troopes, he gives courage to the Earle of Dammartin, to the Marshals of Joachim and Locheac, to William of Valieu, the Seneschals Lieutenant of Normandy, to the Lords of Crussill and Rubempre, to Beine and Tracy brethren, to Buil, Salazard, Theuemet of Vignoles, and Meri of Croy (all braue men & worthy of memory in his siege) to thrust themselves into the towne, with a good number of foot, and about two hundred lances: who at their first entry, giue their horses to the women (who take them, set them vp, and looke vnto them) and present themselves vpon the wall, encouraging the Beauvoisins, and discouraging the Bourguignons. The Duke being enraged, makes all his Canons to approach, and thunder 15 dayes together: he makes a breach, and giues a sharpe assault, but well defended. Sixscore men are slaine, and 1000 being wounded, leaue the place, so as the Duke retires his companies appointed for the assault, and being frustrate of this conceiued hope, pressed by extreame famine, he raiseth the siege, and retires in good order, fearing a charge. But these valiant Captaines knew that the best course was to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy. This was on Saint Magdelins day, the 26 of the siege. A small aide doth sometime great good. Beauvais waunted, and was ready to compound. But what courtesie might they expect of a passionate enemy, who breathed nothing but blood and fire? For the annoyding whereof, louing & kind dealings were of great moment, which this town receiued of those two mighty neighbors, cities, Paris & Orleans, assisting the with pionsers, victuals, canon, powder, bowes, arrows, pikes, rooles, apparel, and other necessary refreshings, but especially from Orleans, with 4 hundred pipes of Wine, a meane whereby the eternal prouidence preferred them from sacke, spoyle, and a generall desolation by fire, wherewith the Bourguignon threatened them, if force had preuailed. Beauvais freed, the Duke marcheth into Normandy, and presently

Beauvais be-  
sieged and re-  
sued.

A presently takes Eu, Saint Valery by Crotoy, Rembures, and (being the scourge of this desolate Realme) leaues in all places behind him the pitifull and cruell markes of his passage: he spoiles and burnes all the Country of Camu, Neufchafel, of Nicourt (a good and a great towne of warre, but vnfurnished of men) Longueuille, le Fahy, euen vnto the gates of Rouen, being little annoyed or hindered by the Constable, who led foure hundred Lances: whose winking serued as a Whetston to sharpen the Kings displeasure and hatred against him, and the ialousie of both these Commanders, hauing of purpose entertained this warre betwixt them, who cunningly smooother a secret dislike, which cost the said Constable his life. Then Winter approaching, he retires into Picardy, he had no sooner turned his backe, but these braue Captaines in Beauvais, recover Eu, Saint Valery, Rembures, and so casting themselves into Noyon, they frustrate the dukes purpose, who meant to besiege it. The Bourguignons fire flames yet farther. A swarme of his partisans, led by the Earle of Rouffy, the Constables sonne, falls vpon the Country of Tonnerre, spoiles the Country, runnes as farre as Joigny, and vnto Troies, burnes both Farmes and Villages without resistance. For reuenge whereof, the Dauphin of Auvergne flies to Bourgongne, drawing after him, where he passeth, a burning besome. Pitifull exploits of war, the witness of reuenging spirits, and alwayes the people smart for the error of great men. But behold other troubles, Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beauieu, being at Lestore, as Lieutenant general for the King in Guienne, was surprised by the Earle of Armagnac, who was lately dispossessed of his lands: who by this meanes recouers the said towne. Lewis moued with this affront, causeth his army to march, and followeth himselfe in person: but the Cardinall of Arras commanding the troopes, receiues the towne by composition, makes the Earles appointment: and the better to confirme it, he breakes the Sacrament in two, takes the one halfe, and giues the Earle the other, either of them swearing this accord. Trusting therein, he abandons the Towne to the Cardinall, who brings in the army, and by some souldiers suborned, he caused the Earle to be murdered saying of his prayers, not in the Castle, but in a priuate house neere to Saint Geruais Church, and then sacked the towne.

The Constables dislike  
bling.Lestore sur-  
prised.The Earle of  
Armagnac  
murdered by  
the Cardinall  
treachery.

Gods Iustice is slow, but in the end it payes home. This Earle had (vnder a false Bull of dispensation, purchased for money of Ambrose of Cambray, Referendary to Pope Calixtus) married his owne sister: and after by sundry rebellions, purchased the Kings displeasure, and made himselfe guilty of diuine and humane treason. But abhorring the Earles life, let vs likewise abhorre the Cardinals proceeding, selling (vnder the holy Communion) his blood to them that trusted in his oath. The King put many Gentlemen in prison at Loches, who had followed the said Lord of Beauieu, whom the Earle had sent home: but the chance fell vpon John Deymer, being quartered at Tours: who dying, charged the Lord of Saint Basil, a younger brother of Albret, with this treason, being nourished and bred vp in the house of Bourbon, for which crime he lost his head at Poitiers, the seueneth of April 1473. And to increase Lewis his crosses, Pargignan (a towne in the County of Rossillon) is by treason deliuered vp to the King of Arragon, the ancient Lord, where he enters with his sonne, about the end of April. But the King had an army ready, the which he sends thither, and bessegeth it: the French were yet masters of the Castle, by the faithfull valour of master James of Fou (issued from the house of Britany) hee recouers it, and giues the government to Tanneguy of Chastell. Thus the troubles raised by the Earle of Armagnac, and the King of Arragon, were like to fire of Straw.

Let vs observe in the same course, the apprehending of the Duke of Alanson, so shall wee see the carriage of our Lewis. He is accused to haue offered the sale of his Duchy, and other lands in Perche and Normandy to the Bourguignon: and then to follow his fortune, (a crime which shall put him in minde of his condemnation pronounced at Vendosme) hee was seized on by Trifan the Hermit, Proutost of the Kings house, (a speedy executioner of his Maiesties will) and brought before the King, who sends him to the Loure at Paris, where by a sentence giuen by the Chancellor of Orlole, the 17 of July 1474, hee was condemned to lose his head, reseruing notwithstanding the Kings good pleasure, who in the end of the year 75, shall bind him vnto him the second time for his life.

The Duke of  
Alanson ap-  
prehended and  
condemned,  
but pardoned.

Lewis hauing recouered Guienne, reduced Lestore, punished some, and pacified Pargignan,

Kk 3

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Warre in Britany pacified.

The conditions of the peace.

The causes of the Kings and Bourgongnes hatred, against the Constable.

pignan, he assembles all his forces vpon the Marches of Britany, to the number of 50000 men, ready to employ them in that Country. But the Duke, by reason of the death of the Duke of Guienne, being frustrate of the intelligences he had in France, and too weak to auoid this storme that threatened him, sent vnto the King, (lodging at Pont de See.) *Philip of Efflars*, a Gentleman of his house, & *William of Soupleinville*, a follower of the Lord of Lescot. His maiesty giues eare to an accord. The duke of Britany being possessed of so wilfe & valiant a man as *Lescot*, might much annoy him: For in Britany there was neither *ingement* nor *verue*, but what proceeded from him (so saies the History.). Moreover, he had auoiding during these partialties shewed himselfe a Frenchman, and would neuer yeeld that any places of Normandy should be giuen to the English: he must therefore be dealt with. To this end the King commands *Soupleinville* to giue him the demands in writing, which his master made as well for the Duke as for himselfe. He doth it, and obaines them all: forty thousand Franks pension for the duke, the which was paid in 2 yeares. For his master, fixe thousand Franks pension, the moiety of Guienne, the two: Seneschalships of Vahnes and Bourdeleois, the Captainship of one of the Castles of Bourdeaux, that of Blay, the two Castles of Bayonne, of Dax and of Saint Seuer: foure and twenty thousand crownes in gold, payable in foure yeares: the Kings order, and the County of Comminges: for *Soupleinville* fixe thousand Crownes, payable at like termes: twelue thousand Franches pension, the Mairalty of Bayonne, the Bailiwick of Montargis, and other small preferments in Guienne: for *Philip of Efflars*, foure thousand Crownes in reward, and twelue hundred Franches pension, the Bailiwick of Meaux, and to be Master of the waters and Forests of France: which things they should enioy during the life of *Lewis*, who was likewise well and faithfully serued by *Lescot*.

Now the Britton is satisfied, and sequestered from the alliance of Bourgongne, against whom *Lewis* now turns head, but the season in the which the Duke of Bourgongne retired into Picardy, caused a truce for one yeare, ending the first of April 1475. A truce which (while the Bourgougnon shall giue our French leaue to breath) shall imbarke him in so many quarrels, as in the end, the most important shall swallow him vp. A truce likewise concluded to the Constables great prejudice: for both the King and the Duke hated him deadly, as the motive of these diuisions. He had lately seized on Saint Quintin, expelling the Lord of Curton, & a hundred men at armes, which he had in entertainment from the King. *Charles* had likewise many causes of dislike: he was the instrument to take Amiens and S. Quintin for the King, he sought to reduce him to that estate, as to force him to marry his daughter with the Duke of Guienne: but the chiefe ground was, that during the siege of Amiens by the Duke of Bourgongne, the Constable had made a road into Hainault, spoiled the Countrey, and burnt (among other exploits) the Castle of Seure belonging to *Baldwin* of Launai, of whom the Duke made good account: for reuenge whereof he passed into Picardy and Normandy, as we haue seen. Moreover, he had mighty enemies both with the King and Duke, who all ioyntly conspired his destruction, and animated their masters with all their credits. So all this yeare of truce is spent chiefly in making merchandise of the Constables life. *Himbertcourt* and *Hugonnet* Chancellor of Bourgongne, had some priuate spleene, for in a conference held at Roie, where the Constable was employed for the King, they grew so bitter in words, as the Constable had giuen them the lyke: to whom the Bourgougnons modestly answered: That they did not impute this injury done vnto them, but to the King, vpon whose word they were assembled, and to their master, whose person they did represent, to whom they would make report.

In the end, at the instance of either part, a day is held at Bouvines: for the King there came the Lord of Curton Gouverneur of Limosin, and Master *John Heberge* afterwards Bishop of Eureux; and for the Duke, the two aboue-named. They pronounce the Constable an enemy, and guilty to both Princes, they promise and sweare one to another, that the first that may apprehend him, shall put him to death within eight dayes, or deliuer him to his companion to doe his pleasure. That he should be proclaimed by Trumpet, an enemy to both parties, with all those that should serue and assist him, and confiscate all his goods, mouables and immouables. The King promiseth to giue S. Quintin, Han and Bohain to the Duke, with all the money that might be found within the Realme, appertaining to the Constable, and all his lands holding of the Duke, and at a certaine day

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Charles of Bourgongne seeks to pay for the King.

A day the King and the Duke should meet before Han, and there with their vniued forces besiege the Constable. But some will say, to what end serue all these voyages, and so many meetings? whereto so many complots to intrap the Constable: mult the King (to be reuenged of his seruant) make an agreement with his capital enemy, who euen of late had sought to take away his life by poison, promising a Merchant named *Thier* fifty thousand Crownes to effect it: who hauing imparted it to *John Hardy* his seruant, sometimes in household with the Duke of Guienne, he suffred the said *Hardy* to lose his life, and to be quartered publicly at the Greue in Paris:

*Lewis* judged of the future by the present, and with one stone gaue many blowes. Hee disarmed his enemy, or at the least gaue him means to transport his armes farther off, whereto the great designs of his ambition did draw him, as wee shall see hereafter: and moreover, the King could hardly seize vpon the Constables person, without the dukes intelligence, for he was seated directly betwene both. Hee held S. Quintin, and had Han and Bohain, his owne places, very strong and neere, hee might put in men from whence and when he pleased. Hee had intertainment for foure hundred men at armes well paid, whereby he gat much, in not keeping his companies full. Hee exacted a Crowne for euery pipe of Wine passing through his Countrey into the low Countries. Hee had fixe and forty thousand franks of ordinary entertainment from the King, very rich Siegneries, and great intelligences both within the Realme and in the Dukes Countries. Hee was a man of action, and could both helpe and hurt much. To conclude, hee knew well that flying from the one, he should bee well accepted of the other. Moreover, the personage and the places he held, deserved a good peace, and either of the two Princes would gladly haue enioyed him absolutely, if hee had bene constant, and not dissembling to either.

Yet for all this hee auoydes all danger. Hee is aduertised that his head is set to sale, wherupon he sends to both Princes, speaks big, and faith, that hee vnderstands all their practices, but especially to the King, That the Duke by this conuention sought onely to draw him to his party, and to put him in disgrace with his Maiesty, and this did *Lewis* apprehend most. In truth these two Princes laboured exceedingly, who should deceiue his companion most. According vnto man, it is better to deceiue, then bee deceiued. *Lewis* presently countermands his Ambassadors, giues them charge not to conclude any thing against the Constable, but to prolong the truce, so as the foure Ambassadors (who had already mutually giuen their seales, containing their resolution taken against the Constable) deliuer them vp, and returne without any conclusion. The King fearing lest this affront might force the Constable to make his peace with the Duke, and so deliuer vp to him S. Quintin and other Forts, that were in his power, prevents him, giuing him to vnderstand, that an enteriueu shall make his peace. They appoint a day and place, three leagues from Noyon towards la Ferte vpon a little river. The Constable came first, but as a confidence prick with the feeling of his misdeeds, wants no distrust and feare, hee demands hostages. The King seemes to like well thereof. On the riuers side, they make a strong barre with grates very high towards the Constable: there he presents himselfe, accompanied with three hundred Masters, hauing armes vnder a loose cassoche. The King approacheth, accompanied with aboute fixe hundred men at armes, and amongst others *Chabannes* Earle of Dammartin, Lord Steward, and a mortall enemy to the Constable. Oh Lord Steward! but for thy presence, with what colour could the Constable haue shadowed his excuses? At the first entrance hee kneeles downe, and beseecheth his Maiesty, not to hold it strange, if he appeare in armes, and thus followed, considering the quarrell he had with *Dammartin*. Then they treat together, the King grants him a general abolition of all that was past, he leaues him the guard of S. Quintin, and continues him the pay of his men at armes, being before refrained of some quarters pay. The Constable promiseth to serue his Maiesty against all men, without exception, and so he opens the barre and passeth to the Kings side, who reconciles him with the Lord Steward, and the next day suffers him to returne to Saint Quintin. A presumption of too hard digestion for so iudicious a Prince as *Lewis* was, to see his Officer present himselfe like a Prince that were his enemy, yea his equal in power. But all comes to one end, if wee will haue patience. The Court could not endure this manner of proceeding, and the murmuring which *Lewis* heares, makes him remember; that it is too great a presumption in a seruant to plant

Lewis and Charles of Bourgongne seek to circumuene one another.

Lewis reconciled to the Constable.

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plant a bar before his master, and to present himselfe vnto him accompanied with men of armes, all being his subiects and vnder his pay, and too base in him, to goe and receiue the submission of his Constable. A folly approaching neere to that of Peronne.

An act which shall much incense the Kings hatred against him, and breed a worke in the Constables conscience, the which shall gnaw him with continuall disquiet, doubtfull how to maintaine himselfe betwixt two such mighty enemies: but in the end he must fall to reach vs, That neither our merits, nor any seruices we can doe to our Princes, should cause so great presumption, as to thinke they could not liue without vs, or that wee haue meanes to prescribe them a law. For naturally they hate such as thinke they are beholden vnto them, and dispatch them at length that haue braued them. Good decisions pleasing, whilst that hee which receiues them hath meanes to recompence them, but when they are so great, or we esteeme them so, as they are beyond all compass of retaliation, in stead of thanks wee receiue nothing but hatred and ill will. It is therefore better to be beloued then feared.

Let vs now see what passed during the truce. *Lewis* hauing his mind free, and his body discharged of armes, hee resolves to provide for his heires. Doubtlesse the choice which he made of two Princes of his blood, did testifie, how much he did cherish his house, giving them two precious pearles out of his Iewell house, *Anne* his eldest to *Peter* of Bourbon, a goodly Princeesse, and *Iane* the youngest to *Lewis* duke of Orleans, being yet very young, and afterwards the 17 French King: whereunto he did not yeeld but to please the King, for the was soule and crooked. This season is likewise famous for a notable Ambassage from Arragon, touching the affaires of Roussillon. The King making the Ambassadors to iudge of the whole pece by a patterne, causeth them to see, the 20 of Aprill, a hundred and foure thousand men armed in battell, all in one livery, with red cassockes crossed with white, all Officers, Bourgeois and Inhabitants of Paris.

We haue said, this truce should proue an incomber to the Duke of Bourgogne, let vs examine the effects by the causes. At what time the King tooke Amiens from the Bourguignon, *Adolfe* that wicked and vnkind son of *Arnold* Duke of Gueldres (repining at his fathers long life) took him prisoner one night going to bed: and making him to march on foot without hope, in a most cold season five Germane leagues, he thrust him in the bottome of a tower, where as the Sun did neuer shine, but by a small grate, and there he held him 6 months. The Duke of Cleues, whose sister the prisoner had married, undertakes his quarrell, and seeks by force to free his brother in law. But *Adolfe* hauing married the Duke of Bourbons sister, in the Bourguignons house finds great fauour. So the Duke of Bourgogne labors to reconcile them. The Emperor deales in it, but at without effect, vntill the Pope had interposed his authority, who commanded *Charles* of Bourgogne, vnder great penalty, to draw the old man by force out of prison, seeing his sonne would not enlarge him by intreaty. *Adolfe* on the one side, seeing so many Potentates busied in this action, and on the other fearing the Dukes forces, he released *Arnold*, who in the dukes chamber, (notwithstanding the inequality betwixt the father and the sonne) offers his sonne the combat. *Charles* seeks to reconcile them, to the sonnes advantage, to whom he offers the title of Gouernor of Bourgogne, the Countie of Gueldres with all the reuenues, onely Graue, a small towne, should remaine to the father, with three thousand Florins of rent, and so much pension, and the title of Duke. But oh impious and horrible answer! *I had rather* (sayes *Adolfe*, to those that deliuered this speech vnto him) *cast my father headlong into a ditch, and my selfe after him, then yeeld to this accord: he hath bene Duke these 44 yeares, it is now time that I were. I will willingly leave him three thousand Florins a yeare, upon condition that hee neuer enter into the Duchy: with many other words vnworthy of a Sonne. Charles* grieved at the obstinacy of *Adolfe*, leaues both father and sonne at Doullans, and retires to Hedin. *Adolfe* to recover the Country, disguiseth himselfe like a French-man, and passing a ferry neere vnto Namur, he is discouered by a Priest, who giues intelligence, whereupon this young Duke is taken and caried prisoner to Namur, where he remained vntill the death of the Duke of Bourgogne, that the Gantois deliuered him, hoping by force to make him marry with *Mary* the heire of Bourgogne; afterwards Dutchesse of Austria, after the folly which they had made him commit before Tournay, a fatal place, for the reuenge of the wrongs hee had done to his father. *Arnold* died during *Adolfe*s imprisonment, whose ingratitude had

*Lewis* married his two daughters.

*Adolfe* on vs. kind sonne.

*Adolfe* taken prisoner.

A iustly moued him to leaue the succession to the Duke of Bourgogne. So *Charles* building vpon this donation, goes with force to take possession of the Duchy. This new conquest bred new projects, and euen then hee conceived such an imaginary power as in the end hee funke vnder the burthen. Hee neuer had so goodly an army, especially in horse. The Earle of Campobasso, and *Galcot* a Neapolitan Gentleman, (the first a Greeke in disposition and most wicked, the second a very honest man,) commanded 1000 men at armes, Italians: hee had 3000 good English, and good numbers of his owne subiects, well mounted, well armed, and of long time trained vp in warre, with great store of artillery. Hee was at truce with our King, and to keepe him occupied, the English by his practice were ready to land in France. What then? should hee suffer his men to liue idle without employment? Gueldres had encouraged him. The Emperour was no man of resolution, willing rather to endure some disgraces, then to be at charge, and without the aide of some Princes of Germany his power was small. These baits thrust him in forwards, but the expiration of the truce might haue stayed him. Yet he obtains a prolongation of the King for sixe moneths, whereunto *Lewis* yeelds willingly. Foreseeing (as he had a more sound iudgement then those which did diswaide him) that this Prince sought his owne ruine: that hauing finished one enterprize, another would spring vp, and so quarrell grow vpon quarrell, which the Princes of Germany would well preuent, being alwaies vnited in matters which concerne the Emperour.

C So it chanced. And as in to great a project, he must needs wonderfully discontent the Nobility and Commonalties of Germany, so was it expedient for him, to tye some vnto him. He procures an emercuue with the Emperour at Treues, and there treats of the marriage of *Mary* of Bourgogne his daughter with *Maximilian* Arch-duke of Austria, the Emperours sonne: which done, the Emperour should erect his lands and siegneries in Gaule Belgique, to a royalty: hee should incorporate foure Bishopricks to this new Kingdom, whereof the royalty should appertaine vnto him, and not to the Emperour, and should create him vicar Generall of the Empire. *Fredericke* findes these demands so inuicill and vnreasonable, as hee leaues the Duke of Bourgogne at Treues, and parts without bidding him farewell. And now another occasion thrusts him on. He that had once passed the bounds of modesty, must needs grow exceeding impudent. Two contended for the Archbishopricke of Cologne, the one was brother to the Langraue of Hessen, the other a kinsman to the Conte Palatine of Rhin, whom the aduerser faction had expelled. *Charles* was banded for the latter, and undertakes to restore him by force, hoping to plant his ensignes in Germany, or at the least to haue some part for his charges.

He first comes to Nuz vpon the Rhin, foure leagues from Cologne, supposing (that if hee tooke it) to fortifie it well, and then to plant another Fort about Cologne by the surprize of some towne of importance, thereby to force the towne to yeeld, and so to mount vp the Rhin to the Countie of Ferrete (the which he had in pawne of *Sigismund* Duke of Austria, brother to the Emperour) and so to command all that great and rich passage of the Rhin, euen vnto Holland, where it ends, thereby to deuour Lorraine, and so without the Emperours ayde, to usurpe the title of King of Sicile and Ierusalem. But Nuz was not vnfinished. The Langraue of Hessen had cast himselfe into it, with many of his kinsmen, and friends, to the number of eightene hundred horse, with a sufficient number of foote, to keepe the place. The Citizens of Cologne, with their neighbors, arme sixteene thousand foot, and incampe vpon the Rhin, right against the Duke, to cut off his victuals that came out of Gueldres, and to stay the boats with their Cannon.

The Emperour, and Princes both spirituall and temporall doe arme, and as the King had often solicited them, they send vnto him to make a trial of his intent. *Lewis* failes not to grant what they demanded, promising twenty thousand men, when as the Imperiall army should be at Cologne. But he had worke at home. *Edward* King of England discontented, that *Lewis* had supported *Henry*, and the Earle of Warwicke, against him, prepares (in the Bourguignons fauour) sixteene hundred masters, all Gentlemen well mounted, and the most part barded, which made a great number of horse, and 14000 Archers all on horse-backe, with a great number of foot. The Duke of Britany hauing already consented to rebellion, should receiue three thousand English, and Ioyne his army with them as appeared by letters written by the hand of *Prise* sometimes master of the kings horse, and then

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*Charles* donates  
way of Gueldres.

*Charles* begins  
warre in Germany.

He demands  
strange things  
of the Emperour,  
who  
leaves him  
without bidding him  
farewell.

*Charles* before  
Nuz.

The English  
prepares for  
France.

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then servant to the Britton (the one letter to the King of England, the other to *Hajins* great Chamberlaine of the said Realme) the which the King did buy of a Secretary of England, for threecore markes of silver.

*Lewis* seeks  
for a peace of  
the Duke of  
Bourgongne  
and is refused.

*Lewis* procures  
to *Charles* many  
enemies.

In the meane time, the King treats of a peace with the duke of Bourgongne, to prevent this storme, or at least to prolong the truce. The Duke excuseth himselfe vpon his word giuen to the English, who labours to draw the Duke from Nuz, exhorting him to accomplish the conuention, considering his great charge, and that the season fit for warre was almost spent. To this end, the Lord *Scales*, nephew to the Constable, makes two iourneys to *Charles*, who pretends (by friuolous euasions) that his honour is much engaged in this siege, and that he could not rise without disgrace. *Lewis* to crosse him (being alwaies his crafts-master in any action, either of war, or peace) procures him many and new enemies. It was no matter of difficulty to draw in *Rene* the sonne of the daughter of *Rene* King of Sicile, the heire of Lorraine, by reason of his grandmother, after the death of *Iohn* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine his vncke, and of the Marquis *Nicolas* sonne to the said *Iohn*. For the duke being dead, *Charles* of Bourgongne, desirous to winne this Duchy to his Countie, had caused him to be taken prisoner: but he was deliuered in change for a yong Germane Prince, who was taken studying at Paris; and marching presently with his army, hee had easily deuoured that Prey, if the King following him, had not forced him to passe on. *Rene* therefore sends to desie him before Nuz, and fortified by some French troops, commanded by the Lord of Craon, he enters the Duchy of Luxembourg, spoiles the Countie and razeth Pierrefort, a place of the said Duchy, and neere to Nancy. *Sigismund* of Austria, had in the year 1469, engaged his Countie of Ferrere, to the D. of Bourgongne, with all the lands he enjoyed on either side the Rhin, for threecore and ten thousand Crownes. *Charles* had placed *Peter* of Hagenbac there for Governor, a wicked man, a violent extortioner, and insupportable both to the Nobility and people, who complained *Sigismund*, beseeching him to succour them against the outrages, and concussions of *Hagenbac*. *Sigismund* had been long in dislike with the Suiffes, his neighbors; but by the kings means, they were all easily reconciled.

So they conclude a league, in the which the imperiall Cities ioyne, Strasburg, Basil, Colmar, and Slesstad, and contribute to furnish the sum due by *Sigismund* to *Charles*; the which they configne into the hands of a banker at Basil: then the inhabitants of these ingaged lands, signifie vnto the duke of Bourgongne, that they had freed themselves of the oath they had made vnto him. And holding themselves freed from the Bourgignons obedience, they reiect his Lieutenant generals command. To suppress them, he assembles a great troop of Picards, Flemings, Henniuers and Lombards, & on Christmas day at night (a good worke on a good day) he seeks to bring them secretly into Enflus. The Citizens beate them backe, kill & take many, the rest fly to Brianfon with *Hagenbac*. The Brianfons arme, and are the stronger, they seize on the Gouernour, expell the soldiers, and then doe they speedily informe of his misdemeanours, giuing intelligence to all their allies, and demand Iudges to iudge of the proccesse. They depute some from Alstaz, Strasburg, Basil, Songoy of the blacke forest, Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, and other places, who condemne *Hagenbac* to dye, vpon foure principall crimes: for that hee had caused foure men of Honor to be beheaded at Than, without any forme of law: to haue made and displaced Officers at his pleasure contrary to his oath: to haue brought in foraine nations into places with all liberties: and for that he had rauished women, forced virgins, and committed incest with Nunnes. The Duke of Bourgongne aduertised of the death of *Hagenbac*, resolves to be reuenged of such as had bene actors. And hereupon *Henry* Earle of Wittemberg and Montebiard, is taken by the dukes men. Those of Basil aduertised hereof, send a number of men with artillery to Montebiard, to stop the Bourgignons passage, who summon the Caste: the which refusing to yeeld, he sends fixe thousand horse, vnder the command of *Stephen Hagenbac*, to reuenge his brothers death, and to make warre vpon the Bishop of Basil, who (whilest that *Sigismund* assembles his confederates) spoiles about thirty villages, kills, takes, carries away, and rauishes men, women, children and cattle. Behold a strong party made against *Charles* of Bourgongne, by the Kings policy, whereby the Suiffes entering into Bourgongne, take Blaimont, besiege Hericourt, defeat the Bourgignons that come to succour it, and kill two thousand which done they retire.

The Duke of  
Bourgongne  
Lieutenant  
executed by  
the Suiffes.

Open warre  
betwixt the  
Duke of Bour-  
gongne and  
the Suiffes.

A The truce now expired: as the King had vader-hand stirred vp the Duke of Lorraine, the Germanes, and the Suiffes against the Duke of Bourgongne, sufficiently busied before Nuz, he now by open force takes from him, spoiles, and burns, Ironquoy, Montdidier, Roye, Montreuil, and Corbeie: and then sends the baltard of Bourbon Admiral of France, General of his army, before Arras, and thereabouts, who spoiles and consumes with fire most of the places lying betwixt Abbeuille and Arras. The inhabitants of Arras force their men of warre to goe to field, vnder the command of the Earle of Rhonoyne the Queenes brother. But the Amirall hauing layd a strong ambush, sends forth about forty Lances to draw forth the townemen, who falling out as to an assured victory, are conu B passed in like partridges in a net, defeated, chased and slaine to the number of fourscore or fifteene hundred, many are taken prisoners, and of the better sort, *Lewis* of Saint Pol, the Constables brother, the Lords of Conray, Carency, and others. At this time the King did set the Prince of Orange at liberty, (being of the House and bearing the armes of Chalon) taken in warre, being set at thirty thousand Crownes ranfome, who which the King did moderate to ten thousand: and caused it to bee presently payed to the Gentleman that held him, by meanes whereof he became the Kings Leige-man, and did him homage for the said Principality. So as the King gaue him power to intitle himselfe, by the Grace of God Prince of Orange, and to coyne money of gold and silver of as high a standard as that of Dauphine: to grant all graces, remissions, pardons, but for heresie, C and treason.

This transaction, with the former prizes, did wonderfully discontent the Constable, zealous of the Kings good successe, & fearing likewise some check by so mighty an army, which the Admiral and the Earle of Dammartin had at his gate. For the auoyding whereof, he giues the King a false intelligence, that the English were at sea, ready to land at Calais: hee perswades the King to provide for the places of Normandy, he promised faith- fully to defend the marches of Picardy, and in his masters absence to reduce Abbeuille and Peronne to his obedience.

But let vs heare another notable part of treachery: hee seeks by all meanes to weaken the King, and yet would hee not fortifie the Bourgignon: but that the English should C crosse both their Estates, that his owne might stand firme in the midst of their contentions. With this designe, he procures the Duke of Bourgongne, to send *Philip* Bouten, and *Philip* Poi Knights, to the Duke of Bourbon, and hee for his part sends *Heister* of Ecluse, to signifie vnto him, that the English would soone land, that the Duke of Bourgongne, and hee and the Constable, ioyning all their powers together, would easily conquer the Realme, exhorting him (for the auoyding of his owne ruine and his Counties) to ioyne with them, the which if he refuse, and that it fall out ill for him, he was not to be pield.

The Duke of Bourbon sends the King two letters of this tenor, brought to him at diuers times by *Ecluse*, who makes answer to the Duke and Constable: that neither promises nor threats should draw him from the obedience and faithfull seruice hee did owe E vnto his Maiesty. *Lewis* will produce these letters to the Constables confusion, in the end of the next year. For the present, he must assure his frontiers. There is no newes yet of the English. *Lewis* makes well this chafe, and will cause the Constable (who supposed himselfe to haue the aduantage of the game) to lose the party. Poore Nobleman! how many misfortunes fore-tell thy approaching ruine? Thy brother prisoner: Thy wife dead at the same instant, one of the chiefe pillars of thy house: who as sister to the Queene, might at need haue preferred thy head: Thy Nephew *Scales* prisoner, with the instructions hee brought, from England to the Bourgignon. And to fill vp the measure, thy son the Earle of Rouilly defeated at Grey in Bourgongne, and prisoner with the duke of Bourbon, who shall not leaue him vntill the end of the year, (for forty thousand Crownes ranfome) with the losse of two hundred men at armes, Lombards, the Baron of Couches and many others. The Marshall of Bourgongne, sonne to the Earle of Saint Martin, two sonnes of the house of Vireaux, wherof the one was Earle of Joigny, the Lords of Longey, Lille, Digoine, Montmartin, Ragony, Chaligny, the Bayliffe of Auxerre, the Ensigne beare to the Lord of Beauchamp, and many others, escaped death but not imprisonment.

Sufficient warnings to amaze a resolute mind. Hereafter the Constable is afflicted with strange distemperatures, fed with the neighbourhood of the Earle of Dammartin, be- ing

Privileges  
granted to the  
Prince of O-  
range by *Lewis*.

The Constable  
seeks to libe-  
rate the Duke  
of Bourbon.

Mountfull pre-  
sages to the  
Constable.

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ing lodged neere S. Quintin, whom he knew to bee none of his friends. And fearing lest the King should assault him, he sends to take assurance of the Duke of Bourgogne, intreating him to send him his brother James of Saint Pol, the Lord of Fienens, and some other his kinsmen and friends, to put them into Saint Quintin, and to keepe the towne to the Dukes deuotion, (without bearing S. Andrews crosse) the which he promised to forevnto him within a prefixed time.

They come: they present themselves within view of Saint Quintin, once, twice, and thrice: but the Constable suspects them, and sends them backe. They came still, either too soone or too late: so as at the brute of these forces the Admirall casts himselfe into Arras, wherof he followed the taking of James of Saint Pol, who being brought before the King, hauing liberty to speake, he confessed, that at the two first iournies, he came only with an intent to comfort his brother: but at the third time, seeing the Constable had deceived both his Master and him; that he had been the stronger, he would haue kept the place for his Master without offering any violence to his brother: whereupon his Maiestie kept him at libertie; very well appointed, seruing him vnto his death. And although the Constable had lately done a notable disgrace vnto the King, yet his Maiestie dissembled wisely: and to take from him all cause of ieaousie, he wills him to goe and make warre with Hainault, and to besiege Arras, whilst that the Admirall was busied in Arras. The goos, but very loth, and with exceeding feare, and stayes but little: he retires betimes, being aduertised (as he informed the King) that two men in his army (whom he described by apparent signes) were suborned to kill him. This new feare, accompanied with distrust, bred a terrible distemperature in the Constables head, who hauing lost his credit both with the King and Duke, will yet entertaine himselfe by both, and perswade them that he is seruant but to one. He lent on to the Bourguignons campe, to draw him from the siege of Nuz; that he might ioyne slyly with the English at their coming on land, and then vpon the returne of his messengers, he gaue the King some plausible intelligence, to cause him to like of his conference with the Duke, sometimes disgracing his officers, to win the credit of an affectionate seruant with Lewis, sometimes extolling the Duke, to terrifie the King: But oh policie simply shadowed!

On the other side, he knew well that he had greatly offended the King by his last action. He sees himselfe forsaken by his most confident seruants, *Iulius* and *Mary*, whom the King had entertained. These might haue assisted him in his peace-making, the which he shadowed with some recompence, that the King had promised him for the Colony of Guise. Lewis heares them, giues them good words, and commands the Constable to come vnto him. But the conscience of our misdeeds, is a grieuous testimony. The variety offe troubled thoughts, will not admit an easie reliefe. He offers to come, so as his Maiesty will swear vpon the Crosse of S. Lau, that he will neither doe, cause, nor suffer any treachery nor outrage to be done to his person. This Crosse hath been kept at Angiers time out of mind, with an old beliefe, That whosoever swearing thereon, doth forswear himselfe, he dies within the yeare, of a miserable and violent death: Lewis remembers this oath, but submits himselfe to any other. The more he excuseth himselfe, the more the Constable presseth him. Thus pass they hourly from either of them vpon this assurance: behold, two great personages of sundry humours, wonderfully troubled in mind, and it seemed they feared alike, to perish or to separate themselves absolutely. Yet Lewis was the more cunning, and did his businesse more courtely. But if these two afflicted themselves in this sort, Edward of England, and Charles of Bourgogne were in no lesse doubt one of another. The King had sent *Iohn Tierclis* the Lord of Brosse, to make his excuse vnto the Emperor, for that hee had not sent the army promised by the treaty, assuring him to doe it, when hee had ended his enterprises begonne, and for the most part well forward both in Bourgogne and Picardy, intreating him in the meane time not to make any agreement with the Duke: and that the one should not treat of a peace without the other. That hee should confiscate all the Dukes Siegneries that held of the Empire, and that hee would seize vpon such as depended on the Crown of France, as Flanders, Arthois, Bourgogne, and many others.

The Emperor, a man of more witten vertue, answers by a gentle Apologie, That they must not divide the Beares skin, before the beaſt be dead. As if he should say, Come according to your promise, let vs take this man, and then weare his spoiles. Let vs now see what

The Constable  
feels to the  
Duke of Bour-  
gogne and  
deceives him.

Lewis dissem-  
bles with the  
Constable.

Lewis sends an  
Ambassador to  
the Emperor.

A what he doth before Nuz, where wee haue left him much perplexed how to spee. himselfe with his honour from this enterprize. Two mighty armies attended him and cast off his vials both aboue and beneath the Rhine: all the Princes of Germany both spiritual and temporal, had ioyned their forces in infinite numbers; all the townes and commonalties did willingly contribute to this charge. Two other considerations did trouble him. The King made great war against him, and had burnt many places in Bourgogne, Picardy, Arthois, and Ponthieu. Moreover, he had laboured all his life to draw in the English, but without any effect till now, and would bee abandoned so goonly an army, hanging now betwixt Douer and Calais, complaining of his breach, threatening swift delay, if any longer to take another course. Yet must the Bourguignon find some honourable pretext for his sinning.

There was with the Emperor an Apostolicke Legate, going from army to army, to mediate a peace. The King of Denmark was there in person, for the same effect. In the end, the place is deliuered into the Legates hands, to dispose as the See of Rome should decree. That Nuz after a yeares siege, sees the Bourguignon lodge with the host of foure thousand of his choise men. A hard departure; that notwithstanding the necessity of his Army, and this mighty Imperial power, yet not daring to affront him, hee dedde the beleagued Citizens overcome with hunger and toyle, who had been tormented within ten dayes to yield to his mercy. Charles would willingly haue been reuenged of *Riche* for his deſe: yet hee forbears vntill the next yeare, but with another issue then hee expected: he shall be well beaten & then slaine. At this time vrgent necessity drawes him elsewhere, and his troops hauing need to be refreshed, he sends them to liue vpon the spoiles of Lorraine and Barre, and himselfe with a small traine goes to meet *Edward* at Calais: *Edward* being yet at Douer, send *Garter* his King at armes, a Norm and by nation to Lewis with a letter of defiance, the tenor whereof smels more of the French then the English.

He summons him, To yeld vnto him the Realme of France, at his right; that hee might restore the Church, Nobility and people to their ancient liberties, and free them from their great burthens and afflictions: and upon his refusal, hee proſeſſes of all the miseries that should follow, after the accustomed manner and forme in such like cases. A bare deſie grounded vpon a

subject long before debated, and often decided. The King reads the letter, commands the Herald to be brought into a chamber vnto him, being alone, and saies vnto him; That he knew well the king of England was thrust into this enterprize by the people of England, by the Duke of Bourgogne, and by the Constable of Saint Paul. That the Duke came from Nuz like a vanquished and needy man, that winter grew on, vnfor the effects of warre, that the Constable would deceive King *Edward*, and liue onely in his dissimulation, entreating euery man, and trusting no man. In the end, he solicits *Garter*, to perswade his master to make an agreement with him, giuing him three hundred Crowns with his own hand, and promise of a thousand, if it might be accomplished: and in publicke, he caused a goodly peece of crimson veluet to be giuen him, containing thirty elles.

The Herald promitteth to doe his best indagation, aduising him to send a Herald to obtaine a safe conduct for the sending of Ambassadors, at what time as *Edward* should haue passed the sea: who at his first entry finds himselfe much deceived of his expectation, for the Duke had promised to ioyne with him, with two thousand five hundred men at armes, with a great number of other horse and foot: and for this assurance, to put some strange places into his hands, namely, Saint Quintin, relying vpon the Constable: That sending the King overcharged, and ready to recieue a mate, hee should begin the wars in France, three moneths before the landing of the English army, but his army was so weak and poore, as hee durst not shew it.

Let vs here acknowledge another notable fauour of God to this Crowne, who had fo blinded the iudgement of this duke, as he continued obdurate & wilfull, before this strong place resolutely defended, whereas he should haue attended the English. Wee confesse that both together would haue dangerously shaken the estate of this Realme. So the English and Bourguignon part from Calais, passe by Bouillon, and draw towards Peronne, where thinking to lodge, they were disappointed, which gaue some dislike vnto the English. Being at Peronne, the Constable sends *Lewis* of Cressille to the Duke of Bourgogne, excusing himselfe, for not deliuering vp of Saint Quintin: whereby (said hee) he should haue lost all his credit, and intelligence in France, and haue beene altogether vnpro-

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The first cause  
of Edwards  
discomſent  
against Charles.

Another error  
of the Bour-  
gogne that dis-  
contents the  
English.



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He declares  
both King Ed-  
ward and Duke  
Charles.

Another error  
in the Duke of  
Bourgonne.

A counterfeit  
Herald.

This policy of  
Lewis.

unprofitable for him. But he was now wholly at his devotion, seeing the King of England within the Realm. Moreover, he promised the said Duke, to defend and recover his lands with his friends and allies, as well the King of England, as others; and he made all these promises, excepting: and intricates him that that writing of his owne hand may serve as a pledge of credit with the said King. The Duke gives him letter unto Edward, allying him together, that the Constable should not only give him entrance into Saint Quintin, but also all his other places. Both the King and Duke beleaved it. The King, for that he had married the Constable's daughter, for that the Constable was in so great feare and distrust of our Lewis, it seemed he should not dare to faile of his promises. They part from Peronne, and approaching neere S. Quintin, they send some English troops before, to enter the town to the taking of a certaine possession. But the Negro (saith the French) changed his hew. The signal they give them of their approach neere unto them, were smoke and Cannon shot. Two or three English are slain, and some taken; & so they recover their army, greatly discomfited with this affront. The Bourguignon, to colour this foule and treacherous part, pretends the Constables meaning to be very good, that he could not see the yielding thereof, with any apparent profit, if as the simple sight of his malice he should be amazed, that he would be forced thereunto; and if all the while army marched, he would make no refusal. But these were jells: he desired but to win time, and to show himselfe enemy for any man. The next day Charles of Bourgonne takes the person of Edward, promising to returne speedily with all his forces. Edward and his men had small practice in the estate of our Realme, they are not the braue warriors which had so long governed our France: they needed conduct and direction to fashion them to our armes, without the which they know themselves at the first trial to be unprofitable: but in a short time they are fashioned, and become good soldiers. In the meane time they are abandoned, and the season of doing any thing is trost past: they must therefore resolve. And thus the King desires that Edward would agree. The English had taken the servant of James Graffe, a Gentleman of the Kings house, but for that he was their first prisoner, Edward gives him liberty. At his departure, Howard and Stanley, (both in credit with Edward) said unto him; Recommend us unto your King your master, if you may please him. (Garter the Herald had named these two to obtaine a passport for the Ambassadors that Lewis should send to treat.) This message had some ielousie in the Kings head, who then was at Compeigne; for Gilbert the brother of James Graffe followed the duke of Britany, and was in great credit; but being carefully examined, they find, he deserved credit. Lewis remembers the direction the Herald had given him, and suddenly takes this resolution with himselfe, To send a servant the sonne of Meridol of Rochel, belonging to the Lord of Malles (or Strake) in quality of a Herald. This servant had his countenance and personage very vnplesant; yet a good wit, and a sweet speech. But why did Lewis make choice of a servant, whom he had neuer seen before, amongst so many thousands more capable of that charge; hee might discover him if need required, as intruding himselfe, or at the least admonishing without his priuie, and at all hazards, the losse of a servant was not great. This Herald fashioned after the Kings mind, hath his charge deliuered him, and is attired with a coate of armes, made like wise in hast, of a trumpets banner, enameled like a petty Herald, that belonged to the Admirall; and then he goes to horse backe, without any man priuie excepte Villiers, Master of the horse, and the Lord of Argenton. Being arrived at the English army, he is brought before the King, to whom he deliuers his charge; That the King his master had long desired to haue good amity with him, to the end that both their Realmes might hereafter liue in peace: That since his coming to the Crowne hee had neuer made warre, nor attempted any thing against the Crowne of England. Whoe had receiued the Earle of Warwick, it was only to crosse the Duke of Bourgonne: That the Duke of Bourgonne should not haue procured his passage into France; but to make his peace with more advantage with the King. If any others were actors (meaning the Constable) it was but to ferre their owne turnes in crossing him, and to worke their priuate profits, not regarding the affaires of England. That now winter grew on, that his army was not raised without exceeding charge (this was secretly to offer a recompence of all or part, which was a great word adre to peace.) That such as nourished this warre betwixt them,

were

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Ambassadors  
sent from both  
Kings.

Articles of  
agreement  
with the Eng-  
lish.

The Duke of  
Bourgonne  
reproacheth  
King Edward  
for making a  
truce.

The Constable  
perplexed.

A were some Noblemen and Merchants, who made their profits of the peoples losse: That if the King of England would give care to a treaty, the King his Master would embrace it with so great affection, as both himselfe and his Realme should remaine well satisfied: And for prooffe, if it pleased him to grant a safe conduct for an hundred horse, the King would send Ambassadors unto him well informed of his pleasure: vntill hee desired a mutual interview in some place, mid-way betwixt both armies, then the King should grant a safe conduct for his part.

These speeches please, and this counterfeit Herald returnes with a safe conduct, as he desired, accompanied with another Herald, to carry one from the King of the same tenour. The next day, the Ambassadors of either side meet, in a village neere to Amiens: For the King, came the bastard of Bourbon Admirall; the Lord of S. Pierre, and Hoberge Bishop of Eurcu. For Edward, came Howard, Sellenger, and Doctor Morton, afterwards Chancellor of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury. In truth it was much to humble himselfe, but the weighty burthen of affaires which oppressed our King, forced him thereunto, who with one stroke gaue two strokes: for Lewis sent backe his enemy, to the great confusion of the Duke of Bourgonne. Lets generally confesse, that it is not now alone, that God doth shew his singular grace and fauour to this Monarchie; The Britton was watchfull, and ioynly with the Bourguignon, they practised crosses of dangerous consequence.

The English from a general demand of the crown of France, restraines himselfe to the Duchy of Normandy or Guienne. But a franke demander, requires a bold denier. Lewis protests, that he would do any thing to send the King of England out of his Realm: but to yield him the possession of any lands, hee will rather put all to hazard. He had a goodly and mighty army, which they esteemed (saith the Original) an hundred thousand fighting men, and in the west might doe much, the English being in bad teames with the Bourguignon. But the quiett counse is the best, and both being willing to agree, and accord is soone made. In the end, the King grants the English three score and twelve thousand Crownes present payment: (Paris lent the money, upon promies of restitution by the Feast of All Saints next following.) The marriage of Charles with the eldest daughter of King Edward (both being yet very yong, neither shall it take effect) and for the estate of her house, the Duchy of Guienne, or fifty thousand Crownes yearly, payable in the Tower of London, for nine years following, at the end whereof, he and his wife quietly to enioy the reuenuues of the said Duchy, and the King should remaine discharged of the payment of fifty thousand Crownes to King Edward.

Moreover, the King promised sixtene thousand Crownes pension to some of Edwards fauourites, who had much assisted in this reconciliation: to Hastings two thousand, to Howard, to John Cheney Master of the Horse, to Sellenger, Montgomery, and some others, the remainder. And besides, there was great store of Siluer and Plate distributed among King Edwards seruants: so euery Saint had his candle. These conditions performed, Edward should repasse the Sea, and leaue Howard and the Master of his horse in hostage, vntill he had recovered England: yet not without an careruey of both Kings. This peace should continue nine years, comprehending the Dukes of Bourgonne and Britany, if they pleased. The Bourguignon hearing these newes, halts to returne to the English, followed only with sixtene hundred Horse: At his first arrival he discouers his inward passions by his outward countenance. But he came too late to prevent it. Edward tells him, that hee hath made a truce for nine years, and exhorts him to enter, according to the reueration he had made. Charles replies by fits, and after a reproachfull manner: That Edwards Predecessors Kings of England, had performed many high exploits in France, and with much sweate and toyle had won great reputation. He checketh him that he did not procure the English to passe; for any need hee had, but only to give them occasion to recouer their ancient inheritance. And to make it manifest, that he had no need of their coming; he would not accept of any truce with the King, vntill that Edward had beene three moneths in his owne Country. And hauing thus layd, he returnes towards Luxembour, from whence he came. A braudo of ill digestion to the English and his Councell, but plausible to all the friends of confusion.

But what is become of our Constable? is there no speech of him during this treaty? Now is he more incombred with feare then euer. He knows well, that he hath displeased

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the king, the English and the Bourguignon, al alike, and fill he apprehends the conclusion at Bouvines. In the meane time he seeks to please all, and sets a good face on it. *Edward* had freely made offer to the French Ambassadors, to name some Noblemen, that were traitors (said he) to the King and his Crowne, and to proue it by their hand-writings.

*Edward discovers the Constables designs.*

The King holds a Councell vpon this matter: some maintaine, that this accusation is fraudulent, and that the English would make his demands the greater with the wracke of anothers honour, as hauing good intelligence in France. But *Lewis* his judgment was more sharpe, he knew the Bourguignons courtes, he considered the season, that the English had not any one place in their hands, and that the Bourguignon had deceived them. Moreover, he knew well, that the Constable would not giue them any entry: and yet he should be farre imbarqued in the league, the King entertained him with many lenities and kept him in good humour: and the Constable likewise sent often vnto the King, always swimming betwixt two streames, vnderstanding that the treaty betwixt these Kings, grew to some perfection, hee seemed well satisfied, and sends *Lewis* of Creuile, Gentleman of his house, and *John Richer* his Secretary, aduising the King, that woyde this threatening foraigne tempest he should procure a truce; and to satisfy the English, it were good to grant them one or two small Townes to winter in. He supposed in doing this, the English should be beholding to him, and rest fully satisfied for the affront at Saint Quintin.

*Lewis his subtil industry.*

Note alwayes, that *Lewis* was a wonderfull instrument of diuision, when hee pleaded *Contay* a prisoner at the defeat of Arras, went and came vpon his faith to the Duke of Bourgongne, to treat a peace. He was by chance in Court at the comming of the two persons. The King hides him in his chamber behind the hangings, to heare and report his master the speeches the Constable and his people held of him. *Creuile* by the Kings commandement, with aloud voyce, said, that the Constable had sent them to the Duke of Bourgongne, with many instructions, to diuide him from the English; and that they had found the said Duke to farre incensed, as by their perswasions he was not only ready to abandon them, but to charge them in their retreat. *Creuile* in speaking this, did counterfeit the gesture of a passionate Prince, stamping and swearing, *Saint George* (the oath of *Charles* of Bourgongne) saying, that he called the King of England, *blancbourne*, and the sonne of an archer, whose name he carried: words accompanied with all the dignities that might bee spoken. This moued laughter in the King, who taking pleasure at the repetition thereof, and seeming somewhat deafe, made him to straine his voice in the report. *Contay* no lesse amazed then the King was pleased, would neuer haue believed it, if he had not heard it.

*The Constables treachery.*

And although it grieved the King much to dissemble the Constables counsell, to giue some places to the English, yet would hee not discover his discontent to these Deputies, but answered them graciously: *I will send to my brother* (the Queene and the Constables wife were sisters) *and let him vnderstand my minde*, hauing cunningly drawne a promise from his Secretary to reueale what did concerne him. And at the same instant hee dispatched *Contay* to the Duke his master with letters of credit of the Kings owne hand: and somewhat to satisfy the Constable, he giues the English *Eu* and *Saint Vallery*, to lodge in during the treaty of peace. In the meane time (oh notable trechery!) behold one of the Constables ordinary trickes; hee sends his confessor to the King of England whilseters of credit, and intreats him earnestly not to trust to the Kings promises, but rather to seize vpon *Eu* and *Saint Vallery*, and there to passe some part of the winter: that within two moneths he would lodge him better. Yet he giues him no other security, but much hope, and an offer to lend him fifty thousand Crownes, with many other goodly shewes, to draw him from so profitable an accord. *Edward* answers, that the truce is concluded, and that he will not alter any thing. That if he had kept his word, he would haue accepted it. Thus our Constable despaires on all sides. The King (foreseeing that the Constable would thrust *Edward* into ialousie) resolved by his bounty to take away all cause of suspition for the effecting whereof, hee sends *Edward* three hundred carts laden with the best wine hee could get: and within Amiens (*Edward* lodging within halfe a league, for confirmation of the truce) hee causeth two long tables to bee set vp at the entry of the towne, furnished with exquisite meates, and all kinds of prouocations to drinke, with men to attend all commers and goers at the table. At euery table where fixe or fixe men of reputation sat

*Lewis his policy to prevent the Constables practices.*

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A far and big, the better to encourage the Drinkers: amongst others were the Lords of *Craton*, *Briquebec*, *Brefme*, and *Villiers*, Gentlemen of a pleasant humour: and wheresoever the English tooke any lodging, they might not spend any thing. This bounty continued three or four dayes; during the which, if *Lewis* had meant treacherously, hee had good meanes, they entering into Amiens confusedly, to the number of nine thousand, for of this great multitude, some did sing, and some slept, ouercome with wine and drowsinesse. But contrariwise, he committed the guard of the gate to English archers, whom *Edward* (at *Lewis* his request) had sent, to take in, and put out whom they pleased. It was then concluded, to appoint a place for an enteruiew of these two Kings. It is done with lesse confusion and hazard in a small place. Piquiny vpon Somme was held conuenient: an ancient Prophesie which the English obserued, described this very place. To this effect they build vpon the bridge two pentises of wood, the one for *Lewis*, the other for *Edward*, either of them capable of ten or twelue men. Betwixt both was a partition, with grates to put through ones armes, going ouerthwart the bridge, that no man might goe from the one to the other. *Lewis* made his profit offore-past edvents: hee knew that if the barre at *Montereau* had had no more passage then this, *John* Duke of Bourgongne had not ended his dayes so lamentably, in the narrow bounds thereof. The 28 of August *Lewis* comes first to the barre, accompanied with *John* duke of Bourbon, the Cardinall his brother, and followed onely with about 800 men at armes. *Edward* comes after, hauing with him the Duke of Clarence his brother, the Earle of Northumberland, his Chamberlain *Hastings*, his Chancellor, and others: and behinde him all his army in battell. Either King had twelue men about him, foure of the which went from one part to another, to search if there were nothing practised to the preiudice of their matters. They embrace each other through the grate, and sweare vpon the holy Bible, to obserue the Articles agreed vpon. The oath taken, *Lewis* mingling his serious discourse with some mirth, inuites *Edward* to come to Paris, that hee would feast him with the Ladies, and giue him the Cardinall of Bourbon for his Confessor, (a pleasant man and off free life) who willingly would giue him absolution, if happily he should siane in that case. Then they conferte together a while without any witnesses. And vpon the Kings demand, whether the Duke of Bourgongne would not accept of the truce, (men take an oxe by the horne, and a man by his word, as with the like policie the Duke of Bourgongne might haue bene surprized at his departure from Liege.) *Edward* answered, that he might doe as he pleased, *I will summon him againe* (saith he) *if he will not hearken to it, I will referre my selfe to you two*. This accord being made, *Lewis* begins to play vpon another string, and makes the like demand touching the Duke of Britany, for whom he chiefly made the motion. But he findes the English resolute in his protection, as hauing found no friend so kind in his affliction. *Lewis* increased, and with a wonderfull courtesie takes leave of the King of England, contents all his followers with some kinde words, and giues presents to some priuate Noblemen, the Heralds and Trumpets, who to shew their thankful minds, beganne to cry, *A largeesse for the most noble and mighty French King: a largeesse, a largeesse*. He had alwaies made it manifest, that he was exceeding suspicious, and that from an antecedent hee could cunningly draw a good consequence. He is no sooner on his way to Amiens, but hee studies of *Edward* facility to hearken to the going to Paris: that he was a very goodly Prince, and of an amorous complexion, and that some nice Parisian might stay him longer then his estate required, or at the least draw him to passe the sea another time: that his Predecessors had loued Paris and Normandy but too well: He therefore desires to see their backs, and must by some meanes with-draw him from this humour, wishing rather to haue him his good brother and friend beyond the seas, then here. The necessity which forced the King against the Bourguignon, serued for an excuse.

An enteruiew of the Kings.

B Moreover, the King was grieved, to see the English so resolute to defend the Britons quarrell: hee would gladly haue obtained that freedome, to make warre in Britany, the which hee wonderfully affected, and made a second motion vnto him by *Bouchage* and *S. Pierre*, who returned with this answer; *That whosoever doth attempt* (saith hee) *against the Duke of Britany, I will passe the seas in person, and succour him*. So hee was no more importuned. *Edward* had an especial cause to entertaine the loue of the duke of Britany, for at the defeat of *Henry* King of England, as wee haue heard, *Henry* Earle of Hereford, and nextest kinsman to the said *Henry*, after the death of his sonne the Prince of Wales,

The policie proceeding of Lewis.

The reason why King Edward proceedeth to the Duke of Britany.

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Edwards first  
wants discon-  
tented with the  
truce.

Lewis a free  
buyer of mens  
services.

Custies that  
moued Ed-  
ward to passe  
and to returne  
home into  
England.

Edward sends  
the Constables  
letters vnto  
Lewis.

Wales saued himselfe with his Vncle the Earle of Pembroke, and hauing entred a barke in haste, they were with tempest driuen vpon the coast of Britany, and there forced to take land, where they were seized on, and led with sure guard to Vannes. A very happy chance for the Duke, for while he holds this goodly gage, he was assured to command the forces of England: but very vnhappy for the Earle, for if he might haue landed in France, Lewis without doubt (to crosse Edward) would haue laboured to restore him. This truce did wonderfully displease some of Edwards household seruants: Lewis of Bretrailles among the rest, a Gentleman of Gascony, was greatly discontented, giuing out, that the King his Master hauing in person wonne nine battels, had gotten more dishonor by the voluntary losse of this tenth, (which was in a manner gotten) then he had purchased honour in the former nine. That the French might with reason laugh at Edwards credulous facility, Lewis aduertised by the Lord of Argenton, of this Gascons free discourte, resolues to stop his mouth, to the end he should not hereafter spend his tongue to the preiudice of this Estate: He sends for him, and makes him dine with him, offers him great aduancement, so as he will serue him. Vpon his refusal, he giues him a thousand Crownes presently, and promisseth to doe good for his brethren that remained in France: binding him to maintaine (as much as in him did lye) the friendship growing betwixt these two crownes. Bretrailles did not iudge amisse. Our Lewis had sometime a more liberrall tongue then was conuenient, and feared much, lest some words had passed him, whereby the English might discover that hee mocked him: and so it chanced, yet behold how hee couered it. The day after this enter-view, being in his Cabinet, hee fell to iest of the wines and other presents he had sent to the English. But hee discovered not a Gascoyne Merchant dwelling in England, who by chance was crept in to obtaine a licence of the king for the transporting of certaine pipes of wine, freed from impost. This Merchant might talke, hee must therefore be won, and stayed in France, vnder some apparent pretext. The King sent the Lord of Argenton to walke with him, aduanceth him to a good office in the towne where he was borne, he giues him a thousand Franks presently to transport his family, the transport of wines he required, and a man to condu& him to Boudeaux: but all vpon condition that not he, but his brother, should make the voyage into England. Thus the King made amends for his rash speech.

Edward is now vnder saile, he was a new Conqueror, his presence was therefore more needfull in England: he did neuer much affect the voyage. Two principall reasons drew him into the action. The one was, all his subjects gaped after the possession of this crown, did sollicite him, and the Bourguignon prest him. Another was, he might referre a good part of the money that should be raised for this voyage (for the Kings of England leaue nothing about their reuennues, but for the warres of France.) But see the policy of Edward: he had of purpose brought with him ten or twelue of the chiefe Bourgeses of the City, whose credit was great with the commons, and who had with all care procured this tax. These men were soone weary with this military toile, presuming that at the first ariual, a profitable battell should decide the quarrell. And to make them taste more feelingly the sweetnesse of peace, from the sharpnesse of warre, Edward doth sometimes trouble their heads with doubts, sometimes with feares, to keep them from murmuring at his returne into England. On the other side, he loued his pleasures, and was of a complexion not able to endure the trauels requisite for the Conquest of this Realme: and although the King was overcharged with enemies, yet had hee provided well for his defence. But see the most vrgent reason of Edwards retreat. The performance he desired of the mariage betwixt the Dauphin, and his daughter. A mariage which made him dissemble many things, whereof Lewis will make his profit. To conclude, as they which haue bene deceived in their friendship, hate without dissembling, Edward before hee parted from Calais, sent the King those two letters of credit, which the Constable had writte vnto him, with all other verball assurances which he had giuen him. Sufficient testimonies to accuse & conuince him of these crimes, whereby he shall be hereafter charged. Lets now reconcile the dukes of Bourgongne, and Britany with the King. Contay was now returned from the Duke of Bourgongne, the day of the enter-view, and had found his master in a good humour, when as the English were returned. Hagennot Chanceller of Bourgongne, and other Ambassadors for the Duke, meet at a bridge mid-way betwixt Auentures, and Veruins in Hainault, so well accompanied with Archers and other

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Discontented  
betwixt the King's  
lid, and Bour-  
guignons.

A truce be-  
twixt Lewis  
and the Bour-  
guignons.

Edward offers  
to aide Lewis  
against the  
Bourguignons;

A peace con-  
firmed with  
the Duke of  
Britany.

The last act of  
the Constables  
Tragedie.

Lewis dissem-  
bles with him.

A men of warre, that one of the English hostages, whom the King had led with him, tooke occasion to say, that if the Duke of Bourgongne had bene followed with many such men when he came to salute King Edward, peraduenture they had not made a peace. The Visconte of Narbonne answered: That the Duke wanted no such men, and that hee had sent them to refresh themselves, but fixe hundred pipes of Wine, and a pension which the King gave them, made them hast home to their Country.

The English moued herewith; it is as every mans said (replies he) that you would dectine us. Doe you call the money the King giues vs a pension? It is a tribute: and by Saint George you may talke so much, as we will returne againe. This quarrell staid their proceeding: neither did they preuaile any more the second time, when as the King appointed Tanneguy of Chastel, and the Chanceller Oriole to heare the said Ambassadors at Veruins: but the third assembly which was in the Kings Chamber, made a full conclusion: and in truth Bretray had reason to say one day to the King, that his horse was well laden when he was on him, for that he caried all his Council with him: for indeed hee did effect more in his presence, then all his Ambassadors together, where there was a truce accorded for nine years, according to the other, but by reason of the oath which Charles of Bourgongne had sworne to Edward in his choller, it might not be published vntill the twentieth of October following.

Edward (discontented that the Duke of Bourgongne would treat apart) sends Montgomery (a Knight very inward with him) to the King to Veruins, he requires two things, the one, that he would take no other truce with the Duke then that which he had made: the other that he would not suffer Saint Quintin to be yelded vnto him: and if hee would continue the warre against the said Duke, he would returne the next spring, and ioyne his forces with the Kings, so as he would recompence him for the losse he should sustaine by the customes of Woolle at Calais, which would be of no value, (being estimated at fifty thousand Crownes) and pay halfe his Army.

The King to satisfie Edward, answers, that it is the same truce they had made together, and for the same terme; but the Duke would haue letters apart: hee thanks him for his good offers, and returnes him home his Ambassador and hostages. Lewis had lately learned, that the French and the English do easily quarrell when they are together, and a small matter would reconcile them with the Bourguignons. As for the Britton, the King could not well digest the answer which Edward had made to Bouchage and Saint Pierre, whereby he easily discovered the strict alliance betwixt them: but seeing he could not diuide them, being in the Abbey of Victory neere to Senlis, where he had a priuate deuotion, the peace was absolutely confirmed, whereby the King renounced all rights pretended by him to the Duchy of Britany, refering the souerainty and homage according to the ancient custome. He promised to keepe the Dukes person in safety, and to maintaine his priuiledges, and prerogatives, without forcing him to follow him out of his Duchy: but with his owne good liking: and moreover, he should cause to be giuen vnto the Duke of Britany, the hands and seals of all the Princes of his blood, and of the Noblemen of the realme, both spirituall and temporall, with reuocation of all alliances, or former promises, and restitutions, to be made, of all things taken during the warre. The patent hath the same date with that of the Duke of Bourgongne.

Lets now bring the Constable into open view, to play the last act of his Tragedy: finding that all these shifts and deuices, could not breake the reconciliation of the two Kings, the next day after their enteruiew, he writes very humbly to the King, by a seruant of his named Rapine: That hee was well informed how his enemies laboured to bring him in disgrace, charging him with many things whereof hee had shewed contrary effects: for that during all the fore-past confusions, hee had faithfully kept all these places which his Majesty had committed vnto him, and beate backe the enemy whensoever hee presented himselfe. And to purchase some credit, he offers to deale with the Duke of Bourgongne, who if the King please, shall helpe to defeat Edward and all his army. Lewis dissembles, and writes to the Constable, what was concluded the day before, that at this time hee was busied with many affaires, and had need of such a head as his. A captious word, but well vnderstood by Rapine, who takes it for a beginning of fauour for his Master. But alas, how easily doth man deceit himselfe in his imaginations: and what can a perplexed iudice pronounce, but trouble and confusion: the truce is no sooner confirmed with the

Bour.

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The Constable  
for his pious  
estate.

Bourguignon, but the conclusion of Bouvines is renewed, whereof we haue made mention. Now this poore Constable knows not to whom to flee.

And as every man runnes as far as he can from an imminent shipwrack, his best friends, his most affectionate seruants, and his most confident souldiers abandon him. What shall he then doe? whom shall he implore? what Sanctuary? what succours? he knows well he hath equally displeased, *Lewis, Edward and Charles*; his lands are on all sides inuolued by his enemies. He is too farre from any safe retreat. He holds strong places, yea almost impregnable: but who shall defend them? he inioyes great treasure, but they violently hunt after it.

What refuge shall he choofe? shall he goe to the King? but by what meanes shall hee purchase grace? he is too farre incensed, and is seized of the letters which the Constable had written to the King of England, and the Dukes of Bourbon and Bourgongne. May he rely vpon *Lewis* his word? but he would not sweare vpon the crosse of Saint *Lau*. Shall he passe the seas? he gaue *Edward* too vnkind welcome nere Saint *Quintin*. Shall hee call himselfe into *Charles* of Bourgongnes armes? but he hath spoyled his Country of Hainault, he would haue forced him to marry his daughter with the Duke of Guicenne deposed, and hath often treacherously deceived him; being aduanced by his meanes to that great dignity of Constable.

The Constable  
in a desperate  
estate.

To conclude, he alone hath more then all others maintayned these Princes in hatred, so as what party soeuer he takes, he is vndone. Yet must he needs vnmaske himselfe and flee to one, for what meanes hath he to warrant himselfe alone against so mighty enemies which shall he choofe? poore soule! beaten with distrust, feare and despair, for yielding to the one he incensed the other. Moreover, there is lesse danger for him to be besieged by two, then by one alone, being impossible for two armies to accord long together: and contrariwise, being charged but by one, there is some hope to make his peace. Sometimes hee resolves to flee into Germany, and to buy a place there, vntill he be reconciled to the one: sometimes to keep his strong Castle of Han, the which he had well fortified to serue his need. But he is so amazed as he dares not discouer himselfe to those few seruants that are left him. Moreover, they are all subiects to some one of these Princes. Yet he must resolve: and better is it to fall once, then stagger alwayes.

But they haue both ioyntly conspired his death, he is well informed thereof, and hath sene a copy of their mutual feales. Yet when once he hath passed his word, he will make a conscience to breake it. But there is no faith in the Court of France: hee hath offended the King too much, and hath too great aduersaries, and no man might safely loue him whom *Lewis* hated. The Duke of Bourgongne is more moderate, more easie to pacify, and if he giue his faith, he will be asham'd to deliuer him, who had thrust himselfe vnder his protection. He gaped after Saint *Quintin*, he must yeeld it vp vnto him, and redeeme his head with the price of this good place. He stands firme in this resolution, and beseecheth *Charles* to lend him a safe conduct, to go and treat with him of matters concerning his estate and person. At the first *Charles* makes some difficulty, but in the end hee thinks he may well dispense with his conscience for Saint *Quintin*.

The Constable  
yeilds to the  
Bourgongne.

So the Constable accompanied onely with fifteene or twenty horse, goes towards Mons, in Hainault, to *Esmeritz* great Bayliffe of Hainault, the dearest of his friends, according newes from the Duke of Bourgongne, who made warre in Lorraine vpon the desse we haue spoken of. The Foxe is now out of his earth. It must be foreseene, that this yielding reconcile not the Constable to the Duke. The King well informed what troopes were in Saint *Quintin*, and of the Inhabitants affection, hasteth therewith with fifteen or eight hundred horse. They meet him with their keyes: the quarters are ordered, all his forces enter, and he follows. And to take from the Bourgongne all hope to recouer Saint *Quintin* by the Constables meanes, he giues him aduice to the taking thereof: for although in the diuision made at Bouvines of the Constables places, this fell to the Duke, yet would not the King that he should make his peace with the Bourgongne by the deliuey thereof.

Saint Quintin  
yeilds to the  
King.The Constable  
griefed.

*Charles* aduertised hereof, sends to the great Bayliffe, that he should guard Mons well, that the Constable goe not forth, and that hee should appoint him his lodging for a prison. Here the Bayliffe preferres obedience to his master, before the Constables loue. *Lewis* aduertised of the Constables detraction, requires the Duke of Bourgongne by

Bouchage,

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The Constable  
deliuered to  
the King.

A *Bouchage*, and *Saint-Pierre*, either to deliuer him, or to performe the conuention. Hee promisheth to doe it, and causeth him to be caried with a sure guard to Peronne. Hee had now taken diuers places in Lorraine and Barrois, and did batter Nancy, whereof hee desired to see issue, for the deliuey or retayning of the Constable, so as with this deligne, in stead of eight dayes concluded on at Bouvines, he lets passe a moneth and more. But the Kings great instance, and his army which lay houerling in Champagne, as ready to succour the Lorraine, and to crosse the Bourgongne in that enterprise, the conquest whereof he greedily pursued, to vnite his Territories, and to passe freely from Luxembourgin to Bourgongne, (for inioying this Duchy, he came from Holland vnto the Confinnes of the Diocesse of Lion, vpon his owne land) made *Charles* to lend *Himbertcourt*, and the Chancellor *Hugonnet*, (both great enemies to the Constable) to deliuer him at an appointed day, to such as the King should send. *Charles* supposed to haue wonne Nancy by that day, but he was deceived in the time. And in truth they had no sooner left him, but a countermand comes from the Duke, after the taking of Nancy, but too late.

The prefixed day being come, they deliuer the Constable at the gates of *Perronne*, into the hands of the bastard of Bourbon, Admirall of France; *Bouchage*, *Saint Pierre*, *Crispian*, and others: who led him prisoner to the Bastile at Paris; the said Admirall charging the Chancellor, first President, and other Counsellors of the Parliament being there present, in the Kings name, to make a speedy triall of him, vpon his letters written to the King of England, and the Dukes of Bourbon, and Bourgongne. So by iudgement of the Court, giuen by the President *Popincourt*, he was beheaded at the Greue, the 19 of December, and by an especiall grace was buried at the Gray-Fryers in Paris. A pittifull spectacle, to see so great a personage laid vpon a scaffold, allied to the houses of France, England, Bourgongne, Sauoy, and many other great personages, the chiefe Officer of this Crowne, mighty in lands, in treasure and in friends, abandoned of his friends, his goods confiscated, degraded of his Offices, and finally to serue as a spectacle to the whole world.

The Constable  
beheaded.

He was witty, valiant, and of great experience: but in his latter yeares bereaued of the grace of God. Let vs apprehend this Oracle: *It is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the liuing God*. The pit he had digged for another, must swallow him vp. He had with all his force laboured to maintaine these two Princes in hatred and mutuall diffention, to subist in the midst of their partialities. He had often and impudently lied vnto them, and being both very reuengefull, it was impossible to auoide their snares. But who can warrant the Duke of Bourgongne from the law *Cornelia*? must his cruell couetousnesse force him to giue security to this poore Lord, to thrust him into an vndoubted ruine. Fourscore thousand Crownes in mouables, and threescore thousand Crownes in ready money which he got by his spoiles, were they valuable to the falsifying of his conscience? God leaues nothing vapunished, and we shall learne hereafter, that this disloyall act in him was the iust ruine of his house: a house for a hundred yeares flourishing in all perfections of felicity, which hereafter shall runne headlong to a strange Catastrophe: and by the means of a young and vnexperienced enemy, weak in regard of the Bourgongnes great and redoubted power: *God resists the high minded, and chooseth contemptible things to ruine and confound the proud*. Let vs with one breath, see the declining and overthrow of this house of Bourgongne.

*Cornelia* of Bourgongne breaks,  
his oath with  
the Constable  
afflicting the  
side of a King.

The violent ambition of *Charles*, had (as we haue heard before) armed him with a boyling desire to be a King; but *Frederic* the third earned it. From that time he still plotted to geth this quality. *René* (before Earle of Vaudemont, sonne to *Ferris* of Lorraine, and of Yoiland, daughter to *René* King of Sicilia, and Duke of Anjou, and of the onely daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, eldest brother to *John* Earle of Vaudemont, Father to the said *Ferris*, and now Duke of Lorraine) had defied him before Nuz, grieved with the Bourgongnes outrages. This is a good expedient to purchase this pretended royalty. Lorraine made him a free passage, to vnite his countries, and moreover, by the conquest of this Duchie, he should qualifie himselfe King of Sicilia, and Ierusalem, the hereditary title of this house. This vent of vaine-glory transports *Charles* into Lorraine: and for pretext of a quarrell, he pretends a great summe of money to be due vnto him by *René*: predecessor: for non-payment whereof (after the taking of many places) he camps before Nancy, besiegeth it, batters it, but takes it not so soone as hee presumed, being valiantly defended beyond his expectation. The King also vnder-hand fauoured this young Duke,

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Duke, procuring him secretly the alliance of the Suiffes, and the Imperiall Townes of Alsatia.

Charles since the siege of Nuz had in pay about a thousand men at armes, Neapolitans for the most part. The Earle of Campobasso commanded foure hundred, a partizan of the house of Anjou, against that of Arragon; and for this cause being banished his country, had always followed Duke René of Sicilia, or Nicholas sonne to John Duke of Calabro and Lorraine: after whose death Charles of Bourgogne entertained many of his servants: especially this Earle, a wicked man and of a corrupt conscience, who in the beginning of the warre of Lorraine entred into practice with Duke René (heire apparent to the house of Anjou, after the death of King René his Grand-father by the mother) promising to prolong the siege of Nancy, and cause defects in necessary things touching the siege. He might well doe it, having more authority in this army then any other Captaine. But behold another act of notable villany.

The Duke of Bourgogne had given him forty thousand ducats before-hand, to take his company. Passing at Lion, to goe into Italy, he grew familiar with a Physician, named Simon of Paüy, giving by him the King to understand, that for an hundred thousand Crownes in ready money, his company entertained, and a good Earle dome, at his request, hee would deliuer him the Duke of Bourgogne, and confirmes the same to Saint Pr, who then was Ambassador for the King in Piemont. Being returned, and his troope lodged in the Country of Marle, he reiterates his offer to the King, to kill the Duke whom he should come to the campe, if he desired not to haue him brought a prisoner into his hands, assuring himselfe to execute it easily: for (saith he) he is accustomed to visit his army, mounted vpon a Nag, and ill accompanied: Or if the King and the Duke should at any time fight a battell, he would turne to the King with his company.

Lewis abhorres the treachery of this wicked wretch, and to shew the Duke his frinds and royall disposition, hee giues him intelligence thereof by Centay. In the meane time Campobasso betrays the Bourguignon all he can from the warre of Lorraine, and makes the taking of Nancy, proue more difficult. The Duke is so much incensed therewith, as from inuiours words, he proceeds to blowes, and strikes him. A blow which the Earle willenue in his time. He dissembles for the present, and Charles either thinking the Neapolitane had forgotten this outrage, or supposing that his hired fouldier had bene bound not to reuenge it, or happily fearing if he lost him, his affaires would receive some dangerous checke, he entertaines him still in his seruice: yea (euen contrary to the Kings aduice) he loued, or made shew to loue him better, supposing that Lewis his intention was, to stir diuision betwixt him and his most trusty seruants. But let vs rather say, that hee which sounds, euen to the deepest thoughts of man, had by a iust iudgement, taken away all apprehension from this Prince, not to taste the wholesome counsels that were giuen him, with most apparent reasons. This proud presumption, like vnto Nemibath, made him conceiue a world of Chimeraes, and bring forth a shamefull confusion, as wee shall see hereafter.

He is now put vp with the new purchase of Lorraine, by the taking of Nancy, without possession of Saint Quintin, Han and Bohain, and with the Constables moueables, he would not make this the limits of his conquests. The Suiffes had incensed him, redressing of the countie of Ferrere for Sigismund Archduke of Austria. Moreover, they had spoiled James of Sauoy Earle of Rhomont, brother to the Prince of Orange of many places lying within their marches. These Noblemen were allied, and parakers to the Duke, and dar'd him on to reuenge. On the other side, the King desired to parke with him, after the manner of Piquigny, wishing him to lodge and refresh his troopes, tired both with the siege of Nuz, and the warre of Lorraine, and to grant a peace to this mountaine Nation, being poore but yet froward. But Charles prefers the violent passions of his ambition, before the honest and wholesome counsell of Lewis, and enters into Suifferland. The Cantons bearing of his approach, intreat for peace: they offer to yeeld vp the place in question, and by a second Ambassage, to renouance all alliances that should dislike him, especially the Kings: to seruise him against all men, yea against the King, with six thousand men, for what pay he would giue them, and as often as he would call them. If he did triumph over them by an absolute victory, there were no profit to be found, seeing the spurres of his horses, and the bits of his horses, were of more value then all their country.

Charles makes  
an vniuelt  
prention into  
Lorraine.

Campobasso  
a traitor to  
Charles of  
Bourgogne.

He offers to  
kill the Duke.

Lewis dis-  
cusses his trea-  
son to Charles.

Charles strikes  
Campobasso.

The Suiffes  
entreat peace  
of Charles  
with great  
submission.

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A But here suffeth all accord, no prevention can stop this theme. He marcheth, and after this imaginary conquest of the Cantons, he passeth the Alpes, and takes hold of Italy, for that Frederic Prince of Tarentum; son to the King of Naples, was lately come to him, with hope to marry his daughter. Moreover, old King of Sicilia, brother of Anjou, and uncle to the King, (being his sonne John), and his Grand Child, who were deceased, promised to resigne vnto him his pretensions of Sicilia: to aduise him for his sonnes heire, and soome after to put ties his hands the Earle dome of Provence. But we shall see later the causes that moued him to this attempt: he passed about all things as for the goodly estate of Milan, where he presumed to haue great influence.

The Ambassadors being returned the Suiffes protest against his submission, and of their desire to pacifie all things, calling God and the world to witness, and then they prepare for their defence: Charles for the first fruits of his army, fortified with French and hand men from the Duke of Milan, and five thousand from the Duchesse of Sauoy, forsooke he lowes strangers before their own subjects, and the troubles of the mountaine, which hee con- coine a hatred and deuotion against them, hee takes Lorraine, a mountaine towne, seated vpon the Lake Lemans, with other places in the Country of Vaux, calling the Cantons for the most part to be hanged. Then he brings the whole body of his army, being about fifty thousand men, and five hundred pieces of Artillery of all sorts before Granfont, lying neare to the Lake of Yuerdun, which belonged to Rhomont, being defended by seven or eight hundred Suiffes of the Canton of Bernie. He battens, makes a breach, and gives an assault, with the losse of a hundred men. But the battérie continuing, the defendants (not able to hold the towne) flee it, and reuerge the Castle, where standing many towers beare downe, they compoind to haue their liues saved. An accord was then broken; for hee caused fourescore to be hanged (some write five hundred and twelue) hee shewes two hundred, and puts the rest in prison. A detestable cruelty, and to add vnto all the Cities vpon the Rhine, as they lend men to the Duke of Lorraine and the Suiffes to their aide.

Hee is nothing amazed therewith; but for the stately entertainment of Ambassadors that came vnto him from diuers Countreies, namely from Germany and Italy, hee shewes himselfe in his campe with incredible pompe and state: pavilions and rich tents, glittering armes, goodly standards, vessels of gold and silver, of inestimable value, rich apparell, exquisite Tapistry, Jewels, precious stones, and other costly ornaments: to conclude, the goodliest furniture that might beautifie a campe. The Suiffes not yet aduertised of the losse of Granfont, send foure or five thousand men to reuenge it: But too late. The Duke (contrary to the opinion of the best aduised) goes to meet them. They campe at the entry of the mountaine, hold the straits of hard access, and of great aduantage for the foot, and dangerous for the horse, where one man might kill fifty. But hee was (as the proverbe saies) mounted to the Pies nest, and God blinding his understanding, prepared an exemplary abatement of his pride. He sends a hundred archers before, to seize on a passage of the mountaine, who discover not an ambush of hor that kept it, the which suffer a part of the foreward to enter, whereas the battell could not succour them, when they charge with such resolution and fury, that with this terror the Bourguignons flee, and fall vpon the other part, which was yet in the plaine, which likewise turnes head towards the campe, the battell and reuerge seeing the foreward in rout, shrinke presently, and notwithstanding all the Dukes labour to stay them, they save their liues by flight. All informed of the small numbers of their enemies, who pursue them with all fury, Charles himselfe was forced to loyne with them that fled, abandoning both campe and artillery, to save their persons, staying in no place vntill he came to Iogne, fifteen or sixtene leagues from Granfont. A faster flight then the pursuit, for want of horses, so as the Duke in the midst of so great a terror, lost but seven men at armes, but very many foot. This happened the second day of March.

A day not so famous for the losse of men, as of spoile, esteemed at three millions, where with the Suiffes (not so cunning in those dayes as now) made themselves rich, although they were ignorant of the value of things. For a proofe of their gresse and rude ignorance the Original officers: that they did reare in peeces the goodliest and most sumptuous pavilions in the world, to appaile themselves. That a fouldier did sell a silver dish like better for two pence half pny. Another taking vp the case of the Dukes great Diamond, whereat

The Suiffes  
arme for their  
defence.

Granfont tak-  
en, and the  
fouldiers cru-  
elly and trea-  
chously slaine.

The overthrow  
of Granfont,  
where Charles  
lost all his bag-  
gage.

Estimated at  
three millions.

But



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whereat did hang a great pearle: the which he viewing put vp againe, and so cast it into a Cart, comming afterwards to fetch it, he sold it to a Priest for a florin worth twentie pence: the Priest fent it vnto their Lords, who gaue him fixe shillings. They hold it to be the goodliest in Christendome. Besides many others, they got three pearles of estimable value, the which they called the three brethren, with two other the most famous that could be found.

To conclude, whatsoever the Duke had of rich or sumptuous, he caused to be buried after him in ostentation, to shew his superfluous and fearefull greatnesse vnto his posterity. So the eternall God did signifie vnto Ezechias by Esay. *That all the treasures of his house, silver and gold, his sweet perfumes, and precious oymment, with all his artillery, yea, all that was found in his treasures, all that was in his house, all that his fathers had gathered together, that day should be carried vnto Babylon: for that he had made a shew to the Ambassadors of Baggadad, Baladan, the sonne of Baladan King of Babylon.*

The Swisses revenge the cruelty of Charles at Granfons.

Lewis fears the good successe of Charles.

Presently after this battell the Swisses recover their lost places, take downe their companions and bury them, and hang vp many Bourguignons with the same halckers: the King remained at Lion, attending the successe of the Bourguignons forces, fearing exceedingly, lest he should subdue the Cantons. He disposed of the house of Sauoy, as his owne: the Duke of Milan was his ally: he held Lorraine, and hoped for Provence, which succeeding his power extended from the Westerne Sea vnto the East: and France had had no issue out, but by the Dukes fauour, or by sea: for the preuenting whereof, Lewis sent often to the Duchesse of Sauoy his sister in law (being wholly at the dukes command) to Rene his vnckle, being much incensed against him, so as he would, feare heare his messengers, to the Princes and commonalties of Germany, who returne him an answer vnto the King, that if he warre not against him, *we will make you peace, and marry our sister against him.* This was it he feared, yet would he not breake the truce, neither haue Charles discouer the messages he sent. But now the Bourguignons shipwracke cheered him, grieved only at the small number that were slaine.

The Duke fears the King should breake the truce.

The Duke on his part was toucht with teare, and to preuent it, he sends *Contray* to the King, charged with humble and gracious speeches, contrary to his custome. Hee beseecheth his Maiesty to obferue the puce lloyally, excuseth himselfe that he did not assist either way neere vnto Auxerre, and promitteth to be there shortly, or wherefoeuer it should please the King. The King assures him of his demands, neither was it yet time to doe otherwise, but to keepe himselfe in the shade, whilest that Charles chafed. Lewis was well acquainted with the loyalty of the Dukes subiects, who would easily crosse him, seeing him oppressed with aduersitie. One mischiefe comes neuer alone: the losse, shame, and disfigurement, to see himselfe vanquished, layes him sicke in his bed. But behold a rough charge in prosperity friends come by hundreds, in aduersity they flie by thousands. When duke of Milan leads the dance, he was allied to Charles by reason of his practices in Italy, which being dissolued by his check, he sends a Citizen of Milan to the King, he desired him from making a peace with the Bourguignon, and to preuent it, he offers him a hundred thousand Ducats presently. The King detecting the inconstancy of this man, who three weekes before was estranged from him, hunting after the Bourguignons fortunes, with a great and solemn Ambassage: considering also, that their wiues were sisters, and his couetous proceeding: he reiects his money, reproacheth the little loue he bare his brother in law, but in the end he accepts of his alliance. Rene King of Sicilia seconded him. Charles had already (vpon the hope which this good old man gaue him) sent the Lord of Chastelauguion into Piedmont, with twenty thousand Crownes, to make a leaue of men, to take possession of that Earldome.

But vpon this defeat, he was happy to saue his person, and to lose but his sister, sent on for the King by Philip of Sauoy Earle of Breffe. Vpon this amazement, Lewis sends his vnckle, desires him to come, and to assure himselfe of good entertainment, else he would prouide by force. John Cisse Seneshall of Provence, an honest man, and of a good house in the Realme of Naples, perswaded his matter to this voyage, giuing the King no vnderstanding, that the treaty of Rene with the Bourguignon (the which he himselfe had procured) ended to no other end, but to let the King know the wrong he had done his vnckle, hauing taken from him the castles of Barre & Angiers, and intreated him ill in all his other affairs, and that he neuer had any will to performe the accord. A liberty of speech very pleasing

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unto Lewis, who from that time respected his vnckle, and they liued like good friends. Then Rene made a transaction with the King, that after his death the Earldome of Provence should returne to the King, and be incorporate to the Crowne.

Lewis reconciled to the King of Sicilia.

In doing whereof, the Queene of England, daughter to the said Rene, and widow to Henry the sixth, King of England, whom Edward held prisoner, was redeemed by the King, for fifty thousand crownes. For this cause she yeelded vnto the King all the right she might pretend to the said county, and for a certain pension which the King assigned her during her life. The Duchesse of Sauoy sent Montigni secretly, to reconcile her to the King, yet will she try the issue of the Dukes fortune. The Princes of Germany, and the Imperiall townes, who before were enforced to temporize, now shew themselves enemies, and turne from him.

Fredricke, Prince of Tarentum, grieved with the strange dissembling, touching the pretended marriage, leaues him: and soone after returning into France, he maries a daughter of Sauoy, the Queens sister. What then? Shall he flie to his Hollanders & Fleminges? But he knowes their inconstancy, and that they shall forsake not his flight: yet he sends his Chancellor Hugonnet, with twelve Commissioners, to require aide of men and money from his subiects, who returne with this resolution: That if the Duke their Lord were prisoner, they would mortgage and sell their liuinges to redeeme him: that to disswade him from the war, and draw him home into his countries, they would assist him with all their power. But to continue it, they are not reloued to doe any thing. To conclude, every bird had his pecke at this Owle. Euen as when a tempest overthrowes some great tree, every one tears off a branch. He yeelds not yet, but would be ashamed to confesse himselfe beaten by such a wretched people: and although all these crosses had wonderfully increased his sicknesse, and that heauinesse, melancholy, chollier, and other passions had altered his blood, with great prejudice to his health: yet he gathers together the peeces of his wracke, and within few months goes to field with his army. Hauing staied some space at Lauzan, he went the ninth of Iune to campe before Morat, a small towne two leagues from Berne, belonging to the Earle of Rhomont, who led the foreward. Anthony, battard of Bourgongne camped vpon the Lake with thirty thousand foot and horse. The Duke lodged in the mountaine, and Rhomont vpon the descent towards the Lake, with 12000 foot.

Charles armed againe.

He besiegeth Morat.

The Cantons were sooner in armes at this shooke, then at the other: and if beefore they gaue him a light defeat, they shal now giue him a generall overthrow. In their league are numbered twenty townes, prelates, and commonalties: Zurich, Befne, Lucerne, Uri, Suize, Vnderual, Zug, Glaris, Fribourg, Soleurre, Basil, Chasthouze, Appenzel, Sangall, the Grisons, the Earle of Tocquebourg, the Abbot of Sangall, Valois, la Caffe, Dye, and the ten iurisdiccions of Malny. All these did furnish eleven thousand Pikes, ten thousand halberets, 10000 shot, and 4000 horse: and the King, who made war against the Bourguignon, at another mans cost, had vnder hand giuen the Duke of Lorraine meats to ioyn with six hundred men at armes. Moreover, the townes of Rhine, Songoy, and Ferrere, had sent a supply of three thousand men.

All these forces being ioyned, the two and twenty of Iune, beheld at the first encounter, the foreward is so violently charged, as the Earle of Rhomont is forced to save himselfe with ten or twelue horse. The Garison of Morat falls out, and ioynes with the Duke of Lorraines troopes; they charge the Bourguignons campe, force it, and overthrow him with a horrible slaughter of his men. He recouers Belanson by the swiftnesse of his horse, and from thence Riuere, in the county of Bourgongne. In this battaile died about eighteen thousand men (others say two and twenty thousand seven hundred) and of Swisses fiftie men only. At this day are seene the spoiles of this battaile, in a chapel, built where the battaile was fought, and filled with the bones of such as were slaine. The Swisses pursuing their victory, take all the places of the county of Rhomont, and along the Lake Lemane, euen vnto Geneva, which are at this day vnder the iurisdiction of Berne, and the Bishopp of Basil, & razed many places & castles vpon the Marches of the Franche countie. The duke of Lorraine, hauing a good share in this notable victory, with his French troopes, and some supplies from the confederates, recouers Vaudmont, Espinal, Nancy, and some other places by composition. Now is Charles of Bourgongne exceeding heavy, and for that the house of Sauoy had beent the chiefe motive of this

Charles is out of thirrowne.

M m

war

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shortly surpriseth, he Dukes of Savoy with her youngest Son.

Louis fetcheth at liberty.

Nancy taken by René, and besieged by Charles.

An assembly of Campy held.

warre: (whereof the first firebrand had bene for some carls laden with skins, taken by Rhomont from a Suisse) and doubting lest the would speedily be reconciled to the King, he sends to take her by force, and brings her to Roure near Dijon, with her youngest sonne since Duke of Savoy. *Philibert* the eldest, then Duke, was with the helpe of some servants of his house retired to Chamberi. The King, who neuer lets slip any advantage, and who politically builds vpon anothers shipwracke, treats with the Bishop of Geneva, a sonne of Sauey, a man of a free disposition, & gouerned by a Commander of Rhodet, both tractable, who deliuer into his hands the Castles of Chamberi, Montemelin, and another place, in the which were all the Duchesse Jewells. Shee seeing her selfe deprived of libertie, dissembles no longer, but sends *Riverok*, a Gentleman of Pichonay, to the King to mediate her peace; but with all the surety that might be: knowing well that it was dangerous to displease him, beseeching his Maestie to free her. *René*, a better brother than the had bene a sister, sends to deliuer her; by *Charles* of Amboise, Lord of Chaumont, Gouernour of Champagne, who brought her to Plessis by Tours; where the King was returned: who hauing rebounced the alliance of Bourgogne, recovered her children of the King, with the places, Jewells, and all things that belonged to her, and then conducted her home at his owne charge. But *Charles*, is he tired? So many graces, so many losses of men of war, places, friends, and treasure, haue all this daunted him, as he hath lost all courage. He is now solitary at Riuerok, sad, morose, and grieved, displeased in himselfe, wayward to his seruants, despised of his subjects, and hated of his friends, and hateful to all the world: he seeks neither comfort or counsel of any man, and his great austerity is the cause that no man dare giue it him. And doubtless these encounters were sufficient to make him lay aside armes; and humbly to acknowledge, that the scourge of God doth aduertise vs, that we are strayed from our duties, and to lift vp our eies, hands, and hearts to heauen, there to seeke for consolation, and among men, rather restoring that which we haue pulled from others vnjustly; then continuing obstinate in our reuenges.

But Nancy must be the place of his funerall, it was wonderful contradiotions for his passage to his other Signeuries; but his army being vtterly ouerthrowne, it was not possible to leaue new troopes so speedily, to succour the Lord of Beures, of the house of Cury, who defended it against the Lorain. *Campobasso* did diuert him, shewing that the ciuill war but slackly besieged, that it was needfull to breathe, and to refresh his spirits tyred with the forepassed toyles; & in the meane time continues his practices with Duke René, who pressed him still for succours, yet could he not arise vnill the day it was yielded, with his forces as he could get out of Flanders, Luxembourg, and Bourgogne. Hee beseegeth againe before it could be fortified and victualled, and within few daies brings it to such a famine. The Lorraine, not yet strong enough, attending such troops as came to him out of Germany, and Suisse, land, adventures a company of soldiers, carrying some victuals. They crosse through the Campe maintaining the skirmish, whilst that such a cold meale entred the towne. *Cyffon*, a gentleman of Prouence, and Steward to the Duke of Lorraine, was taken prisoner amongst others. *Charles* commands he should be hanged. This gentleman had bene the actor betwixt *Campobasso*, and Duke René. Seeing that he must of necessity die, he desires *Charles* to heare him, & that he would discover a matter which concerned his person. *Charles* answers in choller, that they were but *foes*, and *Campobasso*, fearing his tongue, doth hasten both the Duke and Prouost to this execution for (said he) by the law of armes, euery one that seeks to relente a place after the Canon hath played, and is taken, deserves death. *Cyffon* makes a new request, and the Duke sends to know what he would say. He refuseth to reuelate it but to the Duke himselfe, and as they returned with this answer to the Duke, *Campobasso* remaining at the chamber doore, where the Duke was writing with a Secretary, makes them believe that the Duke pleasure was, that they should dispatch him; and to *Cyffon* was hanged. He still continues his siege, and neither famine, losses, the season of the yeare, nor his weak army, nor the great succours which he sees comming to the Lorraine, nor the secret aide the King gaue vnto his enemy; neither *Alphonse* King of Portugal, his cousin Germane, who then attended some succours from the King at Paris, against the Castilian, and went expressly to him to mediate a peace, to be the sooner dispatched (for the King excused himselfe vpon the illne he feared of this war of Lorraine) could moue him.

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Nancy retaken by the Duke René.

The integrity of the Suissein old time.

The battaile of Nancy.

Charles comes to Nancy.

A Nancy pressed with famine, was ready to compound, if *Campobasso* had not by secret intelligence renewed their spirits: when as beheld the Duke of Lorraine comes with an army of foureteeen or fifteene thousand men, French, Suisse, Germans and Lorraines, and lodgeth at Saint Nicholus of Varengeuille. *Campobasso*, notable to do the Bourgignon a greater dispiight, leaves him with nine-score men at armes with him, & the Lords of Ange & Montfort with six-score, & they go to René. A great maine for the Duke, whose troops were but bare and weak. Notwithstanding vpon the Suisse protestation, that they would not fight in the company of a traitor, the Duke sends him to Conde, a castle vpon the riuer of Moselle, a passage for victuals which came to *Charles* from the valley of Luxembourg & Meux. He takes this passage and stops it with trees and carts, to flay the sight of such as should think to saue themselves, foreseeing already the Bourgignons duertchur, hoping by this means to haue a share of the booty, and prisoners, as it happened indeed. But the foulest & most treacherous act of his tragedy is, that he left men furnished to begin the fight at the first charge, and others to obserue the Duke, & if he fled, to kill him. *Charles*, vnderstanding these newes, hearkeneth thereto (contrary to his custome) yet hee follows not the aduice of his counsell. The most experienced, counselled him to retire to Ponra Moufou, which he held yet, and to fortifie himselfe there, suffering them to victual all Nancy. They told him, that the Germans loued the ayre of their hot houses too well, that René would want money, so all would disband, without meanes to ioine together againe in long time: that their victualling could not be so plentifull, but it would be spent before the middle of winter, & in the meane time he should refresh his army, increase his troops, and furnish himselfe with all things necessary, seeing that he had money, which was the finew of war. A wise counsell, but *Charles* hasteth to his ruine. He had in his army but 4000 men, whereof not about 1200 were in case to fight, yet by the aduice of some foolish people hee will hazard a third battaile, exposing a handfull of men ill armed, and ill mounted, panting yet with the first and second encounters, against an army fresh, lusty, and glorious with two notable victories. The fifth of January, vpon twelfth Eue, René puts his army into battaile, neare vnto a lake at Neuville. The Germans and Suisse diuide themselves into two battallions: the Earle of Abstein, and the Gouernours of Zurich and Fribourg lead the one, the Aduoyers of Berne and Lucerne the other; the rest, both French and Lorraines, march vnder their ensignes: one battallion goes towards the riuer, the other takes the high-way from Neuville to Nancy.

The Duke of Bourgogne attends them firmly, in a place of strength & aduantage, hauing before him a little riuer, betwixt two strong heag-rows, neare to the hospital of Magon, & at the entry of this great high-way (where one of the battallions matched) *Charles* had planted the greatest part of his artillery, which shunders vpon the Suisse at their first approach, but with small hurt, being far off. This battallion leaves the high-way, & moueth vntowards the wood, coasting along the Dukes army. The duke takes his archers to run head, appointing two wings of men at armes, the one led by *James Giliot*, a Neapolitan, & another man and a valiant Captain, the other by the Lord of Lajain, lieutenant of Flanders. This battallion hauing gotten the aduantage, on the higher ground, stands firm: then like vnto a violent streame it falls vpon the Bourgignon army, & with a thundering toly of shot defeats the foot. At the same instant the other battallions charge *Giliot* squarons, who behaued him selfe like a wife & valiant Captain, but the horse seeing the foot men amazed, leaue all & flee after. The other wing, commanded by *Lajain*, maintains the fight, but vnable to withstand the violent shocke of the Suisse, in the end they giue way, and turne towards the bridge of Bridores, where was the greatest, few of their men that fled. This bridge is halfe a league from Nancy towards the Lionville, & Luxembourg; *Campobasso* had stopp the passage, so as all such as took that route, were either slaine or would, if any recovered the woods, the peasants beat them downe with leuts. A chad which continued from noone, vntill two houres with a night. *Charles* thinking to take himselfe, was ouerthrowne by a troope of men that followed him; discomfured by them; which the wayfarer *Campobasso* had left to obserue him, and vpon the way, hee was taken. The dead he was found among the dead, lying frozen in a ditch well knowne by many of his household seruants. He had three wounds, one with an halbard above the eare, which cutt vnto the teeth, the second with a pike, the third with the right hand, the fourth by the fundament. René caused him to be honourably buried in Saint Georges Church at Nancy.

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Nancy. In this Battaille there died three thousand Bourguignons, and there were taken the Earle of Nassau, the Marquis of Rothelin, an English Earle, *Anthony and Baldwin* brethren, bastards to the Duke (whose ransoms the King did pay) and many gentlemen. The booty was small, but the victory of Granfon was yet fresh, & as they then did sing, *He lost his goods at Granfon, his men at Morat, and his life at Nancy.* Behold this great *Nembroth*, who made himselfe equal with Emperours, and yielded not to the great kings: before time the terror of Christendome, feared by his subiects, sought to by his neighbours, who had purchased to himselfe the surname of terrible, and warrior, driven with ambition, transported with the desire of anothers estate, now confounded with his owne greatnesse, who with his fall ruines his house. Doubtlesse, the daies of mortall man are like to graffe, he fades like the flower of the field, for the winds passing over it, it is no more, nor the place thereof knowne. Shame and destruction follow pride at the heeles. And the dooth judge by the effects, that the chiefe causes of his ruine were couetousnes, pride, and cruelty: couetousnesse, in that contrary to his honor and faith, he had deliuered the Constable, for the greedy desire he had to enioy Saint Quintin, Han, and Bobain, and some moorables: Pride, in that God hauing raised him to greater dignity then any of his predecessors, accompanied with many goodly and singular graces, yet he thought that the habitable earth could not prescribe limits to his conquests; attributing all to his owne force, and not to the power of the eternal; and the happie successe of his affaires to his owne iudgment: Cruelty, for that in the war of Liege, he had bathed himselfe in the blood of his poore Subiects, glutting his wrath with that sex and age whom the rigour of war doth easily pardon.

The causes of his ruine.

And what shall we say of the right hands he caused to be cut off, of those poore soulers at Nasse? Of the fires wherewith he hath wasted so much countrey? Of the Souldiers hanged at Granfon, after they had yielded vpon his faith giuen to the contrary; & of that had hanged a gentleman being taken in the war. He had good parts, valiant, painefull, diligent, desirous to entertaine men of merit, liberal, but with discretion, to the end the many might taste of his bounty. He gaue aduice privately, honoured strangers, and receiued Ambassadors with State. But since the battaille of Montlery, presuming by his only valor to haue forced a mighty King to leaue him the field, he conceiued to ouercome a presumption of himselfe, as neuer after would he beleue any other counsel but his owne: attributing the issue of his enterprises to his owne iudgment and industrie, without obliuiousness a constancy in his vnmeasured desires; as in the end it was his confusion. *So the voice of the Eternall breaks downe the Cedars: yea, the Eternall beates downe the Cedars of Libanus.* But let vs note the iudgment of God, that before Nancy he deliuered the Constable, and before Nancy he was betrayed by *Cambisasso*. And let vs obserue the like in our daies as we shall see hereafter. Eleven daies before this battaille, *Galeas* Duke of Milan was murdered in a Church by *Andrew* of Lampognio, a Milanoise, who leauing a Son very young, left withall many discords for the government of the Duchie, amongst many Noblemen, one amongst them called *Robert* of *S. Severin*, near kinsman to the Duke, banished from his house by the stronger faction, retired himselfe into France, hoping to persuade the King to attempt something against the State of Milan. *Lewis* taught by former experience, that the French haue alwaies lost easily and with shame, that which they had gotten with much paine and sweat in Italy, would not hearken vnto it, nor be so easily succors for the relief of the Florentines, being ancient friends & allies to the French, against whom *Pope Sixtus*, and *Ferdinand* King of Naples made war. But for that he would not seeme vnto abandon them, he sent the Lord of *Argenton* vnto them with some troopes leauied in the State of Milan, as we shall shortly see.

The disposition of Charles of Bourgoigne.

Galeas Duke of Milan murdered.

The practices of the Duke of Britany.

But what doth *Francis* Duke of Britany, hauing lost one of the chiefe supporters of his building? He sees, that three of the strongest heads of the Common-wealth are cut off, *Charles* Duke of Guienne, and *Charles* Duke of Burgongne; and he knows full well, that the King will not leaue this outrage vnreached vpon such its remaine. The peace made at the Abbey of victory had bene confirmed by the Estates of Britany, sworn by his Deputies renounced all pretension to this Duchie, but he forgets nothing, though hee sleepes. He is now freed from his most mortall enemy: by all probabilities he should hereafter employ his forces in Britany: he must therefore warrant himselfe with some notable support, and make some provision from the English.

This

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Discouered by the Kings

A This negociation required much secrecy and silence, for *Lewis* was exceeding ielous, and discouered cunningly such practices. So as the subtilty were surprisid in their owne subtilties. *Peter Landays* Treasurer of Britany, was the man best acquainted with the dukes most secret intelligences, and vnder him, *William Gueguen*. For the dispatches for England hee vsed one *Maurice Bromel*, who for three yeares space was the messenger to carry letters betwixt the duke of Britany and the King of England. It chanced that *Bromel* passing at some port, discouered himselfe to a seruant of the Kings, who presently advertised his Maiesty. *Lewis* did cunningly make his profit of these aduentures: Yet must hee not rashly apprehend the companion, thinking it best to discouer more. The King tooke win this messenger, cunningly employes a certain man of Chierebourg in Normandy, who could counterfeite the Dukes hand, the King of England, and their Secretaries. This Agent for the King, treats with *Bromel*, and for a hundred crownes for every letter coming from either part, gets a promise of him, and a place appointed to deliuer the letters, and to receive his money. The Agent made copies, counterfeited their hands, and bringing them vp with a feale either counterfeite, or stolne by *Bromel*, he sent the copies into England, and brought the King the originals. In the end, two and twenty letters, what of the Duke and *Edwards*, fell into the Kings hands, without discouery.

And although the Duke fought to the English more to defend him at need, then to offend, yet would he maintaine himselfe in the Kings good fauour. For this effect, one day among others, he sent *Chauwin* his Chancellor, the Seneshall of Vannes and others of his Councell, to giue *Lewis* to vnderstand the deuotion he had to his seruice. At that time the King pursued his conquests vpon the heire of Bourgoigne, being ready to besiege Arras as we shall presently shew. Being ariued, they are all committed prisoners, and sequestered vnder diuers guards. After two dayes, the King sends for the Chancellor, reproacheth him, that hauing often conferred with him of the affaires of Britany, holding him for an honest man, he findes it strang, that he had alwaies so constantly assured him, that his master had no secret intelligence with the King of England, seeing that now the contrary was manifest. The Chancellor continues in this protestation, and for more assurance engageth his life; but twelue letters written by *Gueguen* and signed by the Duke, and ten others by *Edwards*, make him hang downe his head, and to confesse himselfe faulty. But for his owne particular, he protests of his innocency, & in case that he or his companions deputies, be found to haue bene acquainted with this intelligence, he will lose his life. The King is satisfied herewith, he returns them backe without any further audience, and giues them the originall, for a prooue against the Duke. He iustly complaines, that making shew to fauour him, he doth notwithstanding practise with the most ancient enemy of the crowne. That if he do not renounce all intelligence with the King of England, he will not take him for his friend. *Chauwin* being returned, makes his report deliues the Kings commandement, his answers, his countenance in speaking, the accents of his words, and the consequences that might ensue. He beseecheth the Duke to retire himselfe in priuate, and then to versifie his sayings, he laies vpon the table the two and twenty letters.

Lewis discouers the Duke of Britany Letters to his Chancellor.

The Duke amazed to see that plainly discouered, which hee thought to haue bene known but to two, sends for *Landays* & commands him vpon his life to tell him, by what means they might fall into the Kings hand; the which must needs proceed from one of the two. *Landays* knows the hands and seals, but cannot conceiue the residue: and all amazed he offers himselfe to prison, and to lose his life, if hee bee any way found guilty. Then he remembers that only *Bromel* had alwaies carried & re-carried these letters: they must kinde out him (being then employed in that action) & make him vnfold that doubt. He therefore sends after him in post, & takes him at Port-blanc, where he attende a winde to imbarke, and was brought to Nantes. His confession did absolve *Landays*, & he was cast into the Riuer in a Sack very secretly, left the King should be aduertised thereof, who sufficiently informed of the Dukes ill mind, turned his armes into Britany. But the war against *Mary* of Bourgoigne troubled him sufficiently, yet to proceed with some lawfull pretext, he would fortifie himself with a grant he obtained from the Lord of *Boufflac*, & of *Nichole* of Britany his wife, the only heire of *Charles* of Britany, Earle of *Ponthieure*: a house which in old time did quarrel for the succession of this Duchy, by the which transaction, in the yeere 1479, the 19 of Ianuary, they yielded vnto him all the rights they might pretend to the said Duchy. But it is now incorporate to the crowne, by a iuster title then by armes.

The Duke of Britany amazed to see his intelligences discouered.

Mm 3

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By what means, Abbeville, Dourlans, Montreuil, Roye, Montdidier, Peronne, Han, Bohain, Saint Quintin, Tournai, Arras, Hesdin, Boulogne, Terouenne, Douay, and other places were reduced to the Kings obedience, and Bourgongne united to the Crowne.

The first intelligence the King received of the overthrow of Charles of Bourgongne, gave no assurance of his death; for by means of the posts he had newly established, he had speedy aduice. Thereupon he resolves to enter Bourgongne with the army he had in Champagne and Barrois, attending the Duke, and upon this sodaine terror to fall upon the country. And he imagined to have both right and means to do it: right, for rebellion and treachery committed against the Crowne; means, for that the flower of all the Nobility of Bourgongne was lost and all his forces dispersed. If happily the Duke lived, this would be his ruine. It was also, to keepe the Germanes and Suisses from the possession thereof, and to save the Province from ruine, loath to suffer a stranger to sit thereon, seeing it holds in souerainety of him.

In the meane time he giues away, (in case the Duke be dead) some lands which the Duke possessed, and sends the Admirall with the Lord of Argenton, with authority to open all pacques vpon the way; and if the Duke were dead, to receive into his obedience all such as would yeeld themselves. Vpon the first day of their journey they had certayne aduice by a messenger which the Lord of Craon sent to the King. Abbeville made them so to the rest. The Admirall, and Argenton had sent a man before, to treat with the leaders, who attending the coming of these Noblemen, there came forth to the number of foure hundred Lances. Being come forth, the people open the gates to the Lord of Tercy; and they spare the King those Crownes and pensions, which the Admirall by virtue of his warrant had promised the Capitaine. This was one of the Townes which Charles the seuenth, had deliuered by the treaty of Arras: the which should (for want of being male) returne to the Crowne.

Dourlans follows. They summon Arras, the King pretending this towne to be his by confiscation, for not performance of duties, and in case of refusal, they threaten force. The Lords of Rausseign and Cordes make answer to John of Vacquery (afterwards chief president of the Parliament at Paris; that the County of Artois appertained to Mary of Bourgongne, and came to her directly from Marguerite Countesse of Flanders, Artois, Bourgongne, Neuers, and Rhetel, married to Philip the first, Duke of Bourgongne, sonne to John, and younger brother to King Charles the fifth, beseeching him to maintain the truce made with Duke Charles deceased. So they returne without doing any thing, but only won some men, that soone after serued the King well: who (resolving to reduce such places by force, as should disobey his command) goes to Picardy. In this voyage, he causeth his Court of Parliament at Paris to come to Noyon, with the masters of Requests, and some Princes of the blood, to resolve vpon the processe of James of Armagnac Duke of Nemours, and Earle of March, prisoner in the Bastile at Paris, and taken in the year 75 at Carlat, by Peter of Bourbon Earle of Beaujeu, at what time the Dukes wife dyed, partly for griefe, and partly by child-birth. Shee was daughter to Charles of Anjou, Earle of Mayen. By which Court (being found guilty of high treason) he was condemned by a sentence pronounced by John Boulenger the first president, to lay his head vpon a scaffold at the Halles at Paris, on Munday the 3 of August: and was by the like grace buried at the Gray-Fryars, as the Constable had been. He was one of the chiefe of the war for the common weale, whom the King laboured to bring to his end all he could. Lewis is exceeding glad, to haue surmounted his most malicious aduersaries: the Duke of Guigne his brother, the Earle of Armagnac, the Constable, the Duke of Nemours. All the house of Anjou was dead, René King of Sicilia, John and Nicholas Dukes of Calabria, and their cousin the Earle of Mayen, afterwards Earle of Prouence, whose successions he had gotten.

But the more the house of Bourgongne exceeded all the rest in greatnesse and power, hauing with the helpe of the English, continually shaken the estate of this Realme, for the space of thirty two yeares vnder Charles the seuenth; and their subiects being alwayes ready to trouble this Crowne by Wars: so much the more pleasing was the death of their last Duke vnto him, knowing well, that being now freed of his greatest inember, he

Townes in Picardy yeeld to the King.

The Duke of Nemours beheaded.

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A should hereafter finde greater ease. Yet he erred in his proceeding, not taking so good a course, as he had forecalt in the life of Charles of Bourgongne, in case he should die, for allying himselfe by the marriage of the Dauphin, his son, with the heire of Bourgongne, or at the least with some of his princes (for that there was a difference of age betwixt the) he had easily drawn vnto him the subiects of these large and rich Siegneuries, and had persued them from many troubles, the which haue afflicted both them and vs by the same means: and freeing them from warre, hee had greatly fortified his Realme, recouering with small toyle, that which he pretended to be his. The which he might easily effect: for the Bourgaignons were very humble, without support and without forces, nor able to make aboue fiftene hundred horse and foot, which were preferred at this generall overthrow.

But these are humane discourses, wherein hee had done better, then thus resolutely to haue sought the overthrow of that house, and by the ruine thereof, to purchase to himselfe friends in Germany or elsewhere, as he pretended, but without effect. Presently vpon his arrival, Han and Bohain yeelded. Saint Quintin takes it selfe, and calles in the Lord of Mouy. William Bischope, (borne at Molins in Niuernois, a man of bafe quality, but enriched and raised to great authority by Duke Charles,) Gouernour of Peronne, yeelds the place, and the Lord of Cordes inclines to the French party. They failed of their enterprise at Gand, but it succeeded at Tournay. The King had sent Master Oliver le Dain his Surgéon, borne in a village neere vnto Gand, not only to carry letters of credit to Mary of Bourgongne, (who then was in the possession of the Gantois, that suffered no man to speake vnto her, but in the presence of witnesses) perswading her to yeeld vnto the Kings protection, seeing that both by father and mother, shee was issued from the blood of France, (being well assured that he should hardly obtaine her) whilst that he provided her a husband fit for her quality, as also to worke some alteration in the City, they being discontented with the Priuiledges which Philip and Charles had taken from them, and the rigorous exactions they had made. Oliver hauing stayed some dayes at Gand, is called to the Towne-house to deliuer his charge. He deliueis his letter to the Infanta, assisted by the Duke of Cleues, the Bishop of Leege, and other great personages. She reads it, and they call him to deliuer his message. He answers, that he hath no charge but to speake to her in priuate. They reply: It was not the custome, especially to a yong Gentlewoman that was to marry. He insists, that he will deliuer nothing but to her selfe: they threaten him with force: he is amazed, and going from the Councell, (considering the quality of the person) they doe him some disgraces; and if he had not speedily escaped, he had beene in danger to haue had the riuier for his graue. Doubtlesse it is a great hazard, when matters of importance are managed by men of meane estate, and the people thinke themselves contemned, if they be treated with all by men of bafe quality. This barber knew something for to preuent this inconuenience, hee teamed himselfe Earle of Meulan, (others write of Melun) whereof he was Captain. But Lewis reposed great trust in two men of the same sort. Being gone from Gand, he retires to Tournay, the which lies vpon the frontiers of Hainault and Flanders, a strong and a goodly towne, but free, and at that time a neuter, feared fully to keepe those two Provinces in subiection. Oliver was there some dayes without respect, during the which hee corrupted thirty or forty men, and fraught with their promises, hee sent secretly to the Lord of Mouy, that at the breake of a certaine day appointed, he with his company and some other troopes, would be in the suburbs. He comes at the appointed time, and master Oliver with his men giues him entrance, to the content of the people, but not of the Gouernours, of the which hee sent seuen or eight to Paris, who departed not whilst that Lewis liued.

To speake truly, Oliver shewed both wit and valour in this stratagem; and for the action of Gand, he is not so much to be blamed, as he that employed him. Conde, a small towne betwixt Tournay and Valenciennes, cut off all victuals from the French, and hindered the victualing of Tournay. It was taken and burnt, for that it did but employ men which might serue elsewhere, and Tournay was sufficient to keepe the Country in obedience. It seemed that the prosperity of the Kings affaires and his great designs began to trouble his spirits: for prooue whereof, a Gentleman of Hainault (the Original doth not name him) associated with many others, offers to deliuer vp the principall Townes and places of the County. He talks with the King, who likes not of him, nor of the rest

Lewis his error after the death of Charles.

The Surgeons indiscreetness.

The Kings health decayes.

hee

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he named. The reason is, they would sell a good peece of seruice very deare. Yet hee referred them to the Lord of Lude, bred vp from his youth with him. But *Lude* feasted with the same humour, transported with his private profit, demands at the first, what the townes would giue him to manage their affaires. So as the Hannuyer (who would haue no competitor in his gaine) departed without effecting of any thing, and the enterprise proued vaine. Without doubte God would not glut vs with felicity, and it is needfull to haue crosses, to make vs to know our felues. Moreover, it was not reasonable to vsurpe any thing vpon this Countie of Hainault, for that it holds of the Empire, and in regard of the ancient alliances betwixt the Emperours and our Kings, whereby they ought not one to take from another. And for prooue, Cambray, Quefnoy, le Conte, and some other places of Hainault, had willingly put themselves vnder the protection of *Lewis*, the which he deliuered as freely, with the forty thousand Crownes that they of Cambray had lent him, for the charges of the warre.

Ambassie to  
Mary of Bour-  
gogne.

Whilest the King was resident at Peronne, an Ambassie comes to him from the Infanta of Bourgongne, consisting of the principall men about her: as namely, the Chancelier *Hugonnet*, a very wise man, and honourable: *Himbercourt*, a Gentleman experienced in matters of weight: *Pierre*, great Nobleman of Zealand: *Cripture* (otherwise called *Gratise*, or *Grature*) with other Ecclesiasticall and secular men. They intreat the King to retire his army, and that all controversies might be quietly ended, according vnto right and reason. They shew, that by the customes of France, and the ordinances of his Predecessors Kings, the women did succeed in the Counties of Flanders, Arthois and other Provinces thereof. That remaining but one onely daughter of the deceased Duke of Bourgongne, yong, and an Orphelin, he should rather protect, then oppress her. That the marriage of the Dauphin with her, should bee more proportionable, then with the daughter of England. And for the more credit, they brought a letter, written partly by *Mary* the Infanta of Bourgongne, and some part by the Dowager her mother-in-law, Sister to *Edward* King of England, and some part by *Raufsein* brother to the D. of Cleues, and neere kin man to the yong Lady, yet none of any credit but that of the Infanta. This letter gave authority to *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt*, and said moreover: That *Mary* Duchesse of Bourgongne, was refused to gouerne her affaires by the aduice of four persons, the Dowager, *Raufsein*, *Hugonnet*, and *Himbercourt*. *Mary* beseecheth the King, that whatsoever it should please him to negotiate with her, should passe by their hands, and that he should not impart it to any other. The King (fore seeing that by the confusion of this people hee should fettle his affaires) meane cunningly to make his profit of this letter, but not thinking it should cost two so vertuous heads, in sowing diuision betwixt the Duchesse and her lubitors. Yet before he giues audience to these Ambassadors, he treats priuately with either of them, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt*, (whereof the first had all his liuing in Picardy, and the other in Bourgongne,) and they desirous to bee continued in their ancient authorities, giue care to the Kings offers: they promised to sence him, so as the aforesaid marriage might take effect.

Diuision be-  
twixt Mary and  
the Granois.

The rest, whose Estates were not vnder the Kings command, would not tye themselves by promise, but with the alliance of the houses of France and Bourgongne. This was most expedient for the King, but the violent conditions they propounded, withdrew his loue much both from her and them in particular, supposing he should soon haue all, without accepting of a part by an accord. Moreover, he was possessed with a wonderful desire to conquer Arras. The Lord of Cordes might doe much, hee was Lieutenant in Picardy vnder the deceased Duke, Seneschall of Pontieu, Captain of Courtray, Boulongne and Hedin, Gouvernor of Peronne, Montdidier and Roy: he was yonger brother to the Lord of Greuceceur, and already did shew himselfe to be French, his estate lying within the territorie of Beauuais. The townes vpon the river of Somme, by the death of *Charles*, (the last issue male of the house of Bourgongne) returned to the King, and so *de Cordes* became the Kings Legee-man. His duty then bound him to yeelde vnto the King such other places as he commanded, but he was bound by oath to his Mistress seruice. A dispensation will false it. There is no hole but *Lewis* findes a pin for it. Vpon his motion to the Ambassadors, that the deliuerie of Arras would make the way plain for a good peace, and request, that they would be a meane to Cordes to open the City of Arras vnto him, (for in those dayes there were both walles and ditches betwixt the City

Arras yielded  
to Lewis by  
de Cordes.

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A and the Towne) *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* dispence with *de Cordes* off his oath, and consent to the deliuerie of the said City.

He doth it willingly, and sweares fealty to the King, who presently stoppes vp all approaches to the towne, then he goes to incampe before Hedin, leads *de Cordes* with him, whose men made a shew to defend the place, as ingaged by oath to their Lady: for their credits sake they endured the battery some dayes, then seeing their defences taken away, and their loope-holes battered, *Rasse* of Launoi giues care to his Capitaine, & yeelds the Towne. The King for his reward gaue him a chaine of twenty links, and euery link worth twenty Crownes in gold, and a good pension for his maintenance. The taking of Hedin, brought the King to Therouenne and Montreuil, the which easily yeelded to his obedience. Boulongne being summoned refuseth, but being battered, it yeelds the fifth or the sixth day. The towne belonged to *Berrand de la Tour*, Barle of Auvergne: the King finding it commodious for the State of his Realme, compounded, giuing him a sufficient recompence, and as new Lord of the Towne he did homage, without sword or spurres, bare-headed and on his knee, before the virgin *Mary*, offering (as a duty to the said Image) a heart of massie gold, weighing two thousand Crownes: vpon condition, that hee and his successors Kings after him, should hold the Countie of Boullen of the said Virgin, and doe homage vnto her Image, in the Church dedicated to her name, paying at euery change of a vassall, a heart of pure gold of the same weight.

Hedin follows.

Therouenne  
and Montreuil

Lewis purcha-  
seth the Countie  
of Boullen,  
and doth ha-  
mage for it.

C While the King remains at Boullen, those of Arras seeing themselves enuironed on all sides, write to their friends of Lille and Douay, to succour them with some numbers of men: and moreover, they send to the duchesse of Bourgongne, to furnish them with some succours, meaning to put themselves into her hands. The Deputies being two or three and twenty in number, make shew to goe to the King, to treat with him, and vnder this colour they obtaine a passe-port of the bastard of Bourbon, Admirall of France, But being discovered vpon the way to Flanders, they were taken, brought to Hedin, deliuered to the Prouost Marshall, condemned, and eighreene of them beheaded, the rest were saued by the Kings ariall. Amongst them that were executed, there was one *Dardard* of Bussie, borne at Paris, and married at Arras. The King had in former time offered him the place of a Councellor of the Court of Parliament at Paris then voyde, and since hee gaue him the office of Master of the accounts at Arras. He caused his head to be vnburi'd, and (as vpon a pole in the market place, with a red hood furled with mienier, like to the Councellors of the Parliament. A worthy punishment for so malicious an ingratitude.)

The Deputies  
of Arras taken  
and many of  
them executed.

There were some few horsemen at Douay, of the remainders of Nancy: they attire three hundred good and bad, and some few foot, and march at noone day in the sight of Arras. The Lords of Lude and Fou, with the company of the Marshall of Loheac, aduertised of their approach, goe to meet with them, they fight with them, kill and take in a manner all of them. The King at his ariall, called foure-score of these prisoners to be executed, to terrifie those few men of war that remained in the Countie. Some of them enter the town, but they were not able to stand out against so great forces. So as after a hard battery they yeeld by composition: That they should remain vnder the Kings obedience, as their Sovereigne, for want of better males, weapons and amunition, not performing: That the *Souueraigns* and *Tribunes* should be beleaued by the Kings officers, and deliuered by them to *Mary* the Duche of Bourgongne, until she had done homage and taken her oath of fealty to the King her Sovereigne Lord. During which time the Inhabitants should receive no garrison from the King. This was the fourth day of May.

Arras yielded.

These things thus concluded, the King sent the Cardmall of Bourbon, the Chancelor of Orlies, *de Cordes* Gouvernor of the Towne, and *Gautier* of Baylle of Vermandois, to take the oath of fealty of the Inhabitantes. But after this oath, holily and religiously receiued by the Deputies, who took their repast in the Monastery of St. Vast, behold an insolent troope of desperate people comes crying, *Kill, Kill*: yet they were but terrified, and fled themselves presently in the City. This tumult, together with the greedinesse of the Commanders, was the cause the composition was but ill observed: for in the presence of *Laudard* and *Crispin*, many good Citizens and other rich men were spoiled and slaine, and the City burnt with fire and sword, and the King, the which they say was afterwards restored, And to keep their memories in awe, the King transported most of the Inhabitantes of Arras, and planted it with a new Colony of French, commanding it should bee

A multitude of  
Arras, and the  
Deputies  
dangers.



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Infancy of  
the Gantois.Their barba-  
rous cruelty.

be called *Ville Françoise*. At the same time the King advertised, that the Flemings were in armes, and lodged a *Blancosse*, he sent to charge them, but they dislodge at the brunt thereof, yet not so speedily, but they leaue about 2000 men slaine at the first charge; and the like number in the chafe, being pursued eight Leagues within the County of *Flanders*. The French in their returne, razed *Mont-Cassell*, *Fiennes*, and some other places. The *Gantois*, whom the severe punishment of the *Liegeois* had kept in awe, now broke forth. They make a ward of their *Duchesse*, force her to restore their ancient priuiledges, which *Philip & Charles* had taken from them, and suddenly they resolve a deadly revenge, vpon such by whom they say they had been controlled. They lay hold vpon those whom they called their twenty and six *Lawyers*, whom *Charles* had established in the gouernment of the City, and puts them all, or the most part to death. They haue (say they) cut off ones head without any authority, for their power ended with the death of *Charles*. And moreover, they slew many good men within the City, that were wise and faithfull friends to *Charles* in his life. But they proceed yet farther.

The happy course of *Lewis* his conquests doth much amaze them, whereupon they assemble some forme of a Parliament, by aduice whereof they make a motion of peace to the King, by an Ambassage, giuing him to vnderstand, that the *Infanta* of *Bourgonne* is determined to gouerne herselfe hereafter by the aduice and counsell of the three *Estates* of her Countries: they request the King to desist from making war, and to appoint a day when they may quietly pacifie all controuersies. There was nothing at that time able to withstand the violence of the Kings army. The Low-Countries were left naked of soldiers, those which suruiued (being inconstant) had forsaken the *Infantes* service: Her was well acquainted with the inconstancy of this people, not able to digest any man of iudgement that had been in any authority with their deceased Prince. He knew, that his inclination was to loue the declining of their Lord, so as it were not with the prejudice of their Country. And therefore he fore-casts (if he might) to sow some seeds of diuision amongst them, whereby he should greatly incommber them. Hee Bayes the Ambassadors vpon their speech, That their *Princesse* would not conclude any thing without the consell of the three *Estates* of the County: whereunto hee replies, that they spake without warrant, and that he is duly informed, her meaning is to gouerne her affaires by priuie persons, who desired no peace. And vpon their protesting to the contrary, affirming that they were grounded vpon good instructions, the King opens *Maries* letters; brought by *Hugonnet*, *Himbercourt*, and other Ambassadors, at their first Ambassage, and they returne with no other dispatch then this letter.

Behold here a company vnexperienced in affaires, returne light with care, but fraught with reuenge and diuision: they make their report vnto their Lady, assisted with the Duke of Cleues, the Bishop of Legee, and many other great personages. They strike on the firing which they meane to play vpon: that the King had proued them liars, in that they maintained constantly, that the reuerend the gouernment of her affaires to the resolution of the States. And for proof, as they maintained the contrary, nor imagining her letter had beene produced, behold the Pensionary of Gand, a brutish man and without respect, drawes the said letter out of his bosome, and confounds this basefull *Princesse* before the whole Assembly. The Dowager, *Rausseins*, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* were likewise present. The Duke of Cleues treated the marriage of his eldest sonne with the *Infanta*: hee sees himselfe now frustrate by the above-named, so as hee presently becomes a mortall enemy to *Himbercourt*, from whom hee expected fauour in this suite. The Bishop of Legee complained of many disorders committed by him at Legee, where hee had beene gouernment. The Earle of Saint Paul, some to him that was beheaded, loued neither *Hugonnet* nor *Himbercourt*, for they had deliuered his father to the Kings seruants. The *Gantois*, according to their humors, hated them deadly, for that they were men of other religion, and had beene good and loyall to their master.

To be short, the night after the letter was deliuered, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* were tumultuously seized on, and deliuered to (suborned men of their Law: and for that they had caused the City of Arras to be yecked by the Lord of Corbie, as they said, vnto vpon certaine corruption in Iustice, and bribes which (they said) had beene receiued of them of the City of Gand, in a sute against a priuate man, and vpon many extortion in their charges, and other things contrary to the priuiledges of Gand, against the which

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Hugonnet and  
Himbercourt  
condemned to  
be beheaded.

A (say they) who soeuer offends must die, these two required and graue personages, with a shadow of Law condemned by the Sheriffe of Gand, and notwithstanding their appeal before the King in his Court of Parliament at Paris, supposing that their expense and delay, might giue their friends meanes to procure their deliuey, they were most willingly put to death. Oh vniuſt, barbarous, and inhumane people! That thus should the earnest supplication of thy *Princesse*, being in the Towne-house, rather weeping and doling, preface before that mournfull scaffold, were note of sobe to pacifie, and keepe the liues of these two beataichfull seruaunts.

This execution ended, they sequestered from this poore *Princesse*, the *Dowager* and *Rausseins*, who had signed the Letter, they disposing absolutely of her. Posted without doubt, hauing not only lost so many good and great seruaunts; but also seen his selfe now in the tyrannical possession of the ancient persecutors of her house. A great corollie, to be commanded by such as should obey. Afterward they banished whom they pleased, placed and displaced officers after their owne appetites, chafe away indifferently all such as had best deferred of this house of *Bourgonne*. And to continue their popular fury, they deliuered out of prison *Adolfe* Duke of *Guelldres*, whom *Charles* had long detained, and making him their head, they made a leauey in *Gand*, *Bruges*, and *Ypre*, of about twelue thousand men, the which they sent to *Tournay*, and burnt the suburbs, and then they retire. But the garison issuing forth, put wings to their feet: so as *Adolfe* a valiant Prince of his person, turning head to fauour them that fled, and to make the retreat, was over-drowne and slaine, with a great number of his people with him. The *Infanta* was nothing grieved, for if this stratagem had succeeded for the first fruits of his armes, some hold they would haue forced her to marry this *Adolfe*.

But wee haue wandred long enough in *Arthois* and *Flanders*, let us retire a little into *Bourgonne*, and consider how this Duchy became French. *John of Chaulen*, Prince of *Orange*, was in great credit there. He possessed much land, both in the Duchy and County: he was a man of action, and much esteemed in the Country, and pretended some inheritances against the Lords of *Chaugernon* his Vncler. *Charles* of *Bourgonne* had giuen sentence in fauour of his aduersaries, and (as he said) to his great preiudice, for as he had twice left his seruice. Now the question is to win him againe. The King protesteth to iouch him in al those places which he pretends to belong vnto him, by the success of his grand-father, and to giue him good preferments in France. So he makes him in shew the head of that army which the Lord of Craon commanded, being Lieutenant general for the King in *Bourgonne*, whom the King trusted more then the Prince, being rather slight in the change of parties. Craon hauing commandement to enter into *Bourgonne*, sends the Prince of *Orange* before, to pacifie the Towne of *Dijon*. He wrought so perfectly, that *Dijon* and many other places, both of the Duchy and County, did willingly submit themselves to the French command. Auxonne and some other places of France continued still vnder the obedience of *Mary* of *Bourgonne*. Craon seeing himselfe in possession of these places, desired rather to hold them vnder the Kings authority, then to deliuer the to the Prince of *Orange*, notwithstanding the Kings promise and instance, who desired to gratifie this Prince, and yet would not discontent Craon, who commanded the forces. The Prince hauing to doe with a man that would yeeld nothing without good consideration, and seeing himselfe frustrate of his pretensions, he loynes with *Chaftaignon* his brother, and *Claude* of *Vaudry*, a braue Gentleman, raised some troopes, with the which hee draweth from the King the most part of the above named places, with as great facility, as if he had conquered them for him, and then follows the *Infantes* party, whose age and weaknesse, required a great support by some worthy alliance.

There was some speech of *Charles* the Dauphin, but hee was but nine yeares old. The Duke of Cleues laboured for his eldest son, the Emperor for his sonne *Maximilian* King of *Romanes*. *Mary* desired much the alliance of France, but the King had some great dislike, deliueyng her letters to the *Gantois*, the which she had secretly written: which caused the death of those two good men, and the banishment of her most affectionate seruants. Moreover, her Estate required a man to gouerne it. Shee would willingly haue married with the Earle of *Angoulême*, if the King had beene so pleased.

The humours of the heire of Cleues pleased her not, nor such as were about her. The Emperor kept (as a pawne) a Diamond with a letter, which the *Infanta* had written vnto him,

The reuolt of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

1478

Marriage of  
Maximilian  
and Mary,

him, by her fathers command; whereby shee promisseth to accomplish the marriage, in forme, according to her fathers pleasure. He sends it to the duchesse, to auerre her mind, and promise, demanding if he would perfitt therein. She doth auouch the contents, and agrees to make it good. So Maximilian comes to Gand, & there the marriage was consummated. A marriage which should proue a fire-brand, to kindle (by their descendants, both within this Realme, and in many other chaires) the combustuous tumults and furies which haue followed, the which happily had been auoyded by a French alliance. But God hath otherways decreed. This marriage was consummated during the Orangeois reuolt in Bourgongne, the which continued some what long, by the support the Germanes gaue him in fauour of Sigismund of Austria Vncle to Maximilian, who (having his territories adioyning, and especially the County of Ferrette, (the which hee had retired by the Swiss means) would gladly haue gotten somewhat of his neighbours. But the indifferency of Sigismund, and the want of money to pay the Bourguignons, were a means that the King did more easily preuent the Prince of Orange his practices, who now called himself Lieutenant to the said Germanes. They supplied him with some troopes, with the which he recovered almost all the County, continuing his course, vntill that Craun came to besiege him in Grey, a small towne of the said County.

Craun becom  
before Dole.

Chastaignon seeing his brother cooped vp, and the place ready to yeeld to Craun discretion, posts thither with all the forces he can, and comes to charge Crauns army in front, whilst that the besieged should set upon him behind. So charged both before and behind, he found the march hard: yet by the defeat of fourteen or fiftene hundred men, for the most part enemies, and the taking of Chastaignon, hee wonne the victory. Craun leads his army after this victory before Dole, the chiefe towne of the County: but for that he did presse it but slackly, and neglected his enemy, whose forces he knew to be small, he had ill successe: for in a fiercelly they slew many of his men, and carried away a great part of his artillery. This affront brought him in disgrace with the King, who fearing a more dangerous checke, hearing likewise complaints from all parts, of his great exactions and money vniustly taken, puts him from the government of Bourgongne, preferring in his place Charles of Amboise, Lord of Chaumont, a valiant, wise, and vigilant Capitaine. Loue preuaile more then force. He perswades the King to pacifie the Swisses and other Germanes, who followed the Prince of Orange, in fauour of the house of Austria: and to make the way more easie for the King, hee himselfe did pacifie the Commanders.

A league with  
the Swisses.

Then began the Swisses first league with the Kings, the which hee effected by meane of twenty thousand franks he gaue yearely among the Cantons, and the like summe to be distributed among some Capitaines which he employed. And to please them, hee made himselfe a Bourgesse amongst them, and obtained the title of the first allied to their Common-weale. A title which the Duke of Sauoy pretended to bee due vnto him above all others. They likewise for their parts, promised to furnish sixe thousand men to seruise the King continually, for foure Germane Florins & a halfe a moneth, a number which continued alwayes vnto the death of Lewis. The Swisses are now vnder the Kings pay, and the Bourguignons partie much weakened, who assemble the Nobility of the Countrey together, vnder the Prince of Orange, and defeat the companies of Salezard and Cominghen neere vnto Grey. But Amboise (being fortified with men and artillery) takes Vaudemont, Semeur in Laxouis, Chastillon vpon Seine, Bar vpon Seine, Beaulne, and Rochfort neere vnto Dole, belonging vnto Vaudray. Thus having freed all the approaches to Dole, hee camps before it, batters it, makes a breach, giues an assault, and takes it. Some troopes of the townes last subdued thrust themselves into it, either to withstand it from spoile, or to haue a better share, but there enters such a multitude of franks, as it was impossible to faue it from sacke and fire. Yet the King repaired the ruines about the walles, building a great part of the wall towards the riuer of Doux, with a great trench, whereby a great part of the said riuer did run forth, inuironing that part of the wall: but this is nothing, in regard of the fortifications which haue bene since built, whereby it exceeds most of the Cities of Chriftendome, being famous at this day, in Sonate, Vniuersity and Armes.

Auxonne defered a long & sharp siege, but the wisdom of Amboise preuailed so well after the siege of Dole, that (giuing the chiefe offices of the towne, to such as demanded them)

1478

A them) it was yeelded within five or sixe daies, and likewise the Castles of Lou, Saint Agnes vpon Salins, Champagnole, Arguel, and some others built vpon rocks. Beaufort, an Imperial towne, yeelded to the King (by his Lieutenant general) the like duties as they were accustomed to doe the Earle of Bourgongne. Thus Bourgongne being conquered, remained some time in the Kings quiet possession. A young horse hath need of a gentle hand, to make him taste the bit with delight. But Verduin and Beaulne not able to endure the command of the French, began first to kicke, yet by the Gouvernours discretion, they were speedily subdued and recovered from Simon of Quiney, who led a troope of sixe hundred men of foot and horse, Germanes and others, tumultuously assembled in Ferette and thereabouts, to put into the aboue-named places. Verduin was taken by assault, and subiect to the accustomed infolencies in the like prizes. Beaulne yeelded by composition, in the beginning of July, with liues and goods, faued, and for a fine they payed forty thousand crownes. These sudden exploits did so terrifie the other townes, as all kept themselves within their due obedience.

But how doth Edward King of England looke vpon this Theater, where our men play the petty Kings? And how doth he suffer the King without any opposition, to enlarge his estate by the taking of Arras, Boulongne, Hedin, and so many other Townes, and to be lodged many daies before S. Omer? In truth our Lewis had a quicke conceit, and very watchfull. He knew well that the English in general, were wonderfully inclined to war against this Realme, as well vnder colour of their ancient pretensions, as for the hope of gain, incited by many high deeds of armes, wherein they haue often had the aduantage, and of that long possession both in Normandy and Guicenne; where they had commanded three hundred and fifty yeares, vntill that Charles the seuenth dispossed them. That this baite might well perswade them to crosse his designs: these two mighty Princes neighbours, cannot see (without ialousie) the one to grow great by new conquests, and the other to be at quiet. He therefore entertaines Edward with sundry Ambassages, presents, and goodly speeches: causeth the pension of fifty thousand crownes, to be duly payed at London, and some sixteene thousand distributed among such as were in credit about him: so as the profit they drew from the iudicious bounty of Lewis, tyed their tongues, and blinded their eyes. Money was mucke to him in regard of a man of seruice, and he was pleased to vaunt, that the great Chamberlaine (whereof there is but one in England) the Chancellour, Admirall, Master of the horse, and other great Officers of England, were his Pensioners. So hee gaue vnto Howard foure and twenty thousand crownes in money and plate, besides his pension, in lesse then two yeares: and to Hastings great Chamberlaine, a thousand markes of siluer in plate at one time, as appears by their quittances, in the chamber of accompts at Paris.

The politicks  
liberality of  
Lewis.

Lewis had great need to vse this policy and bounty, for this yong Princess did infinitely presse Edward, who for her cause did often send to the king to demand a peace, or at the least a truce; and in the Court of England, there wanted not some to incense Edward, that seeing the term was expired, by the which Lewis should send for the Infanta of England, (whom they called Madam the Dauphine) he would deceiue him. Yet no respect, neither priuate nor publike, could moue Edward: hee was purifie, louing his pleasures, vnable to suffer paine, glorious of nine famous victories, and fraught with home-bred enemies: and about all the loue of fifty thousand crownes (so well payed in his Tower of London) kept him at home. Moreover, the Ambassadors that came from him, returned laden with rich presents, and alwaies with irrefolue answers, to win time; promising speedily to resolve the points of their demands, to their masters satisfaction.

The disposition  
of Edward King  
of England.

But let vs obserue another ingenious policy: Lewis neuer sent one Ambassadour twice vnto Edward, to the end, that if the former had happily treated of any thing that tooke not effect, the latter knew not what to answer, and so ignorance serued him for an excuse with delay of time. Moreover, he instructed his Ambassadors so well, as the assurance of the marriage they gaue to the King and Queene of England (the accomplishment whereof they both greatly desired) made them take hope for payment. Yet the King had neuer any such meaning: there was too great an inequality of age: and thus getting a moneth or two by mutuall Ambassages, he kept his enemy from doing him any harme, who (without the baite of this marriage) would neuer haue suffred the house of Bourgongne to be so oppressed. Another reason dissuaded Edward from embracing of Mariers quarrell.

N n

She

1478

Thereason  
why Edward  
neglected Mary  
of Bourgoigne

She had refused to marry with the Lord *Rivers*, brother to the Queene of England. The which match was not equal, he being but a poore Baron, and thee the greatest heire of her time. And the better to keepe *Edward* quiet, the King inuited him to ioyne with him, and confessed that he should haue for his part the Prouinces of Flanders and Brabant, offering him to conquer for him, at his owne charge, foure of the greatest townes in Brabant, to entertaine him ten thousand English men for foure moneths, and to furnish him with artillery and carriages, so as *Edward* would come in person, and seize vpon Flanders, whilst that he employed his forces elsewhere. But *Edward* found that Flanders and Brabant were hard to conquer, and painfull to keepe: and also the English, by reason of the commodity of their traffike, had no will to this warre. *Tan* (said hee) *since it pleaseth you to make me partaker of your victories, giue mee of those places you haue conquered in Flanders, Bonlogne, and some others: then will I declare my selfe for you, and assist you with men at your charge.* A wife and discreet demand: but those places were no lesse conuenient for *Lewis*, who was loth to bear the burth, for another to get the biras.

It appeares, that *Edward* did wonderfully affect the alliance of France, and feared to giue the King any occasion to inuenge it: so as (some say) he caused his brother the Duke of Clarence to be put in prison, vpon colour that he would passe the seas, to succour the Dowager of Bourgoigne: for the which crime, he was condemned to haue his head cut off, and his body to be quartered, a punishment inflicted vpon traitors in England. But at the treaty of his mother, *Edward* did moderate this sentence, and gaue him the choice of what death he would, whereupon he was drowned in a Pipe of Malmesey. But this Duke was long in law to the Earle of Warwicke, whom *Edward* had slain in batell, as we haue said: and it seemes the greatest crime they could obiect against him, was the priuate hatred which, surpers commonly beare to those who they doubt might but crosse their tyrannicall vspations. But as we haue recreated our selues beyond the Sea, let vs now passe the Alpes, and see what is done there, suffering our warriors to enioy a truce vntill the next year. There were at that time two mighty families in Florence, the one of Medicis, the other of Pacis. These were supported by Pope Sixtus the fourth, & by *Ferdinand* King of Naples, to ouerthrow the absolute government of the City: they attempt to murder *Laurence de Medicis*, and al. his followers, and gaue for watch-word to the murderers, when as the Priest celebrating the high Masse, should say, *Sanctus* in the Church of *S. Reparatus*, where they should alight at a certaine day.

*Laurence* escaped, but being maimed of many of his members, hee saved himselfe in the Vestry. *Julian* his brother was slaine and some of their followers. Then came they to the Palace, to murder all those which had the government of the City, but being moured, they see that some of their men had abandoned them, so as they were not about foure or five, and which was worse, the gates were shut vpon them. The Senators (seeing these rascals thus banded) put their heads out at their windowes, they see this tumult, and heare *Lames Pacis* and others crying *Liberta, Liberta*, and *Popolo, Popolo*, (words to moue the people, and to make them follow their faction) but they mused not: so as *Pacis* and his companions fled from the place, and those that were entered were presently hanged at the bars of the Palace windowes. *Francis Saluat* Arch bishop of Pisa, hauing laid *Mattheus* a cuiraffe on his backe, was taken and hanged in the same habit. The Governours seeing the whole Towne to stand firme for them and the Medicis, they send presently to all the passages, to apprehend all such as should be found flying. *Lames* and *Francis Pacis* were presently taken, with another Capitaine of the Popes troops vnder the Earle *Ieronimus*, and hanged instantly, with other great personages to the number of fourscore: some grooms and other base people, were knockt down in the streets. *Nicholas* Cardinall of *S. George*, neptew to the Earle was a long time prisoner.

The King aduertised of this hurli-burly, sends the Lord of Argenton, both to take (in his Maiesties name) the homage which *Bonne Duchesse* of Milan, ought for the Duchy of Genoua, in the behalte of the yong Duke *Iohn Galeas* her sonne, and to receive the men at armes, which they had granted in fauour of the Medicis. The Pope aduersed of the execution done at Florence, doth excommunicate the Citizens and with the same breath commands his army to march, and to ioyne with that of Naples, being graced faire. It was commanded (for the Pope) by the Duke of *Vrbis*, *Robert of Rimini*, *Comptaine* of *Pesaro*, and many others: and for *Ferdinando*, by his two sonnes, the one Duke of Calabria,

1478

The Pope and  
the King of  
Naples follow  
their forces  
against Flo-  
rence.

A Calabria, the other *Don Fredericke*. They take many places about Florence, and almost ruine the whole State. There were few Commanders, of small experience, and weak forces. The Kings assistance did somewhat comfort them, being after much waile abso- lued and reconciled to the Church. As also to terrifie Pope, *Lewis* had called a Council of the French Church at Orleans for the restoring of the pragmatick Sanction in France, and to abolish the custome to cary money to Rome for the obtaining of Bulls: yet the Assembly brake off without any conclusion, and was referred to Lyons the next yeare, but without effect. Thus passe the affaires of this world, but many doe oppress him at the length. Our *Lewis* hath in a manner out-lined all his greatest enemies, and now hee begins to decline. Troubles, care and waywardnesse, call him mildly to his grave: the vigor of his spirits faile him, and hereafter we shall see a strange alteration in his humors. The truce ends, and seeing wee must returne to warre, let vs beginne it by some notable stratagem. The Arch-duke *Maximilian* hath now the Flemings hearts at his deuotion. To employ them, hee camps before Therouenne, with about twenty thousand Flemings, some Germane troopes, and three hundred English, led by *Thomas* *Abbingham* an English Capitaine. The Lord of Cordes Lieutenant General for the King in Picardy, assembles what troopes he can, out of the neighbour garisons, eight thousand francke archers, eleuen hundred men at armes, and makes haste to releue it. *Maximilian* vnderstanding of their approach, raiseth the siege, marcheth towards them, and affronts them at Guinegatte. *Des Cordes* was the stronger in horse, but the weaker in foot. The forwards ioyne without any slay, the Arch-dukes (being led by *Kaufstein*) doth not maintaine the fight, but is soone broken and chased euen vnto Aire by *Cordes* and *Tori*. The foot stand firme, supported by the Arch-duke himselfe, the Lord of Rhomont, the Earle of Nassau, & two hundred Gentlemen al on foot: the franck archers of the French, supposing that these footmen would flie with the fore-ward, fall vpon the baggage. The Duke doth charge them, forcing them to leaue their booty and fall to armes. The slaughter was great, but most of the enemies. Eleuen thousand Bourguignons were slaine, saith the History, and nine hundred prisoners, amongst the which was a Germane Earle, & the King of Polands sonne: of the French there died five thousand, and the small number of the Kings army, made the enemy continue master of the field, who gathering together the remainders of his troopes, tooke the Castle of Malaunoy by assault, where Capitaine *Remonet* (notwithstanding the faith which was giuen him when he yielded) was hanged. For satisfaction hereof, fifty of the above-named prisoners, were hanged by ten in a place, ten where *Remonet* was executed, ten before Douay, ten before Saint Omer, ten before Arras, and ten before Lille. *Des Cordes* did runne rashly to this battell and without the Kings commandement: who was somewhat amazed with the first news, thinking they had concealed the truth, and that it was quite lost for him. If it be so (said hee) farewell all my latter conquests: he was not accustomed to lose, but alwaies very happy, being loth to hazard much in fight. But if any Capitaine had meanes to tell him a good place, hee was a liberall purchaser at what price soeuer: but the seller must afterwards take heede of his Gospill the Hermit the Controulour of his house.

This blam made *Lewis* relouie to treat a peace with *Maximilian*, so as it might bee profitable vnto him; and that he might thereby curbe the Arch-duke, and by the helpe of his owne subiects, so as afterwards he should haue no meanes to annoy him. For this effect the King seeks to the Gantois, that by their mediation, a mariage might be made betwixt *Charles* the Dauphine, and the daughter of the said Arch-duke, vpon condition to leaue the Counties of Bourgoigne, Auxerre, Malfon, and Chatolais, and to quit him Arthois, reseruing Arras in the estate hee had settled it, the City commanding the Towne, the which hereafter should bee held of the Crowne by the Bishop. As for the Duchie of Bourgoigne, the Earledome of Boulogne, the Townes lying vpon Somme, and other places in Picardy there was no mention. The Gantois (and by their soliciting, those of Bruges with some other chiefe Townes of Flanders and Brabant, who desired rather to suppress, then to fortifie their new Lord) gaue eare to this transaction, ill intreating *Maximilian* and his wife all they could, being loth to submit themselves to his command: first, for that he was a stranger; secondly, for that they knew more iudicious Princes, but not any more couetous then his father, whose sonne was seasoned with the same base couetousnesse, which caries with it great contempt. Notwithstanding this

The battle of  
Guinegatte.

Many slaine on  
both sides, but  
the French left  
the field.

*Lewis* seeks a  
peace of *Mass*,  
milan.

The Gantois  
and those of  
Flanders and  
Brabant hate  
their new Lord.

\*This is but a  
supposition of  
the French.  
Looke the  
Chronicle of  
England.

A trecherous  
attemp to win  
the heart of  
Medicis.

1480

Lewis seeks  
to reforme his  
Regime.

treatingeased with a truce, attending the conclusion of a generall peace. In the meane time our *Lewis* applies himselfe to order his Realme, to reforme Iustice, and the Court of Parliament; (especially for the tediousnesse of suites) one of the principall points for the which he hated it) but without any diminution of the number of his officers, nor of their authority. Moreover, he desired to bring into all the Countreies his obedience, one custome, one waight, and one measure, to suppress those horse-leeches the practitioners, and the Merchants fraud. He had wonderfully oppressed his people, yet awfully; and neither admonitions nor supplications could procure any reliefe: the motion must come from himselfe, he is now wholly addicted therunto, but sometime a burning feuer tending to fury, sometimes a cold palsey, sometimes the trouble of the humors, sometimes his speech fayling, sometimes some other fits or distemperatures of mind deturbs him from his good humor. To reach vs, neuer to deferre that which will to morrow, which we may presently performe: for wee ought to feare, that God will not giue vs the will and meane to doe well, when we haue once neglected it. All these ordinary infirmities made him froward and vnpleasing to his house hold seruants, causing him to take their seruices well meant in euill part. And being one day at Forges neere vnto Chinon, about dinner time, troubled with his ordinary fits, as hee would haue drinke towards the windowes, they hindred him: vpon his first recovery, hee chafed away at those that had by force stayed his approach to the windowes: neither would hee ever after admit them to his presence, holding themselves happy to enioy their offices. His iudgement being troubled, it made him thinke, that this manner of proceeding did derogate from his authority, which he sought to maintaine about all things, neither would hee be disobeyed in any thing, doubting lest in the end they should controll him in the gouernment of his affaires, as distract of his wits. Vpon his amendment after any infirmity, hee would still know what expeditions and dispatches they had made. Hee tooke the letters; and made shew to reade them, although he had no knowledge, or very little. Yet must they please him in all things, being dangerous to offend him. This first fit continued about fifteene dayes, at the end whereof hee recovered both speech and iudgement. He lets the Cardinal of Balue at liberty, (a prisoner since the yeare 1468.) at the request and p[er]suade of Cardinal Saint Peter ad Vincula, Legate in France, being sent to mediate a peace betwixt *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, and to sollicite them to succor the Christians oppressed vnder the Turkes persecutions, whom the King satisfied with hope and good words.

Lewis testifies  
of his authority  
even in sick-  
nesse.Cardinal Balue  
set at libertyLewis distrusts  
all men in his  
sickness.

But being come to Peronne, and hauing giuen *Maximilian* and the Flemings intelligence of his arrival, they would not admit him, and so his voyage proved fruitlesse. Neither admonitions nor requests could euer moue the King to deliuer *Balue*, & now a simple drawes him to it, seeking an absolution for that hee had detained him so long in prison. And as hee feels his strength and senses to decay, so ieaalousie and distrust (very latent vnto him) increased daily, and apprehending death, hee feared lest his owne subjects should hasten it by some new practices. In this perturbation, hee remembers that *Jules* Duke of Bourbon had followed the D. of Guienne in the warre of the Common-weale; and that he might ioyne with the Duke of Britany, to raise vp new troubles and to shorten his dayes. He appoints certaine Commissioners ill-affected to the house of Bourbon, who not able directly to touch the Dukes person, they summon his Chancellor, his Attorney Generall, the Captaine of his Guards, and other principall Officers, to appeare in person, before the Court of Parliament at Paris. Being examined and heard, and finding nothing wherewith to charge them, they were freed, and death did soone after seize the said Duke from the feare he had conceiued of the Kings hatred. Hee had imitated the Duke of Bourgongnes army, and by the aduice of *des Cordes* his Lieutenant generall in Picardy had newly imposed fifteene hundred thousand Frankes, for the maintenance of ten thousand foot: whereof the fixe thousand Swisses before mentioned were a part: two thousand fixe hundred p[er]soners, and fifteene hundred men at Armes of his ordinary, to fight on foot when as need should require, causing a great number of carts to be made to inclose them, and tents to campe in, and therefore hee called them soldiers of the campe. And for that they complained that the franke-archers did greatly oppress the poore people, hee did cassier all their companies. When this new campe was ready, he went to see it ranged in battell in a valley neere to Pont de Larche in Normandy.

vnder

1482

The Kings  
relapse.The death of  
Mary of Bour-  
gongne.The Duke of  
Britanies armes  
forfeited.A peace be-  
twixt the King  
and *Maximilian*.The Dauphins  
marriage with  
*Marguerite*.Edward of  
England dies.

Under the command of his Lieutenant Generall, causing them to lie in campe a whole moneth together, to the end he might see what quantity of victualls were necessary for them: and then he returned into Touraine. Being at Tours, behold a relapse, which he feared greatly. Hee loseth his speech, they hold him for dead, hee remains two houres couched on a pallet in a gallery. Being somewhat recovered, seeking to diuert his dis-ease, and to reuiue his spirits by the change of ayre, hee went to Argenton, and then returned to Tours, but still languishing of his dis-ease foretelling death. Then hee vnderooke the journey of Saint Claude, which many Gentlemen had vowed being present at his fall. Vpon his returne, newes comes of the death of *Mary* of Bourgongne, who going a hunting mounted vpon a stirring hobbeys, was cast, and after dyed of a quotidian, hauing had by *Maximilian*, Philip Arch-duke, *Marguerite* afterwards Queene of France, and *Francis* that dyed yong. A vertuous Princes, liberrall, respected and beloued of all her subiects.

This death was wonderfull pleasing vnto our *Lewis*, in the midst of his afflictions, who not dreaming that he had one foot in the graue, thinks now to doe his businesse the better: for (sayd he) the Emperour is miserable, ill beloued and of small credit in Germany: *Maximilian* yong and of small experience, and ill beloued of his subiects: and moreover, the pupils are in the Gantois keeping, a people inclined to mutiny against the house of Bourgongne. Yet he repined much at the secret intelligences the Duke of Britany had with the English: and now a new subiect thrusts him on to this enterprise, the which doubtlesse hee had vndergone, if his health would haue suffered him. *Francis* Duke of Britany, vnderstanding that they made excellent armes at Milan, sent to buy a great number, and (to the end they should not be discovered by the noyie, and breed a new suspicion in the King, if hee heard thereof) hee caused them to bee trussed vp in packes of silke, with cotton. These armes passing vpon moyles through Auvergne, *Doyac* Gouverneur of the Country had some intelligence, and aduertised the King thereof, who declares them forfeited to the benefit of *Doyac*.

This buying of armes, made *Lewis* to gape, more then euer, after Britany, but he defers the execution, to practise the Gouernors of Gand by the Lord of Cordes, and treats the marriage of the Dauphin his sonne, with *Marguerite* the daughter of *Maximilian* and *Mary* lately deceased. The late surpris of *Aix* by *Cordes*, amazed the Flemings and Brabanders, and made them willing to seeke an agreement with the King. To this end, *Maximilian* and they together send a great Ambassage to Arras, managed for the Arch-duke, by the Lords of Bergues and Launoy, with some Secretaries: and for the Communalities by the Abbots of Saint *Bertin* and Saint *Peter* of Gand. The King appoints his Lieutenant generall in Picardy to heare them, with *la Vacquerie*, lately created first President of the Parliament of Paris, and other graue personages. A peace is concluded by meanes of the said marriage, in fauour whereof, they giue (as a portion to the said *Marguerite*) the Countiees of Arthois and Bourgongne, the lands and Seigneuries of Malconois, Auxerrois, Charolois, Salins, Bar, Sens and Noyon, to enioy them for euer. And in case that yong *Philip* Earle of Flanders should die, *Marguerite* should succeed him in all the Lordships that belonged to her deceased mother, the souerainty of Flanders remaining to the King. By meanes hereof, the Artisans (that had bin confined) returned to Arras, and the city recovered her ancient name.

Thus *Marguerite* was conducted into France by the Lady of Rauestein, the bastard daughter of *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, and receiued by the duke and Duchesse of Bourgogne, who led her to Amboise, the place of the *Dauphins* abroad, where the marriage was solemnly celebrated. *Edward* was wonderfully incensed at this marriage, seeing himselfe deprived of his pension, and fearing lest this disgrace should breed him great contentions, yea a rebellion of his subiects, seeing the effects of that which hee would not beleue. Moreover, hee did finde, the King had newly planted strong defenses betwixt them two, and his conquests did stretch very neere vnto him. Hee conceiued so great a griefe vpon all these considerations, as soone after hee died, partly for sorrow, and partly of an Apoplexy. Soone after the death of *Edward*, *Lewis* receiues letters from the Duke of Glocester, who (by the murder of his two nephewes the sonnes of *Edward*, his brother) had vsurped the Crowne of England, and was called *Richard*. This *Richard* sought the Kings friendship, but *Lewis* abhorring so barbarous a cruelty,

N n 3

would

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Troubles in  
England.  
Richard suc-  
ceeds his two  
Nephews and  
usurps the  
Crown.

would not vouchsafe to answer his letters, nor to heare his message. But he enjoyed not long this tyrannous usurpation. God raised vp that Earle of Richmond (whom we haue seene so long prisoner in Britany) who with some little money from the King, and three thousand men leauied in the Duchy of Normandy, passed into Wales, and ioyned with his father in law the Lord Standley, with fixe and twenty thousand English, with which forces he encountered Richard, fought with him, and slew him in the field, and then was crowned King of England. At the same time, William of March, brother to him whom they commonly called the Boare of Ardenne, (to install his sonne in the Bishopricke of Liege,) leaues a great number of foot and horse, and besiege Lewis, brother to the Duke of Bourbon, being Bishop there. The Bishop craues succours from the Archduke of Austria and the Prince of Orange his brother in law, who not able to come in time, and preft by some secret partisans of La Marche, hee goes forth in armes to fight with his enemy, and was slaine: whereby La Marche entred into Liege, but soone after he was surprized by the Lord of Montaigny, ayded with some troopes from the Archduke, and suddenly beheaded.

The last act of  
Lewis his life.

His disposition  
in his declin-  
ing age.

Our Lewis is now well satisfied touching the affaires of Flanders: there remained nothing but a reuenge of Britany. But oh! how doth suspicion, feare, distrust, and finally death, break off his great desires? he is now at Pleffis neere Tours, priuate, solitary, and shewing himselfe to few. He feares a decay of his estate, and yet is become vnable to gouerne a great estate. The opening of a doore feares him; his owne shadow amazeth him, death terrifies him, but (the worst is) his conscience troubles him. He puts his most trusty seruants from him, he doubts his neereft kinsmen, he abhorres them he suspects, and suspects all the world. Those whom hee doubts most, hee distrusteth, with a couple of his Guard to guide them; pensiuē, sad; dreaming; froward; peeuish and cholericke: euery thing displeaseth him, all is vnfeasonable; all offends him; hee knows not what is fittest for him, either life or death, and yet he would liue and reigne. He knows that he hath many enemies, and hath offended many, that the greatest of the Princes loue him not; that the meaner fort murmured, and that the people hated him: for hee hath overcharged them, yea more then any of his predecessors, and hath not meane to calue them; and although he had a will, yet it is now too late.

Oh what a grieuous testimony is the conscience of our misdeeds! Few enter at Pleffis, but his household seruants, and the Archers of his Guard, whereof there are foure hundred daily in guard at the gate. No Nobleman lodgeth there, none come there but his son in law Peter (afterwards Duke of Bourbon; by the death of John his brother) and few of his followers: and yet he thinks: still, that some one enters to offer violence to his person: or that by loue or force they will pull his scepter from him. Hee causeth his sonne to be straightly guarded, and will not suffer many to see him, lest he should bee made the head of a faction. His daughter hath no access to him: his sonne in law no credit. His son in law returns from the Dauphins marriage: Lewis with a deuice, makes the Captaine of his Guard to search such as are entred with the Duke, to see if they were not secretly armed. He commands him to hold the Councell, then he dissolues it: for in his absence they would make Monopolies. Who did euer see a minde more distrust, more vnquiet, and fuller of cares? He distrusts his sonne, his daughter, his sonne in law, and generally all those that may command.

The Castle gate is safely guarded; but they may leape ouer the walles, they may be planted with gaddes of iron, with many points, and so thick as no man might passethem: and moreover, the ditch at Pleffis, compassed in with great barres, with foure engines of iron at the corners: Canoniers, and forty Crosse-bow men were appointed to stand, ten a day and night Centinell in the ditch, with commission to shoot at any one that should approach in the night, vntill the opening of the gate in the morning. Doubtlesse, the iustice of God would that those cages of iron, and those of wood covered with plates of iron both within and without, those shackles, bolts, manacles, chaines tyed to a great bowle, weighty beyond humane force: where he had oftentimes imprisoned many, (yea and of honour,) for very triuolous causes, should now be so many tortures to his conscience, at the last point of his death: and as he had giuen them eight foot in breadth, and it may be so much in height, to stretch out themselves, so he now retires himselfe into a little corner of the Castle, and like another Perillous, they were fatal to their first deuiler. The Bishop of

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Strange distrust  
persecutes.

Lewis branded  
by his Physi-  
cian.

His disordered  
zeale.

His inuention  
to make men  
beleeue that  
he liued still.

Lewis his ad-  
monitions to  
the Dauphin  
his sonne.

A of Verdun remained foureteeen yeares shut vp in the first that was made. To conclude, no dispatch came to Court, during this lamentable estate. The King had but one or two about him, men of no credit, who knew wel, that after his death, the best that could chance vnto them, was to be shamefully chafed away. But a great confusion attends them shortly. These men made no report vnto him of any thing that hapned, but onely that which concerned the Estate and the Realme, labouring to maintaine loue with all men. As for his person, euery day a new groom of his Chamber, euery day new seruants. Yet knows he nor whom to trust. One onely amongst the rest gets some credit, but forced. It is his Physician, James Cottier a Bourguignon: he giues him ten thousand crowns monthly, and what Offices, or what lands he will demand, be it for himselfe, or his friends: and for a nephew of his the Bishopricke of Amiens; and as a man would say) his Crowne and his scepter, so as he will prolong his life. An odious, impudent, and audacious Physician: who to continue his credit, said vnto the King. I know well that one of these mornings, you will send me away with the rest, but (swearing a great oath) you shall not liue eight dayes after. A strange heart-breaking, to be braued by a rascall, whereas so many great Princes did yeeld him voluntary obedience. But oh vanity, to thinke that the deuice of man can add one minute to mans life! Lewis had neede to haue bene put in minde of this Oracle; I haue said you are Gods, and all the children of the Lord, but you shall die like men, and you that are Princes shall fall like other men.

C At that time liued Francis borne at Paul in Calabria, a deuout Hermit, without learning, but of an austere life, and holy reputation, founder of the Friars Minimes. The King sent for him by a Steward of his house, in the company of the Prince of Tarentum, son to the King of Naples: at the first sight he kneeles vnto him, and desires him to prolong his dayes. In truth, we haue often zeale, but not according to knowledge. But, Put no confidence in the chiefe of the people, nor in any of the sonnes of man, who haue no power to deliuer thee. O how happy is hee, whom the mighty God of Iacob helpes, and whose trust is in the Eternal! In the meane time, Lewis declines, and death followes him at the heeles: yet will hee not haue men to thinke so, and omits no inuention to diuert this opinion, both within and without the Realme. Within, hee attires himselfe richly, contrary to his custome, and shewes himselfe, but onely in his Court, and gallery: he makes seuerall lawes to be feared; sends away officers, dischargeth men at armes, cuts off pensions, & takes some quite away. To conclude, he passeth his time, to make and marre men. Without the Realme, he payes that duty in England which he owes, and all other places, where he will haue them thinke that he is found and aliue: he sends men vnder colour to buy something: Into Spaine, Naples, and Germany for some horses; in Sicile, some good Mules, but especially of some good officer of the Country, and payed double for them. In Britany, Gray-hounds, and Spaniels. In the Kingdome of Valence, little Water-dogges. In Denmarke and Sweden, Hawkes. In Barbary, little Lions, of the bignesse of Foxes. To conclude, the more he feared the decay of his dignity toward his latter end, the more he sought to be feared, and takes away all occasions to thinke that his end approached. Feeling his end draw nere, he sent for the Dauphin his sonne, whom he had not seene in many yeares, causing him to be nourished apart, lest the colour of his presence should haue bred some faction, as there had rashly risen in his young age against Charles the Tenth his Father. And experience hauing taught him, how dangerous a fodaine alteration was; he commanded him expressly not to displace any Officer, and especially to maintaine Olivier le Daim in the Offices and goods he had gotten in his seruice, as hauing assisted him well in his sickness: (but as this man was hastily and too highly exalted, so must he and some others of like sort bee shortly suppress.) and John Doyac, gouernor of Autiergne, from whom hee had recleued good and notable seruices; to call master Guyot Pot, and the Lord of Beauchage to Court; and to follow Philippe of Cordes for armes: Not to beleene his mother, especially in the gouernment of his State, who (as a Sauoisen) he had found by experience, to fauour the Bourguignons; and generally, to confirme all those in their dignities, whom hee had aduanced: And to ease the people, whom he had oppressed by the necessity of the warres. Few dayes after the King had spoken to the Dauphin his sonne, his ordinary infirmity took him, and he suddenly lost his speech, with a great debility of his forces. Having recovered (judging himselfe but a dead man) he sent the Duke of Bourbon to the Kings sonne (so then he called him) giuing him the charge and gouernment of his said sonne.



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The Divines  
tell Lewis that  
he must die.

sonne. Then he sent the Chancellor with the seale, and part of the archers of his guard, and a Captaine, all his hounds, hawks, and other things, and all such as came to see him, he sent them to Amboise. Yet was he not so well resolved for his death, but hee had some hope to escape, namely by the means of his Hermit, and a multitude of reliques which were brought from Rheims, from Paris, and from Rome, the holy oyle, the rods of *Moses* and *Aaron*, the holy Crosse (were it true or false) and such like, vntill the Divines had taken counsell to let him vnderstand, that hee deceived himselfe, and that his only hope must consist in the mercy of God. A hard sentence to a man that had so often commanded, that euen in the last pangs they should pronounce that cruell word of death, the which he feared beyond the condition of man, and preuented by all the remedies that might be inuented. Yet behold he disposeth himselfe; *I haue* (said he) *hope that God will helpe mee: but withall he addes: yet happily I am not so sicke as you suppose.* Notwithstanding, he felt the helpe of heauen, for his speech was restored, his vnderstanding good, his memory perfect, whereby he pronounced many prayers, adding thereunto, by his last Will and Testament: That de *Cordes* should giue ouer the enterprise they had concluded vpon Calais: that they should suffer the Duke of Britany to liue in peace, without feare or suspight, and likewise all the neighbours of the Realme: that vnder the fauour of a peace of five or six yeares, the people might breathe, and the King his sonne grow in age. Finally, on Saturday the thirtieth of August, hee yeelds vp his soule quietly to God, hauing liued threecore yeares and one, and reigned three and twenty: he made choice for his buriall at our Lady of Clery the place of his deuotion.

Lewis dies.

His disposition.

A cunning Prince, wife, painfull, reuengefull, vigilant, industrious, of a great memory, neuer hazarding that, which by policy, dissembling, money, or any other industry he might obtaine: quiet in his reigne, vnquiet in his life, and vnquiet in his death, not able to solve but in extremities: Deuout, but inclining to superstition. A great oppressor of the people, but to giue to Churches, to foraine pensioners, and to purchase them dead whom he had found fit for his purpose, as we may easily perceiue by the discourse of his life. He was continent beyond the ordinary of great and generous Princes: and in truth greatly to be commended, in that he had so virtuously constrained himselfe within the bounds of his professed vowe, and neuer to haue knowne other women then his owne wife. And if the 61 yeare, (the which he alwayes apprehended as the fatal period of his life, for that none of his predecessors since *Hugh Capet*, had passed that terme) had not ended his life, he had reformed the State, ordred iustice, & releued the people. Happy in his death, hauing changed a continuall toile, into an eternall rest: happy in that rest (which was hope for in heauen) to haue left a Successor quiet of himselfe, young, but of great hope, and chiefly, for that he had seen the Church, during his reigne, freed from that long and immoderate three and twentieth Schisme, which had so long turmoyled it. Thus are we come to the end of this reigne: but before we proceed, we must succintly view the estate of the Church and Empire vnder his reigne, seeing the course of our History hath drawne vs on thereto without interruption.

Estate of the  
Church vnder  
Lewis.

We haue seen, that by the renunciation of *Felix* the first, *Nicholas* the first of that name, remained in quiet possession of the Pontifical Sea. The most memorable acts of his Papacie, were the great Iubile, which he did celebrate in the yeare 1450, where there was so great a concourse of people, that about two hundred were smothered, going and coming out of the Churches, besides an infinite number of people that perished in the riuer of Tyber, through the fall of the bridge of Saint Angelo. This Pope loued learning, he gaue great pensions to learned men, sent them into diuers places, to seeke out books which lay hidden in darknesse, by the negligence of the ancient, or perished by the violence of the barbarous, filling his Library at Vatican, he caused many Greeke Authors to be translated into Latine. He repaired many Churches and other buildings ruined in Rome, enriching them with vessels of gold and silver, and crosses beautified with precious stones. Finally, grieved for the taking of Constantinople from the Christians, he shed of thought, a Fever, and the Gout, or as some will say, of poison, the 25 of March 1458.

*Calixtus* the third of that name, a Spaniard, of the age of 85 yeares, before called *Alphonso* *Heriz*, Bishop of Valence, and Cardinal of the four Crownes, succeeded by the consent of the whole Colledge: commended, for that in the first fruits of his Popedom, he had (according to a vow he had made) proclaimed a warre against *Alphonse*. And to

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A vp Princes, he sent some notable Preachers in those dayes, as *Iohn Capistran*, and *Robert de la Lize*, Friars, to exhort Christians to reueue their brethren, detained vnder the Turkes tyranny, and by ringing of the bell at noone-day, to inuite them to pray for those that fought for this quarrell: yet blamed, for that vnder colour of his Indulgences and pardons, which were sold for five Ducats a peece, he had gathered together, and left to his successor, a hundred and fiftene thousand Ducats.

He died in July 1458, *Pius* the second called *Eugenius Silvius*, a Siennois, a poore boy, hauing attained to much knowledge, by his laborious study, obtained the dignitie of Pope. He had beene the Popes Secretary, at the Councell of Basil, and by writing had impugned the authority of *Eugenius* the Schismaticke: and soone after was crowned Poet laureat, by the Emperor *Frederick* the third, and honoured by him with many Ambassages to diuers Princes. *Nicholas* the fifth made him Bishop of Triest, and after of Sienna; and *Calixtus*, Cardinal. But vpon his entry to the Popedom, he sought to suppress two bookes, which hee had published for the approbation of the Councell of Basil, and afterward laboured very ambitiously to enlarge the Roman Sea: for the increase and preservation whereof, the History saith, he neither feared Kings, nor Princes, people nor tyrants. A great enemy to King *Lewis* the eleventh, whilst that he would not yeeld to the abolition of that pragmaticke sanction: who to crosse him in that yeare 64, did forbid to cary any money to Rome, or to bring any bulls from thence, renuing the same Edicts in the yeare 1478. But in the end he was so flattered by this *Eugenius*, and by his successor *Sixtus* the fourth, as hee renounced all the rights of the pragmaticke sanction. Hee had likewise proclaimed a voyage into Turkey, by a Councell assembled at Mantua. But the Ambassadors of King *Lewis* and of *René* Duke of Anjou, having laid open the rights which the house of Anjou had to the Realme of Naples, and the wrong was done him, vsurping it to the behoofe of *Alphonso* the bastard of *Ferdinand*, whom this Pope had by his absolute authoritie put in the possession of the Realme; he grew so bitter against the French for *Ferdinand*, as the said Ambassadors would not promise any thing, in their masters name, for this warre: so as the assembly was dissolved, the eight moneth, without any good to Christendome. An Ambitious man, austere to Princes, a great persecutor of the enemies of the Clergy, courteous and officious to his friends, buile for the enriching of the Church, a great builder. And finally, as he was ready to depart from Ancona, to march in person against the Turke, who was then entred Italy, a quotidian ague seized on him, whereof he dyed in the yeare 1464. Of him we reade thus much: as *Platina* and *Sabellicus* do report. Priests are forbidden to marry for a great reason, but yet there is a greater for the which they should be suffered. And moreover, Peradventure, it should not be the worse, if many Priests were married, for many being Priests and married, should be saved, the which in their barren Celibates are damned. He likewise would haue abolished some Nunneries of Saint *Brigit* and *Clare*, and caused the Nunnes to come forth, to the end (saith *Calixtus Secundus*) that vnder the habis of religion they should not hide their adulteries.

The ambitious  
proceeding of  
Pope Pius the  
second.In the second  
bookes of the  
Councell.

*Paul* the second, borne at Venice, before named *Peter Barbo*, Cardinal of S. Marke, succeeded. His first calling was merchandise, but seeing an vncle of his chosen Pope, hee applied himselfe somewhat to learning, and was first created Arch-deacon of Bononia; then Bishop of Ceruo, after Cardinal, and finally Pope. A man of a good personage, but arrogant and proud: so as *Platina* obserues, that he first spake these wordes: *I that the Pope carries within the circuit of his hose all diuine and humane lawes.* Exceeding all his predecessors in attire: but about all in his mitre, the which he enriched with pearle and stones of an inestimable price, shewing himselfe proudly vpon solemn dayes, thus sumptuously attired, followed by his Cardinals with Scarlet hats (the which he did forbid all others to weare, vpon grievous punishments) and mounted vpon mulets with foot-clothes of the same colour: grosse and dull witted, louing neither learning, nor learned men: so as he declared them Hereticks that either in sport or earnest did pronounce this word Academy or Vniuersity. Couetous, dissolute, voluptuous, turbulent, giuen to conuiving, and the whole time of his reigne he troubled Italy, with combustions and home-bred wars. Finally, they report little good of him, but that he had beene pitifull to the poore and needy, to haue preserved Rome from famine, and reformed many Monasteries, reducing them to a better discipline. They say, that hauing one day read certaine poesies, made against him and his daughter, he began to grieue; and to blame the rigor of the law made by

The pride and  
pompe of  
Paulus the 2.The Popes dis-  
position.

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The Diuines  
call Lewis that  
he must die.

sonne. Then he sent the Chancellor with the scale, and part of the archers of his guard, and Captaines, all his hounds, hawks, and other things, and all such as came to see him, he sent them to Amboise. Yet was he not so well reloued for his death, but hee had some hope to escape, namely by the means of his Hermit, and a multitude of reliques which were brought from Rheims, from Paris, and from Rome, the holy oyle, the rods of *Moses* and *Aaron*, the holy Crosse (were it true or false) and such like, vntill the Diuines had taken counsell to let him vnderstand, that hee deceiued himselfe, and that his onely hope must consist in the mercy of God. A hard sentence to a man that had so often commanded, that euen in the last pangs they should pronounce that cruell word of death, the which he feared beyond the condition of man, and preuented by all the remedies that might be inuented. Yet behold he disposeth himselfe: *I haue (said he) hope that God will helpe mee: but withall he adds: yet happily I am not so sicke as you suppose.* Notwithstanding, he felt the helpe of heaven, for his speech was restored, his vnderstanding good, his memory perfect, whereby he pronounced many prayers, adding therunto, by his last Will and Testament: That *de Cordes* should giue ouer the enterprise they had concluded vpon Calais: that they should suffer the Duke of Britany to liue in peace, without feare or suspition, and likewise all the neighbours of the Realme: that vnder the fauour of a peace of five or six yeares, the people might breathe, and the King his sonne grow in age. Finally on Saturday the thirtieth of August, hee yeelds vp his soule quietly to God, hauing lived three score yeares and one, and reigned three and twenty: he made choice for his buriall at our Lady of Clergy the place of his deuotion.

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We haue seen, that by the renunciation of *Felix* the fifth, *Nicholas* the fifth of that name, remained in quiet possession of the Pontificall See. The most memorable acts of his papacie, were the great Iubile, which he did celebrate in the yeare 1450, where there was so great a concourse of people, that about two hundred were smothered, going and coming out of the Churches, besides an infinite number of people that perished in the riuer of Tyber, through the fall of the bridge of Saint *Angelo*. This Pope loued learning, he gaue great pensions to learned men, sent them into diuers places, to seeke out books which lay hidden in darknesse, by the negligence of the ancient, or perished by the violence of the barbarous, filling his Library at Vatican, he caused many Greeke Authors to be translated into Latine. He repaired many Churches and other buildings ruined at Rome, enriching them with vessels of gold and siluer, and crosses beautified with precious stones. Finally (grieved for the taking of Constantinople from the Christians) he shed of thought, a Feuer, and the Gout, or as some will say, of poison, the 21 of March 1458. *Calixtus* the third of that name, a Spaniard, of the age of 85 yeares, before called *Alphonso Borgia*, Bishop of Valence, and Cardinal of the foure Crownes, succeeded by the consent of the whole Colledge: commended, for that in the first fruits of his papacie, he had (according to a vow he had made) proclaimed a warre against *Agremer*, and to kill

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A y<sup>e</sup> Princes, he sent some notable Preachers in those dayes, as *John Capistran*, and *Robert de la Lize*, Friars, to exhort Christians to relieue their brethren, detained vnder the Turkes tyranny, and by ringing of the bell at noone-tide, to inuite them to pray for those that fought for this quarrell: yet blamed, for that vnder colour of his Indulgences and pardons, which were sold for five Ducats a peece, hee had gathered together, and left to his successor, a hundred and fiftene thousand Ducats.

He died in July 1458, *Pius* the second called *Eneas Silvius*, a Siennois, a poore boy, hauing attained to much knowledge, by his laborious study, obtained the dignitie of Pope. Hee had bene the Popes Secretary, at the Councell of Basil, and by writing had impugned the authority of *Eugenius* the Schismaticke: and soone after was crowned Poet laureat, by the Emperor *Frederick* the third, and honoured by him with many Ambassages to diuers Princes. *Nicholas* the fifth made him Bishop of Triest, and after of Sienna; and *Calixtus*, Cardinal. But vpon his entry to the Popedom, hee sought to suppress two bookes, which hee had published for the approbation of the Councell of Basil, and afterward laboured very ambitiously to enlarge the Roman Sea: for the increase and preseruation whereof, the History saith, he neither feared Kings, nor Princes, people nor tyrants. A great enemy to King *Lewis* the eleuenth, whilst that he would not yeeld to the abolition of that pragmaticke sanction: who to crosse him in that yeare 64, did forbid to cary any money to Rome, or to bring any bulls from thence, renewing the same Edicts in the yeare 1478. But in the end he was so flattered by this *Eneas*, and by his successor *Sixtus* the fourth, as hee renounced all the rights of the pragmaticke sanction. Hee had likewise proclaimed a voyage into Turkey, by a Councell assembled at Mantua. But the Ambassadors of King *Lewis* and of *René* Duke of Anjou, hauing laid open the rights which the house of Anjou had to the Realme of Naples, and the wrong was done him, vsurping it to the behoefe of *Alphonso* the bastard of *Ferdinand*, whom this Pope had by his absolute authoritie put in the possession of the Realme; he grew so bitter against the French for *Ferdinand*, as the said Ambassadors would not promise any thing, in their masters name, for this warre: so as the assembly was dissolved, the eight moneth, without any good to Christendome. An Ambitious man, austere to Princes, a great persecutor of the enemies of the Clergy, courteous and officious to his friends, bulle for the enriching of the Church, a great builder. And finally, as he was ready to depart from Ancona, to march in person against the Turke, who was then entred Italy, a quotidian ague seized on him, whereof he dyed in the yeare 1464. Of him we reade thus much: as *Platina* and *Sabellicus* do report. *Priests are forbidden to marry for a great reason, but yet there is a greater for the which they should be suffered. And moreover. Peradventure, it should not be the worse, if many Priests were married, for many being Priests and married, should be saved, the which in their barren Calibres are damned. He likewise would haue abolished some Nunneries of Saint *Brigit* and *Clare*, and caused the Nunnes to come forth, to the end (saith *Calixtus Secundus*) that vnder the habit of religion they should not hide their adulteries.*

The ambitious  
proceeding of  
Pope Pius the  
second.In the second  
bookes of the  
Councell.

Paul the second, borne at Venice, before named *Peter Barbo*, Cardinal of S. Marke, succeeded. His first calling was merchandise, but seeing an vncler of his chosen Pope, hee applied himselfe somewhat to learning, and was first created Arch-deacon of Bononia; then Bishop of Ceruo, after Cardinal, and finally Pope. A man of a good personage, but arrogant and proud: so as *Platina* obserues, that hee first spake these wordes: *That the Pope carries within the circuit of his bosome all diuine and humane lawes.* Exceeding all his predecessors in attire: but about all in his mirth, the which he enriched with pearle and stones of an inestimable price, shewing himselfe proudly vpon solemne dayes, thus sumptuously attired, followed by his Cardinals with Scarlet hats (the which hee did forbid all others to weare, vpon grievous punishments) and mounted vpon mulets with four-clothes of the same colour: grosse and dull witted, louing neither learning, nor learned men: so as he declared them Hereticks that either in sport or earnest did pronounce this word: *Academy* or *Vniuersity*. Couetous, dissolute, voluptuous, turbulent, giuen to coniuering, and the whole time of his raigne he troubled Italy, with combustions and home-bred wars. Finally, they report little good of him, but that hee had bene pitifull to the poore and ready to haue preserued Rome from famine, and reformed many Monasteries, reducing them to a better discipline. They say, that hauing one day read certaine poesies, made by him and his daughter, he began to grieue, and to blame the rigor of the law made by

The pride and  
pompe of  
Paulus the 2.The Popes dis-  
positions.

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by his predecessors, who did forbid Priests to marry: so as seeing himselfe a scorne to the people, he resolved to give Priests liberty to marry, but an Apoplexy tooke him suddenly out of this world, the 25 of July 1471, leaving a rich treasure. In truth, *they gather goods* (saith the Oracle) *and know not who shall enjoy them*. Some impute this sudden death to the Author of the Magicke art, the which he practised.

*Sixtus* the fourth, borne at Saoune, and named *Francis* of Ruere, General of the Grey-Frayers, and Cardinal of Saint *Sixte*, Legat of Aiguon, was installed by the Election of the Colledge, in the Pontificall chaire. Liberal and charitable to his owne, beyond the bounds of true zeale: for in their favour he gave Indulgences and Pardons prodigally, and granted many other things against all right and reason: so saith the History. Amongst the rest, hee advanced *Peter* of Ruere, to a Cardinalship: a monstrous man in his expences, who in two monthes devoured in vanities, dissolutiō and loosenesse, above two hundred thousand crownes, besides the debts wherewith he charged his heires. He repayed many decayed Churches and Monasteries, built new, and gave them great revenues. He restored the Abbreviators (which was a Colledge of learned men, and studious in diuine and humane lawes, Poets, Orators, Historians, &c.) first instituted by *Pius* the second, then abolished by *Paul* the second his successor. Then did he institute anew Bullists, people fitter to get money, then for any other thing, and nine Notaries of the Apostolick treasure, appointing them certaine revenues: which offices were sold in the beginning for five hundred crownes, and since for two or three thousand crownes: so well could they sell their merchandise. *Sixtus* made many vniust warres, against *Ferdinand* King of Naples, for that against the Popes liking, he had succoured his sonne *the Hercules* of Este, Duke of Ferrara, besieged by the Venetians: against the Venetians whom he did excommunicate: against the Florentines, excommunicated likewise with an interdiction of fire and water. But by the intercession and threats of the King, and the succours the Venetians gave to the Florentines against the Pope (who had incensed *Ferdinand* King of Sicilia, *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria, and *Frederick* Duke of Vrbis, Captaine general for the Church) to make warre against them, he absolved them. Then being sick of a Fever, hauing newes that a peace was made betwixt the Venetians and other Potentates of Italy, he dyed suddenly. There discomfited vnder him *John Regiomontanus*, a great Mathematician, *Rodolphus Agricola*, *Pomponius Latinus*, *Ambrose Calepin*, learned men in humane Lett. It is suffice to haue noted such Popes as haue reigned vnder our *Lewis*, and now let us see that which concerns the Empire.

That great *John Huniades*, a firme and sound rampier for the Christians against the Turkes, had left two sonnes, *Ladislaus* and *Matthias*. They had for an hereditary enemy *Vrlike* Earle of Sicilia, neer kinsman and a fauorite to *Ladislaus* King of Hungary and Bohemia, sonne to *Albert* of Austria, borne after his fathers death. *Ladislaus* the eldest, complaining one day to *Vrlike*, of the slanders wherewith he wrongfully charged him, *Ladislaus* they passed from words to blowes, so as he slue *Vrlike*: for the which the King of Hungary caused him to be publicly beheaded, and lead *Matthias* the younger, prisoner to Prague in Bohemia, to purshim to death, farre from the view of the Nobility of Hungary, to whom the memory of *Huniades* was wonderfull deere and precious. But as *Ladislaus* prepared for his marriage at Prague, to be sonne in Law to *Charles* the seventh, beheld a blacke and deadly poison suddenly chokes vp the ioy which that new alliance had conceited. After whole death there did arise great quarrels for the succession. Some Nobles of Hungary, wished the Emperor *Frederick* the third for their King: the greater part preferred *Matthias*, both for that he was of the Nation, as for the happy memory of his father *John*.

The election being made, *Matthias* is set at liberty by *George Boicbat*, the new King of Bohemia: he demands the Crowne. *Frederick* armes himselfe with a constitution, which he had received from *Elizabeth* mother to *Ladislaus* deceased, when she sent him her son to bring vp. Vpon refusal, they goe to armes; but the Germane Princes pacified the quarrell, concluding, that *Matthias* should pay for his Crowne vnto the Emperor, four thousand Crownes. In the meane time there springs vp new seeds of warre in Germany. *Pius* the second (making the Emperor; and his deuotion to the Roman See support) puts *Dietrick Isenbourg* from the Archbishopricke of Mentz, advancing *Adolph* of Nassau in his place. *Isenbourg* opposed himselfe vigorously against the Popes exactions, who

The Estate of the Empire.

The King of Hungary possessed.

Warre for the Crowne of Hungary.

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A spoiled (as he said) the Provinces, vnder a pretext of warre against the Turke, and moreover, he would enrich himselfe by oath vnto the Pope, who would likewise bind future Ecclesiasticall Electors, not to assemble the Electors of the Empire, for the election of any new Emperor, or for any other cause concerning the Empire, before he were duly informed, to the end his pleasure might be preferred before all others. Ambitious and vncult demand. *Frederick* the victorious Conte *Palatin* of Rhine then administrator of the Electorship of his Nephew *Philip*, the sonne of *Lewis* his brother, being a pupil, stood firmly for *Isenbourg*. *Lewis* Duke of Bavaria, furnished the rich, ioyes with *Frederick*. The Emperor hated them both, and desired much to crosse them (although in his heart he had reason to fauor that party, for the which they fought) but he feared the valour of *Frederick* and the wealth of *Lewis*.

The Pope vrgeth him to stirre vp some great Princes of Germany, to oppose against the protectors of *Isenbourg*, rather then against *Isenbourg* himselfe. *Adolph* of Nassau, was assisted by *Albert* Marquis of Brandebourg, *Lewis* of Bavaria, furnished the blacke, *Charles* Marquis of Baden, and his brother, *John* Bishop of Metz, with *John* Earle of Wirtemberg: all which enuied the prosperity of *Frederick*, and yet feared to try his valour. *Frederick* was the weaker in men, but right hart a strong party. They neglected their enemies, and charges him disorderly: he resists them valiantly, beats them, cleares them, and puts them to flight, takes the Marquis of Baden, the Bishop of Metz, & the Earle of Wirtemberg prisoners, the first of July 1461, and to let them vnderstand that they had erred in the discipline of warre, spoiling the corses, and burning the Mills, hee caused them to sup the first night of their imprisonment without bread.

The end of this warre was the beginning of another, more fatal to the Emperor. The Pope deposed *George Boicbat* from the Crowne of Bohemia, as fauouring the doctrine of *Hus*, and appoints *Matthias* named *Casimir*, but the Emperor would not graunt it, depending of the Empire. *Matthias* was much moued, and the more, when as after the death of *George*, the Lords of Bohemia, and the Emperor likewise, leauing him, made choice of *Ladislaus*, the sonne of *Casimir*, King of Poland, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Albert* of Austria. In this warre, the Imperiall Matthe was not onely shaken, but through *Fredericks* misfortune almost ruined, and he in a manner expelled out of all Austria, & it redged vnder the power of a strange Lord, mighty & warlike. When as beheld *Albert* Duke of Saxony, sonne to *Frederick* the second Elector of Saxony, father to *Duke George* and *Henry*. Grandfather to *Maurice* and *Augustus* Electors, heuies a godly army at his owne charge, allies *Matthias*, and so weakens him in many battails, as hee abandons the greatest part of Austria, and forceth him in the end to accept a peace with such conditions as *Albert* would impose. During these partialities in the West, God raised vp some meanes to crosse the Turkes exploits, if the diuisions of Christian Princes, for the most part procured by the Popes, whilst they feried themselves, had not counteracted their own forces against themselves. Three years after this pittifull wound which the Christian Church receiued by the losse of Constantinople, *Mahomet* the second, besieged *Belgrade*, but to his confusion. A handfull of men, lead by that brave *Huniades*, in two dayes together, giue him two bloody battels, whittes them, kills about forty thousand of his men, spoiles his Campe, takes his Artillery, and with some difficulty hee saved his person, being wounded in the left pap, and caried out of the fight as dead. *Mahomet* seeing by this disgrace, that the land did not fauour him, meanes to try another element: hee right against a fleet of Gallies, to teize vpon the Islands of the Archipelagus. But hee had purchased a mighty enemy, *Sumcassan* of the race of *Asim*, Turke, Lord of Cappadocia, Armenia, and some other Countries adioyning, who had lately slaine *Metaphran*, or as some write *Demir* of Persia, and by that victory intruded the Realme. *Metaphran* had pointed the designs of *Mahomet*, grew to preiudice to make this victory the more famous, he drew rich presents out of the treasures of Persia, and sent them vnto *Mahomet*, requesting him not to attempt any thing against Trebisonde, nor Cappadocia (a Conquerors request imports an imperious command) Countries which belonged vnto him by titell of the dowry of his wife, the daughter of *Dan Comnene*. *Mahomet* not able to digest that a meaner then himselfe should prescribe him a law, employs all his wit to obscure the glory of this new King. He therefore sends a part of his fleet into Asia, directly to *Pontus* and *Sinope*, towards Trebisonde. And he himselfe, with an incredible speed

Warres in Great many.

Troubles in the East.

A great defeat of Turkes.

crossest

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The Turke  
out throwne  
twice in Asia,  
winne the  
third battell.

crosseth Asia, and camps neere to *Vsumcassan*. Three battels are fought: *Vsumcassan* winneth the first against *Amarath Bafcha*, a Greeke by Nation, neere to the flut of Euphrates, which *Bafcha* was slaine: and the second against *Mahomet*, where he was in person. These two battels did wonderfully weaken the Turkes forces. In the third, the Persians amazed with the vnaccustomed noise of the Turkish shot, vnable to endure the terror of the harghebuiffe, *Vsumcassan* and his men oppressed with this new army, lost the honour of the two first dayes, and *Zemald* the sonne of *Vsumcassan* was slaine with a shot.

*Mahomet* pursues his good fortune, besiegeth and takes *Sinope* the Capitall City of the Prouince; and afterwards all Paphlagonia: then the camps before Trebisonde, batteth it by Sea and Land, and in the end takes it; spoyleth the treasures of King *Daniel Commene*; sends him prisoner with his two sonnes, and his cousin *Iohn le Beau*, to Constantinople to serue for a shew, the day of his triumph, causing them afterwards to be barbarously slaine, rooting out the race of *Commene*. In the same voyage he tooke *Silicia* from *Piramus Calaman*, and being returned to Constantinople, hee conquered with his army by sea, the Islands of Lemnos and Lesbos: he vnpeopled *Mitilene*, and transported the Inhabitants of the Island into another Country.

With his forces at land he assailed *Dracula* Prince of Valachia: who with such stout forces of foot and horse, as the shortness of time would suffer him to leaue, did surprise and shut vp *Mahomet*, as both he and his army were in a manner rained: where beheld *Mahomet Bafcha*, Lieutenant Generall in the Turke army, with a braue and high resolution, opened the passage by force: but with great losse of his men, the which (assisted with new troopes,) he sends into high *Missa* and *Sclauonia*: chased *Stephen* King of *Bosnia*, out of laize the chiefe City, dispossessed him of his Realme, and in the end sent him about the yeare 1463. A while after *Matthias* King of Hungary recovered the said City and Realme, overthrew a great army of Turke spoiling the Country of *Sirme*, took many places in *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, and in the end expelled *Mahomet*, being come to besiege *laize*, spoyleth his Campe, and was master of all his baggage. *Scanderbeg* (expelled his Country) was retired into Italy, where shewing that the diuision of Christian Princes was the means to confirme the Turke estate, and that it was impossible to make him gaine ouer this audacious and insatiable desire, being at *Lisse* vpon the river of *Drille*, he was surprised with a Feuer, whereof he dyed, being three score and three yeares old, in the yeare of our Lord 1467.

A Prince exceeding all men in valour, of a wonderfull courage, so as euen with a vehemency his lips did bleed, at the beginning of euery charge. He neuer refused battell, neuer turned his backe, neuer was hurt but once, lightly in the foot with an arrow: he neuer had aboute fixe thousand horse and three thousand foot, and had slaine with his owne hands aboute two thousand Barbarians, striking with such force, as he cut many in two peeces.

*Mahomet* being freed by the death of *Scanderbeg*, vnderooke three warres at one instant: *Mefibus* of the race of the *Paleologues*, had commission to goe to *Rhodes*: *Acomath Bafcha* into Italy, to conquer it, with Rome, and the Empire of the West: and *Acomath* himselfe goes into Asia. *Mefibus* being often beaten, was forced to returne with the remainders of his army, languishing and in pittifull estate. *Acomath* lands in *Calabre*, takes *Oranto*, and so amazeth all Italy, as the Pope (neglecting all in regard of the safety of his person) resolues to leaue Rome. *Mahomet* going into Asia, dyed of the Colicke, neere vnto *Nicomedia*, in the yeare 1471. A happy death for the Christians: for *Oranto* besieged by the Italians, ayded by *Matthias*, was yeelded by composition, with their liues and goods sayed, without attending five and twenty thousand Turkes, which *Acomath* (pursuing his victory) brought to their succour. Thus Italy was deliuered from imminent danger, and the Pope assured: we will now leaue the raigne of *Baizet*, successor to *Mahomet*, to continue our worke in the West.

CHARLES

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CHARLES the Eight,

The 56 French King.



His Raigne will not hold vs long, but after the Duke of Orleans league, the motiue of five yeares warre in Britany ended by the Kings marriage with *Anne* the eldest daughter to *Francis* Duke of Britany, we shall be transported beyond the Alpes, to take the possession, which *René* King of Sicile, and *Charles* Earle of Maine his brother, had by their testaments left to *Lewis* the 11 to their rights they pretended to the Realme of Naples: vpon the way we shall see him entertained by *Lewis* *Sforce*, in the Towne of Ast, then hauing received the Forts of *Florence*, with the Citie of Pisa, from *Peter de Medicis*, hee enters Rome notwithstanding the gaine-saying of Pope *Alexander*, and hauing vfed therein the rights of a Conqueror, he treats an accord with the said Pope: receiues from him the title of Emperour of Constantinople, with the inuestiture of the Realme of Naples: & consequently causeth himselfe to be crowned King of Sicile. And to augment his honour, he makes his passage, maugre the forces of all the Princes and Potentates of Italy, at *Foumone*: and laden with glory and spoyle, returns triumphantly to seeke some rest in France, after his weary toyles. But alas! when as in the Greene and vigorous season of his life, he shall meditate of a second voyage for the recovery of his Realme of Naples (as easily lost as wonne) and when as the Easterne parts liued in hope to haue the Christian Church restored by him, oppressed now vnder the Turkish tyranny, Death vniust and vnseasonable, according to man, shall with himselfe cut off all his goodly designs, the which he had laid in the beginning of his flourishing youth, to cary him to the fruition of a better rest. The iudicious Reader may iudge, if wee haue reaped more honour and profit in the

gaining, then shame and hurt in the losse of so many Estates lying farre from vs. *Charles* came to the Crowne at the age of thirteene yeares, delicate, weak, sickly in his youth, milde, gracious, deuout, but willfull in his humours. *Lewis* had bred him vp at *Amboise*, attended on by few seruants, not visited by any, without any instruction, but bare reading, not willing to helpe nature by art. Yet the weakness thereof hath oftentimes more neede of a prop to support it, and a spur to prick it forward, then of a bit to restrain it. Did he feare that learning should impair his health, or corrupt the good seeds which nature had planted in his minde. He was content, that according to his fathers humour, his sonne should learne this onely sentence in Latin. *He that cannot dissimble, cannot rule*. But he did him wrong: for, he was inclined to the reading of French bookes: and he came no sooner to the crowne, but they found in him a desire of knowledge, which made him to haue a taste in the Latin tongue. But as the aperiēt time of his age was slip away without profit, so did he salute the Mules but a farre off: weak of body, but of a good wit, capable of counsell, and susceptible of the helpe requisite for the gouernment of a firme and solid State. His minority was the cause of a quarrell, betwixt the Duke of Orleans (a young Prince & next to the crowne) & the Earle of Beaufieu, for the Regency, which caused his coronation to be deferred vntill the next yeare after the which an assembly of States should determine of the administration of the King & realme. The Princes of the blood attending this solemnity, hauing bin so often wronged by *Oliuer le Daim*, *Daniel* his seruant, and *Doyac*, who had wholly gouerned the deceased King, did without the Kings priuie (whose young yeares withheld him from gouernment) informe of their insolencies, proud cariage, vnjust murders, thefts, extortions, & other crimes, which they had committed vnder the authority of *Lewis* the 11, and by a decree of the Court, make *Daniel* to forfeit both body and goods, and his master likewise some few dayes after. *Doyac* whipped at the corner of euery street, lost one of his eares vpon the Pillory at the Halles in Paris, then hauing his tongue pierced with a hot iron, he was conveyed to *Monse Perrault* in Auvergne, where he was borne: there they cut off his other eare, and whipe him likewise. Moreover the execrable rewards which *Lewis* had given to some persons, were reuoked, and they constrained

A briefe re-  
hearsall of  
Charles his  
Raigne.

Charles his dis-  
position, and  
education.

The Duke of  
Orleans and  
Earle of Beau-  
lieu contend  
for the Re-  
gency.

Oliuer and Da-  
niel changed.

Doyac whipp-  
ed, and lost his  
eares.

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to make restitution. To teach meane men, raised by the bounty of Kings, that man is A mortal, but the memory of indignity is immortal with great men.

At the same time the Duke of Britany was wholly possessed by *Peter Landays* his Treasurer, (of whom we have formerly spoken) by whole flanders and suggestions he had seduced his Chancellor *Channin*, to die miserably in prison of hunger and cold: being a very honest and a reverend man. *Landays* was the sonne of a poore Taylor in the suburbs of *Rachapt*, at Vitry in Britany, as it appeareth in his processe, quick witted, and bush-headed. His first access vnto the Duke was in the quality of a Taylor, and after he vied him in cary his loue letters, the said Duke being of a very amorous disposition. In the end he makes him master of his Wardrop, and finally his Treasurer generally, then he began to manage the Treasure, lustice and affaires of State at his pleasure, he did preferre one by his letters without the Dukes appointment, and place or displace whom he pleased: proud, treacherous, reuengefull, implacable to such as had offended him. Presumptuous, declaring such Noblemen of Britany, as could no longer enquire his arrogancy, guilty of high Treason, for that they had attempted against his person, forfeits their goods, banisheth their persons, and arming his master to their destruction, the which they could not uoide, but by a general pardon and remission.

In the end their patience is moued. *John* of Chalon Prince of Orange, sonne to one of the Dukes sisters, and *John* of Rieux Marshall of Britany, the Principall of his Court, having layed a plot, with the other Barons of the Country, at all adventures to seize vpon *Landays*: they enter the Castle of Nantes, being secretly armed, sicke for *Landays*, and find him not being gone to *Pabotiere*, a house of his vpon the Loire, nere vnto Nantes. The Duke is amazed at this insolent proceeding, and beleues it is some pretence against his person. One of his seruants goes vpon to the battlements towards the towne, and crieth out aloud: That they seeke to force the Duke. The archers of his guard storme: the officers and gentlemen of his house flee thither, the people troope together. They place such Artillery as they find in the towne against the Castle, ready to batter downe the gate. The undertakers (who had not fore-seene so dangerous a consequence) shew forth the Duke vpon the battlements, and caule him to speake. He assures them, that they haue not attempted any thing against his person: and to satisfie the multitude, *Philip* of Montauban enters by agreement, he aduertieth these Noblemen to absent themselves for a time, in the meane time the people would be pacified, and the Dukes wrath appeased. *Landays* on the other side hauing escaped a troop that was sent to surpris him in his house, saues himself through the ditches of his garden, alone, and on foot: and so in the night recouers the Castle of Poence, and giues the Duke notice of his aduerture. The Duke sends a company for him, and is more ruled by him then before. So *Landays* assembles all the Officers and men of counsell in Britany: he sends them to the Vniuersities of Italy, layes open the violence done to the Duke in his owne house, by his vassals and subiects, and demand what punishment this offence deserues. The assembly answers, as *Landays* desired: that they found them guilty of high-treason, yea in the highest degree, and therefore deserved death and losse of goods. A decree followes, with condemnation of death, haues beaten downe, wounds cutt up at the waist, with all the rigours which men condemned for such a crime might desire. They die into France, and offer their seruice to the Countesse of Beaucien, the Kings sister, complaining of the insolencies of *Landays*, without making further mention of their quarrell with the Duke. *Landays* discouers their retreat, he vnderstands of the discord betwixt *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, and the said Lady, and causeth his master (by letters written to *Lewis*) to accuse the disobedience and treachery of his Nobility, who acknowledging *Anne* for Regent of this Realme, deprived him of the honour and right that was due to him rather then to a woman, as the first Prince of the blood: he exhorts him not to relinquish his iust title, and promiseth to assist him with his best means. The Duke of Orleans had against his minde (as we haue heard) married *Anne* the youngest daughter of *Lewis* the Eleuenth, deformed and vnfit for conception, and followed the only aduice of the Earle of Dunois, sonne to *John* baron of Orleans, a man of great force, fight, aduised, a good and a valiant Captain.

This Earle did presently force call what (by the means of *Landays*, who did so secretly inuice Duke *Lewis*) forsaking *Anne*, he might marry with *Anne* the eldest daughter of *Francis* Duke of Britany. This hope drew him soone to Nantes, where hauing heard the complaints

*Landays* gouerns the Duke of Britany insolently.

*Landays* escapes and comes to the Duke.

He condemnes the Noblemen of high treason

*Landays* causeth his master to inuice the Duke of Orleans against the Countesse of Beaucien.

1484

A complaints of the French, and contented them with words and promises, without any meaning to accomplish them, moued rather with desire to gouerne the Estate, he returns into France, to assist at the Kings Coronation at Rheims, whereof the day approached. There were present at the Kings Coronation, the Dukes of Orleans, Alençon, Bourbon, and Loaring, the Earles of Beaucien, Angoulême, Vendôme, La Roche-sur-Yon, Montpensier, Longueville, Epix, Dunois, and those that were fled out of Britany, the Prince of Orange, *John* Lord of Rieux and Ancenis, the Earle of Aumale, *Ponce de la Riviere* (who was created Master of Bourdeaux) the Lord of Vife (who was made master of the horse) and others of their troope, all which brought him with pompe to make his entry into Paris, and to prepare for a general Parliament to be held at Tours, with more free access, then had been of all, yet not so effectual as was expected: euery one seeking rather to maintaine his private authority, then to procure the peoples ease. The pragmaticke Sanction was restored, to vse it as they had accustomed. The Constables sword was giuen to the Duke of Bourbon: the government of the Kings person to his sister, a cunning woman, and somewhat of her fathers humour: but the name of Regent was forbidden to them all, to preuent jealousies. There was a Councell erected of twelve, by whom matters should be dispatched in the Kings name: of the which *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, should be President.

*Lewis* discontented with this deuce, seeks to hold his ranke: he pretends that being the first Prince of the blood, the Regency belonged vnto him, he assists at the Councell, in Parliament, and in the Assemblies in towne, and notwithstanding the last Will of King *Louis*, and the decree of the Estates, yet will he by force haue the name and effect of Regent. But our Kings who may not (to preiudice the elder, or for want of issue, their nearest kinman, being a male and legitimate) dispose of their crowne: haue they not then power to commit the guard of their children, being yet pupils, and the Regency of the Realme to whom they please? Moreover, was it reasonable that he which was not yet five & twenty yeares old, who liued vnder his mothers wing, who by right had yet need of a gouernour, should be declared capable for the government of this Realme? So, want of yeares deprived his grandfather of the same dignity, during the phrensie of *Charles* the sixth. This discontent is nouisshed by a new accident: *Lewis* playing one day at Tennis, where the Ladies were present, there fell a stroke in controuerse, the which *Anne* iudged for the aduerser part. *Lewis* otherwise moued, casts out some word, importing a lie. *Anne* discontented therewith, causeth it to be decreed in Councell, that the Duke should be committed prisoner: he is aduertised thereof by *John Louen* (or *Louaine*) a Gentleman of his house, and so retires to the Duke of Alençon. The Duke of Lorraine was come to demand the Duchy of Barre, (the which *Lewis* the Eleuenth had held) and the Earldome of Provence, which he pretended to be his, as sonne to the daughter of *René* King of Sicilia, Duke of Anion, and Earle of Provence, and by consequence the nearest kinman to *Charles* Duke of Anion (who by transaction and testament had made *Lewis* the Eleuenth his heire) yet was the burthen to *René*, and soane to *Charles* of Anion, Earle of Maine his brother. Barre was restored, and the Lorraine had a hundred men at armes entertained, with thirty fixe thousand frankes for foure yeares, during the which they should looke into the title of the said Earldome. During this tearme, some well acquainted with the Estate of Provence, produce certaine testaments of *Charles* the first of that name, brother to Saint *Louis*, and Earle of Provence by his wife, and of other Kings of Sicilia, which had bene of the house of France, by the which, the house of Lotharing was not onely excluded from the succession of Provence, (not liable to the daughter, while there remained a son of the race) but that also the realm of Sicilia, and all other Seigneuries possessed by the house of Anion, belonged to the King. That *K. René* hauing regard to the said testaments, had at his death preferred his nephew *Charles*, before the said Duke of Lorraine, son to his daughter.

For the Duke of Orleans grieved to be thus excluded from his pretensions, and that *Anne* alone gouerned the King her brother, practiseth the Dukes of Bourbon, Alençon, and Britany (the chiefe support & refuge of the discontented French) the Earle of Angoulême, *John* Vicont of Narbonne, *Francis* Earle of Longueville, and many others. *Alain* Lord of Albrét, hoping (by the means of *Lewis*, whom hee found to haue great credit with the Duke of Britany) to marry with *Anne*, the eldest daughter of the said Duke (having not duly examined the heart of *Lewis*) enters easily into this faction.

Thus all things threaten a horrible and pernicious warre, but more in shew then effect.

A league made by the Duke of Orleans

The Duke of Orleans discontented leaves the Court.

The Duke of Orleans goes into Britany. The Kings Coronation.



1485

*Lewis* with his allies assembles some troopes, and thinking to put them into Orleans, the inhabitants give him to vnderstand by the Lord of Joyeuz, deputed there on his behalf, that he might well enter with his household, but not with his souldiers. Boiſſgency was then his retiring place.

*Anne* and the twelve Councillors, cause him to be besieged by *Francis* Earle of Vendosme, *Lewis* his brother, Earle of Roche-sur-Yon, *René* Duke of Lorraine (whom the said Lady had wholly won vnto her, knowing him to be resolute, vehement, and of faction) and *Peter* of Rohan, Lord of Gie, Marshall of France. In the end this warre was pacified by this agreement, that the Duke of Orleans should come to Court, and enjoy the place that belonged vnto him: but *Francis* Earle of Dunois (the Dukes right hand) a busie body and the first author of the trouble, should retire himselfe into the Countrey of Aft, belonging to the said Duke, or to what other place hee pleased without the Realme. *Mal Lewis* then bring his confederates in disgrace with the King, and now abandon them, hold the Duke of Bourbon and the Earle of Angoulesme leading 300 Lances, eight thousand foot, and about eightene hundred Gentlemen of Auvergne, Bourbonnois, Poitou, Beau-iculois and Angoulesmois, and *Alain* eight or nine thousand fighting men. If *Lewis* had attended them in some place of strength, how dangerously had hee shaken the estate of *Charles*, nor well felled during his minority? But he had too good a mind to tear out his own bowels, in their persons, whom the law in time should submit vnto him, & dismember the crowne, which he should weare in his turne. *Anne*, to disperse this storme, causeth the Earle of Beauieu her husband, to encounter their troopes, and forceth the Duke of Orleans to march in person, against those that came to his seruice. They were Frenchmen: and as they were lightly armed, so were they as lightly disarmed: the Marshall of Gie, and the Chamberlaine of Graulle, shall easily reconcile them. *Alain* being stopped his passage of Garonne, at S. Basille, by the Earles of Vendosme, and Roche-sur-Yon, was admitted to the same accord, vpon charge to furnish the King an hundred men at arms for his seruice: the which he deliuered vnder the command of S. Cyr, and *Forsan*. They are dispersed: the King at Amboise, *Lewis* at Orleans, *Alain* in Bazadois, and all the rest their houses: the Vicount of Foix, and *Peter* his brother being Cardinall at Nantes, vnder colour to visit their sister, wife to the Duke of Britany. They find their brother in law much incensed against his Nobility, and they resolute to defend themselves. But as both armies were ready to ioyne, an accord is made by some mediators: that considering the Dukes age and weaknesse of iudgment, the State should be gouerned by the aduice of his nearest kinsmen and friends. *Landays* is reinforced, and stormes: hee drawes letters Patents in the Dukes name, and declares all those of the Dukes army, that had entred into capitulation with the enemies troopes, guilty of high treason, forfeiting all their goods as traitors: he carries this Patent to the Chancellor *Francis Chrestien*, to be sealed, and brings a commandement from the Duke to that effect: the which the Chancellor refused. Behold *Landays* hath purchased two enemies for one, and both haue sworn his ruine, but they must conuenance it with Iustice. They depute the Lord of Pont-Chasteau to summon the Chancellor to doe Iustice vpon *Landays*, to appoint Iudges for his tryall, and to force him to appeare. They make informations against him, whereupon they decree to apprehend him: it is bruited throughout the towne, that *Landays* by sentence should be committed prisoner. The people run by heapes, they fill the Caille-yard, and will not depart till *Landays* be deliuered. He saues himselfe in the Dukes chamber. The Nobility doth force the Chancellor to repaire to the Castle and to demand this man. The Duke being contrayned, deliuer him, but vpon condition that he should not be vied contrary to Iustice, and commands vpon paine of death, that he suffers no outrage be done vnto him, vnder color of Iustice.

The Nobilitie being aduertised of his taking, posts to Nantes, and offer themselves vnto the duke, like humble subiects, suing for his fauour. *Landays* proceesse being made with that of *Isle* of Vity, one of his seruants, by certaine Commissioners, they were hanged. This done, the people were pacified, and the Nobility, by the intercession of the Earle of Comminges, returned into fauour, and obtained letters of pardon. Then returns the Earle of Dunois to his towne of Parthenay in Poitou, but without the Kings permission. The King, that is to say, the twelve vnder his authority) suspect his returne, and (feeling that the Duke of Orleans had sent for him, or that hee practised some new worke) sends for the Duke. Hee sends backe the Messenger with promise to follow, and vpon a second charge

Troubles in  
Britany.

They are re-  
conciled to  
the vnto of  
*Landays*.

*Landays* han-  
ged.

The Earle of  
Dunois crush  
new combu-  
stion.

1487

A charge by the Marshall of Gie, doubting the humour of the Countesse of Beauieu, and moreover, mad at his ill vſage, keeping him as it were confined within Orleans, without liberty to go forth in safety, he parts from Orleans, vnder colour to go a hawking: he takes the way to Fronteaux, and from thence to Nantes, whither the Earle of Dunois went to meet him. This departure was presently knowne, & Parthenay was suddenly besieged, taken and razed, with many other places in Guienne, which belonged to the Earle of Comminges, and others that were in Britany. These men slept not. A league is presently made vnder the Dukes of Britany and Orleans, wherinto there enters the Prince of Orange, *Francis* of Laual Lady of Dinan and Chastellubriant, *Isle* Lord of Rieux and Earle of B. Aumale Marshall of Britany, the Earles of Angoulesme and Dunois. The Duke of Lorraine who finds no great satisfaction of promises, is easily drawn into it. *Maximilian* King of Romans gives his consent. *Charles* opposeth *Lewis* of Bourbon, Earle of Roche-sur-Yon, great Grand-father to the Duke *Montpensier* last deceased, and makes him his Lieutenant generall in this warre: with *Lewis* of Bourbon the yongest brother of the Earle of Vendosme, he giues them for assistant, master *Lewis* of Tremouille Vicount of Thouars who had married *Gabrielle* of Bourbon, sister to the said Conte *Lewis*.

*Francis* Duke of Britany had no great reason to be a Sanctuary for these mutines, and by receiving them to draw all the forces of France vpon his decayed age, attending nothing but his graue. But supposing to protect himselfe from the Kings surprisles, hee must C. rinate his Country, his Nobility and his subiects. But then falls out another accident. The Lords lately reconciled grew in ieaousie, that the French were come to reuenge the wrong done vnto their Duke: or else with their ruine and the Dukes, to make their peace in France. They desired to send them home for two respects; the one to content the King and his Sister, the other for that they should not grow in any such credit with the Duke, as in the end he might employ them against themselves, wishing in a manner for *Landays*, to oppose him against them. Moreover, they feared *James Guise*, a Captaine of the Dukes men at armes, and in good credit, Nephew to *Landays* and his seruant, lest he should seek to reuenge for his Vncles death. If it should be so, how could they subsist? The King discouers this secret ieaousie, and findes a good expedient, to thrust them out to their owne mutual ruines. To this end he sends *Andrew* of Espinay Cardinall of Bourdeaux, and the Lord of Bouchage, with instructions to *Rieux* Marshall of Britany, and commission to offer them men and meanes to expell the French out of Britany.

The best aduised discouer the Kings intent, that accepting of this offer, they make the way open for the King to enter into Britany. But in the end they agree: That he should not send into Britany for this succour, about foure hundred Lances, and foure thousand foot, and that at the Barons request, That the King should pretend nothing to the Duchie, whilst the duke liued. That he should not besiege nor take any Towne, Castle, or Fort within the Country: and that his souldiers should take nothing without paying. That when as the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Dunois and others should retire out of Britany, the King should be bound to withdraw his forces. And for the Brittons: That the Noblemen of Britany should arme with him, and accompany his army to expell the French. The confirmation of these Articles is seconded with foure hundred Lances, and five or six thousand men led by the Lord of Saint Andre, who enters Britany on the one side: the Earle of Roche-sur-Yon on another, and the Vicount of Tours on the third. All the Country is suddenly filled with French men at armes, and the Orleansois are amazed, being vnfurnished both of force and counsell to resist. The Earle of Dunois being of more iudgement then the rest, considers that the company of a hundred Lances belonging to *Alain* of Albret, was a part of those foure hundred commanded by Saint Andre: that it was conuenient to winne him, and with this designe to put him in hope of the marriage of *Anne* of Britany. An inuention according to the necessitie of the time, but this was not the Earles intent, who laboured to winne her for the Duke of Orleans, neither the Prince of Orange, who vnder hope of this alliance, had drawne the Arch-Duke *Maximilian* into this league, whereby he should enter into Bourgongne, with a mighty army led by the Duke of Lorraine, whilst that hee himselfe should annoy the King in Flanders and Picardy. But great shewes and small fruits. Hee was so poore and needy, as the King might easily disappoint all his practises and strata. Now are we deeply engaged in Warre. The Duke of Britany (accompanied with *Lewis* of Orleans, the Earles of Dunois and Comminges, the Lords of Montmorency,

A league  
made by the  
Orleansois.

The King seeks  
to diuide the  
Brittons from  
their Duke.

A conspiracy  
of the Nobility  
of Britany with  
King *Charles*.

The French  
enter Britany.

1487

Ioyeuze, du Lis, St. George, Dampierre and Beauuau) tooke a view of his army at Malestroit, consisting of fixe thousand Lances, and sixteene thousand foot, good and bad, ill armed and ill trained: whilest the French and Brittons being ioynd together, take Rennes, and (to terrifie Rennes) they spoyle the Country euén vnto Mecay, besiege Ploemel, batter it, and in three dayes take it, spoyle and ranfome it.

The Duke of  
Brittons army.

The Dukes army marched to succour this towne, when as *Maurice* of Mené being great of body and courage said. *Whither goe we my friends? Our Duke is onely gouernour of the French, by whose persuasions we march against the French, who at their first entrance will betray him to their Nation, whereof I am well aduertised. Were we not better to remain in our houses with our wives and children, then to be thus led by the humours of others?* A speech of a great consequence. He was of the best allied in Britany, issued out of the house of Guierlesquin, and had well serued *Leuén* the eleuenth, as Gouernour of Guierlesquin, Captaine of a hundred men at armes in the Warres against the Flemings: a man of valor and counsell, and well aduanced by the said King, hauing the profits of *La Ferté*, *Maréchal*, *Aiguemortes*, *Beauuau* and *Gorlonniere*: but very inconstant in his changing of parties. At this speech they all scatter: so as of sixteene thousand, scarce the fourth parting the field: the Duke amazed herewith, leaues Malestroit, and recouers Vennes: but he was pursued so speedily, as he loseth his baggage, being fauoured in his retreat by the Prince of Orange, who had posted from Nantes to his succour: very happily for the wife he had bene besieged and taken. Vennes being beleagred, yeelds for feare. The Duke at his departure had left two thousand eight hundred horse in it, vnder the command of *Coetquen* Lord Steward of Britany, and of *Amalury* of Moulfay; and for Captaine of the towne *James le Moine*, who vnable to maintaine the siege, retired in haste. *Coetquen* went to Dinan, where he commanded; *La Moulfay* with his horse to Nantes, where the Duke was, and the Kings army did bend that wayes. *Adrian del Mafis* a Captaine of the armes, meets him vpon the way, defeated him, kills a great number of his troope, and takes many prisoners: some fixe hundred recouer Nantes. This was about Whitsonside. The Duke thus pressed, being weake in his person, and weake in his subiects: being divided, weake in friends, weake in those who had ingaged him in this warre for their quarrell, and the Earle of Dunois, and *Oliuer* of Coetman (who soone after fell to the French, and was made gouernour of Auxerre) to craue succours from Henry King of England. But to increase his misery, Henry was not yet in quiet possession of his Realme, crossed by some maindiers of *Richards* party, the which he must suppress. The King resolved to besiege the Duke in Nantes, he comes in person to Ancenis, thither come the associate Brittons, repenting their indiscretion, for that they had taken townes, and spoiled the country, contrary to their promise; and their owne lands suffered the like extremities. Thus Nantes was besieged the 19 of Iune, well battered, well assailed, and as well defended. The deputies of England were four times shipped to crosse the Seas, and four times put back by tempest of weather. In stead of English, they brought fifty thousand Brittons of the commons, grieved to see the Duke besieged. The Kings army, either holding themselves vnable to fight with this, or neglecting them as fruitles forces, or doing it of purpose, the better to furnish the towne, gaue them free passage, and holding it likewise impossible to force a towne well furnished with commanders, men and victuals, they raised the siege the sixt of August, to go without losse of men to Dole: the which was taken and spoiled without resistance, the Brittons and other souldiers were put to ranfome.

Nantes be-  
sieged.

During the siege of Nantes, *Peter* of Rohan Earle of Quintin, of the French faction, surprised Montcontour, and summoned Guingamp, a passage for succours that came to the Duke from the Bishopricks of Treguer, Leon and Cornouaille. *Iohn* of Coetman Lord of Chasteaugui, Captaine of the Towne, was at Nantes. Hee flies thither, and furnisheth the place with men sufficient to defend it, & hauing intelligence that *Plasguen* with about fifty Gentlemen, Brittons of the Kings army, spoyleing the Country & drawing the Nobility to their party, dined in the Abbey of Begar, hauing called together the neighbor parishes, and assembled some troops, he charged them, ouerthrew them, and hid them all prisoners to Guingamp: where the Iudges of Goello & Guingamp, by the Dukes expresse commandement, began to enforme against them, & had finished their process, if some friends and kinsmen had not found meanes of delay, vntill the Dukes death, which proceeding. This prize gaue courage to the Capitaines of Dinan. They assem-

ble

Able about fixe thousand men, and besiege Montcontour. But the Vicont of Rohan, and the Earle of Quintin, offering to succour it, and moreover, the siege of Nantes requiring force and expedition, they retire to Rennes, to ioyne with the other forces, consisting of fixe or seuen thousand men. At the same instant *Thon* of Rociers, Lord of Bois de la Roche, and *Peter Long* Lord of Kaeruegues (inticed with the great wealth which the Earle of Quintin had left in his Castle), assemble some souldiers with many peasants, and besiege Quintin: they take it, and against the composition sworne, spoyle the towne and Castle, and (in hatred of the Earle, who followed the King) burnt it to ashes. The Earle by meanes of his subiects recovered it soone after: and *Gouques* Captaine thereof before, expelled them againe, and spoyle the towne. But to what end serued this cruell stratagem, seeing that *Rociers* had a house in the Country, and the Earle good meanes to be reuenged: as he was a yeare after, by the taking of *Rociers* himselfe, and the spoile and burning of his house. The Phrygiens grow wise too late, saith the Proverbe. The Nobility of Britany finding their error, by drawing the Kings forces into the country, to their owne ruine, they send to the duke protesting to be no way associate with the king, but to defend themselves against the French that were neere his person, who they doubted had bene drawne in to preiudice them: they offer to serue him hereafter, and against all men, so as he will pardon them. The Duke receives them, and grants his letters of abolition, delivery and restitution of all their goods and dignities, as before the warres, namely: to the Vicont of Rohan, to the Lords of Auangour and Rieux, (lately put from the office of Licutenant general, and Martiall of Britany) as well for themselves as their assistants. *Rieux* enjoyed it, but the rest persisted in the Kings seruice. In the meane time the Kings army prepares to goe into Base Britany, and to besiege Guingamp: but the Marshall of Rieux changing his party, makes them to change their proiect. *Rieux* was at Ancenis, wonderfully perplexed to see the French entred the Country, by a breach which the Nobility of Britany had voluntarily made them, deuising some means to repaire these confusions, drawne thereunto by his reception into grace. The Earle of Cominges going Ambassador to the King, passed by Ancenis, and confirmed *Rieux* in this good resolution, persuading him to goe vnto the Duke, with assurance that he should be graciously receiued. *Rieux* thinking to strike two strokes with one stone, sends *Francis du Bois* to the King, who at that time was at Pont de Larche: giuing him intelligence that the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and others, retired into Britany, were willing to leaue the Country, so as they might rest safely in their houses, without touch for that was passed.

1487

Montcontour taken.

The Brittons  
reconciled to  
the Duke.

*Rieux* recoiled  
from the King

Which being concluded, he beseeched his Maiesty to retire his men at armes, according to the treaty he had signed with his owne hand. *Anne* hearing this proposition. *My friend* (said the vnto the Gentleman) *say vnto my Cousin the Marshall of Rieux, your master, that the King hath no companion, and seeing he is entred so farre, he will make it good.* The Earle had no better satisfaction. An answer discovering the Kings intention, which was to incorporate this Duchy to the Crowne: the which caused the Marshall to yeeld to his Prince without dissenting. He drawes some souldiers from Nantes in October, and deliueis his towne of Ancenis into their hands, swearing they should keepe it for the Duke. In the end *Francis* of Laval, Baron of Chasteaubrian, sonne in law vnto *Rieux*, suffers him to enter the Castle, holding him to be the Kings seruant. Being the stronger, and lodging his troope within the towne, he commands (seeing that the King had broken the contract) all those that would not swear fidelity and seruice to the Duke, to retire the next day with bag and baggage. Could he be ill receiued of his master, carying with him the deliuey of two so good places: The Prince of Orange hauing ioynd with some Germane succours, sent by *Maximilian*, and led by *Baldwin* Bastard of Bourgongne, and some 3000 men of the Countreies of Cornouaille, Leon, Treguer, and Goello, resolved to besiege Quintin, where the Brittons (ioynd with the French that were commanded by the Baron of Pont-Chateau) did wonderfully annoy Guingamp: who being in a town vnfit for war, left the place, & gaue the Prince means to campe before La Chaize, a castle belonging to the Vicount of Rohan, but weakened by the losse of many of his men, part of them going daily to the French, and part disbanding by reason of the Winter; he retired his army to Montcontour, resolute to take a view; and to punish such as were departed without licence. Yet notwithstanding all his care, and the Dukes seuerer command to the Gentlemen, to returne to the Campe within two dayes, vpon paine of the losse of their goods and honours, and

Ancenis and  
Chasteaubrian  
yeilded to  
the Duke.

Compendious  
for the history of  
Britany.

and to others of corporall punishment, those few forces which remained, vanished fast & deny.

Thus the Duke wauers, betwixt hope and feare, fortified on the one side, but weakened on the other, seeing his estate incline to ruine. Hee had two pillars, which in his conceit might raise him, or at the least support him; *Anne* and *Isabel*. The Prince of Orange wooed *Anne* for *Maximilian*: *Rieux*, the Lady of Laual, and the greatest part of the Nobility, for *Alain* of Albret. The first promised greater conditions, yet the King had combred him much in Flanders, supporting the Gantois, so as hee could not succour his pretended Father in Law, neither with his person, nor his subjects; having small credit amongst them, and lesse money: for that they would not assist him to prejudice the King.

*Alain* (whom others call *Amand*) had some forces in hand, and fed with this plausible hope, he brought about a thousand men out of Castile, and three thousand Gascons, the Duke would willingly haue made two sonnes in law of one daughter, and vrgent necessity forced him, (like vnto *Charles* of Bourgonne) to promise her so many, whom hee could giue but to one: euen as *Erichonius* satisfied his gluttony and continual hunger, when vnto *Ceres* had condemned him (having cutt downe her groue) by the many sales of his daughter *Metra*. In the end *Anne* is promised to *Maximilian*, who should come to marry in Britany, and withall, hee should bring great troops of men to succore the Duke against the oppression of the French. But he abused him no lesse then he is abused. Hereupon *Alain* comes with his Castilians and Gascons. At his first arriual hee went to saluete the Duke at Nantes, and then his mistresse, thinking to haue the greatest honor in his love. But oftentimes two braue Grey-hounds courting a Hare, a third crosseeth them, and carries away the game, as we shall soone see. The Marshall of Rieux being arriued, haue his consent in fauour of *Alain*, at the Countesse of Lauals request, sister in law to the said *Alain*. It was no time now to leaue this Marshall (newly reconciled) idle. The Duke giues him the charge of his army, with commission to take Vennes, where *Gilbert* of Grassai, and *Philip* of Moulins, (of whom we shall make mention in the battell of Fornoue) commanded. He marcheth thither, batters it, and takes it by composition, the third of March. Then *Saint Cir* and *Ferfaix* (who led the hundred men at armes of *Alains* company) declared themselves Brittons by their Captaines commandement, building friuolously upon this marriage: yet some of the company retired to the King. The Kings army wintered, but *Lewis* of Bourbon aduertised of the taking of Vennes by *Rieux*, requires him by the surprize of Ancenis and Chateaubriant, places neerer the river, to make the siege of Fougères more easie, on the one side, being a frontier towne, and of good defence, and on the other side, that of Saint Albin le Cormier. The Brittons army had beene eighteen moneths in field without rest, to make head against the French; but now they must shew what courage is in them. The Duke of Orleans, *Alain* of Albret, the Earle of Dunois, the Marshall of Rieux, the Lord *Scates* an Englishman, (commanding some three hundred men of his nation, sent by *Henry* King of England, by the meanes of the Lord *Maupertuis*) the Siegior of Leon, eldest sonne to the Vicount of Remy, the Siegior of Chateaubriant, Crenettes, Pont l'Abbe, *Plessis*, *Baliscon*, *Montigny*, *Balines*, *Mutuel*, and other Captaines of bands, go forth of Nantes, with an intent to raise the siege. Their army was 400 Lances, and 3000 foot, (beside 300 English, and 200 Germanes, sent by *Maximilian*) with good store of Artillery, for this great rabble armed, and tumultuously assembled by the Earle of Dunois, had beene in a manner all sent backe, as an vnprofitable burthen vpon the earth.

But the matter is of importance, the French are not so easily forced to rise, and if an occasion of battell be offered shall they accept it? The Marshall of Rieux (best experienced in matters of war) with some others, are not of that opinion: for to what end (say they) should we hazard the estate and Country, vpon an euent which may be auoyded? If we lose the day, by what meanes shall we releue our selues? The souldiers that shall remaine after the overthrow, will want courage, and change their minds: the people would be amazed, the Townes stand in suspence, the Conquerour would become master of the Country, and take all Townes he should attempt without resistance. It were best to reuoluntize, and to incampe at Rennes, being well furnished with victuals and things necessary, and in the meane time, to keepe the enemy occupied, forcing him to lie in field, tiring him with their horsemen, and cutting off his forrage, or else to lodge the army in the frontier

Disturbance  
of the Brittons  
army.

A frontier towne, to shut vp the victuals, and attend the winter: which being come, the enemy shall haue no meanes to lodge abroad, but must of force dislodge: and in the meane time, we shall see what profit will grow by the leagues of the kings of England & Castile, of the Arch-duke, and the Duke of Lorraine, all which giue the Duke great hope, to counterminne the Kings practices in Britany. The rest (rashly thrust on, partly by a young and boyling humor, partly with desire to make triall of their forces) make answer. That the souldiers are wearied with this long bearing of armes without effect; that hauing now an opportunity to doe well, they obserue a great ioy in their resolutions, the which it was more fit to nourish then to quench: that their forces were vnited all together, and asked nothing but employment; and that delay would make them leaue their Ensignes by little and little. In the meane time, Fougères was at the last gape; a towne of importance, and one of the keyes of the Country, that to leaue it in this extremity, were to shew a manifest proofe of cowardise to all the rest. To conclude: they say in a manner, that to temporize were to play the cowards. The first opinion was most probable, but the vehemency of the Earle of Dunois, and the heat of younger heads caried it. All march: but see the pittifull fruit of their first lodging at Andouille, a village vpon the way from Rennes to S. Albin, a contention falls betwixt the Duke of Orleans, and the Lord of Albret, a man of greater reuenues, father to *Iohn* the last of that name, King of Nauarre: but his mistresse did not affect him, a good scholler in dissembling, to vse the power of *Albret*, for the benefit of the Duke her father. The Duke of Orleans did rise a higher pitch, and by the mediation of the Earle of Dunois, was very far in fauor with *Anne* of Britany: *Alain* discouered some good shewes of *Anne*, to the Duke of Orleans, whereupon they grow to some words, as the day approaching they were ready to fight. But the enemy being at hand, was it now time to contend, to the prejudice of a whole army? But now the foresight of the Marshall of Britany, doth pacifie all: vpon this diuision they receiue two several aduertisements. *Saint Albin* of Cormier was battered by the French with three batteries, and yeelded by composition, with their liues and goods saued: a small towne, but furnished with a very good Castle, but at that time vnfortified of men, victuals and munition, and Fougères yeelded vpon the like accord: *Saint Albin* was commanded by *William* of Rolsmeinen, an ancient captaine, who had had a command of men at armes vnder *Charles* the seventh, and *Lewis* the eleuenth, but in the warres betwixt *Charles* the eight, and the Duke of Britany, he returned to serue his naturall Prince. The Brittons army marcheth to recouer this place, and the French to preferre their conquests, when as be hold there a trifer a mutiny among the Brittons. It is secretly murmured, that the French Commanders their associates, had intelligence with the heads of the French army, the which suggestion did euen then hazard all, and if the Brittons had beene farther off, without feare of charge, they had easily disbanded. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange aduertised of this conceit, had great paine to worke any other impression. What doe they? to giue an assurance of the contrary, they leaue their horses, and I sweare all to fight on foot with the Brittons and Germans. A more bold then wise resolution, but necessary did force them to appeale this mutiny which tended to sedition.

They order their troops to fight. The foreward to the Marshall of Rieux: the battell to the Lord of Albret, with some horse to couer his flanks. The Rereward to Chateaubriant, and on either side, their carriages of artillery and baggage to couer some of their feet, being fauoured on their flanks with a small groue betwixt Saint Albin, and the village of Oranges. And to make the small numbers of strangers (seeme great, they attire some hundred, (some say, seauenteene hundred) Brittons, with cassocks bearing a red cross, the English liuery. *Lewis* of Tremouille in the absence of *Lewis* of Bourbon his brother in law, commanded the Kings army. He giues the foreward to *Adrian del Host*, and old French Captaine, and famous in this warre: hee takes the battell to himselfe, and giues the rereward to the Marshall of Baudricourt, pressed by a more sudden charge then he expected. *Gabriel* of Montfauois with ten or twelue horsemen, sent out to observe the Brittons countenance makes report of their good order.

The two armies approach, the artillery thunders, and kills many men of either side; a skirmish continues about two houres, which giues the French leysure to order their battell. The two forewards ioyne, the Brittons endure the shocke so courageously, as the French yeeld to the resolute valour of the Marshall of Rieux, who goes to charge the battell.

The battell of  
Saint Albin.

Vennes taken  
for the Brittons.

Ancenis and  
Chateaubriant  
taken for the  
King.

The order of  
the Brittons  
army.

The order of  
the French.

tell: and at the first they kill *Claude* of Montfort, a brave Capitaine, sent by the King of England to succour the Duke, and the Lord *Scates*, a valiant Knight, with some others of the foremost ranke. *Blaise* a Germane Capitaine, to cover himselfe from the French artillery, changeth his quarter, marching by ass-wile with his battalion, like unto a *Chapeau* sarras: but he is suddenly charged in flanke by four hundred French horse, broken, and many of them slaine. At the same instant, two hundred horse charge these which had the baggage in charge, and force them to retire. The Brittons horse that flanked the army, grew amazed, and leaves the foot naked. They charge them, and force them to give way, and all fly, some here, some there, the Brittons horse into the wood, and likewise their foot. The Duke of Orleans, and Earle of Dunois fighting unhappily on foot, say what possibly may be expected from such gallant Princes, but the Duke dying among the Germanes was taken in the wood; the other seeing this generall overthrow, tore off his blacke crosse, the livery of Britany, and hid himselfe among the dead bodies: an *Antier* (that had beene of his company) knew him, and both of them were led prisoners to *St. Albin*, whence the Duke of Orleans was soon after caried to the great Tower of *Boisges*. The Marshall of Britany, and the Lord of Albret saved themselves in Dinan by the swiftnesse of their horses. All the counterfeite English with red crosses were slaine without remission.

The Lord of Leon (sonneto the Vicount of Rohan) Pont l'Abbe, the Lord *Scates*, an Englishman issued from that brave *Talbot* Montfort (kinsman to the Prince of Orange) with sixe thousand souldiers of their army were slaine. *Mosin Gralla* (a name famous of the Iewe) Lord Steward to *Ferdinand* King of Castile, and chiefe of the Spanish troopes, was taken prisoner. Of the French, *James Galeas* a Neopolitane, a valiant and renowned Capitaine: and others to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred men, but few of any make. This was on Monday, the 25 of July: a day of great import for the State, the which did wonderfully shake the Dukes affaires, being troubled in mind, and his subiects tired with toyle and terror, whereof doth follow practices of places, yeeking vp of Townes, and finally, euery one frames himselfe to follow the Conquerors fortune: a day eternizing the happy memory of that Noble Knight, *Lewis* of Tremouille, great great Grandfather to *Claude* Lord of Tremouille last deceased, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Talmond, Earle of Guines, &c. and of the noble Princessse, *Charlotte Katherine* of Tremouille, Princessse of Conde, Countesse of Taillebourg, Baronesse of Suille, Craon, Bouffiers, *S. Hermine*, la Chaise, in the Vicounty, &c. mother to the most high & mighty Prince *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and first Peere of France, &c. having at the age of 25 or 26 yeares, by his incomparable valour and verue, wonne the honour of so memorable a victory. The next day, the Lord of Tremouille turns towards Rennes, summons the towne, and (to terrifie the Inhabitants) he lodgeth his army in the villages of Acigne, Chasteaugiron, Veru, S. Supplie, and others thereabout. The Heralds returne an answer: That the King had no right to the towne, and that he wrongfully made war in Britany; That notwithstanding his forces and happy success, God the guardian of their right, might doe vnto him, as hee had in former time to King *John* before Poitiers, and to *Philip* of Valois at Creey. That if *Tremouille* come, hee should find twenty thousand men to resist him. So the army leauing Rennes, marcheth to Dinan, vnder the command of the Vicount of Rohan. *Anastury* of Mouffay, gouernor of the towne, compounds at the first summon, to deliuer it into the Kings hands, vpon the accustomed conditions in like cases: to commit the guard thereof to whom hee pleased, and the inhabitants to sweare vnto the King: which done, the French army should retire. On the other side, *Guy* the fifteenth of that name, Earle of Laual, catcheth some French troopes to enter by night into his Castle of Vitre, and so they became masters of the towne: and by the same meanes he drew his brother *Francis* Lord of Chasteaubriant, and Montalant to the Kings party. The Baron of Pont Chasteau, brother to the Vicount of Rohan, followed the example of *Francis* of Auaugour, the Dukes base sonne, who had already deliuered the towne and castle of Clifton into the Kings hands; and the greatest part of the Nobility followed the same course. Hereafter we shall see a ciuill war, rather then a foraigne. And for the last worthy exploit of this army, *Tremouille* beleegeth *St. Malo*, both Towne and Castle, one of the strongest places in Britany, beautified with a goodly haucn. It was able to hold out against the forces of a mighty army, as well for the

Dinan yields.

Clifton yields.

The Kings proposition in Council.

A feat thereof, as for the fortification: but they easily enter into composition. The Kings affaires advanced thus, as the Dukes declined: his Maieity being at Angiers, hee propounds in Council whether hee should proceed to an absolute conquest of the Duchie, seize vpon the dukes person, and his daughters, giue them some pension, and marry them at his pleasure. He wanted no firebrands in Court, to kindle these combustion; dispersed throughout all Britany. My Liege (say they) if you once get the father and his daughters into your hands, you shall easily obtaine the whole Country, without striking stroke, and reduce the Nobility at your discretion. *Guy* of Rochefort, Chancellor of France, a iust man, and of a good conscience, shewes, that the duke of Orleans retreat into Britany, had beene the chiefe motiue to draw downe the Kings forces. That his Maieitie hauing now the said duke in his power, the cause ceasing, the effect should cease: That the Duke was somewhat to be excused, if by the bond of alliance and affinity, he had beene intangled in the disgraces of these Noblemen, tied vnder the shadow of his wing. Moreover, the King had no iust cause to pursue his owne vassall with such violence, to ruine his estate, to invade a pupils patrimony, and to spoile her of her Grandfathers inheritance. If the King werenot satisfied to haue the chiefe motiues of these confusions in his power, hee armed himselfe with a transport made to King *Lewis*, by the Lord of Bouffiac & *Nicole* of Britany his wife: that hee must then examine the titles, and appoint men to looke into the rights of the one and the other: if the Kings pretensions were iust, it was in him to put them in execution: if not, the people would exclaime against this violence, and God the protector of the oppressed, would soone or late, raise vp some to reuenge it: for the peoples voice, is the voice of God, who cries to Princes; *Doe right to the needy and Orphelins: doe iustice to the afflicted and poore*. This aduice made the Lords of the Council pause a while, and many in the end conclude: That it was more conuenient to agree vpon Iudges, to decide this contumacious iudicially. Doubtlesse God holds the hearts of men in suspense, & makes them yeeld to what he pleaseth: But our Countesse of Beaune was not well pleased with this resolution, hoping to haue the Earldome of Nantes for her share. They let the duke vnderstand what the Council had decreed. These crosses, diffemperatures, age, and weaknesse of Iudgement, hindered the apprehension in his affaires, yet will hee deale surely. He charged the Earles of Dunois and Cominges with offers and submissions to the king, the king refers them to *Yerger* to consider thereof: aboute belonging to the Marshall of Gye. Behold there grows great pretensions. The king pretends the propriety of Britany, by reason of the grant made by *Bouffiac*. The Vicount of Rohan had not renounced his interest. He descended of *Mary* of Britany, sister to *Marguerit* the dukes first wife, the only heire of *Francis* the first, and *Mary* preceded the duke that then was, in degree of blood. But the pity was, she was a woman.

Pretendaine for Britany.

As for the pretended rights and grants of *Bouffiac*, they answered: that the matter had been fully decided by the treaty made at the Abbey of Victory, and many others. To the Vicount of Rohan: That it was ended by the contract of mariage, testaments, and ordinations of Dukes their Predecessors, and decrees of Parliaments. But the King hauing two strings to his bow, like a conqueror, grew willfull, and his sister *Beaune* more then hee. If one failed, the other was ready bent. *Charles* demands the ward-shipp of the dukes daughters. It was of purpose, that obtaining this ward-shipp, he might marry *Anne* at his pleasure, being twelve yeares old, and her sister seuen. This might not be, the Nobility would neuer haue endured it. Moreover, *Charles* discouers, that foraigne Princes repined thereat, and were ready to embrace this quarrell. They must therefore agree vpon Iudges, and a certaine place. Yet leauing nothing of his conquests of Britany, and being seized of some townes won by their Swords, let the Iudges determine what they will, we will doe what we please. In the end they draw Articles: the King accepts them, and sends them to the Duke being at Coton vpon Loire, where the Duke remained. He signes them, some willingly, the rest by force: enjoying this happinesse in the end of his dayes, to haue changed this wretched warre into a publicke rest.

So a peace is concluded, and sworne on either part, the one and twentieth of August. The King promises to call home all his men at armes, and the duke to dismiss all strangers: hee promiseth to giue the King for hostages, the Lord of Montalant, *Rainfort*, and the son of the Lord Steward of Britany: and within a certain time, to assemble the Estates of the Country, and to make them confirme this Treaty. But *Francis* the second of that name,

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The Duke dies.

The Kings new  
demands.

Annes answer.

New troubles  
by the Vicount  
of Rohan.

name, duke of Britany, oppressed with griefe, melancholy, and age, and fore brused with a fall: falls sicke and dies the ninth of September, leaving the Marshall of Rieux guardian of his daughters, the Earle of Comings for an assistant, and *Francis of Laual*, Lady of Chasteaubriant for gouernesse.

Presently after the Dukes decease, the Kings sends Ambassadors to *Anne* the new Duchesse, who giues her to vnderstand, that the Kings intention was to maintaine the treaty made betwixt his Maieity, and the duke deceased: but to make it more firme, it was expedient for her to yeeld in three points to the King. The first: That seeing they were yeelded vnto the King, reason would, that he should haue the guard, or wardship, and during their minority, the disposing of their lands and Seigneuries. The second: That Commissioners appointed should decide their controuersie, touching the principality of Britany, by the first day of January next ensuing: and in the meane time, neither the one nor the other, should cary the name nor the authority of Duchesse, nor receive the ome of fealty. The third: That all strangers should voyde the Country, as was contained in their contract. *Anne* makes answer: that she desires to keepe the treaty betwixt the King and her deceased father, without any other conditions: And for confirmation of the words, she calls a Parliament the 29 of December following, as the Duke was bound to haue them ratifie the conuentions of peace. In the meane time there were robberies, taking of ransomes, massacres, thefts, deuolation of the Country, sale of townes, euen in open warres. The Vicount of Rohan laboured to winne the townes by sweet words, and amiable letters; he shewes vnto them the miseries of this war, farre from any end, by the decease of their Duke: that at his request, the King had retired his army, attending, if the Nobility and Commons, would put themselves into the hands of the said *Rohan*, vnto whose command his Maieity meant they should remaine, otherwise he was ready to reduce the obstinate to reason by force. *Rennes*, *Guincamp* and others (to whom heretofore particularly written) answer: That neither they nor the rest, can or ought acknowledge any other commander then the Duchesse: to whom during her fathers life, (and since her decease) they were bound by oath. Moreover, they were aduertised that the King was solued to entertaine a peace with their Prince, in the same manner as had bene agreed. They beseech him to rest satisfied with this answer, vntill they bee informed of the Duchesse intention, of the Councells, and the Marshall of Rieux: and in the meane time, to haue the good of the Country, and the peace in recommendation.

This answer puts the Vicount into cholier, and the Earle of *Quintin* his brother thrusts him on, being desirous to be reuenged for the often taking, and spoiling of his towne. He goes to field with his troope, and neere vnto *Pontieu* he encounters some men gathered together, with an intent to goe to succour the Duchesse: he doeth charge them, slayeth them, and kills a part of them, being abandoned by some Gentlemen that conducted them: then hee takes and sacks *Pontieu* and *Chasteaulin* vpon *Trieuf*, and so makes his way to *Guincamp*. Hee summons *Chero* and *Guicquet* Captaines, to yeeld the Towne. They answer, that they will not obey him, so long as there shall bee a Duke or Duchesse in Britany. Vpon this refusal, he sends a Capitaine called *Saint Pierre*, Seneschall of *Thebes*, and *La Forest*, to beleaguer it: who being repulsed out of the suburbs of *Treguer*, takes them of *Montbareil* and *Pontauguen*, spoile and burne them, and *Rohan* being armed, he takes the suburbs of *S. Croix*: then hee lodgeth in *Montbareil*, from whence hee discovereth the whole towne so plainly, as hee might shoot point-blanke into the market place: he burnes a part of the suburbs, and lodgeth his artillery; he plants another battery in the Iacobins garden; to batter the curtain of the wall betwixt the ports of *Rennes* and *Pontani*, and he makes a breach but not sufficient, yet hee giues an assault, and is repulsed. The next day hee changeth his battery, and plants it at the vpper end of the *Fris* garden: hee plays a whole day, beates downe a part of the wall, betwixt the Ports of *Montbareil*, and *Treguer*: he offers a second assault, but it was as valiantly defended as the first. *Guicquet* thrust into the thigh with a pike, is carried out of the fight. The night brings councell, and those which had withstood two assaults, will be vnable for the third, being now weakened of one of their chiefe supports, who was made vnable to serue, by reason of his hurt: morning being come, a truce is granted, to take aduice of their Duchesse. *Anne* presseth it, and the Captaines seeing their men decayed in number, as well by the taking of the suburbs, as at the two assaults, compound for ten thousand Crownes to the General,

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The pittfull  
estate of Brit-  
tany.

all, to retire his army, and to receive them into his protection, promising to furnish victuals & munition for the siege of *Conquet*, the which he had charge from the Kings bestowes, & for want of present money, by reason of the losses sustained by the war, to take hostages. But this parlee was fruituous. During which time capitaine *Breisl* declares himselfe to the French, seizeth vpon the gate of the tower *Queneile*, and brings in the Earle of *Quintin*, (who gaped only for reuenge of this place) he takes and spoiles the town, and ransomes the inhabitants, and amongst them capitaine *Chero*: *Guicquet* saies himselfe at *la Roche de Rien*. This chanced the 23 of January, after fife daies siege. *Conquet* yeelds vpon their approach, & *Brest* followed, a most strong place, and the key of all the country.

Thus *Ploermel*, *Chasteaubriant*, *Malestroit*, *Vitré*, *Fongeres*, *S. Malo*, *Dinan*, *S. Albis*, *Guincamp*, *Conquet*, *Brest*, and other places, are in the Kings power. The Nobility discontented for the most part of their best places, shroud themselves vnder the conqueror, there is small hope of succors. The English are diuided among themselves: the King of the Romanes hath worke at home, and those small succors that come from both, preuail nothing: there is no money in the treasury, the Souldiers are not paid, the Crowne is worth eight Frankes: *Anne* is forced to sell of her reuenues for the maintenance of her house; and to aggravate these mischiefs, her Councell is greatly diuided about her marriage. The Marshall of Rieux, and the Lady of *Laual*, hold for *Alain d'Albret*, but three will none of him. She protests, that whatsoever she had done in her fathers life, was in respect of him, being loth to disobey him, or to giue him discontent; and causeth the said protestation to be signified vnto him. The Chancellor and the Earle of *Comings*, support her against the Marshall: he flies to armes, and besiegeth the Chancellor at *Guerredes*, being seized of *Annes* person, to keepe her from falling into his hands, who would marry her against his will, where he pleased, but he could not enter. All these confusions make an easie way to the King, for the execution of his enterprises. Being thus oppressed, he sends to her allies, the Kings of England, Castile and Romanes: the English (swearing her (and in a manner beyond her expectation) with an army of nine or ten thousand men, vnder the command of *Cheney* Master of the horse, accompanied with the Comptroller, and Ambassador of England: not for any hatred hee bare vnto the King, but for feare of too mighty a neighbor, if he vntied this goodly Prouince to the Crowne. The Marshall of Rieux, (hauing another meaning apart, seeking to tye the English Commanders vnto him, and to draw them to his faction) sends the Master of the horse of *Britany*, and the Lord of *Kaerouisi*, to *Penmarch*, to receiue this Ambassadour, and to offer him a conuoy to goe to the Duchesse, (who to haue this army neere vnto her person, makes it to land at *Croisic*, a port neere vnto *Guerredes*.) And to haue the people at his deuotion, *Rieux* giues out, that the Earles of *Dunois* & *Comings*, the Chancellor and others, had laid a plot to deliuer the Duchesse to the French king. *Anne* fortified with this new supply, goes to field, desirous herselfe (being a Virgin) to affront the Marshall of Rieux, if he presented himselfe: and being prevented of her entry into *Nantes* by the *Mar*, she retires to *Rennes*, to giue order for the recovery of *Guincamp*. For this effect, she assembles some troopes, being assured that the French garison could not be suddenly released, the kings army being employed far off in the conquest of the townes of base Britany. These troopes were seized of *Pontieu*, & to stop the courses of *Guincamp*, had sent some gentlemen, with a number of the common people. Those of *Guincamp* encounter them, charge them, ouerthrow them, and kill many of the chiefe Gentlemen of note, *William* of *Rostrenen* Lord of *Breledi*, *Tuon* of *Ploesquel*, *Siegnieur* of *Kaerabin*, *Tuon* of *Leuierault*, *Kaerlout*, *Pontglou*, *Kaernehrien*, *Bottley*, *Prigent*, the eldest son to the Lord of *Lanechion*, and an infinite number of the Commons. They presently take *Pontieu*, sack it, and burne it. This was the fuenth of April. The next day, *Guicquet* being aduertised that about a thousand five hundred men of the English army, appeared at the Isle of *Brehat*, he went vnto them, and so wrought with the Commanders, as they landed at *Pontieu*. The French hauing notice hereof, being about a thousand five hundred horse, being loth to ingage their honors in a place not to be held, without succors, and ill furnished with victuals and munition, they set fire of many places of the Towne, cary away what they can, exact 1200 Crownes of the Inhabitants, and retire themselves, leading eight hostages, for the security of fifty thousand Frankes, granted by the Inhabitants to the Vicount of Rohan. This English army was presently followed by another of Spaniards,



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Anne succored  
by the English  
and Spanish.The Admirall  
of Britany for  
give King.The Marshall  
of Rieux seeks  
to win the En-  
glish.Brest and Con-  
quet besieged.

Islands, commanded by Don Diego Perez of Sariniento Earle of Salinas, consisting of  
cannon, men of armes, and a great number of foot. Now Anne is strong, fortified with  
men of armes, and the King fears, that in case of invading another man's Country, he  
shall be forced to defend his owne. To prevent all danger, he fortifies his frontiers, and  
sends Francis of Luxembourge, Vicount of Marignies, and Charles of Marignies, to  
the French King of England, to draw him from the alliance of Britany, considering  
that the King, by whose means hee was inslaved in the royall throne, should  
not be so easily admonished. The King calls for his Nobility, and all his companies of  
men of armes, and resolves to enter Britany with the greatest forces of his Realme. In  
meane time hee puts two thousand four hundred foot into Chastelgontier and  
Brest, and sends John of Bellay with his company of forty Lances into Brest: into  
Chastel of Montauson, and Bangers a Capitaine of foot, with artillery, victuals and  
munition; and four thousand French and Swizzers were distributed into Dinan, Pons  
Saint Malo, and Vitre. But this was not sufficient to assure these places: a man of  
good experience import more then the whole body of a towne. He therefore practices  
with John of Quallence, Vicount of Fou, Admirall of Britany, by the means of the  
Count of Rohan. This Admirall armes some ships, to keepe the Britons from  
Brest by sea, and Maurice du Mené (of whom we have made some mention) the  
Lord of Chastel (newly reduced to the Kings service, by the Lord of Kersicay) took the  
guard of the sea coast, to hinder the enemies landing. In the meane time the  
English, being impatient to haue bene left Tutor vnto Anne by testament, and not to haue her  
in his possession, being too weak to take her by force in regard of Albin, hee seeks to  
English, and sends Bourgeois to Henry, to let him vnderstand, that Albin might assist  
in the recovery of Guienne. That it were good to binde him vnto him by the  
marriage of Anne of Britany, and to sequester those from her that were opposit. He  
pleaseth, he hath the means to draw her into his Captaines power, vnder colour to  
haue her to visit these great and goodly succours, that were come to serue her. He  
could not preuaile in this point. She had already conceived some ialousie of the  
English: for her Treasurer (carrying them five thousand Crowns, which they had re-  
ceiued, attending their pay) had discovered, that they treated with the Kings men, and  
that they were now in speech of a truce. Being moued herewith, she doth aduertise Henry,  
and beseegeth him to giue order, beseeuing that this dealing was not with his content.  
She complains moreover, that the Marshall of Rieux detained Nantes from her, kept her  
requeries, placed and displaced her officers: beseeching the King to command the Lieu-  
tenants of his army, to giue no support nor fauour vnto Rieux against her, but to pursue  
as a rebell, and disobedient to his Princesse, attempting against her & her authority. Henry  
won by the Marshall, assures the Duchesse of the continuance of his great loue, and that  
he will answer at large to that which her Ambassadors had propounded, by some thing  
he would send vnto her. In the meane time he desires his Army should goe to Rennes to the  
Duchesse, or that she might goe to the, to the end she might visibly see, if those forces were  
sufficient to succor her. And hee giues her to vnderstand by Turench Secretary of State  
that he had sent his army to succor her against all men, and especially against Rieux: that  
the army with the commanders may come to her to Rennes, or that she may goe to the  
army, as she shall thinke best. A grosse policy, easily discovered at the first sight, that this was  
but a practice to put her and the chiefe of her counsell into strangers hands, to rule her at  
their pleasure. Anne finds this condition of hard digestion. And Henry fearing lest this  
strut should make her to sue for an accord with the King, aduerteth, that the French means  
to fortifie the Duchesse party against the French, was the Marshalls reconciliation with  
her: and wrought therein so politically, that by mediation of John of Coetman and other  
Noblemen of Britany, an accord was made betwix the Duchesse, the Earle of  
Montpensier, and others of that party, with the Lords of Albrét & Rieux, and the Lady  
Estienne in the beginning of January all quarrels were pacified, and all were united in  
the common service of their country. During this treaty, the Marshall well informed  
that Brest & Conquet wanted both munition & victuals, went to besiege the fortress of Brest  
by land and sea with three score Briton ships: and the English went to Conquet. The  
King knowing how much these places did import, sends S. Pierre and Chastel with  
four

1590

A foot, to ioyne with the forces of Rohan, Saint Andre, the Seneshals of Tholouse and  
Carcassonne: and to draw forth part of the Garisons of Vitre, Fougères and Dinan:  
and sue and twenty ships by sea, which put all the gallies to flight, and after  
their example, the army at land retires so hastily, as they leaue part of their Cannon,  
wherewith the Towne was furnished, victualled, and relieved with fresh men: and Con-  
quet likewise was freed from the siege of the English. Winter approached, and the cold  
and rainie weather forced both armies to leaue the field. And therefore a new truce was  
concluded, during the which, Iudges should be appointed to examine the interest of all  
parties: who for that effect should be sent to Auzignon, a neuter towne, and they should  
name a neuter Prince, who (according to the report of the Iudges) should decide the  
controuersie. Maximilian was chosen. Doubtlesse it was a folly to spend much in spies,  
and want good intelligence. The King being vpon the point to consummate his mar-  
riage with the Arch-dukes daughter, relied on him. But in whose fauour should hee giue  
sentence, being in no good termes with the King; and hoping on the other side to ioyne  
vnto his ordinary title, the quality of Duke of Britany? Charles and Anne send their de-  
puties vnto him, who are referred to Franckford. The Iudges come and pronounce a sen-  
tence, but not definitiue: That the King should deliver all such places as he held, vnto the  
Duchesse, except, S. Albin, Gormier, Dinan, Fougères, and S. Malo, which should be seque-  
stred into the hands of Maximilian; and the Duke of Bourbon: and to yield them vnto him to  
whom the Duchy should be adiudged: and all Frenchmen that bare armes, should leaue the  
Country, and the Duchesse likewise should dismis the English, and other strangers. Taking  
a new assignation at Tournay, to iudge definitiue of the cause: but all this was but to  
win time. Maximilian makes his peace with the King, for his owne regard, whereby ma-  
ny places he held in Flanders were deliuered: and during these treaties, Isabel the sister of  
Anne of Britany dies at Rennes the tenth of Iune.

Anne remaining sole heire, the King of Romanes loue increased, and the Duchesse de-  
sire to be supported against the King, made her willingly iudge. And for that Maximilian  
could not goe in person, he deputed the Earle of Nassau, Wolfgang Baron of Pothen in  
Austria, James Condebaux his Secretary, and Lopian Steward of his house, with authority  
to treat, and conclude the marriage and to wed the said Duchesse. Notwithstanding the  
truce, no man will leaue his hold, neither will the King giue over the places he holds, nor  
the Duchesse dismis her strangers, but some part of them, and puts the rest into Gar-  
isons. Shee sends not to Auzignon, fearing perhaps the surprize of her writings. The  
King of Nantes runnes ouer Poitou, Antou, and other Countries. The Kings  
troopes commit the like acts of hostility. Some Germans enter into Britany. The  
Chancelor of Montauban goes to solicit in England. Charles will haue Anne first to dis-  
charge her English and Castilians. Anne replies, that in like sort hee ought by the treaty  
of Franckford, to yield her her places, and to leaue the other foure townes aboue men-  
tioned, as neuters. Shee imputes the spoiles of Nantes, to the former diuisions betwix  
her and the Marshall of Rieux, and promisseth that hereafter the like inuolencies shall not  
be committed. That the Germanes coming was onely to force some of her subjects to  
obedience. That the Chancelors going to the King of England, was to agree vpon the  
charges due for the succours he had sent. That in truth, seeing the King, to make new  
preparations to the prejudice of their treaty, she had giuen the Chancelor commission,  
to treat for some succours of men. The King is discontented herewith, so as Guemehé  
and Coetquen her Ambassadors returne with no other answer but a new assignation at  
Tournay. In the meane time the King armes, and makes great preparations at Pont-See.  
Anne serues him with the same fauce. Shee solicites the Kings of England and Castile,  
and her new spouse, to ioyne their forces, and to invade France with a might army. He  
that cannot circumuent his enemy with the Lions skin, must vie the Foxes. Charles is  
aduertised of this new alliance of Austria and Britany. The neighbourhood is dange-  
rous, being thus fortified. He must auoyde this, and by some means get that for him-  
selfe, with an ill neighbour pretends. Hee therefore sends to treat with the Duchesse, but  
the cannot affect him, that had shewed himselfe so violent an enemy. Yet he finds another  
expedient. Alain of Albrét was frustrate of his hopes, and this denial had mightily dis-  
contented him: he was therefore easily drawne away. The duke of Bourbon gouernes him  
so absolutely for a time, that vpon certaine promises and other preferments, he was him

Anne married to  
Maximilian.New causes of  
warre.King, Charles  
seeks to haue  
Anne to wife.

1490

Nantes taken  
for the French.

for the King, who promisseth to deliver him the towne of Nantes, wherein hee might doe A much, being armed with the Marshall of Rieux fauor. The effects follow: *Alain* surprized the castle of Nantes, and in hatred of *Annes* didaine, he spoiles the Treasury of the dukes of Britany, in the which were all their pretious stones, and the Duchesses Jewels, and deli- uers both Towne and Castle into the Kings hands, yielding him the right he pretended to the Duchy, by reason of his wife *Frances* of Britany, daughter to *William* Vicount of Limoges, a yonger brother of the Houfe of Ponthieure, for a pension of fixe hundred pounds a yeare, issuing out of the lands of Gaure, neere Tholouza; whereunto the Cham- ber of Accounts at Paris, with the Kings Proctor Generall, and the Inhabitants of Gaure opposed, maintaining, that there was no recompence due to the Lord of Albret for that seruice, seeing he had none. The King (who was in Scutnell) marcheth thither in person with his army, the fourth of Aprill, hoping now to finish this warre, and to send home the English. Hee marcheth, with an intent to besiege *Anne* in Rennes, whe- ther this new terror had drawne her. But they had so suddenly pestered all the approaches with numbers of trees cut out off the neereff forest, as they were forced to giue out chat enterprize, to vndertake the siege of Guingamp, being the key of bafe Britany. The Inhabitants were reduced to extreme poverty, having lodged the English army almost a yeare, who for want of payment, had spoiled them of all their goods, and left it ill guar- ded with men for defence. *Tremouille* Lieutenant for the King, had this charge, who sent *Adrian V Hospital* before, with part the army, to beleaguer the place. At his approach the inhabitants demanded a composition: the Lieutenant receiues them, with assurance of life and goods. But in his absence, he cannot saue the towne from spoile.

Guingamp  
taken.

Then fell out the appointment for Tournai: *Anne* sends sixteene Deputies, who shut the gates shut against them, and no lodging but in the suburbs: the King disdaining the treaty, having intelligence of the marriage of *Maximilian* with *Anne*: fore-seeing, that from this stocke might spring a plant, which hereafter might crosse his estate. *Maximilian* was now much moured for the taking of Nantes: the Emperour *Fredericke* his father held a Diet at Noremberg, to prouide some means to recouer this losse, and to encounter the French forces. The Princes of Germany promise him twelve thousand Lasque- nets, which the Colonell *George* of Terreplaine should bring to him by August follow- ing. The King of England should augment this army with a leaue of fix thousand Eng- lish. But the discord that fell out betwixt these two Princes, and the tediousness of the Germanes, who are wonderfull beavy, gaue the King means to effect his desire, and to supplant *Maximilian*.

The Duke of  
Orleans freed  
from prison.Anne much  
discontented  
with King  
Charles.

At that time the King freed the Duke of Orleans from prison, and by the same means the Prince of Orange and the Earle of Dunois were reconciled vnto him. These men were great means to put the King in *Maximilians* place, being onely married by a De- puty. The Councell found no better expedient, to pacifie all these quarrels and trou- bles. But the Duchesse was strange: what meanes is there (saith shee) to loue a Prince, who these three yeares hath made such cruell warres against mee? being a pupill and re- darge: who detaines my Townes vniuilly: who spoiles my subiects: doth out-rage, and kill my officers, vpon refusal to pay him my rents and reuennues: who (notwith- standing former transactions passed betwixt vs) spoiles my Country, makes desolatemy townes, and hath sought tyrannically to seize vpon my person. It was needfull to im- ploy many great personages to pacifie this discontented mind. The King sends the Duke of Orleans to that end, who cunningly doth pacifie the Marshall of Rieux, the Chancellor of Montauban, and others of the Councell, with the Lady of Lual (gouernesse to the Duchesse) and other Ladies her familiars, who both publicly and priuately lay be- fore her, her fore-past dangers, the miseries in the which her subiects had been plunged through warre, the neighbourhood of so mighty a King, who would continually op- press her, and the farre distance of *Maximilian*, a poore Prince, full of affaires, and of small credit, who hath no means to raise her, neither could he euer succour her with a- boue two thousand men. That shee had no better means to purchase rest to her selfe, and peace to her subiects, then by embracing the alliance of King *Charles*, whereby she should not onely recouer her places, but of a Duchesse of Britany, should become a peaceable Queene, and welbeloued of the whole Realme. If they were both married, it was but by Attorneys: finally, in such accidents, the Church doth willingly dispense

Her Councell  
perswades her  
to embrace the  
alliance of  
France.

1491

A with such couenants not personally performed, to prevent the miseries that grow by war. *Maximilian* was farre off, vnacquainted with these practices, no man thought to prevent it: and these perswasions did ring dayly in the eares of *Anne*, so as in the end these yeelds to follow the resolution of her states. They were wonderfully royled and wearied with the warre, the people turmoysed, the Nobility impoverished, the Clergy oppressed, some townes taken, and some waivering: and moreover, they did see a great Prince demand their alliance with force, and the chiefe Noblemen inclined to the French faction. These reasons made it seeme more conuenient, and to be preferred before the flow succours of *Maximilian*.

Thus was *Anne* Duchesse of Britany perswaded, and a peace concluded and ratified by a happy and pleasing treaty of marriage, by the which (to maintain the subiects of the Country in peace that were armed for either side) it was said, That all exploits and offences committed and done vpon assurance, or otherwise, during the wars on either side, should be for- gotten, and remaine without reproach to any, as remitted, abolished, and recompensed: every man should returne to his home, and all soldiers depart the Country. A wife aduite to main- taine these two Countries in loue and concord. The City of Rennes yeelds at this happy composition, where the King entred in Nouember, vpon the assurance & conduct of the duke of Orleans, with his simple traine, and without any men at armes, (for so it was a- greed) to see the Duchesse, and to ratifie the treaty, making the Prince of Orange (for that he had been a chiefe instrument in this businesse) his Lieutenant generall in Britany: then he tooke the way to Langeais in Touraine, whither *Anne* was conducted by the Chan- celor Montauban, Cestquen Lord Steward, and by the Lord of Chasteaubriant, and the ma- riage was consummated the 16 day of December. The Articles of the contract are to be seen in the Originalls. If this marriage were pleasing to God or not, let vs leaue it to the iu- dicious reader: for it is, that of three sons they could not bring vp one. Soone after *Francis* of Orleans Earle of Dunois died, the chiefe fire-brand of this war, & likewise the princi- pal motive of this peace. From him are issued the dukes of Longueuille, and a little before him the second D. of Bourbon was deceased without children, to whom succeeded *Peter* Earle of Beaulieu, who hereafter shall be D. of Bourbon, the twentieth of that nation.

A small peace  
in Britany  
by a treaty of  
marriage.The marriage  
of Charles with  
Anne.

This yeare was borne *Gaston* of Foix, duke of Nemours, son to *Iohn* of Foix, Vicount of Narbone, and of Mary of Orleans, one of the greatest Captaines of his age, who shall giue ample testimony of himselfe in the wars of Italy, which now approach. There dyed also at Rome, *Peter* of Foix, Cardinall, brother to the laid *Iohn*, and Vncle to *Queene Katherine* of Navarre. *Henry* of England, wonderfully incensed at this marriage, sought by all secret practices to surprize some of the chiefe places of the Prouince: and at the first remoue of his army out of Britany, he caused it to make an offer at Port-blanc, and some other ports, but they were still repulled by the faithfull care of the Noblemen of the Country: namely, by the Chancellor of Montauban, of *Bartraud* d'Acigne, and other lea- dy Captaines. Thus the English seeing their attempts like to take none effect, bent their course to goe towards Calais, in the company of their King: who was making war in the County of Guines, whilst that *Maximilian* should enter the Realme with forces on the other side: then they besieged Boullen by sea, being kept from landing by the Lord of Coples, and the bastard of Cardonne, Captaine of Arras, with such small forces as they could suddenly oppose.

The practices  
of the English  
vpon Britany.

But on Bassard, whilst thus repellt this common enemy, how preiudiciall shall they be to the gallants (saith the history) make false keyes to the gates, and gaue *Maximilian* intelligence, bringing him by night into the towne, vn- knowne to *Congelant*, Lieutenant to *Cardonne*. Some write that one of those, in whom he trusted, for the opening of the gates, made this stratagem. But (how loquacious) he was taken in his bed sleeping at this case, and for reward taken of bafe cowardise, he yeelded up the Castle, without attending the sutors that came vnto him: The towne was spoiled, without sparing of the Churches, or the Traitors houses: A worthy reward of this treachery. Thus wee preferre our Conquests: A while after they attempted Amiens. A shame to soldiers, that a woman should haue the first brunt, and that her seruicemen, to the watch, in ringing the great Bell of Defroy, should put the towne in armes. And as the first aduice came from a woman, so are they honorably qualified in the History. To be borne with with their harsh ends: who by the care and command

Arras betrayed  
to Maximilian.

1492

of *Robempré* and of *Anthony Clabault* Maire of the Towne, did their duties so well (as if any one repairing to the quarter, which had been formerly assigned him) as the enemy returned amazed. A duty which made them as famous, as their descendants infamous, by the notable treachery they committed in our dayes.

*Henry* loved Peace, and was imbarke more at the instance of his subjects, (left they should thinke him more gracious to the French then the ancient quarrels of both nations required) then for any desire he had to haue the King his Enemy, to whom he had a great and strict bond, as we haue heard. The chiefe cause of his grudge was a great summe of money, which he said he had lent to the deceased Duke of Britany. The King hauing discovered it, commands the Lord of Cordes to treat with him, and payes him the money, and so sends him home satisfied into England.

This Peace made *Maximilian* willing to be reconciled. Moreover, the Princes of Germany labored in this pacification; and the affaires of the Empire (in which his father had associated him since the year 1486) beganne to call him. The Swisses laboured it, and the people, especially those of the Low Countries (as well through the French warres, as their owne priuate diuisions) were so toiled, as they detested the wars. In the end, a peace was concluded for foure yeares onely, by the meanes of the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Orange, and the Lord of Cordes. So he receiued his daughter *Marguerit* againe, with the Counties of Artois and Bourgongne, receiuing the reuenues and homages, and the King keeping the Castles, to place garisons in them, vntill the end of foure yeares. Behold this Estate doth now enjoy a happy rest, by the vnion of this goodly and great Duchy to the Crowne of France, and by a Peace confirmed with *Henry* and *Maximilian*. But *Charles* had enlarged his Diadem with this new acquisition, so the vrgent importunity of his Schoolmaster, *Lewis* of Amboise, Bishop of Albi, and of Doctor *Maillard*, made him to restore the Counties of Roussillon and Parpignan (too religiously) vnto *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, the which *Lewis* his father had gotten, hoping by this meanes to the Spaniard to a perpetual peace. What should *Charles* doe then with his Nobility of his youth, he being young, vigorous, and of no idle complexion? Now a great desire makes him to cast his eyes beyond the Alpes, and draws him to the conquest of golden and rich Estates. But let vs examine the causes and proceedings farther off.

We haue said before, that *Rene* Duke of Lorraine was in Court, and demanded restitution of the Duchy of Barre, and the County of Provence. During his abode, the Realme of Naples being reuolted, the Nobilitie and the three Estates of the Realme put themselves vnder the protection of the Church, as holding of it in fee. The Pope sends for him to iue him in the Realme, vpon some right which he pretended. The Gallies of *Genoa* attended him, the Cardinal of S. Pierre was thereto conduct him, and some from the Noblemen of the Country prest him thereunto, where they expected him so long, as the Pope was forced to make an agreement with *Ferdinand*, being assisted by the Florentines. Vpon assurance of this accord, which the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Spaine, and the Florentines had sworne and were bound to see obserued, the Barons of the Realme turne home to their houses, and were all taken prisoners. The Prince of Salerne, chief of the house of *S. Severin*, escapes, and three of his nephewes with him, sonnes to the Prince of Bisignan, who retire themselves to Venice, and demand of the Seignoury whither they would with them to choofe, to the duke of Lorraine, or to the king of France or of Spaine. The Venetians answer, That the duke of Lorraine was a dead man, vnable to support so heauy a burthen: That the king of Spaine was already strong as a rock, and the Realm of Naples and Sicily would make him too mighty: that they had liued in good correspondence with the Kings of France, who in former times had possessed the said realme. The delays of the Lorraine being thus propped, made him thus to qualifie him: for he wanted neither courage nor valour. They were jealous of the neighborhood of a mighty prince, and did not consider, that to call in a King of France to these Estates, was the meane to ruine them. So they passe into France, where the affaires of Britany held them about two yeares in their putting in. One called *Jehan de S. Pierre*, a man of base sort, who had serued the King well in his infancy, as a Groom of his chamber, and now made Seneschall of Brecaire, and president of the Accounts of Paris, and the General *Brissom*, afterwards Cardinal, ruled their Matter.

These Neapolitanes gouerne them, and they imbarke him in this voyage, who of himself

Peace with Henry.

And with Maximilian.

The first motive of the voyage of Italy.

A selfe was farall: he wanted all necessary things. The King was young, and weak of complexion, he had few good Commanders, and fewer wife men: no money, and himselfe willfull, the best was, he had a gallant Nobilitie and young, but ill commanded, nothing obedient, and too willfull like to their head, the which notwithstanding purchased the king an immortal glory. The leading and returne of this army doubtlesse was the worke of heaven. Before his departure, *Charles* required ayd and counsell of the Venetians. And we cannot giue you (say they) for feare of the Turke, yet were they in peace with him, and the Turke then reigning was of small reputation. As for counsell it were presumption for us to counsell so wise a King, assisted with so good counsell, notwithstanding wee will helpe you rather then hurt you, and you shall be very welcome. In truth God will haue vs to confesse, that neyther the wit nor policy of man can disappoint that which his eternall prouidence had decreed. This succeeded otherwise then that Common weale expected. First, they conceived not that the King would vndertake this voyage in person: moreover, they hoped to be reuenged of this House of Arragon, whom they hated exceedingly, imputing it to *Ferdinand*, as he meane to draw downe *Mahomet Othoman*, who conquered Constantinople, and had done many outrages to the Venetians; and *Alphonso* sonne to the said *Ferdinand* had stirred vp the Duke of Ferrara to make that chargeable warre against them, the which had almost ruined them; and had sent a man to Venice to payson their Cisterns; with many other complaints which they framed against this house. But the chiefe motive was, for that by their meanes they could not extend their dominions, as well in Italy as in Greece. Thus they thought to vse the King as a scourge to whip their enemy, but not to ruine him; and by their shipwracke to haue meane to seize vpon some townes in Apulia lying vpon the Gulfe, as it happened.

This was one motive to transport the French Forces beyond the Alpes. Another was, that *Bonne* a daughter of *Sauoy* & widow to *John Galeas* D. of Milan, a woman both with our honor & iudgment, was chiefly gouerned by a Secretary of hers, named *Chico*, bred vp in that house, and by her Caruer, *Anthony Tascino*. *Chico* to assure the estate of the young duke *John Galeas*, son to the said *John*, had expelled all his fathers Brethren, Vncles to the sonne, and amongst the rest *Lodowike Sforze*, and *Robert* of Saint Seuerin, sonne of a barlard daughter of the house of Saint Seuerin: *Tascino* (who had a great interest in his Ladies bed and fauour) calls them home with her consent. Being returned, they take *Chico*, and against their promise to offer him any violence, they put him in a pipe, and dragging him through the citie of Milan, send him prisoner to Pavia, where he died, and they modestly dismissed *Tascino*.

*Lodowike* and *Robert* freed from these two obstacles, fortifie themselves neere the Duchesse, and euen then did *Lodowike* practice to vsurpe the Duchy of Milan. For the first fruits of this project, they sequester the two sonnes of *Bonne* and lodge them in the Castle, and seize vpon the treasure (which was then held to bee the greatest in Christendome). They make three keys, whereof theee kept one; but they had the guard of all. They force her to renounce the Wardship, and *Lodowike* was made Tutor. This was not all; the Castle was carefully kept, and the Capraine went not without the turne-pikes. *Lodowike* and *Robert* were not admitted; but with one or two followers. But two great Princes cannot raigne long together in one State without ialousie: *Lodowike* supplants *Robert*, and puts him from all government.

Thus *Lodowike* commands Milan absolutely, and *Robert* serues the Venetians: yet *Galeas* and the Earle of Ciazazzo, children to *Robert*, shall returne and doe *Lodowike* good seruice in the State of Milan. Then began *Lodowike* to increase in authority; granting the dukes picture on the one side of their coyne, and his owne on the other, not without the murmuring of many, namely, of *Isabel* the wife of *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria, son to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, as proud and haughty a woman, as her husband was weak of iudgment and without courage. This reuolting made *Lodowike* to haften his resolution. And thus he proceeded: when the Duke went forth of the Castle, his brother remained within, and *Lodowike* conducting him home, the Capraine did vnto him come forth vpon the bridge to receive him. One day amongst the rebe, *Lodowike* stays him suddenly a while without the bridge, to draw forth the Capraine, whom *Galeas* and the Earle of Ciazazzo seize vpon, and on such as followed him put him to death. They which draw the bridge, *Lodowike* lights a candle, and sends to cut off their heads.

1493

Wants for this voyage.

*Lodowike Sforze* seeks to vsurpe the Duchy of Milan.*Lodowike* keeps Milan and supplants the Capraine.

1493

that were in his power, if they yeeld not the place before the light be burnt: the which he doe. He enters and placeth men at his pleasure: he puts the Captaine in prison: he arraigns him, vpon colour that he meant to deliuer vp the Castle to the Emperour: hee slayes some Germans, and makes them beleue that they treated in fauour of the house of Austria, which of old time pretended some right to the Duchy: yet afterwards both he and they were set at liberty. *Lodowike* is now master of the Fort. Hee must seeke meanes to maintaine this usurpation: yet lest he should grow too odious, he makes all dispatches, the name of *Iohn Galeas* Duke of Milan his Nephew, a Duke in name only, but he in effect. In the meane time *Isabel* solicits her father and grandfather, to reuenge the iniustice and tyranny of *Lodowike*. *Lodowike* vnderstood well, that this act would offend many Princes: that his insolent and not accustomed exaction of money made his name odious to all the subjects of the Duchy: and that *Ferdinand* King of Arragon with his sonne *Alphonso*, would not faile to imbrace the quarrell and right of *Iohn Galeas* and of their *Isabel*. To crosse them, he cunningly (to the prejudice of the ancient confederacy of the Estates of Italy) makes a league betwixt the Pope, the Venetians, and *Iohn Galeas* Duke of Milan his Nephew (arming himselfe alwaies with that name) for their common defence, and namely of *Lodowike* government, vpon condition, that the Venetians, and the said Duke should either of them lead presently two hundred men at armes to Rome, and greater forces (if need were) for the recovery of such places as were detayned from the Church by *Virgilius Vrsinus*, in fauour of *Peter* of Medicis his kinsman, affociate with *Ferdinand*, and *Alphonso*. And more to crosse their estates, *Lodowike* (who could not subist to the midst of their united forces) lends an honourable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of Caizim was the chiefe, assisted by *Charles* of Balbiano Earle of Belzoiole, and *Galeas* of Saint Peterin, who had married a bastard of *Lodowikes*: who greatly vrge the title he had in his goodly and pleasant country of Naples. They easily drew the King to taste a vaine glory of Italy, perswading him by great offers of seruice, iuccors of men, money, and munition. But before we passe the Alpes, let vs examine the estate of Italy, and the right which *Charles* pretended. Since the declining of the Roman Empire, Italy neuer enioyed a more happy prosperitie, then about the year 1490. A long peace had made the most barren places fruitful, it abounded in people, riches, great men of State, and good wits in learning, industry and military fame, such as that age could produce, beautified with the State of many Princes, not subiect to any other command but of themselves.

*Laurence* of Medicis, a Citizen of Florence, was a great meane to hold things in this prosperous Estate, a man of a quiet spirit, experienced in affaires, iudicious, of great authority aboue all his fellow Citizens, and (for that he gouerned Pope *Innocent* the eight, his kinsman absolutely) renowned throughout all Italy. Hee knew that the greatest enemies to other Potentates, would mightily shake the common-weale of Florence, and therefore hee sought by all meanes to hold them equally, by a generall obseruation of peace. *Ferdinand* of Arragon, King of Naples, a wife Prince, and of great reputation, did much affect the publicke quiet, but he had worke at home: *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria his eldest sonne, being much discontented, seeing that *Iohn Galeas* Sforce, Duke of Milan his sonne in law, should carry but the naked and simple title of Duke, vnder the oppression of *Lodowike* his vncle. But *Ferdinand* hauing yet a fresh impression of the late reuolt of his subjects of Naples, not ignorant that at the first motion they would open their armes to the house of France, considering the affection which most of his subjects bare vnto it of old, feared lest the diuisions in Italy should draw the French to invade the Realme of Naples: preferring a present benefit before the indignation of his son, desiring rather to vaite himselfe with the other Estates, especially that of Milan and Florence, to countertermine the Venetian greatnesse, being then fearefull to all Italy, put vp with the late ouerthrow of the Duke of Ferrara, rather in law to *Lodowike*, after a long and dangerous hazard of their estate. *Lodowike* was in the same predicament with the rest: and moreover, peace was sure more necessary then war, for the preservation of an authority lately usurped. Hereinto that commendable inclination to peace which he found in *Laurence* of Medicis, did moue him. And considering that in regard of the inneterate hatred betwixt the house of Arragon and the Venetians, they should hardly make any firme league betwixt them, hee thereupon concluded, that *Ferdinand* and his son should not be at need assisted by any other, to crosse him in his designs: and having them alone opposit, he should easily withstand them.

So

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A So *Ferdinand*, *Lodowike*, and *Laurence* continued the alliance cheerefully which they had renewed in the year 1480, for five and twenty yeares: all the meane Potentates in a manner leaning vnto them: to whom the Venetians greatnesse was wonderfully suspected, managing their affaires apart, not imparting their counsels to the body of the common league, watching ouely opportunity to grow great by the publicke discords. Being all thus united, they were too strong for the Venetians; yet were they full of enuy and mutual jealousy, one prying still into anothers estate, and continually making designs, so as they could not long liue in true and faithfull friendship.

The death of *Laurence* of Medicis, was a great cause of the breach of this general peace. An vnseasonable death for him, hauing not yet liued foure and forty yeares complete: for his country, the which (by his wisdom and iudgement) flourished most happily in all the benefits which a long peace doth vsually bring forth; and for Italy, as well by reason of the affaires which he did wisely manage, to the generall good of the whole country, as also for that he was a notable instrument to temper the diuers humours & jealousies which sprung vp daily betwixt *Ferdinand* and *Lodowike*, and to quench the flames which might easily cause a generall combustion.

This peace being well shaken by his death, was presently quite broken; not so much by the death of *Innocent*, who by his sloth was growne vnprofitable as well for himselfe, his friends, and the publicke, after he had retired his armes, the which he had displayed at the influence of the Barons of Naples; as by the succession of *Roderike Borgia*, who was then called *Alexander* the 6, a Spaniard, chosen vnder the factious discords of *Africanus Sforce*, brother vnto *Lodowike*, and *Julian* of Saint Pierre, buying the suffrages of many other Cardinals, partly with ready money, and partly by promises of Offices and Benefices. He was subtil and quick-witted, excellent in counsell, vehement to perfwade, and a great man of State, but (saith the Original) his vertues were surpassed by his vices, dishonest in manners, ungenerous, no shame, no truth, no faith, no religion in him: but an insatiable covetousnesse, an immoderate ambition, a cruelty more then barbarous, and a violent desire to aduance (by what means soeuer) his children, which were many in number. *Peter* the eldest sonne of *Laurence* of Medicis, was successor to his goodly honours, but not to his fathers good humours. *Ferdinand* differed as much from *Laurence*, as that *Hector* drawne dead at a chariots taile, from *Hector* returning victorious, honoured with the spoiles of *Achilles*.

At his entrance to the government, following an aduice directly contrary to his fathers, without any other counsell then of *Virgilius Vrsinus*, of whose humour *Peter* depended (both their Mothers being of the family of *Vrsinus*) he made so strict a league with *Ferdinand* and *Alphonso*, as *Lodowike* (a vigilant and subtil man) conceived presently that the Florentine forces might easily be drawne to prejudice him, in fauour of the Arragonois. This jealousy was layed open by this accident. The confederates according to their custom, must send to congratulate and acknowledge the new Pope. *Lodowike* had wisely aduised, that all the Ambassadors should enter Rome together in company, and likewise into the Consistory before the Pope, and that one should speake for them all: For (saith he) by this manner of proceeding we shall make knowne to Italy, that there is not onely a singular leue and league betwixt vs, but also so firme a coniunction, as we shall seeme to be but one body and one Principality. *Ferdinand* approved this aduice. *Peter* did not publicly gainesay it, but in private he could not digest it, being one of the Ambassadors chosen for the common-weale of Florence, hauing resolved to beautifie his Ambassage, with a proud and stately traine. Hee considered, that entering into Rome, and presenting himselfe to the Pope in troope, his traine would appeare farre lesse stately in so great a company. And therefore he caused the King of Naples to frustrate this designe, as not to bee done without his consension. But *Ferdinand* loth to displease one to please another, doth aduertise *Lodowike*, that hee did not recall his first consent, but at the instant request of *Peter* of Medicis.

There was yet another reason, which made *Lodowike* to suspe& some secret intelligence betwixt *Peter* and the Arragonois. *Francisco Gibe*, a bastard sonne to *Innocent*, after his fathers death had retired himselfe to Florence, to *Peter* of Medicis, brother to *Magdalen* his wife. Being planted there, *Virgilius Vrsinus* bought of him, by *Peters* meanes, *Languillare*, *Ceruerre*, and some other places neere to Rome, for forty thousand Ducats. The money was in a manner all lent him by *Ferdinand*, of purpose, to the end that *Virgilius* being

Troubles by  
the death of  
*Laurence* of  
Medicis.

Pope *Alexander*  
disposition.

The peace of  
Italy ruined  
by *Peter* of  
Medicis.

The Estate of  
Italy 1490.

1493

being his kinsman and entertained souldier, growing great about Rome, he might reap the more profit. *Ferdinand* found no better foundation for his safety, then to tie all of the greatest part of the Noblemen, within the territories of the Church, to suppress that *Hidraes* head, if it should rise too high. This he laboured more carefully, doubting that *Lodowike*'s authority would proue great hereafter with the Pope, by the means of Cardinal *Afcianus* his brother.

The vanity of mans conceits must needs discover the weaknesse of his iudgement. Of two mischiefs *Ferdinand* did chooele the greatest, and grounding vpon a light profit, he did not fore-see, that he layed the way open to his owne ruine. For the Pope discounting the Arragonois intention, and pretending that by the alienation of these small places lying in his iurisdiction, done without his priuie, they were by right forfeited to the Apollon-like Sea. He exclaims and complains against *Ferdinand*, *Peter* and *Virgilius*, protesting to omit no means that may serue for the defence of his dignity, and the rights of the Roman Sea. *Lodowike* embraceth this occasion, and seeing the Pope to study of some great reuenge against *Ferdinand*, he feeds his passions, by the loan of forty thousand Ducats and three hundred men at armes, leauied vpon the common treasure. Yet apprehending new troubles, he aduiseeth *Ferdinand*, to perswade *Virgilius*, to content the Pope by some honest composition, to prevent the inconueniences & scandals this diuorce might breed, and counselleth *Peter* to follow the domestical example of his father, and to be a mediator, as he had beene, betwixt *Ferdinand* and him, rather then a fire-brand to kindle diuision: but he talked to a deafe man. *Ferdinand* promifeth to doe it, but he ruined with one hand, what he raised with the other: he secretly solicits *Virgilius* to take possession of those townes, and not to yeeld the Pope any thing, but some certaine some of money, by meanes whereof he should remaine peaceable Lord of the said places, promising to warrant him from all troubles.

*Lodowike* finds hereby, that it behoues him to fortifie himselfe with new supports and new alliances. He hath a good opportunity: the disdaine of *Alexander* against the King of Naples, and the affection the Senate of Venice seemed to haue to the diuision of this league whereby their proiects had so long beene made frustrate. But the Pope lousd his children deere, and contrary to the custome of others) who called them Nephewes, as a more modest name) he impudently called them sonnes. He hoped to obtaine one of the bastard daughters of *Alphonso*, for one of his bastard-sonnes (graft crab vpon crab, and you shall neuer reap good fruit) and whilest this vaine hope possessed him, he opened his eares rather then his heart to *Lodowike*'s motion. *Ferdinand*, gaue his consent, but *Alphonso* hated the ambition and pride of *Alexander*. The Pope being thus frustrate, turns all his thoughts to *Lodowike*, moued partly with disdaine, and partly with feare, seeing *Virgilius*, by the exceeding great fauours which he receiued from *Ferdinand* and the Florentines, to be growne mighty in all the territories of the Church.

The Venetians had yet fresh in memory, the leagues made against them in the warres of Ferrara, in which *Sixtus* had intangled them: and yet to withdraw them, he employed both his spirituall and temporall power. They had no more confidence in *Alexander*. Yet the policie of *Lodowike* did in the end worke this league, betwixt the Pope, the Senate of Venice, and the Duke of Milan, in the moneth of April 1493. Thus *Lodowike* is fortified on the one side: but he had another meaning then the Pope or Senate of Venice: and fore-seeing that he could not long build vpon the foundation of this new alliance, he resolves to assure himselfe by foraine forces, seeing that both his owne, and his friends in Italy were doubtfull vnto him. He therefore conuerts his thought on this side the Alpes, seeking to draw the King to seize vpon the ancient inheritance of the house of Anjou. But let vs see by what right *Virgilius* the fourth gaue the Realmes of Naples and Sicilia (vniuictly detained by *Manfroy* bastard sonne to *Frederick* the second) to *Charles* Earle of Prouence, and of Anjou, to hold in fee, being brother to Saint *Lewis*, who obtained this title that was given him by armes. *Charles* the second succeeded his father, who left it to *Robert* his sonne, and this man died without heires. *Joane* daughter to *Charles* Duke of Calabria (deceased before his father) enjoyed the succession. Being disinclined not so much for the sexe, as for the lewdnesse of her life: she adopts *Lewis* Duke of Anjou brother to King *Charles* the wife for her sonne, and then dyed of a violent death. *Lewis* passing thither with an army, dyed of an ague in Apulia, seeing himselfe almost in possession of the

King.

A Kingdom: so as the house of Anjou reaped no profit by this adoption, but only the title of Earldome of Prouence, which was continually possessed by the successors of *Charles* the first. *Lodowike* withstanding *John* of Anjou sonne to the first *Louis*, and after with the challenge of the same name struck on by the Pope, as he was then, and afterwards with the King of Naples, haile of *Italy* (but unfortunately) possessed of this Realme, by the death of *Lewis* the Realme was transported to *Charles* the first, who dyed without children, his first sonne, to whom *Lodowike* his sonne succeeded, who dying without issue, left his first sonne, the second for his heire; an unfortunate name in that place, where he had no good land, and his sonne, who purchased the name of *Alphonso*, left that heire, making way with the helpe of *Marthe* the first against *Joane*, obtaining the gouernment of that Realme, who dyed without issue, and his body (besides the adopted sonne, his brother, *Alphonso* King of Arragon and Sicilia. Afterward shewing reuolue of her affection, which colour of ingratitude, she adopted the same *Lewis*, in who employing his forces for her gainst *Alphonso*, expelled him the Realme: but he dyed the same yeare, leaving his daughter in possession the remainder of her life. Then dying without children, she instituted *John* Duke of Anjou, and Earle of Prouence, for heire, being brother to the said *Lewis*, who adopted *Alphonso*. This institution displacing some Barons, who said that the will was forged by them of Naples, they called backe *Alphonso* at difference spring the warres and faction betwixt the Angeuins, and the Arragonois, nourished so long, by the diuision of the Pope, who according to the opportunity of times, had oftentimes giued their assistance diuersly. *Alphonso* carrying it by force, and dying without lawfull heires, left *Ferdinand* his bastard to succeed, as a purchased estate, not belonging to the Crowne of Arragon. *John* sonne to *René* assisted by the chief Barons of that County, came to the field, but the happinesse and valor of *Ferdinand* gues him the repulse. But furnishing his sonne *John*, and dying without an heire male, *Charles* his brother's sonne for heire, who dying without children, resigned all his inheritance to *Lewis* the Eleuenth, father to *Charles* the eight. *Charles* was but two and twentie yeares old, little experienced in affaires, courteous of glory, and thrust on with a warlike desire, he often neglected the whole of his Council: of the wisest, namely *Lames* of Grauille, Admiral of France, preferring the aduice of some of less quality, that possessed him, corrupted by the Neapolitans that were payred for his sake, and by the Ambassadors of *Lodowike*. The Nobility of France, commended the wisdom of *Lewis* the Eleuenth, who refused to accept of the Genouois, when they offered themselves, being alwayes loth to attempt anything vpon Italy, being both painfully and finally to the Realme. They knew *Ferdinand* to be a wife Prince, rich in money, and of great fame, and his sonne *Alphonso* to be valiant, and well scene in the art of warre: but these were but shewes, and all their reputation turned into a ridiculous smoke. That for the gouernment of Warre and State, the Kings Council was but weak, and their experience small that had most credit with him. He must haue a huge masse of money, and there was not any in his Treasury: Moreover, they objected the subtilty, and policy of the Italians: that *Lodowike* himselfe for a light profit would breake his faith: that he would be loath to see the Kingdom of Naples, in the French Kings power: finally, they made any conquest beyond the Alpes, were so vniuict for the Realme both of men and money.

All this was but to cast oyle into a fire already kindled. *Charles* rejects all aduice of peace, and without the priuie of any of his friends, he agrees secretly with *Lodowike* Ambassador: *It is an army passing into Italy for the conquest of Naples, the Duke of Calabria should give him passage through his Country: he should accompany him with five hundred men at armes entertained: he should suffer him to arrive at his shipping, he would not serve: and before he should march, he should lend the King two hundred thousand Ducats. On the other part, The King should defend the Duchy of Milan against all invaders, and should especially maintain *Lodowike*'s authority: and during the warre, he should maintain a two hundred thousand men, a City belonging to the Duke of Calabria, to supply all necessities in the Duchy. This he signed with his owne hand, and promised more vnto *Lodowike*, than he was to the Conquest of Naples, he should give him the principall City of *Teramo*.*

But did not *Lodowike* feare the power of so great a King, lucky fortified with the goodly Possessions of Bourgoyny, Picardy and Brissy, the whole of the French force would

A league between the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan.

The right of France to Naples and Sicilia.

All the wisest of the Kings Council dissuade him from the enterprise of Italy.

Articles between Charles and Lodowike.



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*Lodowike* finds hereby, that it behoues him to fortifie himselfe with new supports and new alliances. He hath a good opportunity: the disdain of *Alexander* against the King of Naples, and the affection the Senate of Venice seemed to haue to the diuision of this league whereby their protectors had so long beene made frustrate. But the Pope loued his children deere, and contrary to the custome of others (who called them Nephews, as a more modest name) he impudently called them sonnes. He hoped to obtaine one of the bastard daughters of *Alphonso*, for one of his bastard-sonnes (graft crab vpon crab, and you shall neuer reap good fruit) and whilest this vaine hope possessed him, he opened his eares rather then his heart to *Lodowikes* motion. *Ferdinand*, gaue his consent, but *Alphonso* hated the ambition and pride of *Alexander*. The Pope being thus frustrate, turns all his thoughts to *Lodowike*, moued partly with disdain, and partly with feare, seeing *Vrsin*, by the exceeding great fauours which he receiued from *Ferdinand* and the Florentines, to be growne mighty in all the territories of the Church.

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A league betweene the Pope, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan.

The right of France to Naples and Sicilia.

A Kingdom. So as the house of Anjou reaped no profit by this adoption, but only the Realmes of Provence, which was continually possessed by the house of Anjou, who first, without standing, gave of Anjou sonne to the first *Lewis*, and after with the marriage of the same name, thrust on by the Popes, as he had as much as any other, the Kings of Naples, his sonnes, (but unfortunately) joined with the French, and so that the house of Anjou was thrust on to *Charles* the first, who had no illudged his sonne *Lewis*, the first, to whom *Lodowike* his sonne succeeded: who dying without issue, left his wife and the crown for his heire; an unfortunate name in that place, who it had foretold and impudency of life made them purchase the name of *Madones*. *Lewis* the third, making warre with the Earle of *Marche*, the first against *Joane*, obtaining the gouernment of the Realme, who so whom she had abandoned her body, she adopted for her sonne, and so he adopted *Alphonso* King of Arragon and Sicilia. After wards having reioiced her selfe from the colour of ingratitude, she adopted the same *Lewis*, who by employing his forces for her husband *Alphonso*, expelled him the Realme: but he dyed the same yeare, leaving her without possession the remainder of her life. Then dying without children, she instituted *John* Duke of Anjou, and Earle of Provence, for heire, being brother to the said *Lewis*, who adopted the sonne. This institution displeasing some Barons, who said that the will was forged by them of Naples, they called back *Alphonso* the second, springing the warre againe betwixt the Angeuins, and the Arragonois, nourished so long, by the diuision of the Popes, who according to the opportunity of times, had oftentimes granted their assistance diuersly: *Alphonso* carrying it by force, and dying without lawfull heires, left *Ferdinand* his bastard to succeed, and purchased estate, not belonging to the Crown of Arragon. *John* sonne to *René* assisted by the chief Barons of the County of *Cambray* made him, but the happinesse and valour of *Ferdinand* gues him the republicke, left furnishing his sonne *John*, and dying without an heire male, gaue to *Charles* his brother's sonne for heire, who dying without children, resigned all his inheritance to *Lewis* the Eleuenth, the first to *Charles* the eight. *Charles* was but two and twentie yeares old, little experienced in affaires, courteous of glory, and thrust on with a warlike desire, he often neglected the whole of counsell of the wisest, namely *Joane* of Grauille, Admirell of France, preferring the aduice of some of base quality that possessed him, corrupted by the Neapolitans that were paynted for his life, and by the Ambassadors of *Lodowike*. The Nobility of France, commended the wisdom of *Lewis* the Elduenth, who refused to accept of the Genouois (when they offered themselves, being alwayes loth to attempt anything vpon Italy, being both painfully and small to the Realme. They knew *Ferdinand* to be a wife Prince, rich in money, and of great fame, and his sonne *Alphonso* to be valiant, and well seene in the art of warre: but these were but shewes, and all their reputation turned into a ridiculous smoke. That for the gouernment of Warre and State, the Kings Councell was but weak, and their experience small that had most credit with him. He must haue a huge masse of money, and there was not any in his Treasury: Moreouer they objected the subtilty, and policy of the Italians: that *Lodowike* himselfe for a light profit would breake his faith: that he would be loath to see the Kingdom of Naples, in the French Kings power: finally to make any conquest beyond the Alpes, were so vnprofitable to the Realme both of men and money.

All this was but to cast oyle into a fire already kindled. *Charles* rejects all aduice of peace, and with out the priuie of any barons, and his sonnes, he agrees secretly with *Lodowikes* Ambassadors: That an army passing into Italy for the conquest of Naples, the Duke of Calabria should give him passage through his Country, he should accompany him with five hundred men at armes entertained: he should suffer him to arrive by shipping he would not send him, and before he should march, he should lend the King two hundred thousand Ducats. On the other part, The King should defend the Duchy of Milan against all invaders, and should especially maintaine *Lodowikes* authority: and during the warre, he should maintain two hundred thousand men at armes, a City belonging to the Duke of Calabria, to supply all necessaries in the Duchy. This he signed with his owne hand, and promised more vnto *Lodowike* than he kept. The Conquest of Naples, he should give him the principall City of *Trapani*.

But did not *Lodowike* feare the power of so great a King, lucky fortified with three goodly Resolutes of Burgundy, Picardy and Britany, the which he had before receiued for

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Articles betweene Charles and Lodowike.

1494

would have doubted, if a poore Earle of Prouence, had conquered the realme of Naples, and did he not apprehend him who had publicly protested, that he would neuer suffer the apprehension of his cousin: for *Charles* and *John Galeas* were sisters children. Doubtless now the time was come, when as that should be verified which *Laurence of Medicis* said a little before his death, vnderstanding of the vnion of Britany to the Crowne. *That first King of France knew his cause forced, Italy should suffer much, and the publicke predictions of Feyer Isidorus Sanouarelle, whereof we will speake hereafter.*

The voyage to Naples.

The Kings army.

The King now takes his way to Lions, to assemble his forces; and diuides them into two armies, at land and at sea. In that at land were about sixteen hundred men at arms, two Archers to a Lance, six thousand Archers on foot, six thousand cross-bow-men, five thousand pikes, eight thousand Harguebufers carrying two-hand swords, twelve hundred pieces of Artillery, of iron and brasse, six thousand two hundred Pioners, two hundred expert Canoniers, six hundred master Carpenters, three hundred Masons, three hundred men to cast bullets, to make coales, cords and cables, four thousand Carters, and eight thousand horse for the artillery. The army at Sea consisted of eighteen gallies, three galleons, and nine great ships. The chiefe Commanders that did accompany the King, were, *Edwin* Duke of Orleans Lieutenant general for his Maiestie by sea, the Earle of Angoulême, the Earle of Montpensier, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Nemours, *John* of Foix Vicont of Narbonne, the Earles of Nevers, Ligni, Boulougne, Brissac, the Lord of Albret, *Louis* of Tremouille Vicont of Thouars: the Marshalls of Gie, Rieux, and Baudicourt; the Lords of Cruseilles, Tournion; Pienes, Silli, Guise, Chantouy, Mauléon, Prié, Montaisson, d' Alegre, Bonneau, Genouillac, Frainzezeles, Chaumont, Chastillon, Palice, Vergi, d' Hospital, Beaumont, Myolans, *Matthew* bassard of Bourbon, the bassard of Bourgongne, with a great number of Noblemen, and voluntary Gentlemen. The Lord of Cordes (so famous in our History, for his singular valor, wisdom, and loyalty) dyed at Bresse, three leagues from Lions. The Lord of Vrse, Master of the Kings horse, prepared all things necessary for the fleet at Genoa.

Some infection transported the King from Lions to Vienne, from whence the Duke of Orleans parted for Genoa, and there the voyage was fully concluded: for vntill that time the dissuasion of the best advised, and the distrust of the chiefe sinewes of War, had held the in suspence: for that an hundred thousand franks, borrowed vpon great interest in the booke of Soly at Genoa, could not long maintaine the ordinary charge of his house. Yet fifty thousand Ducats lent him by *Lodowike Sforze*, and the lively impression of the Cardinal Saint *Pierre* (the fatal instrument of the miseries of Italy) did somewhat reuoke the fainting courage of *Charles*. Vvhat shame (saith he) what infamy, to giue ouer so boonsable a resolution? an enterprise published throughout all the world? the Popes amazement? the terrour of *Peter of Medicis*: the ruine of the Arragonois? who can stay the violent descent of this army? even vnto the marches of Naples? Doth he doubt the want of money? At the fearful thunder of his artillery, yea, at the least brute of his armes, the Italians will bring vnto him: and the rebels spoyles shall feed his army: what shadowe there? what dreame? what vaine feare doth cause this inconstant change? where is that magnanimity? where is that courage, which did but euen now brag to ouer-run all the forces lately vnited together? In the end, the King marcheth the 23 of August, leaving *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, his brother in law, for Regent: who conducted the Queene from Grenoble into France.

Doubtlesse, we must obserue a singular and fauourable prouidence of God, in the conduct of this voyage, vnderaken vpon borrowed money: but where God works, all things are easie. For a third proofe of his need, being at Turin, the King borrowed the jewels of the Duchesse of Sauoy, daughter to *William* Marquis of Montferrat, and Widow to *Charles* Duke of Sauoy, and pawned them for 1200 Ducats: and for a fourth, being at Casal, he pawned the jewels of the Marquesse, widow to the Marquis of Montferrat, for the like summe: women worthy doubtlesse of our History, hauing loued our France with a singular affection. At Ast the King was toucht with the small pockes, and a fever, which did hazard his life, but within sixe or seuen dayes he was recovered. Thither came *Lodowike Sforze*, and *Beatrice* his wife, daughter to the Duke of Ferrara, to salute him, and withall came very fauourable newes.

*Ferdinand* was lately deceased. *Alphonso* his sonne had two armies in field, one in Romagna,

1494

A magna, towards Ferrara, the which *Ferdinand* his sonne Duke of Calabria commanded, accompanied by *Virgil* *Vrsin*, the Earle of Pettillano, and *John* *Jaques* of Triuile, who afterwards serued the King. This army had to encounter them the Earle of Caiazzo, and the Lord of Aubigni a Scottishman, who stoppt their passage. The other at sea, led by *John* *Frederick* brother to *Alphonso*, accompanied by *Obisio* of Fieque a Geneuois, and others, by means whereof they were in hope to draw the City of Genoa into their faction. But the Bayliffe of Dijon entring with two thousand Suisses, assured it for the King. *Charles* with three thousand men had taken Rapaille, twenty miles from Genoa. The two Saint *Seuerins* brethren, and *John* *Adorne* brother to *Agnustin* Gouverneur Genoa joyntly with the Duke of Orleans, and a thousand Suisses, charged them, ouerthrew them, and slew a hundred or sixscore: (It was much in that age, for then their warres were not bloody) tooke some prisoners, and all that escaped were stript by the Duke of Milans people: so as *Frederick* could neuer gather them againe together. A disgrace which did much distaste the Florentines, being alwayes more inclined to the house of France, then what of Arragon, and incouraged the King to proceed, animated therunto, by the persuasions of *Lodowike*. My Lord (saith he) doubt not of this enterprise: there are three great parties in Italy: you hold the one, that is, Milan: the other fires not, those be the Victorians: you haue no businesse but at Naples, hauing conquered that realme, if you will giue me credit, I will assist you to become greater then euer was *Charlemagne*, and I will expell the Turke out of Constantinople. He spake well, if Christian Princes had bene well vnited.

The first onset throw at the Arragonois.

Finally, *Charles* makes his entry into Pavia, in quality of a King, vnder a canopy, the harts hanged, and the people crying *God save the King*. Then grew there some ialousie, they would haue the King rest satisfied with the towne for his lodging: but in the end, the Castle was opened vnto him, where he did visit *John* *Galeas* his cousin, being sicke, and at the point of death: not without great compassion of such as thought the course of his life would be soone cut off, by the notable treachery of his Vncle.

Placentia receiued him as willingly as Pavia, and thither newes was brought of the death of the Duke of Milan, leauing a son and a daughter: *Lodowike* posting thither, with a purpose to returne, vsurped the Duchy absolutely with the title. Thus all Lombardy marked at the brute of this French army, some for loue, and some for feare. They held out not to bereligious, loyall and full of bounty: but conuincesse, robberies and other inuincibilities of souldiers, made them soone to alter their conceits, and the horer of the artillery (whose thunder was yet strange vnto them) amazed them. The Florentine, a cunning dissembler, had sent twise vnto the King, before he parted from France: at the first came the Bishop of Rhegium, and *Peder Soderini*: of whom they onely demaunded passage, and a hundred men at armes maintained: at the second time, *Peter Caponi*, and others, who made answer, that by the commandement of King *Louis* the Eleuenth they had reuoked the alliance of *John* of Aniou (if he were associate with *Charles* of France in the name of the common weale) to enter into league with *Ferdinand* of Arragon, and therefore they could not rashly leave it. But whether of these troopes, there was still some way to *Peter* of Medicis, who gaue the King intelligence of the peoples desire, listing which hands for the recovery of their liberty oppressed by *Peters* gouernement, enuied him by his neere kinemen, and the best families, as the *Capponi*, *Soderini*, *Perli* and others.

The death of John Galeas.

And for a second time, *Lodowike* and *John* de *Medicis* counsils to *Peter*, came secretly to the King at his departure from Placentia, vowing great loie in general to the house of France, and much hatred to their Kingdome, against whom *Charles* was greatly incensed, for the excuse he made to his Ambassador, which was sent from Ast: That the chiefe Citizens were at their houses in the country, and could not so readily returne him an answer, but they should shortly let him vnderstand their resolution, by special Ambassadors.

Great practices against Peter of Medicis.

In the second time they came jointly with the Pope. The King must not leave Tuscan and the Estate of the Church behind him as his enemies. The Army passeth the Appennin at Pontremone vpon Magre, the which diuides Liguria (which is the country of Genoa) from Tuscany, and is vpon the marches of the Florentines country, of purpose to force them to plant the Standard of France vpon their walls, or else to take the weakest place, and winter in it.

The second exploit of the Kings army, was at Filizane, a towne taken by force, sackt,

and all mercenary souldiers, with many inhabitants slain. A hard stratagem, for men, who (as we haue said) made war rather in pompe and brauery than with blowes.

Serezane was sufficient to withstand, yea to ruine a great power: Serezanelle was more strong, a fort built vpon the hill about the towne: but the Florentines diuisions had hindered all necessary provision, but men. And indeed they were loth to make warre against the house of France, of whom they had of old time depended: and the rather, for that they were forbidden to traffike, and their men banished out of all France, by the especiall aduice of Caponi. The army could not continue there; the Country is stark and barren, compassed in by the sea and mountaines, no victuall but what was brought from farre, and great store of snow. But the way must be laid open to Pisa, and if they had selected the first place that refitted, what village but would haue held out: *Pisa* *Florentines* some horse, with three hundred foot (meaning to put them into Serezane) who were counted, beaten, and in a manner all slain or taken prisoners, by some troopes of the foreward going to forage beyond Magre. This terror made the Florentines to retreat publicly, *T* but they would no longer incurre the Kings displeasure, nor the Duke of Milan. Whereupon they send fiftene or sixtene Citizens; and offer the King free entry into their City, whose onely designe was to expell *Peter of Medici*.

The Florentines offer the King free entry into their City.

*Peter* practised (by the means of *Laurence Spinola* his factor in the bank at Lintolme) Earle of Bresse, and *Myolans* the Kings Chamberlaine, Gouvernor of Dauphine, to procure him a safe conduct, and at the first treaty hee grants the King all his demands: *T* That the forts of Serezane, Serezanelle and *Pietro Saincto* (the keys of the Florentine domination of that side, *Salvo* of Pisa, and the port of *Lionorne*, should be put into the Kings hand, who should be bound to redeliver them after the conquest of Naples. That the King should receive the Florentines into his alliance and protection, upon the haue of two hundred thousand Ducats, and the assurance of these premises should be concluded in Florence. A facility which discovered a wonderfull feare and trouble of mind: for the King would haue beene satisfied with more easie conditions.

*Lodowike* was present at this Capitulation, who to recompence his thoughts of *Charles* his conquests, obtains from his Majesty for thirty thousand Ducats a transport for him and his heires, of the possession of Genoa: (which the King some years before had giuen to *John Galeas* Duke of Milan) yet discontented that *Charles* would not giue him *Pietro Saincto* and Serezane in guard (which places he demanded as forcibly taken away by the Florentines from the Geneuois, and had serued him as a maner to lay hold of *Pisa* he returned to Milan, and did neuer after see the King, leaving go withstanding *Galeas* of *St. Seuerin*, and the Earle of *Belzoiz* to receive his Majesty.

*Lodowike* being discontented with the King.

Thus by the conjunction of these strong places, the parts of Romagna are opened vnto the King, he enters Luques being very honourably received by the Citizens, *God save the King of France* Augustus. From Luques hee goes to *Pisa*, *Galeas* of *St. Seuerin*, following the instructions given him by *Lodowike* *Spinola* (who did not know that the like accident would be the cause of his ruine) called the chiefe Citizens, and uisited them, that rebelling against the Florentines, they should craue liberty from the King: hoping by this meanes that he should one day draw *Pisa* vnder the duke of *Milans* command, to whom they were subject before the Florentines held it, this was in thre yeece that the Venetians conquered Padua. Through this aduice the people rose together, men, women, and children, they flocke the next day about the King, crying to masse, crying with open throat, Liberty, Liberty, beseeching him with hands lifted and reares in their eyes, to free them from the Florentines oppression, by whom *Spinola* they were most tyrannously intreated. *Rabaz*, Concellor of the *Republicke* of *Dauphine*, and Master of Requests, said vnto the King, that these demands were iust, and that it was a pitifull thing to see the hard subiection that did oppress them. The King who did not consider the importance of this action, breaking the treaty of *Serezane*, and that he could not giue liberty to a towne that was not his, inke that which was received only by courtesy, rather less slip, these words were spoken: *Spinola* was inquisit

*Pisa* recoules against the Florentines.

Prickt forward a strong headed horse, and he will run as fast as hee can. This multitude presently change their cry of liberty, into cries of joy, and running to the bridge vpon the riuer of Arne, they beat downe the *Mazoreco* (this was a great Lion, placed vpon an high pillar of Marble, with the armes of Florence) and cast it into the riuer, and the

A same place they set vp a King of France holding a sword in his hand, and treading this *Mazoreco* vnder his feet. But oh the lightnesse of Italians! few years after, at the entry of the King of *Romanes*, they shall deale with the King as with this Lion.

This ignominious and rash wound, giuen to the Estate of Florence by *Peter of Medici*, contrary to the example of his predecessors, without the aduice of the Citizens, and without any decree of the Magistrates, had wonderfully incensed his fellow-citizens. Being returned to Florence, to prepare his lodging for the King, going the ninth of November to enter the palace of the *Seignoury*, to treat of the Kings arrival; beheld *Janet Meli* a young man, noble and rich, with other magistrates, being armed, offer him the entry alone, but deny it to all his followers. He retires home to his house, and is resolved to get that by force which he could not willingly obtaine. He armes, and causeth *Paul Pysan* to approach with his troope, the which was in the Florentines pay. The State proclaimes him a rebel, the people flye to armes, and cry liberty. *Peter* recouers the gates; and with him were the Cardiall *Iohn* and *Julian* his brethren: they flye to *Bolonia*, and from thence to *Venice*. *Peter* had no cloake but one of his groomes, being hated of his fellow-citizens, disdained of his domestick seruants; his house spoiled, with losse of aboue an hundred thousand Ducats in imueables; and to increase his misery, a factor of his at *Venice*, refused him for the value of an hundred ducats in cloath a notable example of the inconstancy of worldly affairs. But by the rashnesse of one young man, lately equal in a manner to great Princes, the house of *Medici* fell for that time, which vnder colour of ciuill administration, had gouerned the common-weale of Florence threescore yeares peaceably, and with respected authority.

*Peter of Medici* & his brethren expelled from Florence.

His miserable estate at Venice

*Charles* entered the next day triumphantly into Florence, himselfe and his horse armed, and his lance vpon his thigh. The Florentines were not ignorant of his descent, for that they sought to crosse him in his enterprise, and that many of his followers, thrust on by enuouement, gaped after nothing more then the sacke of so rich a City, having first of all resisted the power of France, and that others also did solicit the restitution of *Peter of Medici*, especially *Philip* Earle of Bresse. And although the City might worthily iustifie that violence whereof *Peter* and his compliers were the onely motiue; yet did they wisely foresee that the King would not let slip this opportunity to become their Lord. But being vnable to stop this violent streame by any force, they had secretly filled their chiefe houses with resolute men, receiued their enterained Capitaines into the city, and did give order, that every man, both within and without, heare the City should arme at the sound of the palace great bell. Thus fortified with men, they stand thickly vpon the eardrums of composition. Oftimes we lose the Rele by ouer-gripping. The fauour they did see some beare vnto *Peter*: the insupportable summes of money that were exacted: the absolute Seignoury of Florence which the King demanded, as hauing conquered it by the law of armes, considering in what manner he entered, made them refuse these rigorous demands, with a firme resolution to maintaine their publick liberty with the perill of their liues. Thus they grew angry on eyther side; and for a conclusion of the last conference, the Kings Secretary reading the articles which his Majesty would resolutely haue concluded, beheld *Peter Caponi* one of the foure Deputies for the city (a violent man, and one of the mightiest Families in the State, pulls the articles from the Secretary and teares them. Seeing you demand of us (saith he) so outrageous conditions; you shall find your traitors; and see our Rele.

The Kings entry into France.

The Florentines furnish themselves in their houses for feare of the King.

This audacious brauery did moderate the excess of their demands: for how lamentable had it bene, to haue fallen to any tragickall decision of their controuersie. The King clamour backe, and containing himselfe within the bounds of reason, passeth this capitulation: That the Citty of Florence should be a friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the Crowne of France. That as the end of the enterprise of Naples, the King should yield up (without any charge to the Florentines) *Pisa*, *Lionorne*, *Pietro Saincto*, *Serezane*, *Serezanelle*, and all other places taken or resolted: and in case of denial, they might recouer them by force. That they should giue the King fifty thousand Ducats in fifteen dayes; forty thousand in March, and thirty thousand in Iune following. They should pardon the *Pisans* their rebellion and other crimes. They should free *Peter of Medici* from banishment and confiscation; and concluded that he should not approach within an hundred and fifty miles of their confines: and that he should be nearer then an hundred miles. This accord was sworn vpon the great Altar in the

The articles of the agreement.

Church of Saint John at Florence. But matters succeeded other wise, as we shall see, such as Florentines changed their red Lillie into a white.

Two dayes after, the King parted towards Siciana; a Citie well peopled, situated in a fertile country, in ancient time rich, mighty, & the second citie in Toscane, which yielded in many factions to the stronger party, so as they enjoyed more the name than the effect of liberty. They took off their gates for the Kings entry: notwithstanding the City being suspected of him, (for that it had been always at the devotion of the Empire) he took garison, and took his way to Rome. Aqua pendente and Montefasconi (places belonging to the Pope) received him with coyall pompe; and layd the way open to Viterbo. The Florentine Forts which the King held, and the garison left in Sienna made the Venetians and Milanais to feare, that he would hardly end his conquests with Naples. They went this common danger, they treat of a new confederacy, and had concluded it, if it had made that resistance to the King which many expected. Ferdinand Duke of Calabria, the Popes forces, Virgil Perin, and the remainders of the Arragonois army, had solyed to camp at Viterbo, and there to make head against the King, but the roades which the Colonis made (who had taken Ossia from the Pope) and hindered the passing of victuals to Rome by sea) having put all the countrey about Rome in alarme; being allious of the Popes integrity, who began to hearken to the French demands, made him retire, leaving the way open for the King to enter into Viterbo by the fauour of the Cardinal of Saint Pierre, and the Colonis, and so into the territories of the Duke.

The Pope is now wonderfully perplexed: he knows himselfe to have become one of the chiefe motives of Charles his voyage, and since, without any offence, he hath opposed his authority, his counsell, and his armes. Hee imagines, that the assurance hee shall have from the King, shall be no firmer then his to the King. He sees the Cardinals of Saint Pierre, and other his enemies in credit about the King. Hee fears that this prediction of Sebastian should now take effect. That the Church should be reformed by the sword, and remembers with what infamy he came to the Popedom; his government, and his life, controules him. The Cardinals of Assensio, Saint Pierre, Calanne, Savelle, and about these others, urge the King to suppress a Pope so full of vices, and abominable to all the world, and to proceed to a new election. Hee hath no sufficient forces to withstand a stranger. Alphonsus a Pope, Ferdinand is weak. Virgilus Perin General of the Arragon army, Constable of the Realme of Naples, allyed to Alphonsus, (John Ferdinand, eldest to the said Perin, having married a bastard daughter of Ferdinand the father of Alphonsus) bound to the house of Arragon for so many respects, had of late confessed, that the houses should give the King passage, lodging and victuals within the territories of the Church; and leaues him Campagna, and other places for his assurance, until the way were past the territories of Rome. The Earle of Petrellano, and all the rest of the family of Perin, followed the same accord. And now Ciuita uecchia, Coenette, & in a manner about Rome, is in the power of the French. All the Court, all the people, are troubled, they demand an vniuy. Being thus troubled in minde, hee sends the Bishop of Concord and Terne, to the King: but hee seeks to compound both for himselfe and Alphonsus. The King had not advanced his armes euen to the gates of Rome to that intent. Hee sends the Cardinals of Assensio and Calanne, Lewis of Tremouille, and the President of Gannai, to the Pope, who in an humour brings Ferdinand with his army into Rome, and suffers them to fortifie the weakest places. But where is the means to defend it? Ossia cuts off their victuals. The Cardinals being ariued (in a short way of Alexander) they are presently taken prisoners, to make them to deliver vp Ossia, and in the same tumult, the French Ambassadors are slayd by the Arragonois: yet the Popes sented them to be presently deliuered, and the Cardinals soon after. Hee sends the Cardinal of Saint Severin to the King, being at Nepes, and treats no more but of his own safeties. And that which vigeth him most, the King is come to Bracciano, the chiefe towne of the Virgins; the Colonis haue many of the Ghibelin faction within Rome: the Duke of Ligoy, (a vniuy german to the King by his mother) and the Lord of Alegre were to be a vniuy to them, with five hundred lances, & two thousand Swisses, to spoile the Countrey beyond Tiber, and to keepe Ferdinand within Rome. But hee was more amazed with as about twenty fadomes of the wall fell downe of it selfe, the which makes the King, and forces the Pope. But hee fears the Cardinals hatred, and the rage of his estate.

The

A. The King frees him of this doubt, and doth assure him by the Marshall of Gile, the President of Gannai, and the Scheshall of Beucaire, that his intention to take this place by force, he is notwithstanding rescued with the same reference that his intention is to have a wayes borne to the Roman Sea, that crying peaceably into Rome, all the Garrouses should be converted into amity and friendship. Hee recds, and sent him a safe conduct for Ferdinand, to passe safely through the dominions of the Church: Thus the King entered Rome with all his army, by the Port of Saint Peter. Hee Popes, in the manner as he had done into Florence: euen as Ferdinand Duke of Calabria, passed out of Saint Sebastians gate, the last day of this yeare. The Pope, fraught with feare, and distress, shus himselfe up into the Castle Saint Angelo, which he should treat with the King. And for that he refused to deliuer the Castle vnto the King: the artillery was with drawne out of the Castle of Saint Marke, where the King was lodged; yet the promises and promises of Alexander, prevailed much with some of the priuy Counsell, and the King of his owne disposition, was not inclined to offend the Pope. But what needs there any Cannon to batter a place, which opens of itselfe, fifteen fadomes of the Castle wall (the original) tell at the Kings arriual. In the end the Pope gives the King the Towns of Ciuita uecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto (yet this was not deliuered) to haue them vnto the conquest of Naples, and grants impunity to the Cardinals, and Barons that had followed the King. Zemin Ottoman brother to Bajazet the 2, who since the death of Mahomet the 2 father (being pursued by the said Bajazet) had saved himselfe at Rhodes, and from thence being led into France, had bene put into Pope Innocents power: for whose guard Bajazet paid yearly forty thousand Ducats to the Pope, that by the greedines of this summe, they should be the lesse willing to yeeld to any Prince, that might make vse of him against him. The King desired to haue him, to make him an instrument of the warre; which hee refused against the Turke, after that of Naples. But Alexanders holiness, advised the Turke to stand vpon his guard, and so provide for his young King, preuails not in his enterprise: for a recompence hereof, Bajazet (although he detested the Popes impiety) sent him two hundred thousand crownes, by George of Antie, the messenger of this aduice, intreating the Pope to free him of this feare. It was generally beleued, that he was poysoned, and dyed within few dayes after that Alexander had deliuered him. Moreover, it was said: That Caius, Cardinal of Valence, the Popes fanne, should follow the King three months, as the Popes Legat, but rather to be a pawne of his fathers promises.

By means of this accord, the Pope returned to the Vatican, the Pontifical Palace, where the King made his filiall submission, obtaines two Cardinals Hares, the one for the Bishop of Mans, being of the house of Luxembour; the other for Briconnet, Bishop of Saint Malo, and for himselfe the title of Emperour of Constantinople; and a promise to himselfe him in the Realme of Naples, without any prejudice to anothers right, and then hee cured many of the Kings euill. And to shew, that as eldest sonne of the Church, hee had as great iurisdiction, as the Pope within Rome, hee caused three seats for Justice to be set, and execution to be done of some that were guilty of a delition made in the lower street.

Ferdinand was no sooner parted out of Rome; but the hatred which the people bare to the house of Arragon, discouered itselfe. The tyrannous oppressions of Ferdinand, and that to Alphonsus were yet fresh. The Isle of Sicilia flowed yet with the blood of foure and twenty Princes and Barons which had returned vpon his word; who being imprisoned after the result of Arragon, Alphonsus (to make his coming to the Crowne famous) caused to be slaine, amongst others, the Duke of Sella, and the Prince of Rosane, who had married the sister of Ferdinand his father. Ferdinand had bene a man without faith, a dissembler, cruell, violent, a great exactor, infamous, a rauisher of women, and irreligious. Thus (witnesseth the Bishopricke of Tarentum, the which he sold to a few for thirteenth thousand Ducats, for his son, who he had said was a Christian) Alphonsus had the same qualities: and moreover, he was disolute, impious, and wicked. Hereunto were added the old reliques of the Angevin faction, which might helpe much to breed an alteration. Thus the people of Naples rise, Aquila and Abruzzo aduance their enuies; Fabrizio Colonne, keeps all in awe about Albi and Taillicouffe, and all the rest of the Realme was ready to rebel. But that which most imports, the furies of his owne conscience tormented him. Hee thinks that the ghosts of these murdered Noblemen appeare vnto him, that the

The Venetians and Milanais grow zealous of the Kings proceedings,

The Pope in perplexitie,

The Pope hath many enemies,

Hee sends to the King,

The walls of Rome fall a line at the Kings entry,

The cruelty of Ferdinand as to Alphonsus,

The wall of the Castle S. Angelo talle,

The Popes impiety,

The cruelty of Ferdinand as to Alphonsus,

1495

Alphonse is  
frustrated with  
trouble and  
prejudgments.Alphonse  
crowns his  
fame and  
fame.Mont Saint  
Lan taken and  
burnt.The first entry  
of the French  
into the realm  
of Naples.

trees and forests found into his ears the name of France. He sees his subjects  
by no revenge the blood shed against his faith. Thus, unable to withstand both a  
time and a shame, bred enemy, he caught his sonne *Ferdinand* and was crowned, whose  
years had yet given no cause of scandal; and with four light Gallies, laden with  
hundreds of Vases (whereunto he was much given) seeds to garden withall, some *Rosiers*,  
and a little money, he fled to Marate in Sicile, where he suddenly changed his horrible estate  
into a Monkish life, assisting the religious at all hours of service, both day and night  
in abstinence, almes and prayers; but oppressed with the Hemroids and gravel, he  
was being ready to shut himself up in a Monastery at Valenza the great.

This flight made the Kings way more easie, and verified the saying of Pope *Alexander*  
that the French were come with wooden shooes, and chalk in their barbingers hands; for  
their lodgings without any difficulty. Alluding it to the prick of wood which pages and  
lackeys put in the heels of their Masters shoes, when they ride upon their moyle. And  
in truth, our Frenchmens backs were not much over-heated with their armes in this  
predition; nor any one place slaying the King about a day, but the Castles of Naples. The  
King going from Rome comes to Velletri, from whence the Cardinall of Valentia (his  
fathers right) stole from his Maisty. From Velletri he comes to Montforti,  
a house belonging to the Church, strong of situation, yet was it battered and taken in  
four hours. All that were found in armes were slain, except the three sons of *Lames* Count,  
a Roman Gentleman Lord of the towne, who preserving the haire he bare the  
Crown, before his honour, had left the Kings pay to follow *Alphonse*. These with  
others being rettyred into the Castle, yielded themselves prisoners upon view of the  
Cap. Mont Saint. Lan, a towne belonging to the Marquis of Pescara, seated in the  
plaine, upon the confines of the Kingdom of Naples, strong both by art and nature,  
 fortified with three hundred strangers, and five hundred inhabitants, which were resolute  
 defend their state, yet was it one day besieged, battered, assailed and taken in the  
 King presence. Six hundred and six men were slain in the fury of the fight, and but tiny  
 escape: and to terrifie the rest, it was burnt.

We are now ready to enter. The Arragonois must shew his courage. *Ferdinand* the  
 King assembles all the forces he can, having fifty cornets of horse, and fixe thousand choice  
 foot, under the most expert Captaines of Italy, and camps at Saint Germaine. The place  
 is of easie defence, on the one side high and inaccessible mountaine, on the other side  
 the waters hinder the approach, and in front is the Garilian, a river vncasie to passe;  
 and not farre off is the passage of Cancelli, a mountaine which of necessity they must passe:  
 It is the Key of the whole kingdom, here must they fight, or give way. But this army was  
 daunted, without courage, and without force the name of the French had amazed them,  
 and the Captaines, partly desirous of innoation, partly greedy of better entertainment,  
 wavered in their faith and courage. The Marshall of Gie approacheth with three  
 hundred Launces, and two thousand foot, but terror goes before him. In this amazement  
 both Cancelli and Saint Germaine are shamefully abandoned, and eight pieces of great  
 artillery are taken to thunder hereafter in favour of the French.

Capua was sufficient to receive the army, which marched after the forward, rather like  
 travellers then men of Warre, without order, without commandement, and without  
 discipline, the soldiers gaping after nothing but spoile. The situation is very strong, having  
 Vulturno before it (a river very deepe in that place) but their resolution was like to that  
 of Saint Germaine; and to increase it, as *Ferdinand* made account to defend it, and by that  
 means to hold Naples and Caiette. The Queene his Grandmother sends him word,  
 that since the losse of Saint Germaine, there was so great a tumult at Naples, as all would  
 be in vprore if he came not speedily. He goes, and promiseth to returne the next day.  
 But *John* laques of Truivelle (to whom he had given the Towne in guard) comes with  
 some gentlemen of Capua to the King being at Calui: he presents him the towne and  
 his service, and makes an offer to bring *Ferdinand*. The King accepts the Capuans offer, and  
 the coming of *Ferdinand*, upon condition that hee retain no portion within the  
 realme, but should content himselfe with such means as he should give him in France.  
 In the meane time the soldiers lack *Ferdinand* lodging and his stable: the men at armes  
 disperse themselves in diuers places: *Virgilius* and the Earle of Perellane craue a safe  
 conduct from the King, and retire with their Companies to Nola. *Ferdinand* thinking

by

A by this journey to have assured the Neapolitans, retirines at the time prefix, when as the  
 Capuans aduise him not to set forward, seeing they were otherwise resolved. Aulerle (a  
 towne betwixt Capua and Naples) sends their keys to the King; and the Neapolitans  
 determined to follow them. *Ferdinand* retired into the Castle, knowing that 300 Lan-  
 quennets meant to take him prisoner: he gives them the moucables of the said Castle, and  
 as they were busie to divide it, he slips from them, sets the yong Prince of Rosane at liber-  
 ty (whom by loue or force he caried with him) and the Earle of Popoli: hee caused the  
 ships that remained in the port, to be burnt and sunk, and saues himselfe with the Queene,  
 Don *Fredrick* his vncke, his daughter *Isabel*, and some few servants; in the Isle of Ithaca;  
 and whilst he was within sight of Naples, he often repeated this goodly Otiacle, if the  
 Lord kept not the City, the watchmen watch but in vaine.

Thus all water at the Conquerors fame, and with such cowardise, as 200 horse under  
 the command of the Earle of Ligny going to Nola, took both it, *Virgilius* and the Earle  
 of Petralia, without resistance, being retired thither with 400 men at armes, attending  
 the safe conduct they had obtained from the King; being amazed like to the rest of their  
 army, and from thence they were led captiues to the foot of Mountdragon, and all their  
 men stript. In the meane time the Neapolitans Ambassadors come with their keys, de-  
 siring a confirmation of their ancient exemptions and priuiledges: The King orders the  
 21 of February, and is receiued with such exceeding ioy, both of great and small, of all

ages, all sexes and all qualities, as euery one runnes as to their dearest redeemer, from a  
 cruel and insupportable tyranny. Thus *Charles* (without planting of tent, or breaking of  
 Lance) in four months and a halfe, with an admirall happinesse, came, saw and ouer-  
 came. They say commonly, that the poison lyes in the raile, & that the hardest part to flea  
 an ancle is the raile. The perfection of the victory consisted in the taking of the Castles  
 of Naples. The tower of Saint Vincent, built for the defence of the port, was easily taken.  
 Then the Castle, the lodging of their Kings, seated upon the sea, strong by nature and by  
 art, plentifully furnished with victuals & munition, and manned with five hundred Lan-  
 quennets; but abandoned by the Marquis of Pescara, to whom *Ferdinand* had left it in  
 guard (who seeing the garrison bent to yeeld the place, had followed *Ferdinand*, and was  
 after some small defence yielded, upon condition to depart in safety, and to carry what  
 they could away. And see here the first and greatest error which the King committed in  
 this exploit, himselfe wanting experience, but his minions & fauorits no conscienceless;  
 Mag use all these victuals and other moucables, to the first that begged them: who fur-  
 nished themselves with the munition, whereon the preferuation of the towne and place  
 depended. The Castle of Ouo, built upon a rocke, hanging ouer the sea, being battered  
 with the Cannon (the which might only indammage the wall; but not the rocke it selfe)  
 compounded, if they were not releued within a certaine time, and after foure and twenty  
 dayes siege, it was deliuered into the Kings hands.

The King made his entry into Naples the 12 of May, in an Imperiall habit, & was recei-  
 ued as King of France, and of both Sicilies (whereof the Realme of Naples makes a part)  
 and Emperor of Constantinople: But herein hee made no just accompt; with him that  
 guesse and takes away Kingdomes. The Barons and Commons all sent away their Cap-  
 taines and troops dispersed in diuers parts of the realme. Those which depended most of  
 the house of Arragon, due still remembrance: The *Caristis*, who enjoyed surry the land and  
 sea of Inheritance: the Dukes of Melfe, Graua, and Sorra; the Earles of Mantorio,  
 Ralchi, Tripaldi, Celano, Monteleone, Meritano, and Popoli, come to do their homage;  
 and generally all the Noblemen of the Realme, except *Alphonse* *Quato*, Marquis of Pesca-  
 ra, the Earle of Acre, and the Marquis of Squillizzo; whose injuries the King gave away.  
 Another vantage which shall be a great cause the following readers.

Calabria yeelds willingly to the Lord of Aubigny, sent thither with a small troupe, ex-  
 cept the Castle of Rhegum: but they wanted maner to force it; the towne held for the  
 King. Abtuzzo yeelds of it selfe. Apulia erects the Standard of France, except Tur-  
 pia and Mattia; who notwithstanding had planted the Flower de lis, yet refusing any  
 other command, they of the King himselfe, who had given them to the Lord *Perse* d'A-  
 legre, and they returne to their first master. The Castles of Brundisium & Gallipoli, were  
 neglected with too great confidence: but they shall serue mostly as a leuener to stirre vp  
 small of rebellion: The rocke of Caliete well furnished with all things necessary, yeelds

1495  
Aulerle yeelds.*Ferdinand* king  
of Naples flies.

Nola taken.

Naples yeelds.

The whole  
Kingdome of  
Naples conque-  
red by Charles.Charles makes a  
royall entry in-  
to Naples.



Causes of revolt from the French.

at discretion, after some light assaults. Tarentum, Otrante, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredi, Barle, and in a manner all other strong places yielded at the first breach. But some holding themselves wronged, for that they had in a manner disdain'd to heare their depuries: others, for that they had sent no man to receive them, will soon returne their first demand. The life of Ischia remained yet, and Ferdinand upon the first intelligence of the yielding of the Castles of Naples had abandoned it to *Janike d'Alcala*, brother to the Marquis of Pescara, both most faithfull to their Prince, and was retired to Sicily. The King sends thither his army at sea, the which was cast by a tempest upon the life of Corfe: yet in the end they anchored upon the Realme, but after the last of the Expedition. This army holding it selfe too weak to force the fort of Ischia, would not assaile it, and therefore the King resolved to lead into Provence and to Geneva, let more ships, and to assaile the sea, the which *Ferdinand* scowred with fouretyne galleies ill armed. But profperity doth oftentimes make vs become insolent; and without considering the consequence, we easily let matters passe at adventure. Our French are soon well lodged, they dreame of nothing but feasting, dancing, and tourneys: and the great self about the King have no other care, but to make the victory profitable to themselves without any regard, either of the dignity, or profit of their Prince, who not satisfied with the conquest of these goodly and rich estates, determines to advance his victorious forces. Let vs leave them glured with ease, pleasure, and good cheare, and let vs make an escape into the East, to see how he had sped there, if the Pope had as well united the Potentates of Italy, to joyne their common forces with our *Charles*, as he now flimsies up to croffe his new conquests.

*Mahamet* the second, left two sonnes, *Baizet* the second of that name, and *Zemin* (they name him diversly, *Zemin*, *Zizim*, *Gemin* and *Geme*) both resident in their governments when the father dyed. *Baizet* in Cappadocia, *Zemin* in Licaonia. Their abilities fell the Balchaes and Captaines of the Janisaries at discord, about the succession, and they fell from words to armes. Hereupon the Janisaries proclaime *Baizet* Emperour being absent: *Isaac* and *Mesithes*, chiefe captaines of the Turkish army, being at Constantinople, set *Carchus* the sonne of *Baizet* in the throne of his ancestors: they deliver him the forts and treasure, that under colour of his nonage they might manage the affaires of the Empire at their pleasure. *Baizet* posts thither, and by great bribes doth pacifie and win the hearts of the Janisaries, and of their Captaines, incited against him through the malice of some Noblemen. So *Carchus* being yet very young, yielded him the Crowne willingly.

*Zemin* on the other side, was called by his friends and partisans, holding him to be a man of greater courage, and better execution then his brother, being more fit for his booke, whereunto he was more addicted, then unto armes. *Pyrramus*, *Comman* King of Cilicia, and *Caithbey* Sultan of Egypt, incite him to warre against his brother. But he was vanquished in three battells, by *Achamet* Balcha, and despairing, fled to the great Master of Rhodes, leaving his mother and two twins, a sonne and a daughter in Carras, whom *Baizet* caused to be murdered. Many Princes of Europe demanded *Zemin*, as *Leu* the cleveneth French King, and *Matthias* King of Hungary, hoping by his means to unite *Baizet*: but this was a good pigeon in the Papes Doue-house. *Innocent* the eight would have him, hoping that *Baizet* his brother would give some notable summe of money to redeem him, or else to keepe him from any other, that might vie him as an instrument to croffe his new Empire. *Alexander*, successor unto *Innocent*, (a monstrous man in life, monstrous in his election, and monstrous in his death.) I have horror to read, and more to report, what writers doe testifie, intreating the curious reader, to see them rather in the Originals themselves) being forced to deliver him to *Charles* the eight, and so disposed of him: corrupted by the money of *Baizet*, he caused him to be paysoned; either grieved for the losse of his pension, or envying the glory of *Charles*: or else fearing, lest if things should succeed happily for him against the Infidels, he should turn his thoughts and forces, to reforme the abuses and corruptions, which had long before crept into the Church.

A while after the sight of *Zemin*, *Baizet* caused *Achamet* to be strangled, for that (growing proud and fierce, by reason of his wealth,) he practised to ruine *Baizet*, and transport

Pope Alexander joyous at *Zemin*.

The Turke swift overcom by the Sultan.

A transport the Emperour to *Zemin*. A happy death for the Christians, of whom *Achamet* was a violent and cruel oppressor. *Baizet* fired by the death of these two men, he turned his forces against the Christians, and subdued Valachia. Then he vanquished *Carman*, reducing his principality into the forme of a Province. After that, hee marcheth with his army into Asia against the Sultan *Amir*, who had succoured his brother *Zemin* with countlesse men, victuals and money. The Sultan defeated the Turke in two great battels, the one was given neere *Salatane* in Cilicia, the other neere to *Taurus*: in the which he took both the Commanders of the Turkish army prisoners, *Mesithes* Balcha, and *Achamet* Chieftaine, loose in law to *Baizet*, and slew about threescore and ten thousand Turkes.

This checke made *Baizet* to change his climate, and leaving Asia, to passe into Europe, where his adventures were not so strong. Hee took *Durazzo*, neere to *Valonne*, and won a great battell under the command of *Cadi* Balcha, against the *Sclavonians*, *Hongarians* and *Croations*, who were encamped in the large plaines of *Orbatia*, neere to *Sag*, about the yeare 1493. But *John* *Christ*, sonneto to the brave *Schubert*, recovered that which *Baizet* had snatched: forcing him to accept of such conditions as hee propounded. Moreover, *Cris* *Pichin* defeated him in battell in Croatia, and expelled him the Country.

The all these nations which lye betwixt *Valonne* and Constantinople (being from the one to the other about eightene dayes journey) languished under the burthen of the Turkish tyranny, Albanos, *Sclavonians*, and *Grecians*, hoping for their deliverie by the means of our *Charles*. But what could he do, seeing those that should second the resolution of this young Prince, were the first to overthrow his designs by their secret practices? *Charles* notwithstanding the death of *Zemin*, sent the Archbishop of *Durazzo* into Greece, an Albanos by birth, having an enterprise upon *Scurari*, with *Constantine* a Greek, afterwards gouernour of *Montefray* who had intelligence within the Towne: the *Yugians* have no longer knowledge of the death of *Zemin*: but to gratifie *Baizet*, they will give the honor to give him the first aduise for the effecting whereof they command, that no ship should passe by night betwixt the two Castles, which are at the entry of the gulf of Venice. This was the same night, when as the Archbishop should depart with many swordes, bucklers, and iuelins, to arme those with whom hee had intelligence. But he is taken, and shut up in one of those Castles: his instructions are viewed, whereby the Venetians informed of the fact, send to aduise the Turkes in the places adjoining. Intwixt our French had not yet learned to know him, who guides our hands to fight, and our papers to the battell; attending a strange and sudden Catastrophe, they must plant the bowels of their victory in the Realme of Naples. Let vs now see the issue of this journey. Wee haue left King *Charles* at Naples, seeking his delights, and his people hunting after profit, neglecting to expell the *Aragonois* out of those few places which held yet for them. In the meane time the peoples love and fauour, (who loue not a stranger, but in their need) degenerated.

The King had in his bounty fired the Realme of above 300000 ducats by yeare: yet matters were not managed with that order and iudgement as was requisite: hee heard not the petitions and complaints of suitors, but felt the charge thereof to such as ruled him: whole incapacity and countenance confounded all. The Nobility were not regarded, their services were not recompensed: they had no addresse to the King: no distinction of persons, no gratuity, but by chance: mens courages that were estranged from the house of *Aragon*, were not comforted: no restitution of goods and offices to the *Anguins*, and other *Barbans*, which had beene banished by old *Ferdinand*: preferences were given to such as purchased them with money, and other extraordinary means: to many they were given without reason, and taken from others without any cause: the townes which were wont to obey any immediately but the King, were given for the most part to Frenchmen. Things most insupportable to subjects, who had beene accustomed to the wise and well ordered government of Kings of the house of *Aragon*, and had hoped for better in the change of this Royalty. These things did wondrously blench the reputation of the French. On another side, there was no care to keepe the faith made to the *Aragonois* of the conquests and forresses to the *Florentines* and the Church: A pretence which served as a pretext to the following issues.

Causes of discontent in the Realme of Naples.

Causes of discontent in the Realme of Naples.

In the meane time, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand* lately King of Naples, lay before the Venetians the dangers they incurred by this new purchase to the Crowne of France. The King of Castile is in doubt of his Islands of Sicile and Sardinia. The Emperour is jealous, and they giue him falsly to vnderstand, that the King desired his Imperiall Crowne. The Duke of Milan could neuer beleue, the King should find so great facility in this expedition, or proceed so farre with his forces. He was vnabie to defend his estate newly vnruped. But another feare posseseth him, the seruinde that hangs ouer his head, and all Italy. The Pope opposeth, and the Turke at the Popes instance, threatens the Venetians, if they declare not themselves against the King. The Venetians, hauing seene the violent course of this happy successe, that the King, like lightning, had run through all Italy: that hee had seized vpon Pisa, and other forts of the Florentines, that he had left a garison in Siena, and done the like in the territories of the Church. They imagined, that his proiects had a further reach then the Realme of Naples, and held another danger to be their owne. To preuent it, they conclude a league, (for three yeares), said they to the Lord of Aragon, the Kings Ambassador at Venice, To defende Christendome against the Turke: for the common defence of Italy, and for the preteruention of euery ones private estate. They conclude by secret articles to aide *Ferdinand* of Arragon, for the recovery of the Realme of Naples, who with great hope of the peoples loue, was ready to forsake the King. He had not felted them in the possession of their places. He preferred the counsell of such as reported the Pisans before the Florentines, on his faith, perswading him that if these were restored they would vnite themselves to the other Potentates: yet would not they enter into this League, desiring rather to discover their places from his hand that did enjoy it. The Duke of Ferrara dissembling, would not signe it, yet was hee content that his son should accept the pay of an hundred and fifty men at armes, and the title of Lieutenant general for the Duke of Milan. This League concluded, made the Courtiers desirous to returne into France, thrust forward rather by an inconstitute lightnesse, then any wise consideration, or loue to the Kings honour and good: leauing many important affairs undecided, and the Realme not wholly conquered: some chiefe forts, either not taken or not furnished, gaue an entry to the Arragonois. We doe oftentimes contemne in our my ouer whom we haue an aduantage. So the Castles of Caiero, Rhegium, Brundisium, Gallipoli, Mantia, Turpia, Otrante, and other townes neglected, made the way to a generall reuolt. Now the confederates march to field, to ioyne their forces, meaning first to besiege *Charles* within Naples, or to fight with him in his returne. They must therefore resolute either to defend the Realme, or to leaue a good guard, and so depart before this great storme fell vpon them. The Spanish fleet landing at Rhegium, had furnished it, and assured it for the Arragonois. Mantia, Turpia, and Otrante seeing the League, and that they had not regarded them, plant the Arragon Ensignes, and receiue the Captains, which *Don Fredericke* had sent them. The Venetian fleet commanded by *Giulio Grimaldi*, appeared vpon the coast of Apulia. In the end, all the Realme begins to shew open demonstration of a new will. But fee, he that was euen now the peoples terror, the Iudge of anothers life and estate, the hope of the East, stands in feare to be conquered. A course to abate the presumption which his victory had bred. The King leaues *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Montpenier, for his Viceroy, a hardy and valiant Prince, but with the History, Not wise, he did not rise before none. And sent the defence of the Realme, two thousand five hundred Suisses, a part of his French footmen, 300 French Ladies, two hundred men at armes Italians, in his pay, some commanded by the gouernor of Rome, some by *Prosper* and *Fabrizio Colonna*, and by *Anthony Squilli*; Captaines well practiced in the distribution of places and offices within the Realme; especially, the Colonell *Prosper* had in the Duchy of Tracette, the Cury of Fundi, Monfortino, and about thre other places, *Fabrizio* had the Countreies of Albi and Taillecouffe, which *Prosper* did formerly enjoy. The Lord of Aubign, a brasse and wise knight, was made Governor of Calabria, and had the Earldome of Acri, and the Marquisate of Squillazzo giuen him.

The order the King leaues in Naples.

A The Prince of Salerne was restored to the office of Admirall, and he of Besignan well aduanced. *Sienens de Vers*, sometimes groomer of the Kings Chamber, and after Senechal of Beaucaire, obtained the Duchy of Nola, the captainship of Caieto, and other commands, with the office of great Chamberlaine, and Controller of the treasure within the Realme, well affected to the guard thereof, but too weak of iudgment to beare the burthen and care of so great affaires. *Don Iulian* of Lorraine (greatly commended for his gouernment) was made Duke of S. Angelo. *Gratian des Guerres*, a valiant Captaine of great reputation, had the gouernment of Abruzzo: *Gabriel* of Montfaucon (of whom the King made great account) had Manfredonia, but hauing receiued it well furnished with victuals, and in a Country abounding with corne, he so deuoured his provision, as after four dayes siege, he was forced to yeeld vp the place for want of victuals. The king left *George* of Soulli at Tarentum, who caried himselfe with much honour. Hee died there of the plague, and the Towne held for the King, untill that famine forced them to change their party. In Aquila, the Bayliffe of Vitry was commended to haue well discharged his duty; such was the order the King left in the Realme of Naples, whereof followed a horrible disorder: for the greatest part of other Captaines, appointed in diuers places, applied to their owne private profit such commodities as they found within their places, for the defence whereof the King had greatly weakened his forces. So returning but with nine hundred men at armes, two thousand five hundred Suisses, seauen thousand men in pay, and C. threescore hundred men of defence, chosen out of his traine following the Count, hee perished the twentieth day of May, taking his way to Rome; and his army at sea to Efliorre. The Pope made some shew to reconcile himselfe with the King, and the King laboured to shuide him from the league. In the end, a bad confession made him go to Orsieto with his college of Cardinals, a thousand light horse, two hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, leauing a sufficient garison in the Castle of S. Angelo, and the Cardinall of Castilio for Legat in Rome, to receiue the king, who refusing the Vatican, lodged in the suburbs. And the Pope vnderstanding, that hee approached to Viterbo, (although hee had giuen some hope of an enterview betwixt Viterbo and Orsieto,) yet he went from Orsieto to Perugia, with an intent if the King tooke that course, to recover Ancona, and to retire himselfe by sea into some place of safety. Yet notwithstanding the times just passed discontent, hee redelivered him *Cinara*, *uechia*, and *Terracina*, reseruing *Orsieto*, which he left in the hands of the Cardinall of *Saint Pierre*, Bishop of that place. The treasures of the Church were not spoiled by his army, only *Trospand*, which refusing to lodge his foreward, was taken by force and sack. But wee must leaue records of our indignation in all places. His enemies troope together, and during a fruitlesse stay of sixe or seauen dayes at Siena, we giue them leisure to ioyne their forces. Moreover, the Florentines summon the King of his faith and promises, and to draw him thereunto the more willingly, (besides the thirty thousand Ducats which they were ready to pay, as recompence of their fidelity they offered) to send them three score and ten thousand Ducats more. *Brandon* alitt him in his passage with three hundred men at armes, where the command of *Renecio* *Skeona* a brave Captaine, and faithful to the King, and with two thousand foot. These reasons should moue the Count to accept thereof. The want of money hee in excuse of their army, and also which did most import, the discharge of the Kings faith, and soyl to be a yet a sifter and must be kindle, and in the end hee left Italy. The Earle of Salui, young and vnexperienced, (yet fauoured of the King his count), laboured for the Signorie of Pisa and Livorno, and the Signior required him for the Lord, promising him an appointment of twenty thousand Ducats by the year. Upon condition he should entertaine three hundred foot for the defence of the place, taking away the ordinary guard, while the order of Monte Nouo (in whose power the gouernment of the City was wont to be) should be in the Palat.

The King the next day, pictured the Countell of *Yong* in, before the marshall of the King *Charles* the President of Senay, and others well aduised: and agreed, that the Count should take the City of *Yong* to his protection, binding himselfe to defende all that depended thereon, except *Montreuil*, where hee would not reside, but for the Florentines should be the Signior. But what were the fruits of this conclusion? But the Thane should be the Signior, and of the Lord of *Esle*, whom the King had left thereof Ambassador, by those of the foresaid order, who soon after recovered their ancient authority.

The Pope flies;

Notable causes of King Charles.

The King Charles the President of Senay, and others well aduised: and agreed, that the Count should take the City of *Yong* to his protection, binding himselfe to defende all that depended thereon, except *Montreuil*, where hee would not reside, but for the Florentines should be the Signior.

In the meane time, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand* lately King of Naples lay before the Venetians the dangers they incurred by this new purchase to the Crowne of France. The King of Castile is in doubt of his Islands of Sicile and Sardinia. The Emperour is iaculous, and they giue him falsly to vnderstand, that the King desired his Imperiall Crowne. The Duke of Milan could neuer beleue, the King should find so great facility in this expedition, or proceed so farre with his forces. He was vnabie to defend his estate newly vlturped. But another feare possesseth him, the seruitude that hangs ouer his head, and all Italy. The Pope opposeth, and the Turke at the Popes instance, threatens the Venetians, if they declare nor themselves against the King. The Venetians, hauing seene the violent course of this happy successe, that the King like lightning had run through all Italy: that hee had seized vpon Pisa, and other fort of the Florentines, that he had left a garison in Siena, and done the like in the territories of the Church. They imagined, that his proiects had a further reach then the Realme of Naples, and held another danger to be their owne, to prevent it, they conclude a league, (for three yeares, said they to the Lord of Aragon, the Kings Ambassador at Venice). To defend Christendome against the Turke: for the common defence of Italy, and for the preferuation of euery ones private estate. They conclude by secret articles to aide *Ferdinand* of Arragon, for the recouery of the Realme of Naples, who with great hope of the peoples loue, was ready to enter Calabria. The same instant the Venetians should attempt some sea towncs of the said Realme. The Duke of Milan (to cut off all succours that might come from France) should take the prize Asl, where the Duke of Orleans remained with small forces. And the confederates should giue the Emperour and the King of Spaine a certaine summe of money, to moue France with a mighty army. The Florentines had iust cause to forsake the King. He had not seeld them in the possession of their places. He preferred the counsell of such as reported the Pisans before the Florentines, on his faith, perswading him that if these were restored they would vnite themselves to the other Potentates: yet would not they enter into this League, desiring rather to recover their places from his hand that did enjoye it. The Duke of Ferrara dissembling, would not signe it, yet was hee content that his son should accept the pay of an hundred and fifty men at armes, and the title of Lieutenant general for the Duke of Milan. This League concluded, made the Courtiers desirous to returne into France, thrust forward rather by an inconstant lightnesse, then any well consideration, or loue to the Kings honour and good: leauing many important affaires undecided, and the Realme not wholly conquered: some chiefe fort, either not taken or not furnished, gaue an entry to the Arragonois. We doe oftentimes contemne in enemy ouer whom we haue an aduantage. So the Castles of Caieto, Rhegium, Brundisium, Gallipoli, Mantia, Turpia, Otrante, and other towncs neglected, made the way to a general reuolt. Now the confederates march to field, to ioyne their forces, meaning euen to besiege Charles within Naples, or so fight with him in his returne. They must therefore resolute either to defend the Realme, or to leaue a good guard, and so depart before this great flocme fell vpon them. The Spanish fleet landing at Rhegium, had furnished it, and assured it for the Arragonois. Mantia, Turpia, and Otrante seeing the League, and that they had not regarded them, plant the Arragon Ensignes, and receive the soldiers, which *Don Fredericke* had sent them. The Venetian fleet commanded by *John Grimaldi*, appeared vpon the coast of Apulia. In the end, all the Realme begins to shew open demonstration of a new will. But see, he that was euen now the peoples terror, the Iudge of anothers life and estate, the hope of the East, stands in feare to be conuicted. A course to abate the presumption which his victory had bred. The King leaues *Gilbert* of Bourbon Earle of Montpenier, for his Viceroy, a hardy and valiant Prince, but fast the History, *Not wise, he did not rise before none*. And sent the defence of the Realme two thousand fye hundred Suisses, a part of his French footmen, 200 French Lances, ten hundred men at armes Italians, in his pay, some commanded by the gouernor of Rome, some by *Prosper* and *Fabrizio Colonna*, and by *Anthony Saulle*; Captaines well perfected in the distribution of places and offices within the Realme; especially, the Colonell *Prosper* had in the Duchy of Tracette, the Cury of Fundi, Mornfortin, and about thirty other places, *Fabrizio* had the Countreys of Albi and Tallencosse, which *Prosper* had formerly enjoy. The Lord of Aubign, a brave and wise knight, was made Gouernor of Calabria, and had the Earledome of Aciri, and the Marquisse of Squillato giue him.

The order the King leaues Naples.

A The Prince of Salerne was restored to the office of Admirall, and he of Beggan well aduanced. *Steuens de Vers*, sometimes grooms of the Kings Chamber, and after Smehall of Beucaire, obtained the Duchy of Nola, the captainship of Caieto; and other commands, with the office of great Chamberlaine, and Controller of the treasure within the Realm, well affected to the guard thereof, but too weak of iudgment to beare the burthen and care of so great affaires. *Don Iulian* of Lorraine (greatly commended for his gouernment) was made Duke of S. Angelo. *Gratian des Guerres*, a valiant Captaine of great reputation, had the gouernment of Abruzzo: *Gabriel* of Montfaucon (of whom the King made great account) had Manfredonia, but hauing receiued it well furnished with victuals, and in a Country abounding with corne, he so deuoured his provision, as after foure dayes siege, he was forced to yeeld vp the place for want of victuals. The king left *George* of Soulli at Tarentum, who caried himselfe with much honour. Hee died there of the plague, and the Towne held for the King, untill that famine forced them to change their party. In Aquila, the Bayliffe of Vitry was commended to haue well discharged his duty: Such was the order the King left in the Realme of Naples, wherof followed a horrible disorder: for the greatest part of other Captaines, appointed in diuers places, applied to their owne private profit such commodities as they found within their places, for the defence wherof the King had greatly weakened his forces. So returning but with nine hundred men at armes, two thousand five hundred Suisses, seauen thousand men in pay, and C. fiftie hundred men of defence, chosen out of his traine following the Court, hee parted the twentieth day of May, taking his way to Rome; and his army at sea to Elitiorre. The Pope made some shew to reconcile himselfe with the King, and the King laboured to shide him from the League. In the end, a bad conscience made him go to Oruicio with his college of Cardinals, a thousand light horse, two hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, leauing a sufficient garison in the Castle of S. Angelo, and the Cardinall of Gaslario for Legat in Rome, to receive the king, who refusing the Vatican, lodged in the suburbs. And the Pope vnderstanding, that hee approached to Viterbo, (although hee had giuen some hope of an enterview betwix Viterbo and Oruicio,) yet he went from Oruicio to Perugia, with an intent if the King tooke that course, to recover Ancona, and to sende himselfe by sea into some place of safety. Yet notwithstanding the Kings iust cause of discontent, hee redelivered him *Ciriaco*, *Ueschia* and *Terracio*, reseruing Oruicio, which hee left in the hands of the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, Bishop of that place. The treasures of the Church were not spoiled by his army, onely *Toscanelli*, which refusing to lodge his forehead, was taken by force and sack. But wee must leaue records of our inclination in all places. His enemies troope together, and during a fruitlesse stay of fixe or seauen dayes at Siena, we giue them leisure to ioyne their forces. Moreover the Florentines summon the King of his faith and promises, and to draw him thereunto the more willingly, besides the thirty thousand Ducats which they were ready to pay, as remembrance of their gift they offered to lend him threescore and ten thousand Ducats more. *Basilius* himselfe in his passage with three hundred men at armes, vnder the colour and of *Armenio* *Skennia* a brave Captaine, and false traitor to the King, and with two thousand foot, these reasons should moue the Countesse to accept them. The want of money, the incursions of their army, and also which did most import, the discharge of the Kings faith, and royal oaths: yet a fiftie thousand men at armes, and in the end hee all Italy. The Earle of Salerno, young and vnexperienced, yet favoured of the King his countie, laboured for the Signor of Pisa and Livorno, and the Signor required him for that Lord, promising him an appointment of twenty thousand Ducats by the year. Upon condition he should entertaine three hundred foot for the defence of the place, taking away the soldiers in his guard, which the order of Monte Nouo (in whose power the gouernment of the City was at that time) by the Palatines.

The King the next morn, preferred the counsell of young men, before the marriage of King Charles. The Princes of Genoa, and others well aduised, and agreed, that hee should take the City of Genoa to his protection, binding himselfe to defend all that depended thereon, except Montecatini, which hee would not defend, but for the Florentines. The Countesse of Salerno, what were the fruits of this conference? but the shamefull could onely bring a remembrance of the Lord of Elie, whom the King had left there for Ambassador, by those of the foresaid order, who soon after recovered their ancient authority and

The Pope flies;

Notable error of King Charles.

The King Charles  
refuseth the  
Florentines  
offer.

1495

The predi-  
ctions of Sau-  
narola.

by force. Then lived at Florence, Frier Ierosme Sauonarola, of the order of Saint Dominick, in great reputation of a holy life, and a graue preacher, who by his sermons had greatly confirmed the Florentines affection to the King: he had long time foretold and preached the Kings coming into Italy, saying: *that hee was sent of God to punish the sinners of Italy: that nothing could resist him: that hee should enter Pisa, and such a day the state of Florence should die.* And in truth Peter of Medicis was banished that day, and many others things fell out as he had foretold (amongst others the death of Lawrence de Medici) and he said he knew them by reuelation: *that the Church should be reformed by the sword.* He likewise affirmed: *That notwithstanding the great forces of the Venetians, the King should returne without any great danger to his person: that he should bee incounred upon his way, but the honour should be his, had he but a hundred men in his company.* That God which had conducted him in his going, would guard him in his returne: but for that hee had no debt charged himselfe in the reformation of the Church, as he ought, and had winckt at the riches and influences of his troopes, that God had pronounced a sentence against him, and hee must haue his chastisement. The which he himselfe did signifie vnto the King in plaine termes adding, *that if hee would take pittie of the people, and restraîne his men from doing ill, and punish the offenders, at his duty required, God would reuoke, or mitigate his sentence.* To conclude, *that he should not thinke to be excused for saying: I doe no euill.* A lesson for Kings. That the faults they suffer in their subiects, are so many burthens laid vpon their owne backs, to plead one day against them, before his Maiestie, to whom they, like other men, are accountable. And moreouer, that the peoples voyce, is the voyce of God.

In the meane time, the Venetians and Lodowike Sforze make great preparations to stop the Kings passage: or at the least, to keepe him from attempting against the Milan. And for the better effecting of their designe, they entertaine John Bentiuole, at their common charge, who ioynded the Citie of Bologna to their league. Lodowike armed ten Gallies at Genoa, vpon his owne charge, and foure great ships, at the common charge of the Pope, the Venetians and himselfe. And to surprize the Towne of Ast (as hee was bound by the capitulation,) he leaueed two thousand foot in Germany: (hauing lately droned Galeas of Saint Seuerin into this action) with seven hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot. By meanes of these forces he promised to himselfe an assured conquest of the Citie of Ast. He sends the Duke of Orleans three insolent conditions: *That hereafter he should no more usurpe the title of Duke of Milan, the which his father Charles had taken from the death of Philip Maria Visconti. That he should not suffer any new forces to come from France into Italy. That he should send those into France that were in Ast. And for the assurance of these things, he should deliuer the said town into the hands of Galeas Saint Seuerin, who should keepe it faithfully for the King.* A wretched man, who by a proud ostentation, thinke to amaze a noble courage, and cannot instantly hide the basenesse of his owne. But by the aduice of the Lord of Argenton, Ambassador for the King at Venice, the Duke of Orleans had from the beginning furnished the place with foure hundred men at armes, five thousand foot, two thousand Suisses, and five hundred men which Lodowike Marquis of Saules had sent. The Duke of Bourbon had leauesed his army to ioyne with the King vpon the Rhine, and to helpe his passage: But the Duke of Orleans employed it in the Marquisate of Saluces to take Gafinieres, the which Lodowike Maria of Saint Seuerin held. And although he had expresse commandement from the King, to lay aside all enterprises, and goe to meet with him, yet did he accept the offer made by two Officers, gentlemen of Nouarre, who hated Lodowike Sforze.

He passeth the Pau by night, at the bridge of Sture, accompanied by the Marquis of Saluces, and was let into Nouarre by the conspirators, without any resistance. In this place the Duke of Milan tooke his greatest delight, being most pleasant to all other things, hauing and hunting. This stratagem had bene dangerous to another of meaneer quality, seeing the question was to succour the Kings person, where the French efforted no less then a Kingdome. But seeing the Duke of Orleans had thus begun, why did he not proceed? Milan opened her armes, Paula offered it selfe, and shee that sent twise to him, Lodowike (as delect in aduersity, as proud in his prosperitie,) shewed the basenesse of his courage. The Nobility and people desired nothing more, then the ruine of this Duke of France.

The

1495

Milan and the  
whole army  
ready to re-  
sist against Lo-  
dowike.

A The Venetians had let the King vnderstand, that if he made warre against the Duke of Milan, they would succor him with all their meanes. Thus Charles foreseeing, that by the taking of Nouarre, he should soon haue the enemies vpon him, & that the Duke of Orleans should need succors: he goeth on from Sienna to Pisa. Then Sauonarola comes to him to Poggibonle, and the next day to Castle Florentine, and vjing (as he was wont) the name and authority of God, he declared vnto him: *That if he yelded not to the Florentines the places whereunto he was bound by oath, he should be rigorously punished.* The King excusing himselfe vpon that which hee had promised to the Pisans, to maintain them in liberty, before he had taken any oath in Florence, gaue both the Monke and the Florentine Ambassadors hope of restitution, after his coming to Pisa. At Pisa, the Citizens teaze both of men and women, (beseeching them that lodged in their houses, to intreat the King, not to suffer them to fall again into the Florentines tyranny) made Charles to forget the promises and oath he had taken vpon the altar of S. Iohn at Florence: but most of all, the importunate sute of the Earle of Ligni, that the King would leaue him Pisa & Liurne at his deuotion. Those which had impugned this resolution in Sienna, did likewise contradict it in Pisa (said they) if by the opposition of enemies, any disorder should chance, or any difficulty to passe through Lombardy, we should haue a sure & fit retreat at Pisa: whereas, if we restore them to the Florentines, when as they haue recovered all their places, we shal find them as inconstant as the other Italians. Moreouer, they gaue the King to vnderstand, that for the safety of the Realm of Naples, it were expedient to hold the port of Liurne, for if the estate of Genoa should change for the Kings good, hee should bee in a manner Lord of all the sea, from the port of Marfeilles vnto that of Naples.

Finally, the King changed the captaine of the Cittadell, and left one called Eniragues, a man (saith the original) ill conditioned, seruant to the Duke of Orleans, (whom the Earle of Ligni had recommended) with some footmen of Berry. Eniragues wrought so, as he had Pietrasanta, Mortron, and Libreforta, neere vnto Luques. Scerzane was giuen (by meanes of the said Earle) to a bastard of Rouilly his seruant, and Serezanelle to another that was at his disposing. Thus the King did willingly weaken his forces, the which he must distribute into these places, to make his favorites great. And as he suffered himselfe to be too easily caried away by the rash counsel of those he fauoured, beheld vpon a hope giuen him by the Cardinals of Rouere and Fregose, Obizzo of Fiesque, and other banished men, on a sudden alteration at Genoa, hee sends with them (against the aduice of his counsell, who did not approue the weakening of his army, for if he should win the battell, Genoa would yeld of it selfe, but if he lost it, hee had then no need thereof) Philip Earle of Breffe, afterwards Duke of Sauoy, the Lords of Beaumont, Polignac, and Ambelou of the house of Amboise, with sixscore men at armes, and five hundred crosbowmen, newly come out of France, sending after them the company of men at armes of Vitelli, and those men which the Duke of Sauoy had sent; fortified by the army at sea, reduced to seven galleys, two galleons, and two barks, commanded by Mielans gouernour of Dauphine, to countenance that at land.

But how easily doth man deceive himselfe in his owne conceits? All these that went to take, are taken, euen at the same place where we haue seene our men defeat King Alphonsus troopes, and by the same men that they had beaten. John Lewis of Ficque, and John Adorne, were led captiues vnto Genoa, where they lost the fruit and honour of a famous battell, in the which they might haue done good seruice.

But who will not thinke the predictions of Sauonarola to bee very true. That God would guide the King by the hand into safety, taking away his enemies iudgement, not to molest him in the most painful straights of his voyage: Our French are now betwixt Luques and Pietrasanta, enuironed on the one side by high mountaines, and on the other, by deepe marshes and bogges. They must passe a caufie, which a Carr let crosse, with two peeces of Cannon might easily guard. Pontreme, lying at the entry of the mountaines, was held for Lodowike by three hundred foot. The Marshall of Gye arising with the forward, they presently open the gates in fauour of Trimule, vpon promise to saue their liues and goods. But alas, the Suisses had not yet forgotten, that when as the army passed to Naples, some forty of their companions were slaine there in a tumult! For this cause, they fall furiously vpon them, kill all the men, sacke the towne, and burne it, and all that was within it, the Marshall not being able to prevent this disorder. The blood being inflamed,

A foule re-  
venge by the  
Suisses.

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it

it transports vs beyond the bonds of reason, but as it growes cold, it returns to his right place. These Swisses doubted some punishment: or at the least, that the King should grow in dislike of them for this our rage, committed both against the lawes of armes, and nations. But what? an vnbridled desire of reuenge, a military fury hath transported them: they are ready, though not to make satisfaction, yet to repaire it, by some notable seruice. And see, an opportunity is offered. The army laid on this side the valley of Pontreme, in extreme want of victuals: and the artillery could not passe these troublesome straights, without great toyle, and losse of time. And this gaue the enemy leasure to make one vnited body of all his forces. The Swisses come and doe voluntarily offer to passe it by force, so as the King will pardon them: the which he doth. Leaving the valley, they must mount vpon a very steepe hill, where their Moyle did creepe vp with great difficulty. These men performe the worke of horses of burthen: they couple themselves by two and two, and so undertake the worke, a hundred or two hundred at once, as the burthen required, and one being weary, another supplied his place.

Repaired by a notable piece of furniture.

The army of the league.

The foreward was lodged at Fornoie (a small, but a good village, seated at the foot of the mountaine, entring into Lombardy) where he had the enemy in front: without doubt they were in great danger, if they had then charged them. But their desire to swallow vp this army in the middelt of the plaine: giuing the King meanes (who lay fifteen French leagues off) to ioyne his troops, laid the way open to shame and confusion, imagining, that to charge our French on this side the Mountaines, were to cut off all retreat to Pisa and other places of the Florentines. And on the other side, to fight without attending their men, were to doe them wrong, seeing that their foot were not excellent: if they miscaried, they should purchase reproach with the Seignery of Venice. Some light skirmishes made the Marshall retire into the higher part of the Mountaine. Here vpon the King ioynes with his foreward, on Sunday the 15 day of Iuly: and all the enemies forces arriued, being five & thirty thousand men in pay, two thousand five hundred men at armes barded, making foure men of combat to euery Lance: five thousand light horse, amongst the which were two thousand Albanais, and of the neighbour Princes of Greece, who retaining the name of the Country, are commonly called Stradiots: as who would faye, men of the campe; good footsiders, and well practised in armes. The reuerse foot, well appointed with artillery. Ouer the Venetian troops, *Francis Gonzaga* the Marquis of Mantoua commanded as Generall, a yong man, but of great courage and desirous of glory, and with him *Luke Tisani*, and *Melchior Trevisan*, were Commissaries of the army, being of the chiefe Senators of Venice: for *Lodowick Sforza* (who opposed some part of his forces against the Duke of Orleans: being nine hundred men at armes, twelve hundred light horse, and five thousand foot) the Earle of Caiazzo, a fitter politike than hardy Captaine commanded, and *Francis Bernardin Villcount*, chiefe of the Gibelin faction at Milan was Commissary: and by consequence enemy to *Trinulce*.

Their army camped at the Abbey of Guaiuolo, about a league from Fornoie, vpon a little hill on the right hand of the Kings army. The King had no other forces, but what he brought from Naples, whereof we haue made mention at his departure. Hee must passe neere the enemy (being halfe a league off, and a small brooke called Taro, betwixt both.) There was no likelihood, that this great multitude should part without the hazard of a battell. To try their resolutions, the King (who desired only to passe quietly into France) caught the Lord of Argenton, lately Ambassador at Venice, to write vnto the aboue named Commissaries, that he desired to confer with them. They promise to meet the next day in a convenient place betwixt both armies. The night was terrible in raine, lightning and thunder, a fearefull prediction of the day following.

Munday morning, the King armes himselfe complete, and mounted vpon his Sauoyard (a horse which *Charles Duke of Sauoy* had giuen him) faire and goodly, managing him with all agility, blacke of colour, and answerable in proportion to him that was mounted thereon: he shewes himselfe to his troops, with a cheerefull countenance, well coloured, and a speech contrary to his custome, strong, resolute, and wise, an assured preface of the honor hee should win that day. Putting his army into battell, hee placed in the foreward 350 French Lances, and *John Jaques* of Trinulce with his company of an hundred Lances, and three thousand Swisses the chiefe hope of the army, commanded by

The order of the kings army.

A by *Engilbert* brother to the Duke of Cleues (who did fight on foot, with the Bayliffe of Dijon, that had leaued them) and to second them, three hundred archers, some cross-bowmen on horse-backe of his guards, whom hee commanded to leaue their horses, and the most part of his foot, conceiuing that the foreward should be charged with the chiefe of his enemies forces. His Maiesty was in the battell, hauing about him seuen or eight yong Noblemen armed like himselfe (for the confederates had sent to discover him by a Herald, vnder color of some demand) and for counsell hee had the Lord of Tremouille. The Earle of Foix commanded the reeward: the baggage, by the counsell of *Trinulce*, was left without guard, exposed to pillage, to keepe the enemy occupied with that baite.

Thus the army marched, when as *Luke* and *Melchior* the Venetian Commissaries were ready to partlee. But the troops were now in alarme, the Captaines incouraged their men to fight. The neernesse of both armies calls them from words to blowes, they begin by skirmishes, the Cannon thunders, but with more noyse then effect. The Marquis of Mantua, his vnkle *Ralph* of Gonzagua, the Earle *Bernardin* of Montione, with a squadron of sixe hundred choice men at armes, a great troope of Stradiots, and other light horse, with five thousand foot, passe the Taro vpon the backe of the French reeward, to charge them behind: leauing on the other banke, *Anthony* of Montfleur a ballard of the Duke of Urbins, with a great squadron, to passe at the first call: ordaining moreover, that at the first shoock, a part of the light horse should charge in flanke, and the rest of the Stradiots should follow, to set vpon the baggage. The Earle of Caiazzo, with four hundred men at armes, and a great number of foot, passeth likewise to charge the foreward, leauing in like sort on the other banke, *Annibal Bentiuole* with two hundred men at armes, to supply what he should be sent for. And for the guard of their lodging, two great companies of men at armes, with a thousand foot, the Venetian Commissaries reseruing a supply for all euents. Thus the French army is inuironed on all sides, so as being broken, no man might hope for safety: and the King, who to strengthen the foreward, had weakened the other two parts, was forced to leaue the Knights he meant to make to some better leysure, & to turne his backe to the foreward, and his face to the enemy, approaching neere the reeward. The Stradiots fall vpon the baggage, they wound, kill, and spoile, and the Marquis is

The well of Fornoie.

blowes with the reeward, who at the first charge breake their Lances, and then valiantly they ioyne pel-mel with their battle axes, swords, and other short weapons, the Marquis performing the part of a most valiant and vigilant Captaine, and his troope of most resolute men at armes. The King was brought rashly into danger, his followers being dispersed here and there in the conflict, assisted with few about him but *Antoine* ballard of Bourbon, and *Philip* of Moulin a gentleman of Solongne, noted for that they had beene scene very neere vnto the King in this conflict. The King did afterwards greatly fauour this *Philip*, he made him Keeper of the great Scale, gaue him a company of men at armes, the government of Langres, and a great summe of money, according to the time, to helpe him to build Moulin, (a Castle neere to Romorant in Solongne.) *Robinet* of Fraizecelles (who led about fourscore Lances of the dukes of Orleans) *Louis* of Tremouille, with about forty Lances, an hundred Scottish Archers of his guard, and the Gentlemen of his household, did fight more courageously, then their forces could permit, nor without great danger to his person, being much esteemed by the Marquis, hoping to haue the like adventure ouer him, as hee had vpon the said ballard, being wounded, and taken prisoner, were vnto the King.

The King in great danger.

But the apparent danger of his Maiesty had so inflamed those that were neere vnto him, as falling by heapes vpon the Italians, they counterbelied their passion with their owne: and so this sudden fury was layed, by the charge of a squadron coming at need from the battell broken by the death of *Ralph* of Gonzagua. A death vaworthy of him, for hee loued the French, and if his might haue bene credited, the King should not haue opened his passage by force, and quite ouercome all by effect and courage of the Free-booters: for these men (seeing their companions smothered with the spoile of the baggage, and to carry away ouer the same, some able toyles with their burthens, and some horse or armor) they leaue their men at armes, and misse the spoile, if the other horse-men were moued presently with the like desire of gaines: and the foot shole out of the battell, to follow the like example.

On the other side, *Anthony* of Montfleur appointed by *Ralph* to succor when he should be called, keeping his stand (for that by reason of *Ralph* he called the man called him) the



French took their field at large, and doubting their courage, they doubled their blows, as by the death of some, and the wounding and flight of others, the Marquis his troops oppress with the rough charge of four men at arms, in the end turned their backs, and were chased and beaten unto the rivers side, without taking of any prisoner, or care of booty, our French being loathed of this filthy gaine, by that common voice, flying amongst them; *Companions remember Guinegate*, where the greediness of spoile had taken from them the better part of a notable victory. At the same instant the Earle of Gaiazzo led his troops against the forward; but this was but a countenance, for even as they couched their Lances, seeing some of his troops unhorsed, *John Piccinin, Galeas* of Corregge, and others, fainted, and breaking of themselves, they had means to recover their battell. The Marshall of Gyé seeing on the other side of the river another regiment of men at arms, prepared for the battell, hee keeps backe his men, the which was held of some to be rather an act of cowardise, then of discretion; but by such a preference before danger, wise and iudicious. The Swisses took about twenty of these run-aways, and slue them.

The army of the league overthrown.

The Marquis of Mantoua gathered together the remainders of this overthrow, and the Earle of Perillano (being prisoner vpon his word, since the taking of Capoua) flying in this tumult to the Italians came, kept them from a more shameful rout. For the whole campe talked of a retreat, and the high way from Placentia to Parma was covered with men, horses and carts that retired. Then the King going to his foreward (which had kept their stand) propounded unto his Captaines, whether he should charge the enemy in his lodging; *Trinulce* and *Vistelli* counselled him thereunto, and *Francis Secco* (whom the Florentines had sent to conduct the King unto Ast) thrust him forward: But the passage of Taro being vnassie (by reason of the raine falne the night before, and the day of the battell) the companies being weary, the night approaching, and the King content to haue had the advantage in so doubtful a fight, did moderate the heat of the pursuit, causing them to lodge at Medefane, a village halfe a league from the place where the battell was fought. So this battell ended, a memorable day, being the first of a long time, that had bene continually fought in Italy with blood-shed and slaughter, (for in former times the Italian combats, were rather pleasant shewes then battells) famous also for the great numbers of Commanders that were slaine, the small number of conquerors, in regard of the huge multitude of the vanquished. There were numbered some five and thirty or forty French horsemen slaine, and some so grooms of the baggage. The Stradiots carried not away (of all their booty) but five and forty of the best horse, which were the kings & his Chamberlaines: of Italians three hundred and fifty men at arms, amongst the which there were seven or eight of the house of *Gonzaga*, *Rainacio*, *Farnese*, *Bernardin* of Montone, about sixscore Gentlemen of the Marquis his company, & so great a number of others, as they were esteemed to be three thousand five hundred, and not one prisoner. Let vs remember, *That the eternal God scatters the counsels of the nations, and brings to nought the practices of men:* And in another place, *That the King is not saved by a great army, neither doth a mighty man escape by his great force:* The King stayed the next day at the same lodging, and departed on Wednesday the 8 of the month, without any sound of Trumpet, besyng the enemy vnder color of a parley, fearing them that feared him. But if he could haue made profit of his victory, and turned head against them, who were yet amazed, at their owne commanders did confesse, althad fought for their safety by flight: And if he had displayed his colors in fauour of little *Francis*, son to *John Galeas* Duke of Milan, the name of the usurper was so odious to all the Duchy, and the name of their lawfull Lord so pleasing, as the people had easily confined *Lodowike* into the castle of Milan, and consequently the Venetians had lost most of the places they possessed in Italy: so ready is that nation to follow the victors happenesse: This was the counsell of *Trinulce*: but the King would not attempt any thing vpon the night which the duke of Orleans pretended to the Duchy, being now in possession of Novare. Moreover, God which had given him the honour of a victory, would take from him all cause of presumption, depriving him of the principall fruits that depended thereon.

This so happy a victory, opened a passage for the King, yet was he to encounter a world of difficulties: keepe and craggy mountaines, rough valleys, dangerous forests, rivers hard to passe, want of victuals, & behind him the Earle of Caiazzo had passed the river of

Taro

A Taro with two hundred Lances, to cut off them that lingered behind. The river Treby gave the first obstacle with some terror: for about ten of the clocke at night, the river swelled so high, as it was impossible to passe it before five in the morning, the souldiers wading about breast high. The King did wisely to dislodge without brute, being (besides the enemies Army) so neere to *Lodowike* forces strong garisons, hauing a great number of horse, and twelue hundred Lanquenets, lodged in Tortone and in Alexandria: and five hundred others with the forsaide Earle, who were entred into Placentia fearing some alteration.

Truly Charles did daily feeble the truth of *Sannarolas* predictions: *That he should enioy the honor should be his.* The river of Scriuia was kept by *Caspar* of *S. Steurin*, surnamed the *Fracasse*, brother to the Earle of Caiazzo, and Captaine of Tortone; but aduertised that the Kings meaning was only to passe, he retired to his charge, furnished the army with victuals, came vnto the King, and excused himselfe, for that he could not lodge him within the towne: the which he kept for *Lodowike*. After a shower comes a sun-shine, saith the *Prouerbe*. The king is now in a friends Country, at Nice; belonging to the Marquis of Monterrat, and from Nice to Ast: Then the great army of the league, which had followed him into the Country of Tortone, hauing no more means to annoy him, went to ioyne with *Lodowikes* troops before Nouare, the which was in great want, for the duke of Orleans had gouerned the victuals he found therein very ill, and had neglected to furnish it as he might haue done, considering the fertility of the Country. He had of late retained the supply of seuen thousand five hundred good fighting men, sent to the King by the duke of Bourbon: and contrary to his Maiesties commandement, he hath taken place from *Lodowike*: and now in stead of succouring, he demands succours, for want whereof he shall be forced to yeeld what he hath gotten.

But Charles had other worke. Naples is in danger: *Ferdinand* sought all means to recover it, and hauing presented himselfe with *Gonsalve* *Fernand* of the house of *Agilino*, of the territory of Cordoua, with sixe thousand men neere vnto Seminara, after the making of Rhegium, he had fought to draw the whole Realme into rebellion, if the Lord of Aubigni, Governour of Calabria, had not by his vigilancy and valour slacke the heat of the peoples rage. And the quarrell had bene ended by the death or imprisonment of *Ferdinand* himselfe, if *John* of Capoua, brother to the Duke of Termini, (whom *Ferdinand* had brought vp a page) had not performed the part of a most faithful and loyal seruant, who leauing his horse, lost his life to saue his master; *Ferdinand* had his horse slaine vnder him. *Gonsalve* fled through the mountaines to Rhegium; *Ferdinand* to Rakus, lying vpon the sea neere to Seminara, and from thence to Messina. *Ferdinand* grieved with this disgrace, will once againe try the hazard of armes. He is well informed, that all the City of Naples desires him greatly: many of the chiefe, both of the Nobility and people, call him secretly. And therefore, before the brute of this overthrow in Calabria should enter this good humor, he parts from Messina with three score vessels with top masts, and twenty leffe, furnished more for shew and brauery, then for any good service, huiuing no forces proportionable to so high an enterprise. The peoples fauor and desire supplied his want of men. The townes of Salerne, Melfe, and Caia, display their Ensignes, and bestowes about Naples, attending some musty in the City. But all was in vaine: the Vis-roy led in time manned the approaches, and suppressed the rebellion which began to breed. But according to the aduice of some, he would haue armed such ships as were in the harbor, with souldiers and men of execution, and haue charged the enemy, who being strong in shipping, and weak in men, was retired to Sicily.

The conspirators faint not, but seeing their practice discouraged, make a vertue of necessity. They call backe *Ferdinand*, and intreat him to land, to giue both force and courage to those that would rise in his fauour: The approacheth, and lands at Magdelaine, a mile from Naples. Here the Vis-roy shewed no lesse courage, when he should most feare, then he had shewed himselfe fearefull when a resolution was most necessary. Hee leads in a manner all the garison out of the City, to disturb their landing. The Neapolitans imbrating this occasion, fly to armes, troope together at the found of the bell, seize vpon the gates, and preclude *Ferdinand* name in all places. Our French are now in danger on all sides: shall they attend the foraine enemy, or shall they goe to encourage them within the City? They haue no incense to enter by the same way they came forth: all are armed,

R r s

all

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Ferdinand enters Naples.

all is barred vp. There is no other access but by the port opening vnto the new Castle: And but the way is long and hilly, and they must goe about a good part of the Towne walles. But during this march, *Ferdinand* enters, and riding through the City, the people receive him with great cries of ioy: the French hauing recovered the Castle, seek to winne the heart of the City; but being repulsed with croffe bowes and small Artillery, and finding the entry of euery street well manned, the night likewise approaching abandoning almost two thousand horse, good and bad vpon the place, hauing no means to keepe them within the fort, vnturnished of provisions, all put themselves into the Castle, despairing euermore to recover the Towne.

Caeste sacked by the French.

Presently Capoua, Auerse, Nola, the castle of Montdragon, and many other places follow this example, and the greatest part of the Realme turns to *Ferdinand*. Some must needs pay for all. *Caeste* hauing taken armes for *Ferdinand*, the French garison enters the town with fury, makes a horrible slaughter of the rebels, and sacks it. The Venetians a army at sea, besiege Monopoli, a City of Apulia, both by sea and land, gives a battail aule, they take it by force, and the Castle by composition, and afterwards the Towne of Pulignan. *Charles* aduertised of these revolts, being parted from Ast towards Turin, he sends away *Peron* of Balche his Steward, to hasten an army at sea, from Villefranche neere vnto Nice, the which carried two thousand fighting men, with store of victuals, vnder the command of the Lord of Arban, a valiant Captaine, and well experienced at sea, vny very vnfortunate in this expedition: for hauing discovered *Ferdinand*'s fleet about the Isle of Porze, consisting of thirty saile, and two great ships of Genoua: they presently turne saile to the enemy, leaving him a small Biscaine ship for a pawne, and recover the port of Lisborne, where the Captaine could not stay the greatest number of his souldiers from landing, who tooke the way to Pisa.

The French fleet flies vnto Turin.

In the meane time, the Arragonis employes all his forces against the new Castle, the Castle del'Ouo, and other forts held by the French. And to makes the way the more easie, he fortifies the Hippodrome, mans Mont Saint Hermie, and Puisfaucou, and assailes the Monastery of the croffe. But being at the first greatly annoyed by the Artillery, hee counters his force into policy, which proues vnfortunate for the Author. There was in it a Moore, sometime seruant to the Marquis of Pescara. The Marquis founds him, and hee promised to giue entrance. For this effect, he mounts in the night by a Ladder set to the Abbey wall, so conclude of the conditions, the manner, and the time, but hee discovered not another *Paris*, who lying behind the battlements of the wall, cut the throat of his *Chichillan* with a Croffe-bow. The Marquises death was repaired by the revolt of *Proffer* and *Fabrice Colennes*, who notwithstanding the great aduancements they had from the King (carried away with a light beleefe, spread abroad by certayne lying letters of *Lodowick* *Sforze*, that the King was dead at Fornoue, and seeing moreover, that the French affaires declined) they returne to *Ferdinand* pay. The Castles thus beleaguered; the sea shut by *Ferdinand*'s fleet; famine increasing daily, and all hope of foraine succours cut off by the voluntary rout of *Arban*'s navy, made the Viceroy to yeeld vp the new castle to *Ferdinand* after three moneths siege, with promise to go into Provence, if he were not releued within shirty dayes, departing with bag and baggage; and for assurance of this capitulation, he gave for hostages, *Yves* of Aleste, *la Marche* of Ardennes, *la Chappelle* of Anisou, *Regneron*, *Guthan* and *Leslis*: this was the sixth of October. If any reliefe came vnto them, it must be of those forces that were disperseed within the Realme. So the Lord *Pess* of *Allegre*, brought the Swisses, with many of the companies of men at armes, accompanied by the Prince of Bisignan, and diuers other Barons persisting yet in their fidelity. *Ferdinand* aduertised hereof, opposeth the Duke of Monteleone. They encounter at the Lake of *Pezade* neere to Eboli, where our French had a resurgence of that braue fight of their army at sea. For the Earles forces exceeding *Pess* in number, fly at the first approach without any fight, leaving *Ferdinand* son to *Isidore* Verane Lord of Camerin prisoner, and being not pursued (for that our men came to another end), they retire without any great losse to Nola, and then to Naples. This victory thrust forward our men so, the execution of their designe. *Ferdinand* (to hinder their approach), calls vp a trench from Mont Saint Hermie, to Castle del'Ouo, and plants artillery vpon the hills adioyning, the which doth greatly enuadamme the French, and takes away all means to enter the Castle. This (the watering fresh water) made them retire in disorder, leaving behind them some pieces

The new castle at Naples compounds with Ferdinand.

Attention put to fight by the French.

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Castle Nouo abandoned by the Viceroy.

of artillery, and part of the victuals they had brought for the reliefe of the Castles, being discontented with the small endeavour the besieged had vsed to receiue them.

He that giues ouer, loseth the game. The Viceroy frustrate (by this dislodging) of all hope of succours, leaving three hundred men in the Castle Nouo (a number proportionable to the victuals that remained) and a conuenient garison in that of del'Ouo, imbarks by night with the rest of his souldiers, being 2500, and takes his way to Salerne. *Ferdinand* complains that the accord is broken: that it was not lawfull for the Earle of Montpensier to depart suddenly, without taking leave, and with such a company, before he had consigned him the Castles, threatening to be reuenged of the hostages for this injury & fraud, the which were yeilded a moneth after the prefixed time, when as the garisons compounded for their departure, being vnable to endure the famine any longer: those of Castle Nouo, vpon condition the hostages (should be deliuered: those of del'Ouo, if they were not succoured by the first day of Lent ensuing. But let vs leaue *Ferdinand* confirmed in his throne, and returne to Nouarre.

Nouarre was at the last cast, they had no more corne, no more horses, but for few daies; some dyed of hunger, some languished of sickness. Mugnes, Brione, Camarian, Bolgare, and other neere places (with the forts built by the French) were taken by force, and the enemy (lodged in the Suburbs), were so many block-houses: neither was there any means to succour them without a battell. But how? The King tooke his pleasure at Turin, and at Quiers, he had no will to hazard another battell for our towne onely, which the Duke of Orleans would keepe, and no man would fight but in the Kings presence. The Prince of Orange (who in matters of War had great credit with the King) and all the other commanders, desired rather to end the siege by some friendly agreement, then by the hazard of a battell. Winter approached: euery one sees his store spent, many are sicke, some retire without leave, others straine in: The enemies giues care to a peace. His army was newly increased by a thousand Reisters, led by *Fredrick Capelare*, of the Countrey of Ferte, and by eleuen thousand Lanquenets, commanded by *George* of Aberling, borne in Austria. The leany which the Bayliffe of Dijon went to make in Suisseerland, was not yet ready. Why then (considering the content of both parties) are not these great numbers diffidently without force? some few sought contention, they had the Kings eyes open, and their words were Oracles as *Brissonet* Cardinal of Saint Malo, and the Archbishop of Rouan: yet would they not leave their roabs to put on armes, but keepe themselves safe from blows. The King (say they) must not begin, let his enemy strike first, he is busy in person: The Pope, the Emperour, the King of Spaine, the Venetians and the Duke of Milan are by their Deputies. But whilst they stand vpon this point of honour, their teeth grow and their stomachs shrink at Nouarre. And thus the matter was handled referring the honor of both parties. About that time the Marquise of Montferrat died, daughter to the King of Serbia in Greece, leaving two sonnes, whereof the eldest was but nine yeares old. The Marquis of Saluce, and *Constantine* Viceroy to the said Marquis, one of the ancient Noblemen of Macedony (the which *Mahomet Ottoman* had many yeares before invaded) contended for the gouernment of the two pupils. To accord this controuersie, for the safety of the children, and the content of the Countrey, the King had sent the Lord of Argenton to Casal Ceruas, and the Marquis of Mantoua, a Steward of his; to condole this death. These two fall into discourse to pacifie both armies without blows: so as by the Stewards perswasion, *Argenton* writes to the Venetian Commanders, vnder colour to continue the paele they had vpon Turin. Giuing ear the result, they impart it to the duke of Milans Captaines. In the end, by common consent, they meete betwixt Bolgare and Camarian. There were for the King, the Cardinal of Saint Malo, the Prince of Orange, the Marshall of Sic, and the Lords of Picennes and Argenton. For the Confederates, the Marquis of Mantoua, *Bernard* and *Constantin* the Commissaries of the Venetians *Sradatos*, and *Francisco* *Bernardin* *Viconte*.

Siege of Nouarre.

Their chiefe controuersie was vpon the deliuey of Nouarre. Milan holden for the Empire, and therefore the King did vrge, that Nouarre, as member of the said Duchy, should be deliuered to *Maximilian*, by the hands of the German Capitaines that were in the Italian camp; and the confederates would haue him leaue it absolutely. In the mean time the famine growes to great, as it kils about two thousand of the Duke of Orleans men; and this great necessity required nothing but expedition. But more difficulties growing

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growing then could suddenly be decided, they conclude a truce for 8 dayes, with permission for the Duke of Orleans to come forth with a small traine. For the surety whereof, the Marquis of Mantoua did willingly offer himselfe, as an hostage to the Earle of Foix, after an oath taken, that they should proceed sincerely in the treaty of peace, and that it was not onely to free the Duke of Orleans. The Duke being come to the King to Verceil, the prolongation of the truce, untill a conclusion of peace, all the men of Warre came forth, and were conducted into a place of safety, by the Marquis of Mantoua, and *Galis* of Saint Seurin. So the towne remained in the inhabitants keeping, with an oath, not to deliver it to any, but with the consent of both parties. And thirty men were left in the Castle, under the Duke of Orleans authority, to whom they should daily send victuals out of the Italians campe for their meyny.

Twenty thousand  
Swisses  
Verceil for the  
King.

Within few dayes after, arrived the Bayliffe of Dijon, with his Swisses, who vnder colour of ten thousand which he thought to bring, the number was doubled, running at the name of the Kings purse. So great a number of men of one Nation, was suspicious. The one moiety ioyned with the Kings army neere to Verceil, the other camped apart, five leagues off. This new supply, revived the courage of the Duke of Orleans, and of those whose fingers itched. But to what end were a battell, seeing that Nouarre had not moved the King, but onely to free the Duke, and his seruants that were now deliuered from captivity. And what meanes were there to fight with two thousand eight hundred men at arms, barded, five thousand light horse, eleven thousand Germans, and an infinite number of other foot, in a campe intrenched with palisadoes, and deep ditches full of water? a compass fit for scarlet robes, thrust on rather by their owne countenance, then with any respect of the Kings honour or the Dukes. This Cardinal of Saint Malo, did hee more affected his Maiesties seruice, or the priuate aduancement of his house, seeing that his vniuersal greedeinesse extorted this confession from his owne mouth; *That the Duke of Orleans had promised him ten thousand Ducats for his seruice, if he had this Duchy of Milan.* Doubtlesse great Princes vse good and bad instruments to satisfy their desires, but in the end they abhorre the lawfull practices of their workemen.

The treaty of  
Verceil.

On the other side, this great number of men, newly arriued, who desired nothing but employment, made the Italians minde more inclinable to peace. So the Marshall of Genne, the President of Gapuai, the Vidame of Chartres, Argenton, Piennes and Morailly, being conferred againe with the Considerates, where the Duke of Milan did assist in person, they concluded an accord, more through the necessity of the season, and want of money, desirous to returne home with the shew of an honourable peace, then with any confidence it would continue. It was agreed; That the King should be serued by the Duke of Milan for Genoa, as of his vassall, against all the world; and in so doing, the Duke should furnish at his owne charge, two ships to succour the Castles of Naples (the which hee yet) and the yeare following, should serue the King with three; and go with him in person to the enterprise of Naples, if by chance he returned; and should suffer the Kings meyny to passe. If the Venetians did not accept of the peace within two moneths, but would maintaine the house of Arragon, he should aide the King against them: and the King should give him all that should be taken from them. That of sixscore and foure thousand Ducats lent to the King in that voyage, he should forgive fourescore thousand. And for the expenses made at Nouarre, hee should pay the Duke of Orleans fifty thousand Ducats, by the moneth of March following. That for the surety of Genoa, the Duke should give two hostages, and deliuer the Chasteler into the Duke of Ferraras keeping, as a Neuter for two whole yeares, the guard thereof to be paid at their common charge: and in case the Duke of Milan should forsake Genoa to the King, the Duke of Ferraras should then deliuer the Chasteler to the King, and the Duke of Milan should give two of their hostages of Milan. That the Duke should not impeach the Florentines, to recover what belonged vnto them. That *Trivulzio* should be restored to his lands and goods. And that the prisoners the Considerates had taken should be deliuered. This peace was sworn on either side; the Venetians gave respite for two moneths, to accept, or not; and the King transported with a great desire to see his France, relolued to part the next day. But aduerted that the Swisses practised either to assure themselves of his person, or to seize vpon the chiefe in Court, for three moneths pay, which they said was due vnto them, by an accord made with *Lewis* the Eleuenth, that so often as they should goe forth with their

The Swisses  
pretend to seize  
vpon the King.

A their Ensignes displayed, they should receiue that payment, he parted from Verceil (into the which may Swisses were gotten) and went towards Trine, a Towne belonging to the Marquis of Montferrat. This humour possessed them by the instigation of those to whom this peace was not pleasing.

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From Trine, the King sent the Marshall of Gie, the President of Gannai, and Argenton, to *Lodouico Sforza*, to moue him to an interview. But he grounded his excuse vpon some speeches which the Earle of Ligni, and the Cardinall of Saint Malo had vied. That they should take him (when he came) to the King to Paula, yet would he willingly parlee with the King, hauing a barre and tiuer betwixt them. He had heard talk of the parlee betwixt *Edward* and the Constable of Saint Paul, with *Lewis* the eleuenth. *Charles* taking this distrust in ill part, receiued his hostages of Milan, and impatient to attend the Genevois, aduancing to Quiers, he sent *Peron de Bassife* to Genoa, to receiue the two carrakes promised by the treaty, and to arme foure others, wherein he made account to ship three thousand Swisses, to relieue the Castles of Naples, knowing that the army of Nice had bin altogether vnprofitable. But it was sufficient for the Milanois to promise: hee knew well that hunger would force the Wolfe out of the wood, that is to say, that want of victuals would shortly expell the garisons out of these Castles. Moreover, being perswaded, the King would hardly repasse the Alpes, he seeks the friendship of *Ferdinand*, arming two ships for his seruice.

*Charles* did then send the Lord of Argenton to Venice, to know if they would accept of the peace, and to passe three articles. To re-deliver Monopoli, which they had taken from him: to draw backe the Marquis of Mantoua, their Lieutenant generally, and others they had in the Realme of Naples, for *Ferdinands* seruice: and to declare King *Ferdinand* to be none of the league lately made, in the which there was only named the Pope, the King of Romans, the King of Spaine, and the D. of Milan. For answer, they flatly refuse all the Kings demands, as hauing no warre with him, and that their meaning was onely to succour the Duke of Milan as their ally, whom the King sought to ruine.

And for the making of an agreement, they offer to be a meanes: that *Ferdinand* should doe homage to the King, for the Realme of Naples, with the Popes consent: and should pay a hundred and fifty thousand Ducats yearely; and a present summe of money, the which they should lend: for the loane whereof they should haue Brundisium, Otranto, Tanti and some other places in Apulia in pawn: that *Ferdinand* should giue the King some places for safety, to make warre against the Turke, according to the hope wherewith *Charles* had fed all Christendome. The which, if hee would vndertake, all Italy should contribute thereunto. That the King and they should dispose of all Italy without contradiction: and for their part, they would serue the King with an hundred gallies at their owne charge, and with five thousand horse by land. But this Turkish warre was but a glorious cloake for euery priuate mans couetousnesse. And who can wonder if God did suddenly frustrate our designs, hauing another ground then we made: shew of. Who will not iudge, but this offer had bene as honourable for France, as the generall losse of the sayd Realme was dishonourable. *Charles* would willingly haue vnderaken it, and the greatest part of his Councell did allow it. But *Facinus* obserues of *Richius*, *That his judgement was such, as he found all harsh that was profitable, and took nothing in good part, but what was pleasing, and that proved hurtfull.* A lesson for Princes, not to trust so confidently to some particular persons, for the gouernment of their affaires; but to impart in sometimes to others: neither to aduance any one so high; as all the rest should bee his inferiours, for making himselfe to be feared and respected about all (as the Cardinall *Borgia*, his brethren & kins-folke did) he commonly makes his house great at his masters cost. But it was the humour of this young King, fearing (saith the History) to displease them to whom he gaue credit, and especially such as gouerned his treasure; as the above named.

The Venetians  
propositions  
to the King.

Our Conquerors are now arriued at Lions, in the moneth of October, not greatly careful of those they had left at Naples, without any intelligence or letters from the King, but onely contented, and nothing but promises for assignations of pay, wherof followeth the generall losse of the Realme: who for a signe of their conquest, left them nothing but the possession of a sinking and contagious disease, which afterwards spread ouer all France: the which (being still then unknowne in our parts, and the Philistines not acquainted

The beginning  
of the Peste.

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ted with the cure thereof lodged many in the graue, leauing many deformed and lame of their limbes, and subiect to continuall aches.

Charles, hauing continued two monthes at Lions, he receiued two very troublefome and vnpleasent aduertisements: one was domestically, the death of his Sonne the Dauphin, deceased at three yeares age: *A goodly child (saith the Original) and bold in speech, who feared not those things which other children are accustomed to feare.* The other was foreigne, the yielding of the Castles of Naples. The King passed ouer his mourning lightly, for being little both of body and vnderstanding, he began to fear, lest the Dauphin growing in these generous dispositions, which they noted in his infancy, should soone blemish the fathers power & authority. A lamentable thing, that so great a Monarch should fear his owne Child lying in a cradle. But that was certain that Charles the seventh, his Grandfather had bene jealous of Lewis the eleventh his sonne. Lewis had terrified his father, and was in feare of his sonne Charles the eighth: and now Charles apprehends some decay in his estate by his sonne. Jealousie is a disease which doth commonly infect Princes houses. The other accident was of greater consequence, and toucht him more neerely. But were not these croffes sufficient to afflict him, but he must receiue a publick shame, by meanes of a priuate mans couetousnesse.

The Florentines prest the performance of their treaty, sworne at Florence, confirmed at Ast, and afterwards at Turin. Charles writes to this effect to *Entragues*, Captaine of the Citadell at Pisa, and to the bastard of *Saint Paul*, to restore those places to the Florentines which they commanded. But these gentlemen are good Merchants, they sell that which they are commanded to give. *Entragues* interprets the Kings Letters-Patents according to his owne couetousnesse, and exculeth himselfe with a secret charge, he saith he had receiued it, not to deliuer it without the Earle of Lignes hand-writing, in whose name he commanded Pisa. But this was the chiefe cause, he must haue money. Florence will not offer any, Pisa must pay it, or else fall into their hands whom they hated to the death. To draw them vnto it, he hath another wicked practice. He sends to the Florentine Commissioners, to bring their Army to the Port of the Suburbs of *Saint Mary*, that if the Romans would not receiue them friendly, he would force them to abandon the said garrison, being so commanded by the Citadell, as it could not resist without the Captains assistance. He did not beleue the Florentines should so easily haue taken the Bulwarke of the said suburbs. But when he sees the assailants enter pell-mell, kill some, and take others prisoner, he turnes his artillery vpon the Florentines, kills and hurts them, and forceth the Florentines to abandon the place. In the end, prest by the Kings commanding letters, both to the Earle of Ligni, to him, and to all the Garisons, to leaue the said places, he deliuereth them for twenty thousand Ducats, and after sells Pietrelanta to the Luquois, and Librefatta to the Venetians. And the aboue named Bastard, as good a Merchant as the other, sells Serezane and Serezanelle to the Geneuois. And all to the Kings dishonour, his subiects shame, and the absolute losse of Naples. *Saillans*, who commanded in the Port of Liorno, is commended to haue yielded the place to the Florentines at the first summons, and *Entragues* banished the realme of France, by a decree of the priuy Counsell. Yet the Duke of Orleans (his Master) caused this sentence to be repealed. The Priuy, being matters of their Citadell, razed it to the ground. And rather then they will submit their necks to the Florentines yoke, they implore aide from the Pope, Emperour, Venetians, Geneuois, Siennois and Luquois. But whilst that *Lodowicke* consults whether he should receiue them into his protection, the Venetians preuent him. So, many dogs fighting for one bone, pull one another by the throat, whilst the most politike cases lie away.

The Viceroy in the meane time gathers together the remnant of his Shipwrecke. And as the result of the Colonnois had greatly weakened the Kings party, so hee hoped to passe it by the meanes of *Virgilius Vrsinus*, who seeing the Colonnois his enemies newly advanced to great authority with *Ferdinand*, he accepted of the Kings entermainment, being agreed, that he with the house of *Vrsin*, should make a leaue of six hundred men in armes, and with the *Vicelli* oppose *Ferdinands* attempts, who by diuers euents laboured vehemently to recover that which the King held yet. And let vs now see the success of their affaires. The success of armes is variable, but God holds them in balance, and gives the advantage to whom he pleaseth. Our men had sometimes the better, and sometimes

The treacherie  
and couetous-  
nesse of En-  
tragues.

The king dis-  
honoured by two  
of his subiects.

*Virgili Vrsin*,  
in the Kings  
pay.

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A times the worse. But this is but a languishing fit. Our French being encamped at Nocera, had by an intelligence taken and slaine feuen hundred Arragonois, going to surprize *Gilone*, neare to Saint Seuerin: but seeing *Ferdinand* fortified with the Popes troops, they leaue Nocera, to take Saint Seuerin, and Gosenze, which was lately rebelled against them.

*Abruzzo* continued firme through the valour of *Gratian de Guerres*, against the attempts of the Earle of Popoli: and the coming of the *Vrsins* and the *Vicelli*, did greatly molest the lands of Moncasin, and the neighbour country of Labour. Calabria (although the long sicknesse of the Lord of Aubigni, had staid the course of his prosperity) remained yet at the Kings deuotion. The Viceroy had mounted and armed such as came with him from Naples. All these considerations gaue courage to our men, and made the way to battell, which the Viceroy and *Vrsins* greatly pressed. But the want and necessity of money to pay their strangers doth cast an Apple of discord in the Army: eight hundred Lanquenets for want of pay, goe to the Arragonois, who fortifying the enemy, make our French so much the weaker. Behold a sore blast for a house that threatened ruine, and now comes the blow which in few monthes shall strike vs dead.

At the first the Venetians would not receiue *Ferdinand* into the league of the Potentates of Italy, to the end that vrgent necessity might force him to yeeld them something, watching so long for an opportunity, as in the end they finde it. *Ferdinand* had a great cation in hand: he must hazard all to become (as they say) a rich Merchant, or a poore pedler. He accords with the Venetians, and in regard of a succour of feuen hundred men in armes, five hundred light horse, and three thousand foot, led by the Marquis of Mantoua; and their Nauy enterrained which then lay vpon that coast, with a loan of fiftene thousand ducats, he deliuered vnto them Otrante, Brundisum, and Thrance: and consents they should retaine Monopoli, and Pulignano, which they then held, vpon condition to deliuer them vpon payment of such money as should be imploied in the guard thereof, so as it amounted not to aboute two hundred thousand Ducats. Moreover, the Pope, they, and the Milanois sent other companies of men at armes leauied in common. And *Lodowicke*, who would not directly breake the treaty of Vercell, agreed secretly to pay ten thousand Ducats monthly towards the wars of Naples. If the Earle of Montpensier were in want, *Ferdinand* was as needy, and the Venetian succours could not bee so soone ready. So the weakenesse of both parties, being sick of one disease, kept them from attempting much, yet idleness makes the souldiers slothfull. To keep them in exercise, the Viceroy practiseth an intelligence vpon *Beneuent*: but he was preuented by *Ferdinand*, who had notice thereof: he leaues it to take Ferezane, Apice and many other neighbour townes, wanting victualls: and the season approaching to collect one of the most important reuenues of the Realme, which was the custome for Cattell in Apulia, he marcheth to frustrate the enemy: it mounted yearly to fourscore thousand ducats. *Ferdinand* followes to stay the Viceroyes course, attending his succours.

At that time there arises a French Nauy at Caiete, of fiftene great ships, and less lesse, wherein they had shipped eight hundred Lanquenets at Sawona, and the troops appointed for the great ships that should haue beene armed at Genoa. This army takes him at their landing, with other neighbour places. *Don Baptista Caraccioli* had promised to giue him entrance into Seffa, but *Don Fredericke*, *Ferdinands* Vncle, preuented him, committing the Bishop, and others guilty of this practice to prison. The fury of the war was in Apulia, and the success was variable, for both parties lodged in diuers townes, who rather by their ordinare roads then any valor, made warre against the poore Cartell. *Virgilius Vrsinus*, and *Adrian Saulli* had gathered together an infinite number of cattell, being the custome betwixt Saint Seuer and Porcine, and *Ferdinand* with six hundred men in armes, eight hundred light horse, and fiftene hundred foot, comes by night to driue them away: who by the breake of day being planted before Saint Seuer with his men at armes, to make head against *Virgilius* if he issued forth, hee caused his light horse to driue away about three score thousand head of cattell. *Saulli* issued forth of Porcine to the rescue, but being too weake, hee was forced to retire with the losse of thirty men in armes.

This checke drew the Viceroy against *Ferdinand*, being at Fogge, to recover both the honour and prey that was lost. Vpon the way hee encounters eight hundred Lanque-

*Ferdinand* ad-  
mitted into  
the league.

He capitulates  
with the Vene-  
tians.

A new French  
fleet in the  
Kingdome of  
Naples.

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*Ferdinand's  
Lansquenets  
defeated by the  
French.*

nets, betwixt Nocere and Troy, which went to ioyne with *Ferdinand*: he chargeth them, and being obstinate in fight, defeats and kills them all, with some losse of his men: and so presents himselfe in battell before Fogge, but none issuing forth save the light horse, he lay in ambush in the wood of the *Incoronate* and recovered the greatest part of the cattell. Then presenting himselfe before Fogge, hee retires to Saint Seuer: where the light horse, falling vpon thole that did drive away the booty, depriued either part of the greatest profit, for the cattell being disperfed here and there were abandoned to the first that could take them. Hereupon the army at sea ioynes with the Viceroy, and the Marquis of Mantoua with the Arragonois. So the chiefe forces of both armies approach. The French were stronger in foot, and the Italians in horse, which held the estate of a faïres in suspense.

*Charles returns to  
Lions.*

The King began againe to affect the affaires of Italy, and hauing made a progress to Toures and Paris, to performe (saith the History) some vowes which hee had made at Pournoue, hee returns to Lions. His owne inclination drew him naturally to this warre glorious, for that he was the first of the Kings of France, after many ages, that had recovered the French armies in Italy. Moreover, the Florentines, the Cardinall of Saint Pierre *John Laques* of Triuulce, the *Prins* the Earle of Montoite (sent to that end by the Emperour of the Realm of Naples, who yet did cary the flower de Lice) but with more efficacy than all the rest, the Cardinall of Saint Malo, and that Mignon the Seneschall of Beaucaire, gaue him a certaine hope of Victory, by meanes of a great and speedy succour; and contrariwise of an apparant losse, if matters were more neglected. Euen those which before had disswaded this enterprise of Italy, grieved now exceedingly to see their conquests cowardly lost, and the French Nobility to perish, who (vsurnished of aide) were ready to suffer shipwracke. The Admirall of Grauille alone could not sauour this warre.

These resolutions were somewhat hindered by the warre which the King supported in the Countie of Rouffillon, from whence the Spaniards made ordinary roads and robberies in Languedoc. *Charles* of Albon, grandfather to the deceased Marshall of Saint Andrew defended the frontier, as Lieutenant to the Duke of Bourbon, Governour of that Province, the which was greatly endangered by the Garçon of Saulles, a little towne in the said Countie, strong of men and situation, and defended by some Gentlemen of the King of Castilles house, who were seconded by an army in field, bigger then the French. *Charles* undertakes to besiege Saulles, batters it, makes a breach, and gives an assault, and within ten houres carries it by force, where he slew some forty Spanish gentlemen of mark, and about foure hundred men of defence. A worthy reward for the wrong which the Castilian had done to *Charles*, who had so willingly restored him the possession of his Countrie, hoping to binde him by this good turne not to crosse him in his designs vpon the realme of Naples, as vpon the contract of reddition hee had promised. This exploit kept the Snails within their shells, who vnder pretence and colour to continue their conquests vpon the Moores, whom they lately overcame and chased out of Granada, in the end they mentioned a truce, the which (being concluded from March to October, for themselves and such of their faction as would accept it) diuided the Castilian from the other confederates, attending that a mutuall assembly at Montpellier should end all their controuersies by a firme and durable peace.

*A truce betwixt  
the Kings of  
France and  
Castile.*

*Charles greatly  
affects the enter-  
prise of Italy*

Thus *Charles* freed from this incombrence, returns more vehemently to his first designs: and to draw his counsell thereunto, he said, that hee felt a diuine inspiration in his soule, which called him into Italy. It was according to the predictions of *Sennarib*. In the end it was concluded, that *Triuulce* should return to Ait, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant, with eight hundred Launces, and foure thousand French and Swisses: that the Duke of Orleans should follow, and then the King: that thirty ships should pass the straights into the ports of Prouence, and should be armed for the passage of Naples with men, victuals, money, and all other munition. A braue designe and a goodly onset if it had taken effect. But it is a great error in Kings, to giue the chiefe places of authority, rather to Church-men then to their Princes, or to Noblemen of merit: seeing that these men haue but one oath, which is to their King, and the other hauing two, they commonly preferre that which they owe vnto the Pope. The Cardinall of Saint Malo, governing the treasure, and in a manner the whole state, did not directly contradict the Kings will (hauing so greatly affected the first voyage) but so slackt the expeditions, delaying the necessary

*The Cardinall  
of Saint Malo  
hindereth the  
Kings voyage.*

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necessary payments, that no provision was effected; and who would not believe but the Pope giuing to this man a Cardinall's hat, would likewise draw him to his faction.

But let us heare another disturbance; when as *Charles* was supposed that the King would speedily passe the mountaines, he makes a posting voyage to Paris, and aboue Toures for three reasons. The first vnder colour of deuotion, to take leaue (saith he) of *S. Denis* and *S. Martin*, according to the ancient ceremonies of the Kingdom of France: The second to bid the Queene farewell, who was resident at Toures. The third, to draw all the Chieftes of the Realme to aide him with money, after the example of *Philip*, to avoid the calamities of the yeare before. But he did not set downe the fourth, and that may be made vnder the loue of one of the Queens maides, an importune passion; which doth not keepe him all the months: he sends *Triuulce* to Ait, with a small troope, more to confirme the friendship of *Philip* the new Duke of Sauoy, by the death of the little Duke his Nephew, then for any preparation of war: and for the prouision of Naples, six ships were prouided laden with victuals, and laden with hope to be soone followed by a great army, and to receive forty thousand ducats due at Florence: This was physick after death; for if they had not used in time, they had preferred, or at the least flaid for, a seasonable losse of the Realme: if *Charles* were so dull in these commissions in the Kings presence, iudge if he made any hast in his Maiesties absence.

Yet the body of the Neapolitan state was so shaken, as for want of speedy remedy it was ready to fall. The two armies approach, both so tired, as the war must suddenly end by the ruine of the one. The French were camped before Cicerle, ten miles from Beneuent: and *Ferdinand* to diuert this siege, was before Franget of Montfort. For the succouring whereof, our men leaue Cicerle: but the Lansquenets approaching a second assault, left the place arrandome; this was a losse which did greatly import our men.

They had means in shew to defeat this army, so busie at the sacke of Frangette, as the Captaines aduertised; that there was but a valley betwixt the French and their lodging, they could not in time call backe the souldiers from the spoils to armes. The Earle of Montpenfer would haue embraced this occasion, *Philip* *Prins* did vrges, *Per* of *Alger* by an enuious or malicious shew of hazard which they should incur in passing the valley at the mercy of the enemy, loathing the Swisses and Lansquenets, which hee commanded, discontented moreover with the small entertainment they had giuen him when he presented himselfe to succour the Castles of Naples, hindered the execution and shew: our vnder colour of pay (as they say) he caused the strangers to mutine. Thus the Viceroy forced to found a retreat, went to follow the siege of Cicerle, where *Camille* *Prins* performing the office of an excellent Captaine and souldier, during the assault was wounded in the head with a stone whereof he died. An accident which causeth the French to abandon both the assault and siege, to retire towards Arriane, and to seek some means to draw the Arragonois to battell. But they had to deale with cunning temporizers, who knowing our men to be pressed with the want of meat and money, and forseeing that the slacknesse of their succours would breed greater discoommodities and disasters, they suffered them to keepe the field, and lodged in their forts, where their commodities could not be cut off.

Not only the Army, but also the other parts of the realme were greatly distressed. And with the bastard sonne of the Lord of Camerin, had of late defeated the Marquis of Bioute of the French faction, in Abiuzzo *Alfonse*, *Grailan* de *Guerres* being in field, ouerthrew the Earles of Selane and Popoli, leading three hundred horse; and three thousand foot for *Ferdinand*. Notwithstanding the losse of an occasion of a victory at Franget, the extreame necessity of all things, the discord of the Captaines, and continual contradiction of *Per*, refusing to obey the Earle of Montpenfer, for that (saith he) he had against reason abandoned the Castles of Naples, the disobedience of the souldiers, the discontent of the Neapolitan troops following the King, not paid, and iniuriously treated in the diuisions of booties or victuals, the departure of many from the campe, the mutinies of the Swisses and Lansquenets, who cited out tumultuously for their pay, the neighbourhood of many towne supported by the enemies army, many disasters concurring, daunted the courage of our souldiers, engendered a contempt & harred in the people

*Diners variable  
expolins.*

*Camille Prins  
dies.*

*Diners variable  
expolins.*



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The last AA of the tragedy.

people, and forced our men to flee from place to place, without any hope of meeting fight with the enemy, who re spare the blood of his people would not hazard any thing.

All these difficulties carried our French into Apulia, and as they were beaten in the King and taking of Arreles, and then to possess Venouse, a strong towne, and abounding with victuals, Ferdinand takes Gessulide in one day (the which in former times had inuaded a siege of fourtене months) and taking from them all hope of Venouse, he forceth them to retire to Arreles; and presently campe before it, desirous to winne a Victory without perill and losse of men; and cutting off all the passages, he takes from them all means of reliefe. But this accident made his designs more easie. The remainder of the Kingdom, who saw their departure from their houses had receiued but two months pay, being the time of their entertainment past, they went to the Araggon party. And when what happened the totall ruine of our men, was the euent in Calabria. By reason of the loss of Antibonics sicknelle, many of his men were gone to the Victories Army. The Duke of Melito, and Albert of Saint Seberin, with many other Barons of the Countie, he wants to the King lodged at Laine, upon the riuer of Sapri, covered with the Castle, the onefide of the riuer, against any one that should assaile them upon the high way, and from some other places belonging to the Prince of Bisignan. It is very dangerous to be too confident especially in matters of war. These Noblemen assembled all the forces they could, to charge Gonfalus, who made war in that Prouince, and after the taking of some places, was camped before Castonillare. Gonfalus perceiues them, and coming neare the riuer, he cauleth his foot to march toward the bridge, which lyeth betwixt the Castle of Laine and the Village, which bridge was negligently guarded, relying vpon the above named places, whelch he passeth with his horse at a Ford two miles above the both might charge burmen as the instant. The effect succeeded, he arriues before his enemies them without strinell, and without guard, charge, and breakes them in many ly, takes eleven Barons prisoners, and almost all the Souldiers, who flying towards the Castle, fell among the feet, who had already seized vpon the bridge. This Victory laid the way open for Gonfalus to ioyne with Ferdinand, with six thousand men, and thus he was the ruine of our troops, spee'd with three armies, the Araggonis, Venetian, and Spanishe. So as being no more able to be relieved with victuals, nor goe so farreth neither to haue any passage to the riuer to water their horses, being themselves in great extremity for want, vanquished with so many difficulties, and abandoned of all hope, after two and thirty daies siege, they obtained of Ferdinand a peace for thirty daies, and necessary victuals for that time; during the which, none of the besieged should go forth. Licence for the duke Montpensier to signify this accord vnto the King, the Souldiers, their liues and goods Gued, with the which they might retire into France by land or sea, and the French with other Italian Souldiers whether they would, out of the realme; Impunity to the Barons and all others that had followed the French faction, and restitution of all goods and offices, so as within fifteen daies they returned to Ferdinand. All this is great, but there followes a very dishonourable promise: That if the Earle of Montpensier be not relieved within thirty daies, he shall deliuer Acells, and all that he holds within the Realme of Naples into Ferdinands hands, with all the Artillery. Thus reason yeelds where force commands.

The time expired, all were conducted to the castle of Stabbia vpon the Sea, and the Viceroy was summoned to yeeld vp all the other places, which the King possessed. But pretending that his authority did not extend to the Captaines which commanded in Calabria, Abruzzo, Caiete, and other places, which the King himselfe (and no other) had giuen them in guard. The Araggonis making shew so dishonourable, caused them to be conducted (but more properly confined them) vpon this controuersie to Bay and Pozzol, where (under colour that shipping was not yet ready) part of them by the water they had endured, and part by the indisposition of the airc, being hot and vnholefome, and part seeking incompertely vpon grapes, and other fruit hals ripe: but with most likelihood, hauing (as forme write) seasoned their meats, and mixt their wines with druggs in supportable for the stomacke, the Earle of Montpensier died and of such thousand scarce fifteen hundred returned safe to their countrey. There is but one hazard to befall all. A baxell (although very desperate) had bene far more honourable and lesse fault. But let vs rather note the examples and errors of others, then reproacheth

Virgil

Virgilius, and Paul Virgil, by the Popes commandment (who had sworne the ruine of that house) were shut vp in the Castle de l'Ouro: their men (led by John lordin the sonne of Virgil, and Bartholomew of Aluian) were dript in Abruzzo by the Duke of Vrbis; and these two commanders called by Ferdinand to Naples, were likewise imprisoned. Aluian escaped soone after, the rest died in prison. Now all things smile vpon the Conquerour, but he pursues the victory otherwaies then we can doe: and in these garboles, euerie one lies to the stronger, and makes his peace as he may. Ferdinand lends Don Fredericke his vncl, and Prosper Colonne before Caiete, and Fabrizio Colonne into Abruzzo, who receiued Aquila for the Araggonis, took the rocke of Saint Seuerin by force, and caused the Captain and his sonne to be beheaded, to terrifie the rest: then he went and entained before Salerne, where the Prince of Bisignan made his peace, for himselfe, for the Prince of Saleme, for the Earle of Cappacio, and some other Barons. Gratian des Guerres (forced to giue way to this violent streame) leaues Abruzzo, and retires himselfe with eight hundred horse into Caiete, where Don Fredericke doth presently inuest him. Gonfalus returned into Calabria, where the Lord of Aubigni (after such resistance as his forces could make, being gotten into Groppoli, in the end promisth to leaue all the Prouince, having liberty to returne into France by Land. The other Captaines (either for that they had filled their bags with the prouisions of their places, or had by disorder consumed that in few daies, which in time of necessity might haue serued long, or through feare) or impatience of the difcommodities which follow a siege) were forced to yeeld them at the first sumon.

But shall Ferdinand long enioy the happy successe of his armes? Behold, hauing not yet tasted the sweetnesse of his conquests, nothing remaining for the recouery of the Realme but Tarentum, Caiete, and a few other places, held by Charles of Sanguin and Mont S. Angelo, where Don Iulian of Lorraine commanded, who caused the neighbor counties to feele both the greatnesse of his courage, and the weight of his armes, death comes and cuts off both the course of his victories, and the thred of his life, and transports his Crowne to Don Fredericke his vncl. Thus the state of Naples, felt the diuers humors of five Kings in three yeares: Ferdinand, Alphons, King Charles the eight, Ferdinand, and the incestuous (hauing married his Aunt, sister to Alphons his Father) and Fredericke.

Fredericke leauing the siege of Caiete, comes to enioy his Nephews succession, and those which had before followed the French party, as the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan, the Earle of Cappacio and others, were the first to proclaim his name in Naples, and to helpe him to finish the remainder of the war against our men. Tarentum (besieged by the Venetians) was forced to yeeld through famine, who hauing held it some daies (not without suspect that they would appropriate it to themselves) in the end they assigned it vnto Fredericke, at the Popes entreaty, and the King of Spaine. Caiete might haue held out some months, but iudging the King would haue as little care to free them, as many other places negligently lost, to the prouidence both of a great number of the Nobility, and also of the crowne, they compounded with Fredericke by the means of the Lord of Aubigni, giuing them leaue to returne by Sea into France, with bag and baggage: And consequently, all other places did quite reiect the French command in the state of Naples. And Fredericke (hauing obtained the inuestiture of the Realme, from the Pope) was solemnly crowned.

Thus King Charles was freed from the care he had for the recovery thereof, but the peace and infamy christs him once reuenge vpon the next neighbour. Many Protestants of Italy perswade him therunto; the Duke of Ferrara knew well, that the Venetians (hauing taken Polcan from him) sought his ruine; and amidst these distractions he was the victor of the hereticke two Wolves, that is to say, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan. Ignorance in law, who (preferring his safety and his childrens, before the loue of the Duke of Milan) offered the King five hundred men at armes, and two thousand foot. The Marquis of Mantoua (being discontented with the Venetians) fell from them with six hundred men. Montpensier offered a hundred and fifty thousand armeries in the countie, which two thousand, with a good number of foot. The Florentines (notwithstanding) he had in their places, and to warrant themselves from the wrong which the Venetians pressed against them, promised eight hundred men at armes, and the Duke of

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King Ferdinand dies

The Princes of Italy inuade the King against the Venetians and Duke of Milan

Montpensier dies, with most of his troops.

foot



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of Pisa were not able to divert them from their naturall inclination to the house of France: And contrariwise, the more mighty they are, the more means they shall have to disturb the quiet of Italy. Why then have the Confederates by a common consent promised the Pisans to defend their liberties, and now to violate both their honour and faith? Is this the reward for the exceeding charge we have so willingly maintained, when as all the other Confederates were unwilling to disturb any thing for the common good? By what means was Italy preserved? With what forces did they fight at Taro? With what arms have they recovered the realme of Naples? Where-with have they forced Nouarre to acknowledge her first Lord? Can any one day, but these actions did proceed from a sincere affection to the good estate of Italy? Seeing we were not the nearest unto dangers, neither are the disorders grown by us, wherof we suffer the paine.

The Castle of Amboise built by Charles.

Whilest these things were treated of at Rome among the Confederates, not without apparent signes of future diuision: a new humour caries away our Charles to his Castle, which he caused to be built at Amboise; a building of admirable worke and charge, hauing (to that end) brought the rarest worke-men that could be found, from Naples, and all other partes: and for the beautifying thereof, he had gathered together the goodliest plots that could be found in France, Italy, Flanders, and elsewhere: not able to forsake, that in stead of a proud and stately Palace, hee should end his life in a bafe and lowly Gallery.

Hauing his minde inclined (besides his building) not onely to a second voyage beyond the Alpes, but to reforme his life, honouring the Queene his wiues bed with a chastit speck, whereas many loose allurements had transported his youth. To restrain the power and ambition of the Clergie; to order Iustice, giuing audience twise in a week to all complaints, and free access to any that would desire iustice. Doubtlesse, *The King sitting in his throne of iustice* (saith the Wiseman) *dispereth all ill with his looke*: to reforme his kinde to dispose of his treasure, to ease his subiects, restraining all taxes (which had bene due vpon his subiects) to twelue hundred thousand Frankes, besides his reuenues: a summe which his Estates had granted at his coming to the Crowne, for the defence of the realme. It chanced the tenth of Aprill, going after dinner with the Queene into the Castles riches, he struck his forehead against the doore of a Gallery, whereas he meant to see a set at Tennis: this blow being a certaine aduertisement, to drine him to the premeditation of his approaching end, the last pangs of death moued him presently, with a godly and holy resolution (but wisely conditioned according to mans weakness) at which he testified by these words, talking with *John of Beauuois*, Bishop of Angiers his Confessor, touching the faults he had committed in his yonger age: *I hope* (saith he) *neer so commit mortal nor venial sinne, if I can auoide it*. Presently vpon this protestation he fell backward, falling into an Apoplexie, wherewith he had bene a little before troubled, which closed his eies with the sleepe of death, about eleuen of the clocke at night.

A notable example, wherein wee read the pitifull estate of Princes, when as death knocketh with an euen hand, both at Kings palaces, and at poore mens cottages, giuing them an end liko to all other men; and the inconstant loue of Courtiers. Behold a King, who commanded ouer so many Provinces, whom so many great Cities obeyed, whose such numbers of sumptuous Castles at his pleasure, & now building a magnificent house, giuing vnto the ghost in a chamber nere to a Gallery, stinking with the Vrine which every one made as he passed through it, laid vpon a matresse, such as they could finde out by chance. And before his eies were shut vp with this last sleepe, euery one forgot the counsell which this declining sunne had runne, to follow the hope of the Easterne Starre, which came to lighten this realme.

King Charles died.

His disposition.

Thus Charles the eight liued, and thus hee died: an humble Prince, liberall, religious, courteous, familiar, and of easie access; of a good and tractable disposition, small stature, but of an inuincible courage, louing Iustice and his people, capable of counsell, commended for his great attempts, hauing in his youth purchased so much glory, and giuen so much hope both within & without Christendome, that if God had granted him a longer life without doubt he had equall'd the fame of the most excellent & rarest Prince. In him failed the direct line of the Kings of France, descended from *Philip of Valois*; and the growne fell to the collateral line, of the which the nearest, and most capable of the succession, was *Lewis Duke of Orleans and Valois*.

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LEWIS the Twelfth,

1498

The 57 French King.



OW behold our France (hauing vnder Charles the eight happily breathed, after the troubles and confusions which had so long afflicted the State during the reignes of his Predecessors) takes her rest vnder the protection of a Prince, excellent in bounty of nature, in sweetness of manners, in temperance and moderation of minde and affection: Finally, in the happinesse and felicity of his raigne. Who hauing extended his Empire beyond the limits of Gaule, subdued vnder his obedience two of the noblest and mightiest Cities of the world, Milan with Lombardy, and Genoua with her two riuers, East and West, together with the Islands of Corsica, and Chio: reconquered and diuided the Realme of Naples with the Castilian: but in the end, lost it by treachery and disloyalty: vanquished the Venetians in that memorable battell, the fiftenth of May 1500: suppressed the Popes insolencie: defeated the Verians againe before Breschia: made a peace with the Spaniard and Venetian, and consequently allied himselfe with the King of England. He shall haue this honor and content, to see his subiects in so great prosperity, that by the conference of things passed before his time, the Realme was neuer so mighty in armes and men; neuer so plentifull in all kinds of commodities; neuer so fortified with such strong places: and which imports more, neuer so blessed in concord: neuer so void of diuisions, neuer so able to endure a great charge, and to produce noble attempts.

The happinesse of his raigne.

A godly King, chaste, vpright, courteous, good to his seruants, gracious to his enemies, mercifull to all men, a friend to Iustice and sincerity, and enemy to flattery, liberall, but without oppression of any; loyall, respected in all parts of the world: who in regard of learning, shall open a way which his thrice worthy successeur shall bring to a most happy perfection. But to crowne him with titles of honor, he was called *The Father of his people*. A King commanding a nation most willing to obey: a people multiplying by millions, in Nobility, Merchants, Trades-men, and the common sort: a people replenishing the Townes before halfe desolate. To conclude, a people testifying the excellency and greatness of their Soueraigne. For the greatness of a King (saith Salomon) is in the multitude of people, but when his subiects decrease, it is the fall of his Soueraignie. But let vs see, by the relation of the History, the course of this admirable prosperity: and first of all, his rigths of Succession, as well to this Crowne, and that of Naples, being King of France, as also to the estate of Milan, by reason of *Valentine* his Grand-mother.

King Charles the 5 had two sonnes. The eldest, Charles the 6 his successeur, who was father to Charles the seventh, of whom was borne *Lewis* the eleuenth; father to Charles the eight, who died without children. The yongest, *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, married *Valentine* daughter to *John Galeas* Earle of Vertus, and first Duke of Milan, by whom hee had three sonnes, Charles his successeur Duke of Orleans, *John* Earle of Angouleme, and *Philip* Earle of Vertus. The said Charles freed from his long imprisonment in England, had by *Mary of Cleues* his wife, our *Lewis* the 12, heire (for want of heires male in the direct line) of this Realme, and of the dependancies thereof; and so was anoynted at Rheims the 27 of May 1498: assisted at this solemnity, by *John Duke of Alanson*, serving as a Peere in the place of the Duke of Bourgonne; *Peter Duke of Bourbon* for the Duke of Normandy; *Anthony Duke of Lorraine*, for the Duke of Gulesne; *Philip Earle of Rausstein*, in the place of the Earle of Flanders; *Gilbert* of Cleues, for the Earle of Champagne; and *Gaston* of Foix, for the Earle of Tholous: and for the Peeres of the Clergie, the Bishops that were then resident. Afterwards hee receiued the royall Crowne in the Abbey of *S. Denis* in France, the first of Iuly, and the day following made his triumphant entry into Paris.

The generation of Lewis the 12.

Wee iudge of the inward beauty of a Palace, by the entrie thereof: Who would not see by these happy first fruits of this raigne, conceiue a constant hope of a heavenly blessing? *Lewis*, after he had worthily performed the funeralls of his Predecessor, he first purchased

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purchased the love of the Noblemen of his Court, maintaining every man in his dignity and state, and the Magistrates in their Offices. Hee applied his minde to order and cut off the tediousness of suites: freed his Subjects of the third part of the subsidies which oppressed them: yea, even the rites which they are accustomed to pay to their new King, for the charges of his funeral that is deceased; and for his coronation: and for a second benefit to the country, he put the men at armes into their Garisons, reducing them to the ancient discipline of war, which the disordered liberty of troubles past had much corrupted. This done, by the aide of his best States-men, hee made many goodly laws, vpon the abusive charges in the pursuit of Justice; neither did he euer publish an Edit, before it was confirmed by the judgment of Sovereigne Courts. His decrees contained some limitation of the priuiledges granted in old time to Vniuersities, the which they abused to the oppression of the people. The Vniuersity of Paris opposed against the publication thereof, and were ready to make a sedition, many publishing infamous libells against the King, and against the Chancellor of Rochfort. The Scholers troope together, and resolute to abandon both study and the exercise of learning. *John Cane* being Rectour, forbids the Regents to read any more, and the Preachers to preach, vntill the Vniuersity had recovered her ancient priuiledges. The King aduertised of these mutinies, drew many men at armes into Paris, and sitting in Parliament confirms the aboue named ordinances by an Edit. The Rectour fearing a checke, keeps all the Scholers within their lodgings, and reuokes the commandment he had given. *John Standen*, a Doctor of the Vniuersity, a Brabancon, and one of the chiefe authors of this counsell, was banished the Realme. *Thomas Warner* of Cambray, (who preaching, had barkt out something against the Kings authority) preuented this decree, and banished himselfe. Being thus calme in minde, and quiet within his realme, his thoughts soared beyond the Alpes, and he takes vpon him the title of Duke of Milan. He was grounded vpon the right of succession. *Valentine* besides her dowry (which was the City and country of Ast, with a great summe of money) had obtained this claufe expressly in her contract of Marriage, *The for want of heires male of Galeas, Valentine should succeed to the Duchy, or shee being dead, her next descendants.*

The Vniuersity of Paris mutinies

Lewis his title to the Duchy of Milan.

This conuention was of no force, but the Imperiall seat was then vacant: and the Pope confirmed it. The Pope pretending (the Empire being without an Emperour) that the administration belongs to him. And seeing that by the death of *Philip Maria Visconti*, the masculine line of *John Galeas* failed, who then should succeed in this goodly estate? many contended for it, the Emperour *Fredericke* maintained, that it should bee vnto the Empire, considering the line specified in the institution made to *John Galeas* by *Winceslaus* King of Romans was extinct. *Alphonso* King of Arragon and Naples armed himselfe with the testament of *Philip*, by the which he was made his heire. But in worldly affairs the strongest most often carries it. *Francis Sforce*, one of *Philip*s Captaines, son to *Sforza Attendule*, an aduenterer, a braue and active spirit, had married *Blanche*, bastard daughter to the said *Philip*: and hauing no man at that instant that might resist his violence, he did so cunningly win all the greatest families of Milan, as by their support and assistance he soone seized on the State: the which he might easily effect, hauing all the forces at his command, and no competitor. For neither *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, nor his children had any meanes to recouer this Duchy from *Francis*, by reason of the great warres which followed in France, by the murder of the said *Lewis*, and of the Duke of Bourgogne slain likewise at Montereau, vnder *Charles* the sixt and seuenth, *Charles* sonne to the said *Lewis* (taken at the battaile of Azincourt, languishing twenty yeares a prisoner in England, and deliuered by *Philip* Duke of Bourgundy,) could neuer obtaine any aide from *Lewis* the eleuenth, being crossed by home-bred warres from the beginning of his raigne. Moreover, *Lewis* did alwaies make account to settle his authority, by the suppression of his nearest blood. And for this cause our *Lewis*, his sonne in law, sonne to the said *Charles*, had no whit the more credit with his father in law, for the recovery of his heritance. And the sword which he diuulgeath against *Charles* the eight his brother in law, (of whom he pretended the Regency) and after in the wars of Britany, took from him all meanes to attempt this enterprize, vntill such times as (the King hauing left him in Ast to cross the attempts of *Lodowicke Sforce*) he seized vpon Nowarre, but with a fruitlesse event.

Now

A Now is he seated vpon the royall throne of his Ancestors, peaceable within himselfe, and peaceable with his neighbors. *Trinulce* doth not cease to lay open vnto him the Ensigne to expell *Lodowicke*. To make the way easie, Pope *Alexanders* friendship, the Venetians, Florentines; and other Potentates of Italy was very requisite. He seeks it by his Ambassadors, and finds that the death of *Charles* the eight, had bred an alteration in their dispositions. The Pope conceiuing, that the peace of Italy was the decay of his priuate estate, did easily allow of new troubles. The Venetians (being freed by the Kings deceale, from the feare they had of him, for the indignities he had receiued,) did not beleue that a new King would so vehemently embrace the quarrell of his Predecessor: and foreseeing also, that if *Sforce* were once quiet, he would oppose himselfe against them, for the affaires of Pisa, whereof he did sollicite (but coldly) the restitution vnto the Florentines by the Popes meanes. The Florentines had not yet so much changed their affection from the French, but there was good meanes to recouer it.

The Popes affection.

Being thus affected, they all send their Ambassadors to the King. The Pope (who aspired to nothing more then the temporall aduancement of *Cesar Borgia* his son, being then Cardinal) did willingly embrace this occasion to plant him in the kings good favour, and by some especiall bond to purchase his Masters loue. He knew well that *Lewis* would willingly put away *Joane* his wife, to marry with *Anne* the widow of *Charles*: and euen then he resolved to exchange spiritual graces for temporall commodities.

He capitulates with the kings

He then agrees with the King for thirty thousand Ducats, and draws a promise from him, to aide him presently after the conquest of Milan, to reduce to the obedience of the Apostolicke see, the rownes possessed by the Governours of Romagna. And for his sonne *Cesar*, a company of a hundred Lances, twenty thousand frankes pension, a wife in France to his liking, and Valence in Dauphine, with the title of a Duchy. Then he committed the matter of diuorce to *Ferdinand* Bishop of Septa, his Nuncio in France, to *Philip* Cardinal of Luxembourg, and to *Lewis* Bishop of Alby (some name *George* of Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen) who vpon report of the protestation made by *Lewis* to a Notary, the day of his marriage; that his meaning was not to contract any marriage, and that the solemnity which hee did celebrate, was only to please the King; whom hee knew to be cruell against him, by whom hee thought himselfe to be wronged. And moreover, if by *Charles* *Lewis*, either by the expresse commandment of his father in law, or after of his brother in law, did hee and his wife, hee did interpose secret witnesses; that should depose of his abstynency. And besides, the Physicians hauing iudged her incapable of issue, they declared the said marriage voyde, and gaue him liberty to marry with *Anne*: who contracting herselfe to any other should haue diuided the Duchy of Britany from the Crowne of France. The Venetians sent to congratulate his coming to the Crowne, and by way of excuse, gaue him to vnderstand, that the contentions they had with king *Charles*, proceeded only of distrust and jealousy, whereof hee had giuen them cause, seeing that not content with the Realme of Naples, hee had cast his designs vpon all Italy.

The Florentines did not forget their ancient custome, in like cases to the Crowne of France, but especially, to put him in mind of their dependance to the aeternall King. Iohn called *meur* by *Lodowicke Sforce*, to the end that when the two common weales of Venice and Florence, should come to treat of the affaires of Pisa, the Venetians practices (whereof *Lodowicke* did much feare in Italy might be crossed by the Florentines) did they purchasing fauour and credit with the King, he might employ them, to mediate some accord betwixt the King & him, the which he desired with all his heart. *Gerardo* did see the forme, and laboured to auoyd it, but in vaine for the summe of his shew was at hand. Then *Cesar Borgia*, the new Duke of Valentinois, came vnto the King with the bill of dispensation: where he was no sooner arrived, but as the sonne of his father, hee had the first act of a bloody tragedy, vpon the alliance which the King did contract with the Pope his father. *Cesar* following the instructions of *Alexander*, dumbeled the bringing of this Bill, iudging the Kings disposition to be like vnto those who desire that more which is refused, to make him the more pleable to his desires. But the Bishop of Septa, being sent intelligence vnto his Maiesty of the truth, the King thinking it sufficient to see the Bill dispatched, concluded the marriage with *Anne*, giuing for a paction to his wife the Duchy of Berry. *Cesar* hauing discovered the authors of this adulterous deed the Bishop to bee soone after poysoned. The peace with *Quar* Princes, which

He commits a treacherous murder,

might

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Peace with the  
Catholins.Troubles in  
Bourgonne.The Kings affec-  
tion with  
the Venetians.The first ex-  
ploit of this  
voyage.

might somewhat disturb the projects of *Lewis*, was no lesse expedient: he therefore concluded with *Ferdinand* King of Castile, and thereby did associate him in the conquest of the Realme of Naples: he confirmed that which his Predecessor had with the English, and renewed the alliance with the Swisses, granting them the pensions which *Lewis* & *Charles* were accustomed to give.

*Maximilian* alone, working vpon the old lesaine of his Ancestors, shewed some benevolence amidst these contents, calling the coales of diuision in *Bourgonne* and *Champaigne*, by the Lord of *Vergi* Comtois, when as they least doubted it, seeing that *Lewis* being taken prisoner at the battell of *Saint Aubin*, and hauing, aboue all others, imployed *Maximilian* for an intercessor to *Charles* the eight, they thought that *Maximilian* should reioyce at this new successe, more then any other Prince, and that the discontent he had against *Charles* (hauing forsaken his daughter, and married with *Anne* of Britany) had become mortified by the death of the said Prince. The Emperor was thrust on by the Duke of Milan who being perswaded, that the King busied at home, should haue no leisure to attempt any thing in Italy, or any accord being made betwixt them, he should be comprehended therein. This warre put the Realme in alarme: but *Lewis* opposed to great power, vnder the command of *John* of Foix Vicount of Narbonne, his brother in law, it was quenched as soone as kindled, by a truce of many moneths, without any mention of *Lodowick Sforze*. And to the end that *Philip* Arch-duke of Austria, and Earle of *Burgundy*, son to *Maximilian*, might reape the fruits of their reconciliation, he did homage to the King, for the places he held of the Crowne: and those of *Artois* were restored to him. In the meane time, they consule at Venice, vpon the treatmes of confederation with the King. The difference was, the holding of Pisa. The Venetians offering all other conditions, would not haue this firing toucht; and the King being resolute to haue it redemmed to him in fauour of the Florentines, refused to treat, vnlesse this Article might be granted. But the Duke of Valentinois and other Agents for the Pope, the Cardinall of *Pierre*, *Triuinelle*, and all the Italians (who for their owne priuate interest perswaded him to warre) laying before him the losse he should receiue, by the want of the Venetians ayde, considering their power and meanes to annoy the Duke of Milan, he yielded without any more speech: that at the same time, as he should invade the Duchy of Milan, they should doe the like vpon their frontiers. Thus hauing won the rest of the Duchy, *Cremona* and *Guaradadde* should be taken by their common forces for the Venetians, except the breach of forty faddome along the river of *Adde*. Thus after the conquest of Milan, the Venetians should be bound to defend that for a time, with a certain number of horse and foot: and the King should doe the like for *Cremona*, and other places which they possessed in *Lombardie*, euen vnlesse the Marches of Venice. This convention tooke all hope from *Lodowick*, both of peace with the King, and reconciliation with the Venetians. Being thus abandoned, hee resolueth to defend himselfe, and begins by the fortification of *Anoa*, *Nouarre*, & *Alexandria*, towns lying neere to the French, meaning to oppose against their violence. *Galeas* of *Saint Severin*, with the greatest part of his forces, & the rest against the Venetians, vnder the command of the Earle of *Caiazzo*. He commands *Galeas* to passe the Pau, with fixtene hundred men at armes, sixtene hundred light horse, ten thousand Italian foot, & five hundred Lanquenes: but rather to defend his places, then to keepe the field, hoping that the prolonging of the war would breed him some aduantage, for that he expected an issue of the accord, which he did mediate betwixt *Maximilian* and the Swisses: the which effected, he had promise of notable ayde. On the other side, the King called *Lewis* of *Luxembourg*, Earle of *Ligni*, to march with *Euerard* Steward Lord of *Aubigni*, and *John* Jaquet of *Touluse*, leading 6000 horse, and 25000 foot. The Castle of *Araze* vpon *Tanare*, was the first object of their armes, a place kept by 500 foot, assailed the 10 of August, and taken within few dayes. Seven hundred men being lodged in *Anoa*, did likewise suffer it to be taken in two dayes, and all those put to the sword that were retired in armes into the Castle. *Bonast* *Raffagnin*, a Milanais, Captaine of the Castle of *Valence*, well furnished with men and artillery, corrupted by the promises of *Triuinelle*, gaue entrance to the French, the same day as he had by the like treachery twenty years before, deliuered one of the gates of *Torone* to *Lodowick Sforze*, to the preiudice of *Bonne* of *Sauoy*, and of the little Duke *John Galeas*. All the souldiers were slaine or taken, amongst others, *Victorian* brother to *Saint Severin*, was prisoner.

The same deluge ouerflowed euen vpon the very brute) *Basignagne*, *Voguer*, *Challanceuf*, and *Pont Coronee*. *Anthony Maria Palamish* yielded vnto *Torione*, not attending any assault. *Alexandria* makes head against the army, and whilst they presse, *Lodowick* thrusts himselfe into Milan, and seeing his estate lost by poore meales, hee flies to those remedies which are vsual in greatest despair. Hee iuroules all that could carie armes, assembles the peoples, discharged them of a part of their ordinary impositions: sheweth them with most vehement words, "That if happily hee had often charged them, not any desire to gather treasure, nor his owne disposition: (being an enemy to oppression of his subjects) but rather the time and the common dangers of Italy: had perswaded him thereto: first to counterchecke the Venetians greatnesse: then, to oppose against the will of King *Charles*. That the fruits which they had reaped thereby, were reasonnably quiet, wherein he had happily maintained them many yeeres, with a general increase in riches, beauty of buildings, and inhabitants, with mildnesse and moderation of his iustice, full to administer good and briefe iustice to every man indifferently. That the meane and gracious government of his father layed before their eyes, how ill supported he would be, in the insolent and proud command of the French be vnto them. That abhorring the rough and vnciuill manners of strangers, they should refuse for the common defence of their liues and Countrey. That the French are but a brut, which being withstood, it should then be easie to resist them. That the Emperor made hasten to succour them in person." C. That *Prisier Colonne* marched with the troopes of *Fredericke* King of Naples. That the Marquis of *Mantoua*, was already in the Countrey of *Cremona*, hauing sacrificed all his troufferies. That to all these aydes, if they did burye in their loyalties and good will, they should find himselfe strong enough to incurraunt the power of France vnited together. But these admonitions came too late: it was very apparant, that necessity, & not any good meaning, had forced him to this humility, whereas he had neuer given them any testimony. Thus his ruine approached. The Venetians for their part made war in *Guaradadde*, and had taken *Carauage* and other towns vpon the river of *Adde*. The Earle of *Caiazzo*, discontented that his brother being younger of yeares and of lesse experience, should be preferred before him in the command of the army, had secretly passed his word to the King. In the meane time they thunder against the walles of *Alexandria*, and *Galeas* of *S. Severin* hauing with him 1200 light horse, and 6000 foot, (not discouering his intent to any Captaine, but onely to *Luke Malucze*), flies secretly out of the towne in the night, after the third daies siege, with a part of his light horse, shewing by the effect, that hee had a brauer arme, and was more experienced in lusts and *Tourneys* (in which exercises all other Italians gaue him place) then in the government of any army. This flight dashed the courage of the besieged, and made the passage easie. The army enters in at the breach of the day, spoiles the garrison, and sacks the towne. The losse of *Alexandria*, and the following siege of *Mortare*, opened the gates of *Pavia*.

Milan with the Citizens arme, and respect *Lodowick* so little, as they giue good testimony of their affection, by the murder of *Anthony* of *Landriano* his Treasurer generally, committing at noone day from the Castle. *Lodowick* foretelling his owne by others ruine, being well informed that his government was exceeding hateful vnto the Milanais, and moreover, amazed at the report which *Galeas* made of the valour of the French men at armes, he sent away his children, accompanied with the Cardinalls *Affandus* his brother, and of *S. Severin*, with about two hundred thousand Ducats which he had in treasure, well shorted of a million and a halfe which hee made thereof few yeares before: hee left the guard of the castle to *Bernardin* of *Corte* borne at *Paula*, whom he had bred vp young, and 3000 foot, furnished with victuals, munition, & money for many moneths: hee restored to the *Borgheses*, Gentlemen of Milan, the lands he had taken from them: But was this any bounty, seeing he could not keepe them? and the 2 day of September he departed for Germany, followed by the Cardinall of *Este*, and *Galeas* of *S. Sauerin*, with a good number of horse, and foot, vnder color to hasten the imagined troopes, with *Maximilian* prepared for him. The towne thus abandoned, being loath to be a prey vnto the enemy, who approached towards the wals, prevented their coming, and willingly consented to bring them in, reseruing the capitulation to the Kings attall, from whom they hoped, (considering their voluntary submission) to receiue goodly exemptions, & great priuiledges. All other places of the Duchy conformed themselves to the paterne of their chiefe City.

Cremona



1499

Cremona affe-  
cted to the  
French.

Cremona abhorring the Venetian yoke, stretched out both armes and hearts to the French: but the King unwilling to infringe the treaty made with the Senate, they were forced to yeeld to the yoke after some daies siege. Genoua follows this example. *Adornes* (to whom *Lodowike* had giuen the gouernment) *Iohn Lepk* of Fieque, and the people, contend who shall haue most honor in yeelding it to the King, who giues them the Gouernour, *Philip* Lord of Rauastin, and *Baptista Frege* for his Lieutenant. But force could not take the Castle, by the aduice of *Trinulce*, gold makes a breach. *Bernard* without any other approach, by the consent of the other Capitaines, namely of *Philip* of Fieque, brede likewise and brought vp by *Lodowike*, tells it twelue dayes after *Lodowike* departure, and receiues for payment a hundred thousand Crownes: some report but ten thousand (yet I should tearmethis sale the capitulation of a foole, considering the place which he commanded) halfe the moreables in the Castle, a company of an hundred Lances, an annuall pension, with many other graces and priuiledges. But this infamous merchant (hatefull to all the world, fled from by every man, as vnworthy to hold any ranke amongst men of honor, cast off from all companies, with words full of reproch confounded with shame, and tormented in his owne conscience, accusing his villany and base ingratitude,) dyed of griefe within few dayes after.

Thus all things fore-tell the ruine of *Lodowike*: his owne indiscretion; the people hatred; the cowardlinesse of his Captaines and souldiers, and the treachery of his household seruants, so as in twenty dayes he is dispossessed of this mighty Estate which he had before vsurped. The King receiuing intelligence at Lyons, of a speedier victory then he expected, departs presently in post; and makes his entry into Milan, granting to the people exemptions of many customes, impunity to all such as had followed *Sforze*, restitution to the Gentlemen, who through the tyranny of former times had lost their goods: they were extant, or not to discontent them that were in lawfull possession; hee gaue money many to buy them againe, or other lands if any were to be sold. He repeated by *Edith* the Regens and professors of learning, giuing to some lands, to others increase of their entertainment, honored the gentlemen of the Countrey with his table, and their houses with his presence. And to make this gouernment more popular, he made *Iohn Laque* of Naples, a Milanois Gouernot of Milan, giuing vnto him *Vigueue* & many other things in regard of his merits & loyall seruice. As the French Forces prospered thus in the Duchy of Milan, and the Venetians buffed in the Countrey of Cremona, the Florentines giue after the restitution of Pisa: and to obtaine it, they giue vnto *Paul Pielli* their Generall, an Army of ten thousand foot, with a great number of horse, with the which (having taken Calsine and other places that supported Pisa) hee incamped before the City the last day of Iuly. An enterprize of difficulty, as well for the strength of the Towne, as for the valor and resolution of the Citizens, who willingly would haue suffered any misery, rather then to haue false vnder the Florentines command. Hee battens the fort of *Stambrice*, and the wall of either side with twenty peeces of artillery.

*Pielli* giues an assault and forceth it, with so great a terror to the Pisans, as abandoning the rampiers, every man seeks to saue himselfe by flight. And if the Generall had pushed it vigorously, that morning had crowned him with honour, whereas it proued the beginning of his downfall; for seeing his souldiers vpon hope of spoile run together by heapes, he slayed their hear, causing most of his troopes to retire, and gaue the besieged ioynture, (seeing this first brunt past) to resume new courage, and returne to the guard of the rampiers. So as whilest he laboured to win a victory, with the least preiudice to the army that might be, being lodged in a Countrey full of pooles and marshes, which lie betwixt the sea and the towne, and the season being subiect vnto pestilent winds, a generall contagion infects so many of his men in few daies, as the healthy were not sufficient for a generall assault, so as he raised the siege against the Florentines will, who promised to renew his troopes with fresh supplies. So as the bad opinion which the Florentine people had conceived of him, increased in such sort, as being called into Calsine, by the Commissaries of the army, vnder color of lodging the Companies, they tooke him prisoner, and from thence hee was led by the Magistrates commendement to Florence, and there publicly beheaded. An ordinary reward for generous minds that subiect themselves to the seruice of a multitude.

During *Lewis* his aboad at Milan, all the Potentates of Italy, except *Frederick* King of Naples

A Naples, either came, or sent vnto him; some to congratulate, some to purge themselves from suspicion to haue been more affected to *Lodowike* then to him, as also to assure their priuate estates. The King receiuing them all graciously, compounded with them according to the qualities of their persons, and the benefit he might reape by them. The *Marquis* of Mantoua, and the Duke of Ferrara, came in person. The King gaue the *Marquis* a company of an hundred Lances, and the Order of St. *Michel*, with an honorable pension. The Ferraris (being in disgrace in Court since the time that he deliuered the castle of Genoua vnto *Lodowike*) was glad to buy the Kings loue with ready money; *Iohn Brunsme* sent his sonne *Hannibal*: the Florentines had some trouble to make their peace. They had offended all the Court, for that fearing to incense *Lodowike Sforze*, touching the affaires of Pisa, they had held themselves newters betwixt the King and *Lodowike*. Metecur, the death of *Paul Pielli* (to whom the Crowne of France was beholding) made the King strange vnto them; and the credit of *Trinulce* did them harme: who aspiring to the Seigneury of Pisa, was as much desired of the Pisans, to warrant them from the Florentines oppressions; finally, the King had need of money, and the Florentines paying a fine as the rest did, were receiued into grace, vpon condition: To make one answer for their common defence, to take armes in Italy for the King, and the King for them for the recovery of Pisa, and some places held by the *Siennois* and *Liquois*: that being repossessed of Pisa, they should furnish the King with five hundred men at armes, and fifty thousand ducats: paying also vnto the King six and thirty thousand Ducats, which *Sforze* had lent them, adding that which they had disbursed for him.

The Pope also did not forget himselfe, but vrging the performance of the treaty made with the King, obtaines for the Duke of Valentinois (who hauing married the Daughter of the Lord of Albret, had repassed the Alpes with his Maiesty) three hundred Lances in the Kings pay, and four thousand Swisses to be paid by the Pope, to ayde him to make war in Romagna. The King (hauing settled such order as he thought fit for his conquest: and prolonged the truce he had with the Emperor, vntill May following) rooke his way to Lyons, leading with him the Grand-child of *Iohn Galeas*, whom the mother had vnduly deliuered, him hee made a Monke. Then he receiued newes of a faire daughter that was borne vnto him, which shall hereafter bee witt to *Francis* the first of that name, and Queene of France. Another accident, but fatal, made that season famous: The fall of our Ladies bridge at Paris, drawing after it the ruine of threescore houses, and a great number of persons (swallowed vp in the river.

This year Italy (beside foraigne and homebred denitions) felt also the Turkes forces. *Baxatz* Ottoman (being expressly drawne by the perswasions of *Lodowike Sforze*, hauing no other meane to be reuenged of the Venetians) assailing with a mighty army by Sea, such places as the Venetians held in Greece, he sent sixe thousand horses by land to spoile *Friuli*, who finding the Countrey without defence, expecting no such guests, did spoile, sacke, and burne all euen vnto Linence: they chained together an infinite number of prisoners, and being come to the riuer of *Tagliamento*, they refused such as they thought fit to carry with them, and murdered all the rest. In the meane time, the Duke of Valentinois (hauing ioyned the forces of the Church, with those troopes he receiued from the King) took *Imola* (with ease) in the end of the year. And in the beginning of the next, famous for the celebration of the great *Iubile* at Rome) *Furli*. But as hee marched to other townes, the course of his conquests is stayed by vnexpected accidents, bred by diuers motives. The most part of the Lombards could not fit with the French humor, and all were discontented, for that they had not tasted this great bounty of the King, whereby they were promised a generall exemption of all imposts and tributes.

Moreover the *Gibelin* faction (very mighty in Milan) was wonderfully grieved to see *Frinulce* (chefe of the *Guelfe*) preferred to the gouernment: and he by nature sachieus, proud, and stirring, did much increase this bad disposition, fauouring them of his party beyond the bounds of reason: This did greatly estrange the peoples hearts from him. Hee slew with his owne hand some butchers, who according to their common rascallness, refused to pay the ordinary customes, and withstood the receiuers with armes. Doubtlesse, if such as haue the guard of a mighty estate newly conquered, displease both Nobility and People, what may be expected but a generall alteration? Adde therunto the lightnesse of an inconstant multitude, alwaies desirous of innovations: now they lament him whom

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Our Ladies  
bridge at Pa-  
ris fell.The estate of  
the Rich.The Duke of  
Valentinois  
explains.

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whom before they hated. *Lodowike* aduertised of these broyles, strikes while the iron is hot, and without any longer feeding himselfe with the Emperors vaine & frustratoury hopes, he makes sudden leauy of 8000 Suisses, and five hundred men at armes, Bourguignons, by the helpe (but not entertained) of the said *Maximilian*, and flies to Coma with all speed, the which being abandoned by the French Garison, finding the humor of these habitants inclined to change, gaue him an easie entry.

Milan revolts.

*Triunlee* felt this forme comming, and to auoide it, hee demands speedy succours from the Venetians, according to the affociation which they had made with the King, and makes knowne to the Lord of Alegre (who commanded the French troopes, and the Suisses in the Duke of Valentinois army) the necessity which calls him speedily to Milan. The Venetians send *Nicholas* Earle of Petilliano, to ioyne with *Triunlee* or *Ambigni*, and if hee were debarred, to spoile the Milanois Country. The Earle not able to ioyne with *Ambigni*, spoiles the Country, and then returnes towards the Towne of the riuier of Adda, to prevent any new alteration. *Ambigni* departs suddenly with the Suisses, and all the horse, obtaining free passage through the Countiees of Parma and Placentia, vpon condition to abstaine from all acts of hostility. And comming neere Tortone, at the perswasion of the Guelles of that Towne, (who had beene expelled the rest that were at *Lodowikes* deuotion) he enters and sacks the whole towne, *Gales* and *Gibelins*, without any distinction: then hee went towards Alexandria, where the Suisses for want of pay, went to *Sforzes* army.

Suisses revolt.

The losse of Coma hauing stirred vp the people of Milan, and the chiefe of the Gibelin faction, *Triunlee* leaues within the Castle such forces as the present necessity could furnish: he fortified Nouarre with foure hundred Lances, and puts himselfe with the rest into Mortare, thinking that *Lodowike* would force it before hee passed, and in the same time, giuing the King aduertisement of this sudden alteration, hee should haue means to stay the enemies proceedings. But it chanced otherwise. *Sforzes* army, neglecting both Mortare and Nouarre, flies to the most important, and recouers Milan as easily as they had lost it. Pavia and Parma presently set vp *Sforzes* armes. *Loda* and Placentia had the like, if the Venetian troopes had not suddenly entred. Alexandria and other places neerer to Ast then to Milan, would not declare themselves, before they had seen the act of this Tragedie. The Genuois refused to returne vnder *Lodowikes* command, and the Florentines reiekt his request, touching the restitution of money which he had lent them, for the which, they had past their promise vnto the King.

The Marquis of Mantoua sent him his brother, with some men at armes. The Lords of Mirandole, Carpi, Corregio, the *Rosses*, those of Verme, and Bobie, with other such watercockes, follow the wind that blowes: finally, this new Conqueror finds more affection, and ioy at his returne, then he had left at his departure. Milan being recovered, *Lodowike* leaues the Cardinall *Ascanius* his brother before the Castle, and (re-enforced with fiftene hundred men at armes, besides the Bourguignons, and great troopes of foot) he takes Vigeeu by composition: and the Kings succours, not able to come in time, for the defence of Nouarre, they compound to yeeld the town, and to depart with all their baggage. But the Castle (which holds yet for vs) shall shortly be the meanes of *Lodowikes* ruine. At *Triunlees* first summon, the King had dispatched the Earle of Ligni, with a good number of foot, and horse. But he found the two commanders, *Triunlee* and *Ambigni* so diuided, as if the King had not speedily and wisely prevented this pestilent contention, it had doubtlesse ended with a pitifull and bloody Catastrophe. *Ambigni* & *Triunlee* held themselves equal in power and vertue. The first would haue them presently to force Milan: the other would attend about Nouarre the new army which the King leauied in Suifferland. If *Ambigni* set at liberty any prisoners taken in warre, *Triunlee* ransomed them. Finally, what the one built, the other pulled downe: and they torned it ted one another with continuall riots.

The King aduertised of this dangerous faction, he sends vnto them *Lewis* of Bourbon, younger brother to *Gilbert*, late Vice-roy of Naples, and *Iohn* of Foix Vicount of Narbonne: but by reason of their young yeares, they were guided by *Lewis* of Tremouille Lord of Thouars, being accompanied by the Lords of Grauille Admiral of France, *Lantier*, and many others, followed with fiftene hundred Lances, ten thousand Suisses, five thousand French, and the Cardinall of Amboise, who was Lieutenant for his Maiestie

on that side of the Alpes. *Tremouille* being ariued, treating with these two Commanders, easily drew them (in regard of his Maiesties seruice) to lay aside all rancor, and to become good friends, handling them so wisely, as there appeared no change in their government: but in stead of two, they afterward seemed to bee three heads in one hood. This vnted, they resolute to send some companies of light horse vpon the way to Milan, to cut off the passage to foure hundred horse, and a great number of foot that came from Milan and to prevent *Lodowike* of all meanes to get vnto Milan if he were prest, and then they turne the force of their army against *Lodowike* being at Nouarre. There were among the Suisses, that were entertained by *Sforzes*, many Captaines which had leised in the voyage of Naples, and at Nouarre, who complained of their entertainment, not payed at the appointed time. *Tremouille* deales with them vnderhand, and vpon promise of a great summe of money, withdraws them from *Lodowike*.

The Suisses, by the perswasion of their Colonels, begin tumultuously to demand their pay. *Lodowike* giues them all his plate, and intreats them earnestly to attend the men and money that came from Milan. But fearing, left by the comming of these Milanois, they should be forced to winke at *Lodowike* and to saile *Tremouille*, they caused the French army to approach neere to Nouarre, to draw *Lodowike* to field, who was loth to engage himselfe among men whom hee sees ill affected to him. They are not deceived in their hopes. He goes forth with his army, & puts his light horse to begin the charge. *Tremouille* makes it good, vntill the Admirall *Grauille*, and *Edmond* of Prie ariuing, the Italian troopes giue way, and are put to rout. The Suisses being prest to fight, answer: That they will not fight against their brethren, kinsmen and others of their nation, without leuie from their superiours. And approaching neere the Country-men, making as it were but one army, they protest, that they mean to returne, and so obtaine free passage through the French army. *Lodowike* compassed in by this nation, could neither by prayers, nor promises, diuert them from their disloyall intent: onely he got a promise, To let him in a place of safety. So they agreed, that disguised and armed like a Suisse on foot, hee should march in their ranks. But going betwixt two great troopes of men at armes, this poore Suisse disguised, is discovered, in one of their battalions, with *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, *Francasse*, and *Antonius* *Maria* his brethren, and stayed: the Italians were stript, but the Lanquenets and Bourguignons were sent away without touch, and *Lodowike* was led prisoner to Lions; where the King remained: and within two daies after was sent to the great Tower at Loches, where he continued captiue about ten yeares, vntill his death. Behold the ambition and aspiring conceits of him, whom all Italy could not containe, now restrained in a straight prison. And to auoide a greater corrausue, he intreats *Tremouille* that hee might not see *Triunlee* his enemy: who being aduertised, and halting thither, *Sforzes*, (saide he with a brauing speech) thou seest the wrongs thou hast done me, are now repayed in the same measure.

Disloyalty of the Suisses.

This happened the Thursday before Palme-Sunday. Doubtlesse the circumstances of *Lodowikes* *Sforzes* miseries are remarkable: wherein we may learne; that the diuine Iustice doth alwaies punish offenders, and takes from them at need, both iudgment, courage, wit, and all other faculties. Let vs obserue in this tragedy, that *Lodowike* being fearefull, promising, praying, fighting, and flying disguised: is mockt, taken, and finally, dies in a most pitifull estate. A Prince excellent in many perfections of nature, industrious, eloquent, of an high and buisie spirit, but infamous for the death of his nephew, couetous, vaine, ambitious, turbulent, proud, trecherous, impious, cruell, paying a Crowne for euery Frenchmans head that his host should murder going to the *table*. So as it is not strange, if hee hath felt the rigor of Gods Iustice in his owne person.

Lodowikes disposition.

As to fill vp the measure of affliction in his family, the Cardinall *Ascanius*, vpon the brunt of this defeat, flying from Milan to recouer some place of safety with many Gentlemen of the Gibelin faction, (who hauing affected *Lodowike*, depaired of pardon) refreshing themselves at Riualte, in the territory of Placentia, *Conrad* of Lande, Lord of the same place, (his kinsman and ancient friend) sends presently for *Charles* *Prinse*, and *Sansin* *Bent* *on* (Captaines vnder the Venetian pay) and trecherously deliueys vnto them the said Cardinall, with *Hermes* *Sforzes*, brother to the deceased Duke *Iohn* *Galeas*, with most of the Gentlemen in their copany, who presently conueyed them to Venice: but the Senate, at the Kings instant request (who considered how necessary it was for the safety of the state of Milan to haue these men in his power) deliueied both the Cardinall

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Baptista

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*Baptista Viconti*, and *Hermes*, with all other Milanois that were retired for the same time into the Townes of Guaiardade.

The Cardinal was sent to the great Tower of Bourges, until that having the whole Realme for his prison, he obtained leave, by the intercession of the Cardinal of Amboise, to go to the election of a new Pope, promising upon his oath neuer to attempt anything to prejudice the Crowne: and to be a meane to aduance one of the French Cardinals to Saint Peters chaire. But oh the ingratitude and treachery of this Milanois! the College of Cardinals inclining to choise the cardinal of Amboise, he alone by his faction won the Popedom from the French, to giue it vnto *Inisius* the second, a Genouois, in the year 1503. Milan being restrained from all meanes of rebelling, lies presently for pardon, in which they obtaine of the Cardinal of Amboise in the Kings name, upon condition to repaire their rebellion, by the payment of three hundred thousand Ducats, whereof his Maiesty did afterwards remit the greatest part.

The rest of the rebelling Cities were euery one taxed, according to their ability. Thus all the Duchy of Milan was quiet: the Swisses were dismissed, who returning to their houses, leize upon Belinzone, a King in that mountaine, the which (not drawne out of their hands, as the King might haue done for a little money) shall hereafter grieve the author of this error, being a most convenient passage to stop the Swisses entry into the Duchy of Milan, and shall giue occasion to liberal tongues, to scold both in publike and private, at the greedinesse of *Lewis*, whereof these braue Commanders returning into France, had had more cause to complaine, if the Queene had not supplied this defect with that bounty which the King did owe vnto their merits. Doubtlesse he did boundfully repaire those errors, which the King did often commit in that respect. And the King retraying his liberty, within the bonds of frugality, would not seeme bountiful with the oppression of his people.

Now let vs see how the remainder of the yeare was employed. The exceeding pride of a Prince is suspected vnto other great personages, who feare some diminution in their estates. *Maximilian* considering how the alienation of so goodly a see, was prejudiciall to the Empire, and the blame hee did incurre by suffering *Lodowike* to be thus spoiled, who had cast himselfe into this protection, hee dismissed the Ambassadors of France and Venice, being ready to proclaime warres against them, as usurping the line of the Empire. With this designe hee acquaints the Princes Electors with the many done to him, to them, and to all the Germane nation, and the apparent danger, lest that too still patience should make the French King seeke to ioyne the Imperiall Crowne vnto his owne, like vnto some of his predecessors. That partly through necessity, and partly through the ambitious desire which the Pope had to aduance his sonne *Borgia*, Duke of Valentinois, hee would willingly winke at these proceedings. This consideration made the King to put off the warre of Naples vnto the next yeare. But as the forces of Germany moue but heauily, so had hee leisure to assist the Florentines, (who had shewed themselves ready in the recovery of Milan for the King: and discharge the oath made by his Predecessor, and his owne) with 600 Lances maintained by his Maiesty, and fiftie thousand Swisses (but payed by their common-weale) and diuers companies of French, with artillery and munition necessary for the recovery of Pisa, Pietreançe, Montpelian, Mutton, and other places, vnder the command of the Lord of Beaumont, whom they demanded, but ill chosen for them.

To auoyde this storme, the Pisans, Genouois, Siennois, and Luquois, (cauving the Florentines greatnesse) offered the King a hundred thousand Crownes in ready money, to the end the Florentines should not benefit any thing by the recovery of those places so important for their states: promising to pay him fifty thousand Crownes yearly for euer, upon condition that the Pisans should recouer their liberty by his meanes, and the fortresses of Liurone, with all the territory of Pisa. *Triunice* and *Fisques*, pledged for the Pisans, shewing how expedient it was for the King to weaken the Florentines, and some other Potentates of Italy: but offering a great sum of money to the king, they discovered their inward greedinesse, to make themselves Lords thereof. Finally the matter was concluded in fauor of the Florentines. And whilst this army remaynes in Lombardy expecting their pay, the King causeth the Lords of Mirandole, *Carpi* and *Civico* to pay their fines, who for 30000 Ducats obtayned remission of their rash rebellion.

Milan pardoned by the King.

The King succors the Florentines.

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The Marquis of Mantoua, (to auoyd the like censure,) humbly craued pardon. *John Bentiuole* (having fauored *Lodowike* as the rest,) payed forty thousand Ducats: and the King by this meanes, tooke both him and the City of Bologna into his protection, whilst that the army (to lose no time) tooke Mont Chiarucolo in the territory of Parma, belonging to the *Torelli* fauorers of *Sforçe*: then returning backe, to passe the Appennin, by the way of Postreme, at *Fregoses* request they spoiled Aubri Malepine Lord of Massa, (with small credit,) and other places, although hee were in the Florentines protection. In the end the Cardinal of Amboise (performing his promises but badly with the Florentines) receiued (for a summe of money) the Luquois into the Kings protection, agreeing, that his Maiesty should hold *Pietreançe* in guard, until it were decided to whom it did appertaine. The Pisans (being resolved to make a defense war) repaire their fortifications: men, women and children worke with great affection: and to coole the heat of the French comming to their siege, they made knowne the affection they bare to the Crowne of France, by an autentick instrument sent to the Lords of Beaumont and Rausstein Gouvernors for the King at Genoua, who receiued them in the Kings name: and *Beaumont* (summoning the Towne of Pisa) had for answer, That they desired nothing more then to liue vnder the obedience of his Maiesty, and therefore they yielded vnto the King, upon promise not to deliuer them into the Florentines power. Doubtlesse he was ill practised in politicke and military affaires, to seeke that by force, which hee might haue without toyle or shame.

And was it not a hard thing, to ruine a people which made such shew of tender loue and voluntary obedience to this Crowne: *Beaumont* camps before Pisa the 29 of Iune: battens it all night, and some part of the day following, beats downe about threefoore sadome of the wall: and mounts to the assault both with foot and horse. But hee discovered not a deepe and large trench, which the Pisans had made betwixt the wall and the rampier within, so as the breadth and depth amazing our men, they remained vpon the breach, rather as spectators of the worke, then hauing any desire to enter. Strangers speake truly, that we are but a brunt, and that being withstood at the first, wee are easily broken. The quality of the rampiers, the oblinacy of the Citizens, their ancient inclination to the French, ingenders such a familiarity, betwixt the besiegers and besieged, as conferring familiarly together, going into the towne of Pisa, and comming our safely as from a friend towne, the souldiers now fall to accusing their Commander of rashnesse, and support the Pisans against their Captaines, so as in stead of assailing them, they themselves encouraged them to defend and suffer *Tarlatius* (borne at Castello) to enter the towne with some old souldiers, to receiue the command for matters of warre, as hee did euer after, with much honor. This sufferance both of horse and foot, breeds other disorders. They desiring to haue the siege raised, spoiled the victuals that came to the camp: and *Beaumonts* authority being vnable to stay this insolvency, the Gascons first leaue the army, in tumultuous manner, and giue example to all the rest of the foot. The Swisses likewise found a retreat, and the horse retorne into Lombardy, leaving the Florentines affaires in great confusion and disorder.

The Pisans embrace the opportunity, and with one breath take *Libresacta*, freeing themselves towards Luques. And the King complaining, that the Florentines had preferred *Beaumont* before the Lord of Alegre, would haue sent backe his men at armes, to winter about Pisa: that roading vp and downe the Country, they should keepe it, as it were blockt vp; giuing them hope, and promise of a new siege in the Spring. But the Florentines refusing this offer, despairing of any better successe by the French forces, exposed themselves to the common injuries of their ill willers the Genouois, Siennois, Luquois, and all others, who desired their ruine. On the other side, the King considering that the Popes vnion with the Emperor would bee wonderfull prejudiciall vnto his designe for the reuenge of the reuolt at Naples, although hee had some reason of discontent against *Alexander*, who had nothing assisted him during the warres of Milan: yet his Maiesty shewed himselfe alwayes most tractable to second the Popes continuall designs, in fauor of the Duke of Valentinois, sending vnto him, (vnder the command of the Lord of Alegre) three hundred Lances, and two thousand foot, accompanied with threats, To be reuenged of those that should oppose themselves against the Popes designs, as an injury done to his owne person. And the Pope likewise promised him both

The portenances of Italy reconciled to the King.

Pisa besieged.

The French army famous the Pisans.

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The exploits  
of Caesar Borgia

his sonnes person, and his men, whensoever hee should recouer Naples. So *Borgia* (ioyning fixe hundred men at armes, and fixe thousand foot, to the French troopes,) enters *Romagna*, takes *Pefera*, *Rimini*, *Brisquille*, and runnes without any resistance throughout all the valley, vntill that *Faenza* layed for a time the violence of this stream. Hee camps before the Towne in Nouember, batters it, makes a reasonable breach, and the fifth day of the siege gaues a fierce assault, so valiantly defended, as the death of *Flouore Samelli*, and a great number of his men, slaine at the first charge, forced him to found a retreat, and the snow, falling with an exceeding cold, to raise the siege. The former threats had terrified the Potentates of Italy: and the Kings request vnto them in private, made them abandon *Romagna*. The Venetians renounced the protection of *Peter After*, Lord of *Faenza*. *John Bentiuole*, his vncl, contains himselfe fearing to incense the King, and the Popes forces; and the Duke of Valentinois, could not endure, that an vnwarlike people, (hauing no other head but a yong man of eightene yeares of age) should obscure the fame of his first exploits: hee returns in the beginning of the new yeare, laden with ladders, and seeks to surpris it, but in vaine. Policy not succeeding, hee returns to force, and by the taking of *Ruffy*, and other places of the Country, hee makes the enterprise easie. A new breach is made, and new assaults giuen: the first without effect, the second gaue hope of victory: but the violence of the Cannon which battered in flanke, the incounting of a deepe and large trench; the death of *Ferdinand Farnese*, with many other men of worth, and the number of the wounded, makes them to leave the assault. But at length hee carries it. The losse the *Faentines* had receiued in this assault, and the despaire of succours, cooled this first heat, and feare making them apprehend hard conditions, if force reduced them into the victors power, they treated to yield, their liues and goods saued, vpon condition that *After* their Lord, should with his liberty choos what retreat he pleased, enjoying the reuenues of his patrimony. But poore *After* (oh *Borgia* whoioeuer shall read the detestable life and horrible death of thy father, will alwayes iudge thee a right and worthy sonne of such a father!) being yong and very beautiful, was with goodly shewes & honorable demonstrations of loue retained in the Valentinois Court, and soone after conducted to Rome, where some one (saith the original, naming no man, but noting the villaine with his finger) hauing taken his pleasure of him, and glutted his lust, caused him to be secretly murdered with his bastard brother: and the Pope with the approbation of the Colledge, giues to his sonne *Borgia*, the investiture and title of Duke of *Romagna*. This Estate seemed to him imperfect, without the adiunction of the territory of *Bolonia*. But the Kings expresse commandement, not to attempt any thing against the estate of *John Bentiuole* (whom he had taken into his protection) caused the Valentinois to content himselfe for that time, with a transaction from *Bentiuole*, to haue passage and victuals through his Country, a tribute of nine thousand Ducats yearly; a certaine number of horse and foot, and Castle *bologne*, (a place vnder the iurisdiction of *Bolonia*) and so he transported his forces into *Tuscane*. Marke here a notable example of a childe to his father. One of the sonnes of *Gilbert Earle of Montpenfer* going to *Pozzuolo*, to visit the sepulcher of his father, suffered himselfe to be so much ouer-ruled with passion, as after hee had bathed all parts of the monument with his lamentable teares, hee fainted, and fell downe dead vpon the Sepulcher, who had as little sense of those his latest sorrowes, as he had feeling of so great an error, to giue such liberty to the rage of nature.

Faenza yeeld-  
ed.The pitifull  
death of the  
Lord of Faen-  
za murdered  
by Borgia.Affection of a  
sonne to his  
father.The Floren-  
tines in great  
perplexity.

The Florentines are mightily perplexed, they had greatly moued the King by their bad order in the recovery of *Pisa*, as we haue heard before, but there springs vp new motives of discontent. The exceeding charge they had beene at, and were still forced to beare for the warres of *Pisa*: the ialousie of the Popes forces and of his *Borgia*, made them slacke in paying the King the money, which the Duke of Milan had lent them: and the debt which he pretended to be due vnto him by reason of the pay, made by his Maiestie to the Suiffes which he had sent against *Pisa*, whom he had maintained with his owne money, vpon refusal which the Florentines had made them, vnder color that they would retire into their Country before their time prefixed: and the King (who sought to empty their coffers, to the end he might gouerne them more absolutely) demanded it very earnestly. Moreover, they grew more weak by their owne ciuill discords, which troubled them in the popular government, wherein many of the citizens being suspected, or

Ather as friends to the *Medicis*, or desiring an other kind of government, matters were managed with more confusion then counsel: and to increase their crosses, the King did press them for the aids and summes of money promised for the voyage of *Naples*: pretending, That he had performed the conuentions they had made together, whereunto they were bound, seeing that by their owne fault they had hindered the recovery: therefore he was no more bound to protect them. And in truth *Julian de Medicis*, beseeching him in person, and at the Popes perswasion, to restore him and his brethren into their estates, vpon promises of a great summe of money, he most willingly opened both eares and heart to these offers.

All these considerations drew the Valentinois into *Tuscane*, with seven hundred men at armes, & fixe thousand choise foot which *Bentiuole* gaue him, (the French companies lodging apart, to attend the Kings army which began to march): But hee knew that the King would not be pleased with this entrie in hostile manner into the Florentines Country, and that otherwise his Army was both weak of men and munition, to force any Towne.

The Florentines also knowing themselves naked both of horse and foot, others then of the Country, oppressed with ialousie, feare, and diuisions, hee makes this accord with them: That there should be a confederacy betwixt the Common-weale of *Florence*, and the Duke of Valentinois, with a prohibition not to ayde the Rebels on either side: and that the Florentines should entertaine him for three yeares at their charge, with three hundred men at armes, and fixe and thirty thousand Ducats yearly, which men at armes he should send to them whensoever they had need, either for themselves, or any other, and should not oppose themselves against him for the defence of the Lord of *Plombin*, who was in their protection. But this composition was onely to disarm the Valentinois, and to send him packing. And hee well informed of the policy, staying in the country, spoiled it in reuenge, both by fire and spoile, most like to an open enemy, tyring them with demands, which partly they refused, partly deferred, hoping that the Kings authority should free them from these bonds, which necessity of the time, and *Borgias* force had extorted from them. The King indeed, held the word, but stayed his arme: he was pleased the Valentinois should terrifie them, but not

tyrannize ouer them. For although he would willingly haue seene some other forme of government at *Florence*, yet an alteration then, would haue beene very preiudicial vnto him: the King being loath to see the Valentinois advanced to any other authority, or by any other forces then his Maiesties. So, by the commandement of *Lewis* he leaues *Florence*, and enters the territory of *Plombin*, taking *Surgeret*, *Scarline*, and the Islands of *Elbe* and *Pianosa*, were leauing a sufficient garison, as well to guard the places, as to molest them of *Plombin*, he returned towards *Rome* to ioyne with the army that was marching to the conquest of *Naples*.

Nothing crossed the course thereof, but the alarms which the Emperour had formerly caused. But when one treats with a Prince that is flexible for money, the accord is soone made. The gold of France must now stay the iron of Germany. *Philip* the Archduke might doe much, he was a Prince inclined to peace (and it may be he died too soone for the good of France, leauing an heire, whose birth and all the course of his life had beene most fatal to the Crowne) and the trafficke of his subjects made them loath to heare speake of war with the French. But that which did most import, the King offered to giue *Claude* his onely daughter in marriage to *Charles*, sonne to the said Archduke, and for a dowry, when they should be both of age to consummate the marriage (for neither the one nor the other was yet three yeares old) to giue the Duchy of *Milan*. So by the means of *Philip*, & for money, *Lewis* obtained a prolongation of the truce, in the which the King of *Naples* was not comprehended, who notwithstanding, by the means of forty thousand ducats, and a bond of fiftene thousand more monthly, purchased a promise from *Maximilian*: Not to make any accord, but to comprehend him in it, and to make war in the Duchy of *Milan*, when as neede should require: and when the Kings forces. There yet remained one scruple, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* and *Castile* by *Isabel* his wife, might stir vp the Venetians, and happily the Pope (both prompt enough to oppose ioyntly against the greatness of this Crowne.) He was concurred with our *Lewis*, in the right of the succession of *Naples*: for although *Alphonso* King of *Arragon* had disposed thereof to *Ferdinand* his bastard, as his owne proper good: gotten without the rights of the crowne

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The Floren-  
tines freed by  
a faigned trans-  
action with  
*Borgia*.The wars of  
*Naples* reduced.*Lewis* confirms  
a truce with  
the Emperour.

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crowne of Arragon: yet *Iohn* his brother (successor to the Realme of Arragon) and since *Ferdinand*, sonne to *Iohn*, had alwaies protested of their lawfull pretensions to the chiefe of Naples, as a good, purchased by *Alphonso*, with the forces and treasures of Arragon.

And thus *Ferdinand* King of Arragon temporized like a Spaniard, watching his opportunity to attempt some great matter for his owne benefit, he did not onely make demonstration of all the duties of a good kinsman to *Ferdinand* King of Naples, and his other successors, but the better to lull him asleepe, he allied himselfe to the Neapolitan King, giving him his sister *Lane* in marriage, and consenting that *Lane* her daughter should marrie with young *Ferdinand*.

The realme of Naples divided betwixt the Kings of France and Arragon.

This concurrence of two Kings in like desire, caused the one to free himselfe from les and crosses, and the other to get a part of that which he could not compasse wholly, and so then to share betwixt them, the conquests of the said realme, vpon condition: That, the King of France should haue the City of Naples, with all belonging to the land of *Labour*, and the Province of *Abruzzo*: *Ferdinand* should for his part haue all the land and territories belonging to *Apulia*, and likewise to *Calabria*; agreeing that euery one should conquer his owne part, without any bond to aide one another, but onely not to hurt one another, and that they should doe homage vnto the Pope, *Lewis* with the title more of King of Sicile, but King of Ierusalem and Naples, imitating the example of *Fredericke* the second, Emperour of Rome, and King of Naples, by his wife the daughter of *Iohn* King of Ierusalem (in name but without effect) and of Naples; and *Ferdinand* in quality of Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. The capitulation was no sooner concluded, but the King prepared his army vnder the command of *Lewis* of Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, sonne to *Lane* beheaded at Paris vnder *Lewis* the eleventh, and de Lord *Aubigny*, an ancient, wife, and well experienced Captaine.

In the which were *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Saint Pol, brother to *Charles* Earle of Vendosme, sonnes to *Francis* of Vendosme, who died at Verceil, *Lewis* of Bourbon, Prince of la Roche-sur-Yon, great Grand-father to the Duke of Montpensier last deceased, *Charles* of Bourbon, afterwards Duke of Bourbon, and Constable of France, *Louis* of Bourbon Earle of Montpensier his brother, *Gaston* of Foix, Vicount of Narbonne, the Kings Nephew, sonne to *Iohn* Vicount of Narbonne, but by reason of their young yeares, obeying the aboue named Commanders. The troops were a thousand *Lances*, foure men to a *Lance*, six thousand French foot, foure thousand *Suisses*, and the of *Valentinois* with his forces. The army at Sea, commanded by the Earle of *Rasazza*, Gouvernour of Genoua, consisted of three Caragues of Genoua and sixteen ships, with many other small Vessells, with many footmen, so as they esteemed their footmen more twenty thousand: who by the Popes fauour and *Borgias* his sons, passed through all Italy without any resistance.

*Fredericke* himselfe.

*Fredericke* King of Naples, had not yet discovered the secret convention of the two Kings, who proceeding plainly, did solicit *Gonsalve* (who lay at anchor in Sicile, under colour to succour him) to come to Caiete: and very simply put some places in *Calabria* into his hands, as he demanded: but this was but to make the conquest of *Ferdinand* portion the more easie. So hoping (that *Gonsalve*, hauing ioyned with his army) he should haue sufficient forces to withstand the French; he went and camped at Saint Germaine with seven hundred men at armes, six hundred light horse, and six thousand foot, with the troops which the Colonis brought vnto him, hauing likewise sent his eldest sonne *Ferdinand* to Tarentum, to commit the Prince of Bisignan, and the Earle of Melere to prison, accused to haue intelligence with the Earle of Caiazzo, who was in the French army: the which being come neare vnto Rome, the Ambassadors of France and Spaine giue notice vnto the Pope of this diuision made betwixt their Masters, with an intent Afterwards (say they) to make warre against the enemies of Christian religion: and according to the tenour of this agreement, they demand a league, the which was presently granted. Doubtlesse the more we seek to shadow and colour an iniustice with goodly shewes, the greater it appears.

Behold the designs of two Kings, discovered and laid open to all the world, and both jointly blamed. Ours, for that he had rather draw a corruall into Italy, to whom his enemies and ill-willers might flee, then to leane the full possession vnto *Fredericke*, offering (as wee haue

A haue said) to hold the Realme of him, and to pay him a yearly tribute. The other, for that, desire to haue a part of the Realme, had made him to conspire against a King of his owne blood, whom (the more easly to ruine) he had alwaies entertained with lying promises of fauours, blamishing the glory of that noble title of Catholike King, which hee and his wife *Isabel* had lately obtained. This league amazed *Fredericke*, but more the generall mutinie, whereby Saint Germaine and the neighbour places had rebelled at the brate of the French forces, euen before that *Aubigny* departed from Rome: so as in stead of keeping the field, as he had pretended, he shuts himselfe vp, meaning to defend his townes: Capoua was the first place of defence that hee made choice of, and did fortifie it with three hundred men at armes, some light horse and three thousand foot, vnder the command of *Fabrizio Colonne*, and *Rainucio* of Marziane: and leaving *Prosper Colonne* for the guard of Naples, helogged in Auerfe. *Fabrizio* had caused the messengers of some Neapolitan Barons of the French faction to be murdered at Rome, being sent to treat with him touching an accord for their masters: and see now, these murderers are reuenged, if not vpon the person, at the least vpon the authors goods: *Aubigny* in passing, burnes Marise, *Cami*, and certaine other places belonging to their house: then drawing towards Montfortin, hee findes that *Iulius Colonne* had shamefully abandoned it, leauing by the same means, all the other Townes about Capoua, euen vnto Vulturno, at the Victors discretion.

Rebellion in the state of Naples.

C *Fredericke* aduertised that *Aubigny* had passed Vulturno, leauing Auerfe, hee retired into Naples. Auerfe, Nalo, and other places, yielding vnto the French, prepared thea the way to Capoua, the which inuested on either side the riuer, and battered furiously on all parts, endures a hot assault, and repells them with great losse, the Cannon shakes the strongest walles, and the rough assaults amaze the most resolute; they renew the battery, and all prepares to a second assault. The people mutined, the Captaines and souldiers fainted, and *Fabrizio Colonne* parted from a baskin with the Earle of Caiazzo, when as our men, grieved with the first affront, force the breach, overthrow the defences, enter it, kill all they meet in the fury, ran some such as they finde after their fury past, and sacke the townes. A happy victory, if the horrible infoleny and licentiousnesse of the Victors had not defamed it. Many women, maidens, and Nuns, to auoid this first fury, were retired into a tower. *Borgia* would see them, and chose out forty of the fairest, the rest serued as a prey for the souldiers lust, who after sold a part of them at Rome. *Fabrizio* seeing the towne taken, fled away speedily, but some galloping after, brought him backed prisoner to the Campe. *Don Hugues* of Cardonne, and all the other Captaines and men of quality saued their liues by ranfome. *Rainucio* of Marziane being hurt at the assault, died in the Duke of Valentinois mens hands.

The lamentable taking of Capoua.

Capoua being lost, it made them lose all hope euer to defend any place: Caiete yeelds presently, Auerfe opens her gates. Naples compounds suddenly for threecore thousand crownes, payable to the Victors. And *Fredericke* being shut vp into Castle-Neuo, compounds with *Aubigny*; "To deliuer into his hands within six daies all the townes and forts which were of the Kings portion, onely reseruing the life of *Licia* for six moneths, during the which it should be lawfull for him to goe whither he pleased, but not into the realme of Naples: To draw what he would out of the Castles of Naples, except the artillery of King *Charles* which remained there: That all offences should be pardoned which had beene committed since the first conquest of the Realme by *Charles*: & that the Cardinals, Colonne, and of Arragon, should enioy the spiritual liuings they possessed within the Realme.

Thus *Fredericke* detesting the treachery of the Arragonois, and desiring rather to flee vnto the Kings protection, he came into France to accept what his Maiesty should giue him: which was the Duchy of Aniou, with thirty thousand crownes of yearly pension. An ill aduised resolution, for keeping himselfe in some place of safety, happily he might (during the partialities which shall soeue grow betwixt *Lewis* and *Ferdinand*) haue found means to recouer his realme, yet was hee happy in his misery, changing a crowne of thornes, a state full of troubles, to a quiet life, and yet honourable: for euen after the French were expelled Naples; hee was still maintained in the same honour, and in the same estate, by the Kings great loue and bounty.

*Gonsalve* at the same time conquered the portion for his Master, and although all the Country

*Gonsalve* exploits.

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The capitulation of *Fredericke*, who of King of Naples is made Duke of Aniou.



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Country did more affect the French command, yet having no man to receive them in his name, nor to defend them, all the townes did willingly submit themselves unto him, except Manfredonia and Tarentum, the which after some shew of resistance, did in the end undergoe the Castilian yoke. *Ferdinand*, eldest Sonne to *Fredericke*, was at Tarentum, with secret commandement from his father not to come into France, though he should be forced to strike saile. But seeing that both were wholly spoiled of their choice, and that our *Lewis* did nourish the Father, the Castilian might well entertaine the Son. *Gonsalve* sends him vnto him, against his solemne oath taken at the receiving of the command, *To leave him at his liberty*: but some nation preferres the interest of state, before the feare of God and the respect of his owne reputation.

The conquest of Naples had made the *Valentino* returne to his enterprize of *Plombin*, and *James Appia* Lord of the Towne, having manned it with a sufficient Garde, came vnto the King, who long before had taken him into his protection. But whilest he did sollicite in Court for the preferuation of his estate (though without any hope of success), by reason of the Kings promises made vnto the Pope, *Not to hinder him in his signet*. *Pandolfo Petruccio* deliuered vp the towne to the *Valentino*, who by the vicinity of the Apostolike Sea, and the support he had from the King, made it well knowne in Italy that his excessive courtesie had no restraint nor bounds. In the meane time the King treats a peace with the Emperour very effectually. Many reasons moued him thereunto: the desire to obtaine the possession of Milan: to offend the Venetians, who (the prosperity of this realme being very offensive vnto them) did vnder-hand hinder the conclusion of this peace, and to recouer Cremona, with *Gnaredade*, at the great instance of the Milanois, with *Brescia*, *Bergamo* and *Crema*, the ancient appurtenances of the Duchy of Milan, and vsurped by the Venetians, in the time of *Philip Maria Visconti*.

For this treaty the Cardinall of Amboise, Lieutenant Generall for his Maiesty at Milan, went to the Emperour to Trent, where first they treated of the marriage of *Charles* the eldest sonne to the Archduke *Philip*, with *Claude*, the onely daughter of *Lewis*, the Emperour granting to either of them, the inuestiture of Milan, but not to the Kings heire males, in case he had any: to recouer whatsoever either of them pretended to haue been vsurped by the Venetians: to call a generall Councell to reforme the Church, not only (say they) in the members, but euén in the head. Doubtlesse there is small assurance the loue of Princes, who gaze after nothing but their owne greatnesse. Moreover, we euer see any thing succeed well with them who haue coloured their passions with the name of the Church, and the reformation thereof? This is directly, *To take the name of God in vaine*. And likewise all the malicious practises and schoole-trickes of a Cardinall (whose ambitious spirit gaped after a Popedom) what could they bring forth but strife for France, and combustion for Italy? Truly the reading of Histories doth teach vs, *That the politike government of Priests is unfortunate and fassall*.

This treaty, hauing onely in shew made way for a peace, was ended with a promulgation of a truce, giuing hope, that these things treated on should soone take effect. This opinion was confirmed by the coming of the Archduke *Philip*, with his wife (daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, and *Isabell* Queene of Castile) who as appointed to the succession, meaning to goe and receive the oath of fidelity of their subiects, they passed through Paris the five and twentieth day of Nouember, and from thence to Blois, where the King and Queene remained: and there they concluded the marriage of their children: but man purpoeth, and God disposeth.

For with the new yeere, the Emperour brought forth new designs, refusing Italy the inuestiture of the Duchy of Milan to the King, and treating with the potentates of Italy touching his passage to Rome, to receive the Imperial crowne, he found the *Florentines* tractable to the articles which he propounded, considering the hard conditions the King demanded, seeming to be wholly estranged from them, saying that he was acquit of the articles accorded at Milan, and they remained still bound. Thus *Hermes Sforze Ambassadors* for *Maximilian* at Florence, had obtained a promise of the common-weale, to take him in his voyage with a hundred men at armes, and thirty thousand ducats, when as he should be entred into Italy. But the King, fearing lest the *Florentines* despairing of his loue, should make some accord with *Maximilian*, in the end he made a new agreement with them, vpon milde conditions: *That the King (rectifying them againe into his protection)*

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As he should defend them against all men, with his owne force and charge for three yeeres following, during the which they should pay unto his Maiesty forty thousand ducats yearly, and it should be lawfull for the *Florentines* to be practised by force against the *Pisians*, or against any other that withheld their place. The *Pisians* are againe abandoned to the *Spains*, and the *Florentines* are resolved to vanquish by a generall waite (the ore-runner of famine) that place which they had inuainely tried to subdue by the sword. This passed in Tuscane, when as no man perceived what followed these garboles.

But two Nations of such contrary humors, could they liue to neare neighbours, but great feedes of dislike should bring forth fruits of diuision? There suddenly growes great controuersies betwixt our French and the Castilians for these confessions, and why doe we not vte a graue deliberation in our counsells, to make them to stoppe at nothing may infringe them? *Alphonso* of Arragon King of Naples, the first of that name, had (to make collection of his reuennues the more easie) diuided the realme of Naples into six principall Prouinces, the land of Labour, the Principality, *Bazilicate*, *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Abruzzo*: whereof *Apulia* was sub-diuided into three parts; the land of *Otrante*, *Rari*, and the *Capitanate* loyning to *Abruzzo*, and separated from the rest of *Apulia* by the river of *Lofante* (otherwise called *Laufade*). Seeing then that in the diuision, *Abruzzo* was fallen to the French, had they not reason to dispute the possession, the said *Capitanate* being rather a portion of *Abruzzo*, then of *Apulia*? and the matter of greatest importance was, that not inioyning the *Capitanate*, they lost the reuennue growing of the countie of *Catell*, being one of the clearest of the realme.

Moreover, the *Capitanate* is a corne Country, and might easily in a time of dearth furnish the land of Labour and *Abruzzo*, whensoever the *Spaniards* should forbid the traffike of graine from *Apulia* and *Sicilia*. Hereupon either part drew what he could out of the remuances of this custome, feeding still their contentions with new mooues. The *Spaniards* maintained, that the Principality and *Bazilicate* were comprehended in *Calabria*, which is diuided into two; the hither, and the farther; one high, and the other low, and that the valley of *Beneuent*, possessed by the French was a portion of *Apulia*. And therefore *Gonsalve* chailed the French Magistrates out of *Tripaldi*, and sent others to administer iustice vnder the command and authority of *Ferdinand*. All things tended to open diuision. But let vs not flatter our selues. Was it not reason, that they which had deposed others, should afterwards consume themselves? The chiefe Barons of the Countie, desiring to quench these first fire-brands of discord, did mediate an enterview betwixt the Viceroy *Neumors*, and *Gonsalve*, who agreed to enjoy those places in common, that were in controuersie, and in the meane time set vp the banners of the two Kings, expecting what what they should determine.

The Viceroy was hot and vehement, and could not endure a brauadoe, *Gonsalve* (of whom the *Spanish* and Italian Authors make no lesse account, then of a *Furius Camillus*, a *P. Scipio*, or a *C. Caesar*) had doubtlesse goodly parts of a Captaine. Braue in armes, vigilant, industrious, patient in travell, stately, prodigall, liberrall, not voluptuous, and man of a strong and vigorous complexion. He sometimes by liberality, sometimes by intirance, gaue liberty to his souldiers; then againe would restraîne their insolency impatiently, within the bounds of duty; he loued and honoured men of Valour, and very ingeniously did fit himselfe to occurrents, iudging of things to come with a good natural discourse, by the comparison of the present, and what was passed, neuer grounding his designs vpon any vncertainty. But all these goodly vertues were blemished with a perpetual dissimulation and treachery, no feare of God, no loyalty, where hee felt any point, being accustomed to say, *That a braue souldier must grosly weane the web of his honour*.

As *Gonsalve* then (following the instructions and letters of *Ferdinand*, who already in imagination had deuoured the whole realme of Naples) had fowed the seeds of warre on *Alides*, the Viceroy protests by a publicke declaration, that he will make war against *Gonsalve*, if he speedily depart not out of the *Capitanate*. And seeing the King of *Spain* required not to leaue the possession, he enters *Tripaldi* by force, the nineteenth of Iune, and consequently the other townes which *Gonsalve* held in that Countie. They are now embarked in war, and the King is at Lions, to provide necessary things, more commodiously to crosse the vniuert practices of his aduersary. Vpon this designe he sends two thousand

The King makes a new accord with the *Florentines*

The beginning of diuision betwixt the French and *Ferdinand*

The vertues of *Gonsalve*

His vices

*Plombin* deliuered to the D. of *Valentino*

A treaty betwixt the Emperour and *Lewis*

*Philip* of *Austria* passeth through France

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land Suiffes by sea to supply his men, and entertains the Princes of Salerno and Brindisi, with an intent to passe into Italy if need required.

New broyles in Italy:

Then the tumults which *Piselloze* (impairer of the death of his brother *Paul*) beheaded at Florence, as we have said, did raise in Tuscane, drew him thither. They were gon by the revolt of Arezzo against the Florentines, at the persuasion of the said *Piselloze*, of the *Prins*, *John Paul Bailion*, and *Andreas Petruccio*, and others which desired the returne of *Peter of Medici* into the state of Florence. The Florentines protesting themselves with their new league with the King, flie to him, accuse the Pope and the Duke Valentinois, to be the Authors of these stirs: found forth the imminent danger of the Duchy of Milan, if the aboue named (vnited and conuited to ruine their estate) should inuade their power.

Johns succours the Florentines

The King had beene long tired with the insolvency and ambition of the Pope and his sonne. Hee did foresee that the intrigues of accord being broken with *Maximilian*, the Venetians would loose crosse him, and that hauing open war with the Spaniards, the vading of Tuscane, done by the secret practices of others, would proue very preiudiciall vnto him. And therefore he sent four hundred Lances to succour the Florentines in commandement to *Vittelloze* and his adherents. Not to molest those any more which had receiued into his protection, the which hee declared to all those that should incurre his indignation. In the meane time the Duke of Valentinois vpon the coming of Arezzo, went out of Rome with his army, and vnder a false pretext to take *Castell* (hauing before to weaken *Guilddobald* Duke of Vrbin, drawne men and artillery from his leapes into that Duchy, and takes all his estate without any opposition, except the Duke of Saine Leon, and *Mauiolo*, to the great discontent and amazement of *Piselloze*, the *Prins*, and *Petruccio*, who by anothers ruine began plainly to discouer their own. This conquest had made the Valentinois to assaile the Florentines, if the commandment made him from the King, or rather the committing of his Maiesty had not diuerted him. Camerina was the object of his armes. He tooke it, and with a barbarous inhumanity caused *Salus* of Varane Lord of the said place, to be strangled with his two sonnes. The King arises at All, and *Lewis* of Tremouille comes into Tuscane with two hundred Lances, three thousand Suiffes, and great store of artillery, for the recovery of Arezzo in uenue of the Florentines.

The Duke of Valentinois his enuie.

The Pope with his *Borgia*, foreseeing that the King (being incensed against them, as the chiefe motives of this war) would spoile *Borgia* of Romagna, & other places which he possessed, and that they were too weak to withstand this storme, they returne to their accustomed practices, imputing the rebellion of Arezzo to *Vittelloze*, and his adherents, whom they could not (say they) neither by prayers nor authority diuert from this enterprise. And to pacifie the King the Valentinois sent word to *Vittelloze*, that if hee did giue vp Arezzo and other places belonging to the Florentines, hee would call him to by force. *Vittelloze* was ready to beare the whole burthen, but by what meanes considering the weaknes of his forces, and that the strongest were ready reconcile themselves, and to leave him in the miew: he therefore makes no delay but conuies Arezzo and the other Florentine towncs, which the violence of his forces had put into his power, to Saint Souin, Chastillon a Arezzo, Cortone, and the rest of Valdichiane: all which were presently by the Kings commandment restored to the Florentines. The affaires of this world require euery man to shroud himselfe vnder the strongest. The King hath no sooner set foot into Italy, but all the Princes and Common-weales (according to their accustomed manner) flie vnto him, some to get pardon, some to maintaine their estates, and all in generally to draw his Maiesties forces against the Pope and his sonne. But doth it not commonly fall out, that what many desire succeeds but seldom? Their private importunities and respects, are most commonly contrary to their outward shewes and desires. So the King, not so much moued by the Popes exact diligence (who by all meanes and measures sought to pacifie him, and to returne againe into fauour) as by the Cardinal of Amboise's persuasion (who to entertaine the Pope in vnion with the King, presumed to raise himselfe a ladder to mount vnto the Popedomme, and to aduance some one of his house to be Cardinal) he happily followed of two waies the world, fauouring the Pope and his followers. The wise reader may iudge thereof by the euent of the history.

Another alliance betwix the King and Pope.

True it is, the Emperours was a chiefe motive to draw our *Lewis* to this accord. His in-

gers itched, he could not be quiet: and vnder colour of his passage (which hee did so much affect) to receiue his Imperiall Crowne of the Pope, he might happily trouble the state of Italy, to the Kings great preiudice; and indeed he had already sent many horse and foot to Trent, making great offers to the Pope in fauour of this passage. Moreover, the King was not ignorant how vnwillingly the Venetians did see the state of Milan and the realme of Naples in his hands. Adding thereunto, the Imperious threats which foure Cantons of the Suiffes made. That if the King did not yeeld them the rights hee had to *Bellinzane*, and giue them *Volterre*, *Schafonze*, with other outrageous demands, they would compound with *Maximilian*. But to add more crosses, he must dispute the conquest of Naples by the sword. All these considerations made our *Lewis* desirous to entertaine the Popes friendship, whereby *Maximilians* designs were suddenly disappointed. So the King (hauing more liberty to prouide for the estate of Naples) sent a fresh supply by Sea of two thousand Suiffes, and ten thousand French, the which ioyned to the Viceroy, who had already taken all the Capitanate, except Manfredonia and Saint Angelo. They camped before Canole, the which *Peter* of Nauarre yeelded by composition, to depart with bag and baggage. The taking of this place did shut *Genoa* into Barlet, without moneys, with little victuals, and lesse munition. And the French Captaines alledging (against the aduice of the Lord of Aubigni) that the army could not all campe about Barlette for want of water, and many other reasons, they refused, a part of the army should remaine thereabouts, to maintaine a kinde of siege, and the other should seeke to recouer the rest of the realme. After this counsell, the Viceroy seized vpon all Apulia, except Tarentum, Otranto, and Gallipoli: and then he returned to Barlet. The Lord of Aubigni entering Calabria with the other part of the Army, tooke and sackt the Towne of Cosenza, with some other places.

The Suiffes braue the King.

The exploits of the French in the Kingdom of Naples.

But our prosperity lasts not long, wee commonly sleepe in the midst of our course. This happy beginning made our *Lewis* more carelesse then the cause required, the which if he had continued, he might easily haue expelled the enemy (before hee had beene supplied out of all the State of Naples: but hee took his way for France, after hee had treated anew with the Pope, and receiued the Valentinois into fauour againe, vpon condition, To aide him in the wars of Naples, when neede should require: and a promise from the King, to giue the Valentinois three hundred Lances, to helpe him to conquer Bologna for the Church, and to suppress the *Vrins*, *Bailion*, and *Vittelloze*, against whom the King was wonderfully incensed for the outrages they had done to the Florentines, and for that they had shewed themselves too slacke in the execution of his Maiesties commandments, especially *Vittelloze*, who had refused to yeeld the Florentines the artillery, which hee had taken from Arezzo.

This reconciliation made the Valentinois fearefull to all Italy. And doubtlesse who soeuer is neighbour to a cruell and inexorable man, hath neede to stand vpon his guard. Moreover, a wicked man hauing so firme & strong supports in the Kings Council (where the Cardinal of Amboise ruled all) how could he but daily presume to commit new iniuries: The Venetians were wonderfull ialous of *Borgias* greatness, increasing daily, hewing the King by their Ambassadour, how much it did derogate from the honour of the house of France, and the glorious surname of most Christian King, to fauour a Tyrant, borne for the ruine of people, and the desolation of Prouinces; disloyall, cruell, thirsting for humane blood, by whom so many Gentlemen and Noblemen had bene treacherously slaine: who sometimes by the sword, sometimes by poison, gleited his vpon vpon his allies, his kinsmen, his brethren, and vpon them, whose age euen the barbarous Turkes would haue respected.

But the King did not build so much vpon the Popes friendship, as hee doubted his hatred. Moreover, he thought (being firmly vnited to him) no man should dare to attempt any thing against the authority of his crowne in the estates of Milan and Naples. The Kings answer was, That hee neither would nor ought to hinder the Pope from disposing as his pleasure, of places belonging to the Church. The Venetians therefore forbearing to crosse the prosperity of the Valentinois, for his Maiesties respect: beheld many fine brookes ioyned together, make a brauue. The *Prins*, the Duke of Graining, *Vittelloze*, *John Paul Bailion*, *Lionel* of Ferris, *Hermes* for *John Demetrio* his father, *Anthony* for the Signois, with many other heads, make an offensive, and a defence

A league against the Valentinois.

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due league; by means whereof, and by the surpris of the Castle of Saint Leon, *ex-  
dobald* recovered all his Duchy of Vrbini. They goe to field with seven hundred men  
armes, and nine thousand foot, but they displeas the King, arming themselves with his au-  
thority, hoping (it may be) that he would not bee discontented to haue the Valentinois  
molested by another.

The Valentinois flies to the King, and speedily prouides for conuenient remedies  
he pacifieth the Cardinall *Vrsin*, by the means of *Intini* his brother, and by diuers pol-  
icies did so cunningly practice, first one, then another of the confederates (confused  
and troubled with the succours, which the King gaue commandement to the Lord of *Cham-  
mont* to send to *Borgia*, with expresse charge to countenance his affairs by all means)  
that the first which was taken in the snare, was *Paul Vrsin*, whom he held to be a fit in-  
strument to dispose of his companions, and to draw them innocently into danger. But what  
did these poore Commanders, capitulating with a wicked wretch, whose sweet words  
were snares for their death, and who must shortly serue as an instrument of Gods iudg-  
ment against them. Truly whilst they employ the forces (which they had leauied to supple-  
him) in his fauour, for the taking of some places, and that they suffer themselves to be led  
asleepe with his goodly shewes, and sweet speeches, he prepares for their ruine. After  
they had by his commandement taken the towne and Castle of Sinigalle: he cometh  
ther the next day, with all his companies in order: he causeth them to be taken prisoner,  
strips their troops: and to make the last day of this year famous, he strangles *Pittello*,  
and *Linerot* of Fermo, the first must follow the miserable course of his house, all his  
ther brethren (and according to the order of their ages) being dead of violent death.  
*John* was slaine with a Cannon before Ofime, vnder Pope *Innocent*, *Canillo* with a staffe  
before Circelle, *Paul* was beheaded at Florence, and *Linerot* felt in his person, there-  
for whereby he had in a banker treacherously murdered *John Frangiane* his Vncle, with  
many Citizens of Fermo, to vlturpe the Seigneury thereof.

Now wee shall see a yearefull of memorable and famous accidents, begun with  
the Popes impiety and treachery, but hee was ignorant what should presently befall his  
owne person and state. Being aduertised of his sonnes exploits at Sinigalle, he calleth  
Cardinall of Vrsin to the Vatican: who (trusting in his faith, whom all the world knew  
to be faithlesse) was lately come to Rome. Being arriued, he is taken prisoner, and with  
him *Rainold Vrsin* Archbishop of Florence, the *Protonotaire Vrsin*, and the Abbot of  
Aluiano, brother to *Bartholomew* and *James* of Saint Croix a Roman Gentleman, whom  
some few daies after hee caused to bee deliuered vpon a good caution: but the Cardinall  
ended his daies there by poyson: and the Valentinois hearing that the Cardinall was  
prisoner, hee caused the Duke of Graiue, and *Paul Vrsin* to be strangled. Then he ap-  
proached to Siena, meaning to seize thereon vnder colour to expell *Pandolfo Peruzzi*,  
as an enemy and disturber of the quiet of Tuscane, promising, that when hee had cha-  
sed him, hee would presently returne with all his troops to Rome without endamaging  
their territories.

The Sienois thinking it no reason, that the whole city should incur so great danger to  
maintaine the power of one priuate Citizen, and *Pandolfo* desiring rather to accept that  
with euery mans good liking, which in the end the peoples hatred and the perill of his  
person would force him vnto, parted out of Siena, leauing the same guard and the  
authority with his friends, so as his departure bred no alteration in the govern-  
ment. This enterprize displeased the King, for although he were not sorry to see *Pittello*,  
ze and his adherents punished, yet desired hee not their total ruine, the which with the con-  
quest of so great estates made the Pope and his *Borgia* too mighty. He desired therefore  
from this attempt, not so much to obey the King, as finding the taking of Siena difficult,  
being a great towne and strong: conuerting all his forces to the total destruction of the  
house of *Vrsins*, *John*, *Intini*, *Francis*, *Adrian* and *Organtini*, who having toyed with the  
Saueili were in Ceruete, and had taken the bridge of Lamerane, and fortified all the  
Country.

When hee had restrained their courses, hee invaded the possessions of *John*, *Intini*,  
was then in the Kings protection and pay, bearing armes for his seruice at Naples. The  
King was greatly moued herewith, and to comouele the presumption and insolency of the  
Valentinois, hee commands him to forbear to molest the estate of *Intini*, & to returne his  
excessive

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A excessive couetousnesse, hee procures an vnion betwixt the Florentines, Siennois, and Bo-  
lognois for their common defence, to take from the Pope and his sonne, all means to  
extend themselves any farther into Tuscane. The Spaniard fortifies himselfe in the mean  
time in the realmes of Naples, and our affaires decline. The Earle of Meier, the Princes of  
Salerno and Bisignan, were incamped at Villanoua, and *Don Hughes* of Cardone (passing  
from Messina into Calabria, with a thousand six hundred foot, Spaniards, Calabrians,  
and Sicilians, and an hundred men at armes) marched to succour it, going through a nar-  
row plaine betwixt a mountaine and a little river, ioyning to the way with a caufey,  
desiring rather to enter into Villanoua, then to fight. The Earle encountered them beneath  
the river, and not able to draw them into the plaine, hee passeth the water to cut off their  
way to Villanoua, and to charge them. But very indirectly, for being troubled  
with the caufey, they were easily defeated and the towne relieved. And behold, *Menes* of  
Benauide (having *Anthony de Leua* with him, who of a simple souldier became a brave  
Captaine, and shall win many victories) leading two hundred men at armes, two hundred  
Genetaires, and two thousand foot, takes Losarce at the second assault, where the Lord  
of Ambriecourt was lately entred with thirty Lances, and the Earle of Melete with 1000  
foot. Ambriecourt was taken, but the Lord of Aubigni, approaching with three hundred  
Lances, and five thousand foot, forced the victors to retire to Villanoua, and gaue the  
Earle means to saue himselfe and to keepe the Castle. Aubigni following them in the  
Cayle to the foot of a high mountaine, cut off threecore men at armes and some 1000  
foot, with thirteene hundred prisoners, taking 15 Ensignes. But this was with the death  
of *Griqui*, a braue Captaine, who led the company of the Earle of Caiazzo, being dead  
of sicknesse a little after the taking of Capoua. At the same time *Poria Carrera* brought  
two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, and two thousand foot, who dying  
at Rhegium, left the command of his troops to *Ferdinand Andrada* his Lieutenant.

Few daies after, *Gaspaloe* departing from Barlette, set vpon the Lord of Palisse, who  
lodged in Rubos with a hundred Launces, and three hundred foot, as securely as in an  
affured place, and hauing surprisid him suddenly, battered it furiously & made a breach:  
he forced him to yeeld the place, and to remaine prisoner with his troops, and then he re-  
turned lately to Barlette, notwithstanding the Duke of Nemours Companies lodged for  
their safe in diuers places about Barlette, whilst *Gaspaloe* endured (with an admirable  
patience) both hunger and pestilence within the same City. Moreover, fifty French Lan-  
ces sent to surprize some money which was brought from Tran to Barlette, were defea-  
ted by such as *Gaspaloe* had sent for the conduct thereof. All these petty losses were with-  
out doubt fore-tellings of a change of our good fortune. But what need was there in the  
beginning of this so visible a Catastrophe, to hazard a fruitlesse combate, for falling to  
our disadvantage, it must needs greatly diminish our reputation, and make the whole na-  
tion to be scorned, although the honour and valour of a whole Country consists not in  
the combate a few priuate persons? A trumpet returning from Barlette (where hee had  
breached of the ransom of some prisoners) reports some speeches which hee had heard to  
the preiudice of the French: who offended therewith, they desire the Spaniards and  
Italians. Thirteene French, make offer to fight with thirteene of theirs. The field was  
chose betwixt Barlette, Andrie, and Quarate. It chanced that hauing broken their Lan-  
ces, with no advantage to either party, falling to their other armes, a French man over-  
threw an Italian, and aduancing to kill him, hee himselfe was slaine by an other Italian  
that came to rescue his companion. In the end, after a rough and bloody fight of some  
houres, the Italians (having slaine many of the Frenchmens horses) remained masters  
of the field and bodies, leading their enemies prisoners to Barlette.

Whilst a State stands firme, euery one feares to attempt against it, but vpon the  
first disfauour euery one seeks to pull a plume. Some Cantons of the Suisse, seeing  
themselves troubled with water, and to obtaine by force what they could not get by fauour: which  
was Bellinzona, the which they had surprisid in Lombardy. To this end they come be-  
fore Locarne, camping towards the wall, vpon that great lake which flops the descent  
from the mountaine into the plaine: and the other Cantons seeing the enterprize succeed  
well in fauour of the first assailants, runne to aide their companions, to the number of  
three thousand. There were too many mouths in a straight and barren Country,  
where they must looke faim, for want of Artillery, Victuals, Money, and Horse.

The violent  
death of *Vitel-  
lone* and *Linerot*

The notable  
crucities of the  
Valentinois.

The Cardinall  
poysoned.  
The Duke of Gra-  
uine and *Paul  
Vrsin* strangled.

The King dis-  
contented with  
his sonne.

The French  
defeated.

The Spaniards  
defeated.

The French de-  
feated in com-  
bats.

Troubles by  
the Suisse.

The Lord of Chaumont did wisely foresee all this, who furnishing his Castles vpon the mountains, and keeping his troops in the plaine, kept this great swarme from coming into open places; whilst that hee assembled all the forces of Lombardie, and the allies of Bologna, Ferrara, and Montoua. The Venetians (being required to send the succours which they were bound vnto for the defence of the State of Milan) sent some companies, but so late as they were vnprofitable. Thus the Swisses wanting victuals, the French hauing sunke many Barks which brought them prouision vpon the Lake, and the Swisses themselves beginning to be diuided, for that the whole gaine of their armes redounded to them alone that possessed Bellinzone, they retired in the end, vpon condition to deliuer what they had taken of the Kings, except Musocque, as not belonging to the Duke of Milan, and Bellinzone at a certaine time.

A counterfeite  
peace with the  
Spaniards.

Thus ended this great shew, and Philip Archduke of Austria, returning from his voyage, armed with authority from his Father in law, and Mother in Law, to make a peace with the King, it was concluded at Blois: *That the Realme of Naples should be enioyned according to the first diuision; but Philip should keepe those Provinces, for the which they had taken armes, That from that day Charles his sonne, and Claude the Kings daughter should be called themselves Kings of Naples, and Dukes of Apulia and Calabria: and both the Kingdoms should be gouerned in the name of the two Children, untill the consummation of the marriage: when as the King should giue his part for his daughters dowry.* This peace was of a happy consequence. Armes were laid aside betwixt two mighty Kings. It bred loue betwixt the Emperour and our Lewis; and new designs against the Venetians, whom the King desired to annoy: and it may be the Pope (being hated of all the world) had been forced to vndergoe a Councell, a matter which he feared exceedingly. Doubtlesse there is alwaies an Antipathy betwixt bad Popes and good Councells. But this peace was counterfeited by the Spaniards: yet it seemes not that Philip proceeded therein like a Father, considering his quiet spirit, and the alliance he made with this Crowne. Lewis and this sent presently to proclaime it at Naples, and to command the Capitaines *That attending the King of Spaines ratification, and holding what they did possess, they should abstaine from all acts of hostility.* The Viceroy surceaseth: but Gonfalue had his watch-word, howe durst he disobey Philip? Gonfalue answered, *That until he had received commandment from his King and Queene, he might not lay down his armes.* He grew the prouder for that the King trusting in this peace, had neglected things necessary for wars, and kept backe three thousand foot which should haue beene imbarcked at Genoua, and three hundred Lances leauiued to that end, vnder the Lord of Perfi: contrariwise, Gonfalue was newly reinforced by two thousand Lansquenets, which the Venetians (against the articles of their accord made with the King) had suffered safely to passe by their Gulph. The Viceroy (foreseeing that he must stand vpon his guard) sends for all the French companies which hee had dispersed into diuers parts, and the forces of the country, except those which made war in Calabria vnder Aubigni, but in the assembling thereof, he gaue the first blow to the ruine of the French in the realme of Naples. The Duke of Arri and Lewis of Ars, a French Captaine, were ioyned together to goe vnto the Viceroy, knowing well that Peter of Nauarre was so lodged, as he might endamage them being diuided. Lewis of Ars finding his opportunity, passed without attending his companion, and the Duke advertised that the Nauarrois had taken the way of Matero, to ioine with Gonfalue following the tracke of Lewis of Ars. But it chanced at the same time that Rutilliane, (a towne in the Countrey of Bari) being reuolted, had called backe the Nauarrois, who being vpon this occasion turned from Matero to Rutilliane, encountered the D. of Arri, charged him, and defeated him, John Anthony his Vncle being slaine, and himselfe prisoner.

The Duke of  
Arri defeated  
by the Spaniard

And to increase these mischieties, *Prician* Pringinala knight of Rhodes, was come into the haue of Otranto with foure French Gallies, with promise from the Venetian Magistrate, not to suffer them to be molested by the Spanish Fleet, which haued heard abouts: who entering soone after into the same Port, *Prician* (to the end his loss should not benefit the enemies) freed his Gallies, sinckes his Gallies, and saues himselfe by land with his people: another injury which shall greatly inuense our Lewis against the Venetians. Hereafter all things fall out opposite for our men: but see, their violent rage makes them run headlong to their total ruine: Calabria is the meane. They had commandment from the King to temporize, and onely to keep themselves from surpris-

expecting

A expecting either a confirmation the peace, or some greater succours. But what meanes is there to temper the furious courage of the French, the enemies lying so neare them? *Manuel* of Benauide hauing repaired his army, and fortified it with five thousand men, which *Ferdinand* had sent him, was ioyned vnto *Iohn* of Cardone, and the two armies approached within a leaguer and a halfe. *Aubigni* within Gioie, the Spaniards at Seminara. *Aubigni* was fortified with foure peeces of Cannon vpon the riuier side, whereas Gioie is feared, to hinder the enemies passage: the Spaniards being resolute to passe, they caused their fore-ward (led by *Manuel Benauide*) to march on directly to the riuier to entertaine *Aubigni*, who was planted on the other side, vnder colour of some parle, whilst the barrell and the reere-ward passed a mile and a halfe aboute Gioie. *Aubigni* discouering this cunning stratagem, flies thither in great hast without any artillery, to charge them before they were all passed, but it was too late. All marched in order of battell to withstand our French, running thither without order, and almost out of breath. The charge was furious, and the issue doubtfull, fighting with great obstinacie; and no man seemed desirous to turne his backe. Doubtlesse the full decision of controuersies approached to the confusion of our men; who being the smaller number, and having lost many in this obstinate encounter, they were in the end forced to giue way to the Spanish horse, and every man to seeke for his safety as he could. *Ambricourt* was againe taken prisoner, and some other French Capitaines, with the Duke of Somme, and many Barons of the Realme. *Aubigni* saued himselfe in the fort of Angirole, but being presently inuested and vnsustained of succours and defence, he was forced to yeeld himselfe prisoner. Such is the alteration of this world. This noble and valiant Captaine had but few years before defeated *Ferdinand Gonfalue* in the same place: and now by a strange alteration he is charged, defeated, and a prisoner. Moreover, that the end of a misfortune in Calabria might be the beginning of another in Apulia: *Gonfalue* being forced by famine and pestilence, to abandon Barlette, and to retire to Carignole, a towne betwixt Conose (where the Viceroy remained) and Barlette: the Viceroy (foreseeing that *Gonfalue*, pushed vpon this first successe, would attempt some higher enterprizes) he calls vnto the Lords of Ars, Alegre, Palisse, Chondiou, *Traian* Carraciolo, and other Commanders. And as he propounded vnto them on the one side the enemies forces, growne glorious by many notable victories, and now presenting themselves to make triall of a new battell, on the other side, their owne weak troops diminished and daunted by reason of the former disgraces, asking their aduice, whether they should accept or fly the hazard of a battell: many were of opinion to referre it vntill the next day, seeing there remained scarce an houre: when *Alegre* (in a manner alone among many) blamed the feare and cowardise of such as sought delays. Then the Viceroy said: *For my part I am ready to fight, but I feare this braue Councillor will repose more trust in his courfers legs, then in the valour of his arme, when it shall be needfull to fight:* foretelling the issue of the fight, and the flight of *Alegre*. He therefore puts his men in battell, and leads the fore-ward with Captaine *Ars*, the battell he giues to *Chandiou*, and the reerward to *Alegre*.

The French  
defeated.

*Aubigni* taken  
prisoner.

It is a trifolous ceremony to call a councell, and contemne good aduice, preferring opinions that doe but resemble the truth. And what reason had our men, so far from succours, hauing so many enemies in front, to hazard all vpon a shew of valour? Seeing the discommodity of the way, being barren of water, and the exceeding heat, beyond the ordinary of the moneth of May, required rest. But man cannot auoide his fortune, when it approacheth he runs after it. The Duke of Nemours takes the way to Cirignole, sending some troops before to seize vpon the place: but the Spaniards being armed first, lodged in certaine Viney ards, & entrenched their lodging with a large ditch. The French arming (not able to iudge whether those they did see before them, were all, or a part of the Spanish army), for that the light horse led by *Fabrizio Colonne*, the Launces of the men at armes, and the fennell stakes which were very high in the Countrey, tooke from them all knowledge: did assaile the enemy with great fury. But the smoke and dust which the Spanish Cannon raised in the ayre, blinded our men, who could not cometo handy blows by reason of the enemies trench. The Viceroy seeking to force them by another way, is slaine with a Harquebuse, extinguishing in him the name and familie of the Earles of Armagnac, and daunting the courage of the whole army, the which by the death of their Commander presently fled, being fauoured by the approaching night

A generally  
outthrow of  
the French.  
The Duke of  
Nemours  
slaine.

Vv

whose

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whose darkenes couered their retreat) preferring some from death, & others from prison. A *Chandieu* (otherwise called *Chandener*, a Gentleman of Poictou, neere vnto Niort) was likewise slaine fighting at the same ditch: & *Ar* seeing the most part of his men slain, and that *d'Aligre* had fulfilled the Viceroyes prediction, cursing the wilfulness of the man, who by his contumacy, at an vnreasonable time, had made a shamefull breach in the honour of the French nation, and diuerted the Viceroy from the true meanes to make war: in the end he saues himselfe in Venouse. *Aligre* running vp and downe, gathers vp the peeces of this shipwrack, with the Prince of Salerne, and many Barons of the country, whilst that *Gonsalue*, following his good fortune, tooke his way to Naples: at whose approach the French shut themselves vp into the new Castle: and the Neapolitanes the fourteenth of May, received *Gonsalue*, vpon condition to maintaine them in their rights, and priuileges. Auerte and Capoua were as light in their change.

But what vrgent necessity thrust our men to this hazard? They had strong places enough to maintaine themselves foure or fise moneths, during the which either some notable succours, or the approaching winter, might breede some alteration. Out of doubt the impatency of the French (who cannot temporize) was the cause of this last losse of the realme of Naples, rather then any necessity that forced them: yet *Lewis* of Armagnac had equalled the reputation of the brauest Capitaines that had bene long before him. When as good Commanders haue managed an vnfortunate war, wee must iudge modestly of the issue of humane forces, and confesse that they haue done their dutie: & that others might haue encountered the like difficulties; and raise our considerations higher, to him that placeth and displaceth Kings from their thrones, as it best pleaseth his diuine providence. The King resolved to send two mightie Armies, one by sea, and another by land, to saue the Castles of Naples, Caiete, and some other places, which yet held good: and to invade Spaine with two other armies, the one in the Countie of Roussillon, which ioynes to the Mediterranean sea; the other towards Fontarabie, and other places lying vpon the Ocean: and at the same instant, with an army at sea to invade the Coast of Catalognia and Valencia. But whilst these were preparing, *Gonsalue* battered the Cittadell, and *Peter* of Nauarre made a myne, where hauing giuen fire, the violence of the powder made a breach, by the which the Spaniards (attending in battell the issue of this Stratagem) enter some by the breach of the wall, some by scallado. On the other side, the French issuing out of the new Castle, to expell them the Cittadell, the Spaniards turne head, and repelling our men towards the auelin, they enter pell mell with them: and aduancing with the same fury to the gate, they force the French to yeeld them the Castle. Very happily for the enemy, for the next day there ariued from Genoua, to succour them, six great ships, and many other barks, laden with victuall, armes, munition, and two thousand foot. But this was physicke after death, and the worke being ended, this army retires towards Caiete. The Castle de l'Ono was taken by the like myne.

The French enjoy Caiete yet, with other places thereabouts, and in Abruzzo, Aquila, the Rock of Euander, Rossane, Maralone, with many other places belonging to the Barons of the Angeuine faction: and *Lewis* of Ars, being with the Prince of Meli (worthy doubleste of our history, seeing that *Gonsalue*, hauing offered to leaue him his state absolute, if he would ioine with the Spanish faction, he chose rather to depart with his wife and children) being fortified in Venouse, hauing surprisid and vanquished *Valentine Benauides* with some Spanish troops, he annoyed the whole countrey. The conclusion of this war consisted in the keeping or losse of Caiete: hauing a very convenient haueen for Ships that came from Genoua or Prouence. *Gonsalue* therefore bends his forces thither. But *Aligre* hauing drawne forth foure hundred Lances, and foure thousand foot, preferred at the battell, the which he had lodged in *Fandi*, *Itri*, *Tracette*, the fort *Guillianne* and else where, enters into Caiete, abandoning the other places to the victors discretion, to saue that which did most import: who hauing battered the wall, made a breach, & received great losse at two assaults, hauing intelligence of the arriual of the Marquis of Saluce (made Viceroy by the King in the D. of Nemours place) with six great Gallies, six other ships, and seuen Gallies, followed by others, carrying a 1000 foot of the Ile of Croficia, and three thousand Gascons, he retires his men to Naples wel diminished with skirmishes, assaults, & with his retreat; amongst others, of *Sancho*, *Armentis*, *Alphonso Lopez*, *John Liffen* a Germane: but above all *Gonsalue* grieved for *Don Hugues* of Cardone.

A Cardone and *Rodericke Mahrique* slaine with a Cannon shot. These finall good haps were crowned by taking of the fort of Euander, Aquila, and all other places of Abruzzo, the which drew all Calabria to the Spanish obedience. The King in the meane time sent 7000 foot, and eight hundred men at armes, commanded with the title of general, by the Lord of Tremouille (who then by common consent was held one of the chiefe for martiall affairs: but surprisid by sicknesse at Parma, he gaue the charge thereof to *Francis* of Gonzague Marquis of Mantoua) and eight thousand Suisses, to the which the Florentines did adde two hundred Lances: the Duke of Ferrara, the Bolognois and Gonzagua a hundred men at armes, and the Siennois a hundred more: the which being ioyned with those troopes that were in Caiete, made about the number of a thousand eight hundred lances, French and Italian, and aboue eightene thousand foot, besides the army at sea, wherein were great forces. For the passage of this army by land, the King desired to be satisfied of the Popes intention, and of the Valentinois; for the Pope (who made an ordinary traffick of other mens losse and calamity) signified, that as a common father (said he) to both parties, he would remaine a newter, suffering either of them to leaue troops indifferently in the territories of the Church, hee granted free passage to the said army. And the Valentinois offered the King to ioine vnto his army five hundred men at armes, and two thousand foot, but some letters intercepted from the Valentinois to *Gonsalue*, disclosed the very bottome of his thoughts, capitulating, that *Gonsalue* hauing taken Caiete, and consequently all the Realme of Naples, the Valentinois should seize vpon Pisa, and then ioyning their forces they should invade Tuscane. But as the Pope and his *Borgia* would serue two masters, and the King pressing them vehemently to declare their minds plainly, beheld a strange Catastrophe of the Popes Tragedy. The Pope and *Borgia* had before-time paysoned the Cardinals of Saint Angelo, of Capoua, of Modena, Vrsin, and many other rich men, whom commonly by their death they did rob of their goods. They had likewise sworne the death of *Adrian* Cardinal of Cornete. They were so coolly in an arbor in a garden belonging vnto *Adrian*: and for the effecting either designe, the Valentinois had sent before some flagons of paysoned wine, whereof began the charge to a groom that was ignorant of the businesse, with expresse commandement, that no man should touch them. It chanced that the Pope comming before the cloth was layd, dis tempered with heat and thirst, called for wine.

The faster, thinking this flaggon had been especially recommended for the Popes own mouth and his sons, filled of this wine to the Pope; And as he was drinking, the Duke of Valentinois comes, to whom (being desirous to drinke) they gaue of the same flaggon. Thus Pope *Alexander* the sixt, dyed the next day, the 18 of August: whose immoderate ambition, vn-restrained arrogancy, detestable trechery, horrible cruelty, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, selling both holy and profane things, had infected all the world, verifying in his person: *That the wicked man labours to bring forth out-rage, but he shall bring forth that which shall deceiue him: he had made a pit, and is fallen into it. And, The eternall God searcheth out murders and remembers them.* The Valentinois, through the vigor of his youth, and speedy counter-poisons, (being put into the belly of a moyle newly killed) prolonged his daies, to feeble many deaths in his soule not dying so soone.

He had often fore-seene all accidents that might hap vnto him by the death of his father, and provided remedies for them all: but he reckoned without his host, not supposing to see his father dead, and himselfe at the same instant in extreme danger of death: And whereas hee did alwaies presume after his fathers decease, partly by the feare of his forces, partly with the fauour of the Spanish Cardinals, which were eleuen, to cause a Pope to be chosen at his pleasure, he is now forced to apply his Councils, to the present necessity. And imagining, that he should hardly at one instant withstand the hatred of the Colonois and Vrsins, if they were ioynly banded against him: hee resolved to trust them rather whom he had onely wronged in their estates. So restoring to them their lands and possessions, he presently reconciles himselfe with the Colonois, and others of their faction, who by the comming of *Prosper Colonne* to Rome, had already filled all the City with ielousies and tumults: some fearing lest this reconciliation should draw the Valentinois to the Spanish party: others apprehending the comming of the French army. Moreover, the Vrsins assembled all their partisans, and thirsting after the Valentinois blood, sought to reuenge the outrages which all their family had sustained. So as in hast

The Kings new  
army for Na-  
ples.

The estate of  
the Church.

The death of  
Pope Alexan-  
der.  
His disposition.

tried

The Castles of  
Naples taken.



tered of the deceased Pope and his sonne, they burne the shops and houses of some Spanishe Merchants and Courtiers at Mont-Jordan. All the other Barons in the dominions of the Church, by their meanes, returned to their lands and goods.

The *Piselli* returned to *Citta de Castello*. *John Paul Bailion* chased from before *Perugia* at the first siege, returns, and by a furious assault takes it. The towne of *Plombin* receiveth her first Lord. The Duke of *Vibin*, the Lord of *Pefer*, *Camerin*, and *Sinigalle* are established in their possessions. The Venetians assemble many men at *Raenna*, and give cause of suspect to invade *Romagnia*, which onely remained vnder the *Valentinois* command, desiring rather to serve one onely and a mighty Lord, then to have a particular Lord in every Towne. Notwithstanding all these disgraces, yet both the French and the Spaniard made great instance, to entertaine him, or to winne him to the party: the French, for that he might (being armed) crosse their passage into Italy, if hee discomfited himselfe in fauour of the Spaniard, and molest them in the estate of *Naples*: the Spaniard, for they desired to make vse of his forces, and to get (by this meanes) the suffrages of the Spanishe Cardinal: for the election of a future Pope. But the French army approached *Rome*, and the King might hurt or helpe him more then the Spaniard, both within *Rome*, and his other Estates. He therefore passed this accord the first of September, the Cardinal of *Saint Seuerin*, and the Lord of *Trans*, Ambassadors, vndertaking for the King, To ayde the King with his forces in the warre of *Naples*, and in any other enterprise against all men, except the Church. And his said Agents bound his Majesty, as well to protect the person of the *Valentinois*, as all the Estates which he possessed, and to ayde him to recover those which he had lost.

The Cardinal of *Amboise* vpon the first newes of *Alexanders* death, posts thither, to labour for the Popedom, building chiefly vpon Cardinal *Ascanius* promises: whom two yeares before hee had drawne out of the Tower of *Bourges*. But so many ambitious braines, fraught rather with diuisions and partialities, every one for his owne private interest, then assisted with the holy Spirit, to whom notwithstanding they giue the first voice of their election, did in the end frustrate both the French and Spaniard, to install *Franco Riccolomini*, Cardinal of *Sienna*, being old, worne, and sickly: to which the whole Colledge agreed both for that this neutrall election might disperse the diuers pursuits of the pretending nations: as also, for that the new Popes infirmity gaue them hope to proceede shortly to the subrogation of another. To reuiue the memory of *Pius* the second his vnckle, who had made him Cardinal, he was called *Pius* the third.

Yet this election did not pacifie the troubles within *Rome*. The *Valentinois* and the *Vrins* being within the walles, fortifie themselves dayly with new companies, resolved to obtaine by force, the Iustice which their reasonable demands could not get of the Colledge of Cardinals, when as their partisans should be ariued. This contention did greatly trouble both the Court and the people of *Rome*, and did mightily preiudice the French affaires: for this vehement affection, wherewith they see the *Valentinois* supported by France, drew the *Vrins* to the Spaniards pay, whose forces were of no small consequence for an absolute victory. But the desire the Venetians had to see the King disappointed of the Realme of *Naples*, and the liberty they gaue the *Vrins* to leave their pay, made the world to iudge, that either they had perswaded this family to the Spanishe party, or at the least they had consented therunto. And this was another cause of discontent, to be reuenged of them in time.

The *Vrins* being intainted by the Spaniard, and reconciled with the *Colonnois*, by the mediation of the Ambassadors of *Spaine* and *Venice*, and ioyntly resolved for a common reuenge vpon the *Valentinois*, they fall vpon his troops in the Suburbs: the which (being vnable to withstand so furious a charge) were forced to giue way vnto their violence, and the Commander to saue himselfe in the Castle *Saint Angelo*, hauing like wife with the Popes consent taken the Capitaines oath, to depart when he pleased. The tumult being thus pacified, it gaue them free liberty to attend a new election: for *Pius* nothing deceiuing their conceited hope, of his short Popedom, dyed the 26 day after his creation. But alas! *Alexander* had serued but as a scourge for that great Iudge; but now he takes his rod in hand, to breake Italy in peeces. The Cardinal *S. Pietro*, mighty in friends, in reputation and in wealth, was chosen, the last of October, and named *Julius* the second: by nature factious, and terrible, vnquier and turbulent: but stately, a great defender

Was the third chosen Pope.

The *Vrins* and *Colonnois*, reconciled, bandy against the *Valentinois*.

*Julius* the 2, chosen Pope.

A defender of the liberties of the Church, and a most franke receiuer of the loue and fauour of all those that might aduance him to this dignity.

The *Valentinois* flight to the Castle of *Saint Angelo*, and the dispersing of all the troops he had with him, made the Townes of *Romagnia* (which had till then continued constant and firme in his obedience) to call home their ancient Lords, or to embrace sundry parties. And the Venetians, good fishermen in a troubled water, aspiring to the command of all *Romagnia*, had seized vpon the Castles of the valley of *Lamone*, of the towne of *Ferlinopole*, of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Montefiore*, *S. Archangelo*, *Verrucque*, *Gatere*, *Sauignagne*, *Meldoles*, *Scin* in the territory of *Imola*, *Tossignagne*, *Solariale*, *Montebattile*, and had easily seized vpon *Imola* and *Furl*, if by the new Popes complaints (whom they had strangely discontented) they had not put their men into garison. The Venetians usurpations did wonderfully displease *Julius*: but what could hee doe, being newly advanced to the chaire, vnprouided of forces, or of any hope of succours from the Kings of France and *Spaine*, being not yet resolved whose ensignes to follow? To remaine (in fauour of the Church) some places which the *Valentinois* yet held, and to oppose him in some sort against the Venetians (although hee loued the *Valentinois* heeles better then his face) he agrees with him, that he should goe to *Ferrara* and *Imola*, to reduce such forces as he could leaue. But he is no sooner parted, but a new desire of command suggests, that it should be good the *Valentinois* should deliuer vnto him such Castles and places as he commanded, to the end the Venetians should not invade them in his absence. And to this end he sends vnto him the Cardinals of *Volterre* and *Surenate*. Vpon the *Valentinois* refusall, the Pope being offended, sends to arrest the Gallies, wherein he had embarked at *Ostia*, and caused him to be brought from *Magliana* to *Vatican*, honoured and much made of, but safely guarded. Thus you see the *Valentinois* power reduced to nothing, spoiled in a manner of all hee had viurped, his troops stript by the *Florentinois*, and himselfe at this instant so well watched as he could not goe the length of himselfe. But let vs see what becomes of so many great and goodly designs of our *Leo*. He intends not onely to recover his losses in the realme of *Naples*, but also with one breath to crosse the affaires of *Ferdinand* in *Spaine*.

The *Valentinois* a prisoner.

The Lord of *Albret*, and *Marshall* of *Gie*, marched towards *Fontaraby*, with foure hundred Lances, among the which *Peter* of *Foix* Lord of *Lautrec*, and the Lord of *Lescun*, so famous in our historie, made first shew of their vertues, and five thousand foot, *Gascous* and *Suisses*. And to make warre in the country of *Roussillon*, was sent the *Marshall* of *Rieux*, accompanied with *Gaston* of *Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, by the death of *Louis* of *Armagnac*, the *Vicounts* of *Paulin* and *Bruniquet*, the Earle of *Carmain*, the Lords of *Montaur*, *Terride*, and *Negrepelisse*, leading eight hundred men at armes, and eight thousand foot, French, *Gascous*, and *Suisses*. And at the same instant an army was ready at *Sea* to invade the Coast of *Catalonia*, and the realme of *Valencia*: but he that engripes himselfe holds little: these were but shewes without effect. For the Lord of *Albret* being entered into the Province of *Guiposcoa*, whether that the enemies forces were greater then his, or fearing lest the *Castilian* should be reuenged of the King of *Nauarre* his sonne, he retired and went into *Languedoc*, to the *Marshall* of *Rieux*, to beseege *Saulles* with their ioynt forces.

But the King of *Spain*, hauing assembled a great army at *Parpignan* from all his realms, and marching in person with a resolution to raise the siege by some notable stratageme: our men finding themselves too weak, retired to *Narbonne*, with a successe contrary to the Lord of *Albours*, in the yeare 1496. And the Spaniards after some roads and spoiling on this side the mountains, content to haue repelled the enemy, concluded a truce for six months, mediated by *Fredericke*: (whom *Isidore* King of *Arragon* and *Catalunna*, fed with hope to restore him to his throne) and *Queene Anne* moued our *Leo* therunto, onely in regard of that which concerned the affaires of France.

A truce betwixt *Spain* and France.

By this truce, the thoughts and forces of these two Kings are conuerted to the warres of *Naples*. The French army hauing passed the cities of *Valmontone*: and of the *Colonnois*, marched through the possessions of the Church, with an intent to take in the Castle of *Séque*. Here our men received their first affront, *Séque* well fortified, was well defended, causing our men to retire vnto the despising to win *Saint Gemmaine*, take their way by the Sea Coast. But the question was how to passe *Garillon*, which was not

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to be waded through at that season. *Gonsalve* was encamped on the other side: our French by reason of their Cannon, win the passage of the river, make a bridge thereon, and adventure to passe. The Spaniards repulse them, even to the midst of the bridge, and by the fury of their shot, force them to goe to land, having lost five hundred men; French and Swisses, and some hundred drowned: the enemy two hundred, and *Fabius* the sonne of *Paul Virgile*; a young man and of great hope.

It is a matter of dangerous consequence, to attempt to passe a river in the face of a mighty army, and commanded by a discreet Capitaine, if they be not well fortified with trenches. This second disgrace encouraged the Spaniard, terrified our French, and made them lose all further hope. Doubtlesse the most important part of an army, is a good Commander, and commonly few do willingly vndergoe the command of a stranger, if he be not especially fauoured by the heauens, and hath won great credit, and given good testimonies of his valour. Herein the Spaniards did exceed them: and this defect in the French armie, had bred great contempt of their Generall: and more confusion in the concord among the Capitaines. So as the Marquesse of *Maxima* Lieutenant to the King, either thinking himselfe vnfit to gouerne so great an army, or (as *Sandricourt* charged him) carrying away with him the Italian forces, that the French might bee so much the weaker, or for that having receiued this double repulse, hee would no farther impute his honour, parted from the army, laying all the fault vpon the contumacie of the French.

All difficulties conspired their ruine, the hard season of the winter; the sterility of the moorish Country, the continuall raine and snow, want of pay, the impatience of the coyles of war, and moreover the great sufferance of the enemy, who furnished with a deep ditch, and two battions in the Front of the enemies army, continually guarded the passage, whilst that our men wasted themselves with fruitlesse attempts, and by their miserable stay, the which quailed as much the heat of their courage, as the care of the provision of their Victuallers, the ordinary theft of the Treasurers, the dissension of Capitaine, and the disobedience of souldiers, vsuall in troops, wanting a vigilant Command, and of authority, and the increase of ordinary diseases did hurt them. Being incouraged with these difficulties, the enemy hath a new supply by *Bartholomew* of *Aluano* with the rest of the Viscons. And *Gonsalve* finding himselfe to haue nine hundred men, at armes, a thousand light horse, and nine thousand Spanish foot, aduertised moreover of the disorder and continuall decay of our army, the which being stronger in chieualry, then in footmen, those being cut in peeces which they had lately left at Castle *Guillaume*, were so dispersed as their lodging contained ten miles in circuit; a grosse error of the Marquis of *Saluce*, having an enemy in front, who could well embrace all advantages: he secretly casts a bridge ouer the *Garillon*, foure miles about that which our men had made the passage of *Suio*, where the French kept no guard: he passeth the 27 of December in the night, and so passeth *Suio*. The Marquis vnderstanding that the Spaniard did passe, suddenly breaks his bridge, and causeth the army to march towards *Caiete*. *Gonsalve* hinders his passage by *Eraser Colonne*, and the light horsemen, that being molested by them they should be enforced to march the more slowly: he byrreth them right against *Scandi*, and sties them with continuall skirmishes, until the *Gonsalve* comes vpon the reward of them. An army that mixes with feare, it receives the first stroke of death when they are skirmished with. Our French were driven to the passage of the bridge which is before the Mole of *Caiete*; & whilst the Viceroy stayed there to give the Spaniards time to passe, the battell, and reward of the Spaniards arise. *Armed* did destroy the *Barbets* of *Cramons* and *Saint Colombe*, with some Countess of French and Italian, make it good a long time, and fauour the retreat of the foot: until that by the death of *Colonne* and many others, with the wounding of *S. Colonne*, the rest of these horsemen seeing the troops to haue gotten some ground, doe likewise take their way to *Caiete*, alwayes beaten behind, euen vnto the head of two waies: whereof the one leads to *Tiri*, and the other to *Caiete*. Here all disband those which are best mounted save the *Scandis*: the two weakest wounded, the sicke, the Cannon, and the munition, remaine at the victors deuotion. At the same time *Bartholomew* having passed the river with five hundred horse and an hundred foot, spoiled the companies of *Ladomile* of *Miranda*, *Alexander* of *Triumet*, and *Der* of *Medicis* (who followed the French army) retiring by the

The Marquis of Montreaux General of the French, gives over the charge of the army.

The French defeated quite.

to *Caiete* with many Gentlemen, and foure peeces of artillery, their barke ouer-taken with a storme in the mouth of the river was swallowed vp in the waues, and all in it drowned. *Gonsalve* knew well, that so great a multitude of men being retired into *Caiete*, would breed a sudden famine, and soone yeeld him the Towne: Hee besieged it, and our men not able to dispose themselves, to endure the tediousnesse of a doubtfull expectation of succours, made the first day of the year, one thousand five hundred and foure, famous by this accident, which him: To depart with liues and goods out of the Realme of Naples, either by land or by sea, and that the Lord of *Aubigni*, and all other prisoners, should be deliuered on either side.

So our French are againe dispossessed of the estate of Naples, and exposed to cold, hunger, and to a long and painfull retreat, that although of so great an army, few were slaine by the enemies sword, yet the most part of them which departed after this capitulation, found their graues in hospitals, market places and streets: and oft such as took their way by sea, few suruiued long the extreame discommodities which they had endured: amongst others, the Marquis of *Saluce*, *Sandricourt* and many Gentlemen of marke. It were better to fore-see all these difficulties, before we part from our homes, then to goe so farre to seeke our graues. Capitaine *Bayard* returned, admired greatly euen by *Gonsalve* himselfe, hauing purchased great glory and reputation amongst the French.

Doubtlesse, besides the discord and bad gouernment of Capitaines, the sharpnesse of the time, and impatience of our men in military labours: two things principally had wrested this victory from the King. The one was the long stay of his army in the territories of Rome for the Popes death, so as winter came, and *Gonsalve* had leisure to practise with the Viscons before this army entered the realme. The other was the treacherous couetousnesse and theft of the Commisaries and Treasurers, who commonly empty the Kings coffers to fill their owne bagges, to the preiudices of the souldiers pay, and the order they should be for victuals. *John Heron* Treasurer, condemned of theft, was publicly executed: *Aligre Sandricourt* and others, were for a time in disgrace with the King. The losse of Naples, the death of so braue a Nobility, the infinite numbers of men slain in these attempts, had filled the Realme and Court with great heauinesse and mourning, euery man curing the day wherein that miserable desire to purchase new estates in Italy, had first entered into the hearts of our Kings of France. The King seeing well how much his reputation would be blemished with strangers, and how much the losse of so flourishing an army, would weaken his forces, was not without feare: either that *Maximilian* would alter something in the state of Milan, or that *Gonsalve* (following his course) would employ his victorious army to the subuersion of the said duchy: and those which followed the French party in Italy, feared, lest in his way he should alter the estate of *Tuscane*. Without doubt it was likely, that the King, wanting money, weak of men, and the French daunted in courage, and without any desire to repasse the Alpes, would without any resistance, haue given place to the victors violence. But *Gonsalve* content with the surname of Great Capitaine, which the Spanish boasting had given him, restrained his desires within the limits of his happy victory. True it is, that many extremities kept him backe. Hee did owe much vnto his army, who made great instance to be paid, and put into garrisons. Moreover, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, to lead his Army out of the Realme, from whence the enemy was not yet fully expelled. But that which stayed the course of his prosperities, was a dangerous sicknesse, so as hee could not execute any further in person: hee sent *Bartholomew* of *Aluano*, against *Enrico* of *Ars*, who during the stay of the army vpon the bankes of *Garillon*, had seized vpon *Troy* and *Saint Sclere*, and had put all *Apulia* into ashes.

This stay of *Gonsalve*, held the rest of Italy rather in iealousie, then any way troubled it. And the Pope (forbearing yet to discover his designs,) laboured to get the possession of such Castles as the Valentinois held at *Furli*, *Celene* and *Bettinoie*. The Valentinois was content for *Celene*: but the Pope having sent *Don Pedro d'Onida* a Spaniard, to asseigne it in his name, the Capitaine of the place holding the composition of no force, (for that the Valentinois was a prisoner) caused him to be hanged. So as the Pope despairing to get it without his liberty, agrees with him. That hee should bee put into the Castle of *Osia*, with commandment to the Cardinall of *Saint Croix* to release him,

The Realme of Naples wholly lost by the French.

The chief causes of this succrow.

The King much perplexed with these losses.

The Duke of  
Valencia  
prisoner in  
Spain.

A truce with  
the Spaniard.

him, when he had consigned the said Castles. This consignment made, the Valentine escapes with the Cardinals permission, and retires to Naples, from whence *Gonsalve* sent him afterwards to *Ferdinand* his King, who confined him prisoner to the Castle of *Medina del Campo*. An act in truth worthy the sincerity of a great Prince, but not worthy of this Duke, who not satisfied with the wickedness he had formerly done, desired a new, to trouble other mens estates, and to sowe dissensions throughout all Italy. A prison which did greatly comfort all Romagna, being freed from the evil spirit, which so tormented it.

A common necessity is usually the mother of a peace, or truce betwixt Princes, the have long tormented one another. Behold the Kings of France and Spaine, both weary of war, conclude a truce. *Lewis* sought it, and *Ferdinand* accepts it willingly, thinking this means to confirme his new conquests, with more safety, upon condition: That it should be lawfull for the subjects of either party, to trafficke throughout all their Realmes and dominions, except at Naples. The Kings of Spaine have alwaies treated, upon advantage with our Kings. *Gonsalve* doth cunningly make his profit of this clause, placing vpon the frontiers of those places, which the French did yet possesse, (as *Rosene* in Calabria, *Oin* in the land of *Oranto*, *Venouse*, *Conuerlan*, and the Castle of *Mont* in *Apulia*) guards to watch that no man living should conuerse in any place that was held by the Spaniard. The which brought the inhabitants to so great a streight, as resolving to yeeld to the enemy, *Lewis* of Aris, was forced to retire into France.

But what auails it to auoyde one danger, and fall into another? Wee haue not yet breathed from our trauels past, and see, wee now study on new iarres and confusions. In truth the estate of this world is like a chesse-board, where Princes with a varible chess, play most couetous games, sometimes with losse, sometimes with gaine: and oftentimes (treating with men in whom there is no trust) they fall out of one mischief into another inconueniencie. At the same time, Ambassadors being come from *Maximilian* and *Philip*, to confirme that which had beene propounded, by the coming of the Bishop of *Cisteron*, and the Marquis of *Final*, sent expressly by the Pope for that business: this peace was in the end concluded: "That the marriage of *Claude* the Kings daughter, with *Charles* the Arch-Dukes eldest sonne, should take effect: that all the former injuries of the Duchy of Milan being disanulled, *Maximilian* should grant the inheritance vnto the King, for himselfe and his heires males: and for want of males, should give it in fauour of the marriage of *Claude* and *Charles*: and if *Charles* should die before the consummation of the said marriage, to *Claude* and the Arch-dukes youngest son, in case he married with her: for which possession the King should pay vnto *Maximilian*, vpon dispatch of the letters patents, threecore thousand florins of the Rhin, and threecore thousand more within fixe moneths after, and euery year, on the birth day of our Lord God, a paire of spurres of gold.

All these Princes were wonderfully incensed against the Venetians, by reason of the usurpations made by them in their estates. They make a League for their common defence, and to offend the Venetians, meaning to pull from them what they had usurped. And for that the promises which *Maximilian* had vainly giuen to *Lodowike Sforze*, were the cause to hasten his ruine: hee was a meane the King should set him at liberty, and giue him some good pension to liue withall in France. But this was a short comfort for *Lodowike*, whose turbulent spirit would haue practised some alteration. This capitulation being so profitable to all these Princes, the Pope being comprehended therein, it was easily it should hold. But there must bee stronger bands to tie it, that is, a reciprocal league without the which all treaties are fruitlesse. The end of this year is famous by the death of *Fredericke*, sometimes King of Naples, who was deprived of all his vaine hopes, to recover his Realm of Naples, by the accord of these two Kings, and by that of *Isabel* Queen of Castile, a vertuous Princess, noble, wise, and beloued of her subjects.

The year following disposed the two Kings and the Potentates of Italy, to lay asid armes: *Ferdinand* of Arragon hauing new designs, and foreseeing that by the death of his wife, *Philip* his sonne in law would challenge the Crowne of Castile; (as hauing married the heiress of the said Realme) desired onely to prelerue the Realme of Naples, by means of the capitulation lately made. Our *Lewis* was not altogether freed from doubt, for that *Maximilian* delayed (according to his usual cunningness) to make the

peace;

The Venetians  
reconciled to  
the Pope.

A peace. The Pope desired inuocation, but his forces were too weak without the support of some mighty Prince. The last League had put the Venetians in alarme, hauing thereby three mighty enemies against them. To pacifie the nearest, they offer vnto the Pope to restore all they had vsurped, except *Ferra*, *Rimini*, and their appurtenances. And the Pope knowing, that the Emperours warre against the Elector *Palatin*, would hinder his passage into Italy, ioyntly with the King, for that year, accepted the obedience the Venetians offered him, in regard of the said places, without making them any shew of a more mild and tractable disposition. The King (for the accomplishment of that which had been treated of) sent the Cardinall of Amboise to Hagenau a towne of Alsacia newly taken from the Count *Palatin* where the Emperor did solemnly sweare, and proclaim the articles agreed vpon, according to the which, the Cardinall payed halfe the money, promised for the inuestiture of Milan.

During this ratification, there grows new seeds of dissention in Italy. The Cardinall *Ascanius*, brother to *Lodowike Sforze*, treated with the Ambassader of Venice at Rome, and had also (according to the common opinion) some secret intelligence with *Gonsalve*. It was in shew to invade the Duchy of Milan, the which they knew to bee vnsurmountable of French soldiers: the people inclining again to the name of *Sforze*; and (that which made them the more bold,) the King being surprisid with so dangerous a sickness as the Physicians despayring of his health, the Queen prepared to send all her ieiue into Britany; if the Marshall of Gie had not placed men vpon the way to stay them: for the which, the King afterwards was as well pleased, as the Queen, by her dislike, sought to bring him in disgrace. Doubtlesse the people should oft times suffer much, if their counsels were not stayed by the providence of God. The King recouers his health, and the Cardinall *Ascanius* dies suddenly of the plague, at Rome, interring with him the designs of Milan.

The King is freed of one danger. And as God by meanes unknowne to men, doth change great stormes into calme sun-shines: our *Lewis*, who till then had the greatest of the Archduke *Philip* in ialousie, fearing to make him his enemy, hee findes now that the death of *Isabel* of Castile doth free him of this feare: for that the Archduke (reiecing the testament of his mother in law) deuised to take the government of the Realme of Castile from *Ferdinand* his father in law, the which could not bee done but by their common quarters, and the weakning of their forces, the King (remaining betwixt both, free from troubles,) should thereby fortifie himselfe, with men, money & munition, for the aduancing of his designs. And the Arragonois, on the other side, forced to seek a support against his son in law, desiring a peace with the king, he obtains, in by the marriage of *him* and *Germaine*, sister to *Gaston* of Foix daughter to his Maiesties sister, vpon condition, that the King should giue her in dowry that part of the Realme of Naples which belonged vnto him: the king of Arragon binding himself to pay him within ten years 700000 ducats for the charges past; and to indow his new spouse with 20000 ducats. Which dowry (*Germaine* dying in marriage without children) should reuenge to *Ferdinand* his dowry he died first, it should go to the Crowne of France: a happy conclusion both of a peace, and of the year, if it could haue entailed long benifits on these two Princes: But it shall be soon broken, and alwaies our peace with the Spaniards hath been full of dissention.

Let vs now open the springs of new warres: The Pope had without the Kings priuie giuen all the benefices that were fallen voyde in the Duchy of Milan by the death of Cardinall *Ascanius* and other Clergy men. Moreover in the creation of many Cardinalls, he had refused to aduance into the society the Bishop of *Auch*, Nephew to the Cardinall of Amboise, and the Bishop of *Basle* Nephew to the Lord of *Tremouille*. And in the which he had armed some galleys to be in his aid in case (as some came out) to the Genoua from the government of the French, in case the King died, as some feared, and others did hope. All these considerations, together with the Kings discontent, seemed to breed some dissension with the Pope: yet his friendship was profitable for the King in these times, hee had stood against the Venetians against whom he knew the Pope to be well affected, for that desire he had to recover the towne of Romagna. He therefore sent the Bishop of *Cisteron* his Nephew into France, who proposed vnto him many offers and designs, for the execution of them, through some other title. Whereupon the Pope seeing himselfe, as it were, to be in the Kings hand, to procure the Cardinall of Amboise his legation in France, and for his ialousie he had that this Cardinall opposed by all means, as the Pope himselfe had could

A peace be-  
twixt the king  
and Alexander.

Measures of  
new warres  
betweene  
France and  
Spain.

How much  
dissention  
there was



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for the defence of the state of Milan, in favour of the King, they would not oppose them. A felues to any of his advancement. And in truth, being loth to offend *Maximilian*, or to give to the King occasion to presume too much, they did not seeke into him for any new league, hoping thereby that *Maximilian* leaving their frontiers in peace, would turne his forces either against *Bourgonne*, or against the duchies of Milan and Genoua.

The king seeks  
to hinder the  
Emperours  
passage.

To prevent all inconueniences, the King had sent great troopes of horse and foot, towards Milan, and did *Nasie* (with the permission of the Catholike King his nephew) two thousand five hundred Spaniards, five hundred Lances in *Bourgonne* vnder *Tremouille* command, four hundred French Lances, and four thousand foot, jointly with the Venetians; to prevent any alteration that might happen towards Trent: and to distract the Emperours forces into diuers parts, he fauoured the Duke of Gueldres, who molested the Country of *Chablais*, grand child to *Maximilian*. And to begin his voyage, *Maximilian* being come to Trent, caused a proclamation to be publicly made, the third of February: That he was resolved to passe in hostile manner into Italy. And from that time hauing the name of King of Romans, tooke vpon him that of chosen Emperour. But this was to brag of mountaints, and to bring forth mole-hills. He goes from Trent with sixe thousand horse, and four thousand foot, nor of that number which had bene promised him at Constance, but of the ordinary traine of his Court, and leaued in his owne territories, and the Marquis of Brandebourg with five hundred horse, and two thousand foot. But there was no reason the seruant should be more happy then the master. The Marquis returned, having onely presented himselfe before Rouere, and demanded in vaine to be lodged within the towne. And *Maximilian* hindered by many trenches which the Moontainers of *Siaghe* had made, retired backe foure daies after his departure. If he had gone backe to take a greater leape, (as the Prouerbe saith) it had bene a good signe, but to turne his backe, it was a disgrace.

The vaine at-  
tempts of *Ma-  
ximilian*.

Behold an open warre, and the Venetians are needd with these weake beginnings, but conquests of Villages, are like benefices of straw. *Maximilian* taking the way of *Friul*, for the commoditie of the passage, and the Country being more open, with sixe thousand men leagued in those marches, hee did runne about forty miles into the Venetian territories: having taken certain Villages of small moment (performing the office of a simple Capitaine, rather then of an Emperour) hee returned towards *Iusbruch*, to engage some Jewels, and to make prouision of money by some other means, which failing had caused eight thousand Swisses to leaue his pay, whereof five thousand went to the King, and three thousand to the Venetians. And to increase the mischief, *Maximilian* had left nine thousand foot and horse at Trent. *Bartholmeu* of *Aluiane* (sent by the Venetians to succour *Friul*) seized vpon the passages of the Valley of *Cadore*, by the which the Germanes might saue themselves: he charged them, slew about a thousand, and took all therof (in a manner) prisoners. So the careful valor of *Aluiane* made vaine the former exploits of *Maximilian*.

Soone Swisses  
forsake the  
Emperour.

*Maximilian*  
forces de-  
feated.

It is all one to be well or ill beaten. The Venetians put in practice this common saying, but nor without some offence to the King, who did not willingly behold the prosperous course of their victories, in regard of his owne designs. They were forced to take armes, and before they lay them downe, they take from the Empire *Trieste*, *Portocon*, and *Plume*: then pass the Alpes, *Possionia*. On the other side, the Germane army towards Trent; had put to sword three thousand Venetian foot, set to guard Mount *Brontice*. The Bishop of Trent encouraged by this small stratagem, with two thousand foot, and some troopes of horse, went to besiege *Riue Trente*, a great bough vpon the Lake of *Garde*; but as he did batter it, two thousand Grisons, which were in the Germane Campe, fell into a mutiny by reason of their pay, and spoile the victuals of the whole Campe. So all being in disorder without respect of command, and without obedience, the Grisons being gone, all the rest of the army (being about 7000 men) were forced to retire. Thus ended all these great shewes; and *Maximilian* hauing rashly given credit to the Popes suggestions, reaped nothing for his indiscretion, but shame, losse, and contempt. Being thus perplexed, he seekes to withdraw himselfe out of the Country, finding the Venetians well disposed to make an end of this war, and to preferre by means of a truce the places which they had conquered in these garboiles: hee easily obtains a truce for three months, whereby they lay downe armes, to resume them sooner, but

A truce betwixt  
the Emperour  
and Venetians.

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As but with more dangerous effects. This was the 20 of April. In corrupt bodies, the remedies we apply to diuers one inconuenience, doe commonly engender another more dangerous. So the truce (made betwixt *Maximilian* and the Venetians, wherein they had exceedingly neglected the king, instead of quiet and rest which they expected, bred more horrible calamities then the former wars. The Venetians fought in their insolent manner of proceeding. The Emperour studied by what means hee might repaire the infamy and losse he had lately receiued: and now they incense him more, rectifying *Aluiane* into Venice, in a triumphant manner. And the King found himselfe much wronged, for that presuming to name him in this truce, and to comprehend him as an adherent, they had notwithstanding provided for their owne safety, and left him charged with the cares and troubles of the warre: seeing that in their fauour he had opposed himselfe against *Maximilian*, as we haue seene. The Emperour being then so weakly assisted by the forces of the Empire, and finding his owne too feeble, desired to vnicte himselfe with the King against the Venetians, as the onely remedy to recover both his estates and his honor lost. Moreover, this new disdaine reuiued in the King the ancient remembrance of the wrongs hee had receiued by them in the warres of Naples, and since in diuers other accidents thrust forward with an exceeding desire to wrest out of their hands *Verona*, *Cremone*, and many other Townes possessed of long time by the Dukes of Milan. And the Pope possing them, possessed with that first desire to regouer those places which they vsurped of the Church, taxing them that the banished men of *Furl* had of late dayes, by means of their Senate, sought to enter into the said towne; discontented moreover, that the Venetians had, (in contempt of the authority of the Sea of Rome) given the Bishopricke of *Vincenza*, to a Venetian Gentleman, contrary to the Collation which the Pope had made to his nephew *Sixtus*, he perswaded the King against them, desiring rather to remaine a neuter in the midst of these contendants, and be a spectator, then to invade. In the end (vnder a colour to treat a peace, betwixt the Archduke *Charles*, sonne to *Philip*, and the Duke of Gueldres) they meet at *Cambray*. For the King, came the Cardinal of *Amboise*: and for the Emperour, *Marguerit* his daughter Gouvernesse of *Flanders*, assisted in this treaty by *Matthew Lange*, a trusty Secretary to the Emperour: and for the King of *Arragon*, an Ambassador of his. The ninth of December they conclude a peace betwixt their Masters, and a perpetuall league against all men, euery one to recover from the Venetians the places which they had taken from them, and to spoile them of the territories of the Church vsurped by them: whatsoever we treat, the Church must be one, but more with a colour, then any deuotion. The Emperour did solemnly confirme this new league. The Arragonois feared the increase of the King his Vnckles greatnesse, and preferred the safety of the Realme of Naples before any thing which the Venetians enjoyed: yet disturbing his conceits, he performed all solemnities required. The Pope was more scrupulous: hee had sent his commission, but had not yet conferred. Many considerations moued him thereunto: a desire to recover the Townes of *Romagna*, and a disdaine against the Venetians. Moreover, hee feared to incense the King, rectifying this association: yet he held it a very dangerous thing for him, that the Emperour should extend himselfe in Italy. Thus troubled in minde, hee reloues, for the mildest course, to obtaine a part of his desires by an accord, rather then all by warre. He lets the Venetians vnderstand, that the storme which threatened them by the vnion of these Princes, would proue farre more tempestuous, if they forced him to give his consent. That yielding willingly the places they had taken from the Church, it should make him refuse to raise the treaty of *Cambray*, made in his name, but without his approbation: without the which their alliances would easily turne to smoke; if they refused, hee would pursue them with spirituall and temporall armes. Oft-times, those which haue the name, the age, and countenance of wise men, conclude to the ruine of their Country. The Venetians at this time follow the worst aduice. And the Pope ratifies the treaty the which he had deferred vntill the last day assigned for the ratification.

A league be-  
twixt the  
French King,  
the Emperour,  
and Ferdinand,  
against the  
Venetians.

The Pope en-  
ters into the  
league.

The King armes and passeth the Alpes in person, followed by the Princes of his blood, *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Vendosme, *Charles* of Bourbon afterwards Constable of France, sonne to the Earle of Montpensier, *Lewis* of Bourbon, Prince of Roche-sur-Yon, and Duke of Alençon, and his sonne *Charles* the Duke of Longueuille, *Gaston* of Foix Duke of Nemours, *Peter* of Foix Vicount of Lautrec, *Lewis* of Tremouille Vicount of

The King goes  
into Italy.



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Thouars, the Earle of Montmorancy grandfather of the Countable that now lives, the Lords of Palife, Andoins, Grandmout, Cutton, Boilli, Coligni, Effourcille, and almost all the Nobility of France, which followed, (as to a certain victory) with joy and courage, attempting to forty thousand fighting men, besides three thousand horse and foot, which *Chabmont* brought out of the Duchy of Milan, and the troops of *Anthony* Duke of Lorraine, who accompanied his Majesty in this voyage. The King having passed the Alpes, leads *Monsieur* his Herald, presently to proclaim warre against the State of Venice. And for that the Pope complained that the time specified in the capitulation expired without any effects of warre, the King commands the Lord of *Chabmont* to begin.

He thereupon passeth the river of Adde, the fifteenth of April, and camps before *Trevi*, barres and forteth it to yeeld at discretion, taking prisoners *Iustinian Morosin*, Commissary of the Venetian Stradiots or light horse, *Finnia de Citta di Castello*, *Vincens* of *Nadde*, and other Senators; and with them a hundred light horse, and a thousand foot: then he repasseth Adde, to attend the Kings coming at Milan. The Emperor was sent into *Flanders*, to require a raising of money, from the subjects of *Charles* his grandchild, a testimony that hee could not begin the warre within forty dayes after the King, as his promise was.

The Venetians prepared, and seeing a great part of Christendome armed against them, they seeked to dissolve this union by reasonable offers. But the Pope could not more accept that which he had before desired. The Catholike King had not credit enough to divert the talk. The Emperor for little of disdain, would not so much as see *John de l'Esquille* their Secretary. As for our *Lewis*, they hoped for nothing from him, but by the sword. They therefore entertaine two thousand men at armes barded, foure fighting men for every Lance; 3000 light horse and Stradiots, fifteen thousand foot, of the flower of Italy, and fifteen thousand others chosen out of their territories: they arme many vessels to guard the banks of *Romagnia*, the towns of *Apulia*, the approaches of the Lake of *Gard*, *Po*, and other neighbour places, fearing to be molested by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantoua* their enemies. But behold bad signes, and prodigious fore-runners of losses, whereunto (besides the threats of men) the Venetians shall bee shortly subject. A Barke carrying ten thousand ducats to *Ravenna*, was drowned. The Castle of *Brescia* was fiered with lightning, the place where the Charters of the common-weale did lie, was suddenly ruined. And that which did most terrifie them, their great Council being assembled, fireooke their Arcenall, whereas the salt-peeter did lie, and burnt twelvehundred, with a great quantity of munition.

Moreover, having entertained *Iulius* and *Rance Vrsins*, & *Troile Saueili*, with five hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, the Pope commanded them upon grievous censures (as dependants of the Church) not to depart out of *Rome*. And presently he did publish in forme of a monitory, a horrible Bull, containing "The Vsurpation the Venetians had made in the sea of *Rome*, the authority they did arrogate to the prejudice of the Ecclesiasticall liberty, and the Popes jurisdiction: to give Bishopsricks and other spirituall livings being vacant: to decide spirituall causes in secular Courts, and other things belonging to the censure of the Church: specifying moreover, all their disobediences past, and admonishing them: To yeeld vp within foure and twenty dayes next ensuing, the townes of the Church which they possessed, with the fruits received since they enjoyed them, upon paine to incurre not onely the censures and curse of the City of *Venice*, but also of all the territories vnder their obedience, and of all others that should receive any Venetian, declaring them guilty of high Treason, and detested as perpetual enemies to all Christians, to whom he gave power to take their goods in all places, and to make their persons slaves. Against this Bull, they cast forth a writing about *Rome*, containing (after a long protestation against the Pope and our *Lewis*) An appealation from the monitory, to the next Council, and for want of humane justice, to the feet of Iesus Christ, a most iust iudge; and the soveraigne Prince of all.

The Venetian army being assembled, made their beginning famous by the recovery of *Trevi*, after the retreat of *Chabmont*. But it was dimall to the conqueror: for during the heat of the spoile, the King (who came to relecue it) passed the river of Adde with his whole army, without any let, the ninth day of May. And *Triunist* seeing the army pass,

A This day (said he) O most Christian Kings have we wonne the victory. The King lodged with in half a league of the Venetian campe, and holding it more glory, if of himselfe without the assistance of any other he ended this war, he drew thither by all means to a battell. The enemies designe was, to keepe themselves close in places of strength, to shew the necessity of fighting, and to keepe the French from attempting any manner of assaults. So both armies continued a whole day one in view of another. The next day the King stood foure houres before the enemies lodging, with his troops in battell, and though his volute, in their view, without making any other shew, then to shew courage to fight. Necessity must then force them to it, hunger drove the Vols out of the wood, the King too cut off the victuals that came to them from *Cresona* and *Cremas*, raised his Campe up lodge at *Vaile* or at *Pandin*: and the Venetians (to engage their enemies in the like difficulties) resolve to follow them at the heels, and abayas to lodge in places of advantage. There were two waies to the said places: The one was longer and lower, which going bis against the river of Adde, was in forme like a bow, the other shorter and higher, but straight as a line. The King takes the lower, the enemy the higher, *Chabmont* led the forward of the French, *Aluianthe* the Venetian. They approach nere unto *Agredeli*, where as *Aluiane* being forced of necessity to fight plants his peeces of artillery upon the caufrey of a brooke which was then almost dry, which parted the two armies, & his foot in the Vineyards adjoining to it, & comes resolutely to charge our foreward. The combat was long and doubtfull, for that by reason of the strokes and branches the Frenchmen could not fight commodiously. And now the Swisses begin to waver, when as the King sending *Charles* of Bourbon to encourage them, and advancing himselfe with his battell into a more large and open place, he redoubled the stroke, favoured by his artillery, the which the enemy could not discover by reason of certain small trees and bushes. So as after an obstinate fight of either side above three houres, the Kings preference not suffering any one to faint, and the Swisses returning to their first heat, the Venetians wonderfully spoiled by the horse and Cannon, and hindered by the raine and haine which beat in their faces, began to yeeld both in courage and force: and finally resolving to sell this victory to the French very deare, failing rather in brack then courage, they desired rather to lose their lives then their honours, by turning of their backs.

The Earle of *Petiliano* (with whom was the greatest part of their forces, encountered with a Squadron of their owne men lying crested that *Aluiane* had contrary to his duties presumed to fight, and thinking that his endeavours would prove little to obtaine the victory) desired rather to save the rest of the army, than to see all lost by the rashness of another. The Earle *Bernardin du Mont* was slaine, and some men at armes, and about ten thousand foot. *Bartholomew* of *Aluiane* was prisoner, and hurt in the eye, and twenty peeces of great artillery lost. Of the French, no men of make, but some 500 foot were slaine. The King caused the dead to be buried, and for a trophie he built a Chappell in that place of battell, the which he named *S. Mary of Victory*. So ended the battell of *Agredeli*, or *Giardadade*, (as others call it) of *Valleshe* 15 of May. This happy Victory purchased the King the next day *Caravage*, and then *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Cusina*, *Pisquero*, *Pesquiere*, and other places, whereof the King would not accept one but upon condition, that the Venetian Gentlemen that were within any of them should yeeld themselves prisoners upon ransom. On the other side, the Pope with four hundred men at armes, took hundred light horse, eight thousand foot, to the artillery of the *D. of Ferrara*, took *Servia*, *Solarole*, *Bresquille*, all *Valdelamone*, *Granarole*, all the townes of the territory of *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, *Imola*, and all the townes of *Romagnia*; but more through favour of the Kings Victory, then by his owne forces. The Marquis of *Mantoua* recovered *Afale* and *Lunare*, which the Venetians had shipped from *Triunist* his great grandfather, and the *D. of Ferrara*, *Polino* of *Romagnia*, *Christophe Frangipani* invaded *Bisente* and *Divisio*. The *D. of Bavaria*, entering into *Friul*, for the Emperor, took *Beltri*, *Bellong*, *Treviso*, and then *Verona* and *Budova* returned to the obedience of the Empire. The Earles of *Loiron* seized upon *Agredeli* Castles and Villages in their jurisdictions, and the Bishop of *Rome* got for his share, *Ravette*, *Trente*, and *Agrette*. The King of *Arragon* making his profit of another mans paine and charge, recovered *Brindes* and *Tromauis*. So every one pulling his plumes, yet *Crow* (according to the Proverbe) remained almost bare. Such are the fruits of a battell.

The Venetians army.

Fatal Prognostications for the Venetians.

The Venetians censured by the Pope.

The battell of Agredeli.

The exploits of the Popes army.

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well won in a Country not fortified. This checke had abated the natural pride and haughtinesse of the Venetians; but their ruine toucht the hearts of the Italians diversly. Some were well pleased for this without any observation of faith or equity (trusting on with an inevitable ambition and covetousnesse) they made profession to seize upon all that opportunity offered them: Others began to sigh, lamenting the generall calamity of Italy, ready to yield to the servitude of a stranger. The Pope was one of the first that grieved at this great fall, and fearing the Emperours power and the Kings, he desired how to cross their affaires; and to take from them all means to ruine this Common-weale, the ancient seat of liberty. He accepted of the Venetians Ambassage and submission, and revoked the sentence by the which they were excommunicate. The which gave them a beginning of hope, but more when they see the King content to have recovered his owne, and not to exceede the limits of the capitulation of Cambray. And that which reuined their spirits, certaine banished men, newly restored at Treviso by the Venetians, to make the memory of this benefite famous, tooke together, plant the banner of S. Mark in the Market place, and expell *Leonard of Bresfine*, who without any armes or force, had received the City in the Emperours name, they bring in seven hundred Venetian foot, and consequently, all the forces they had assembled in Sclauonia and Romagnia.

The Venetians  
begin to recou-  
rer their losse.

Without doubt *Trenio* alone repaired the Venetians honour, and the chiefe cause of this accident, as also to put the Venetians in more hope, was the negligence and ill government of the Emperour, who during the course of so many victories, had made shew but of his name onely; and these importune delays had caused the King to take his way towards Milan, to returne speedily into France. The Kings dislodging of his army, gave courage to the Venetians to recouer Padoua, which they knew to be vnfortified of men for the defence thereof. *Andrew Gritti* one of their Commisaries, had assembled 2000 men of the Country, with 300 souldiers, and some horse, & finding by chance the port of Codalungue halfe open, by reason of some Carts laden with hay, that were lately entred, he seized there on without noyse, and kept it, untill the Companies led by *Cheslin Polpe*, *Zitole* of Perugia, and *Lazzaro* of Bergamo were ariued, who held it almost an houre before that any alarme was giuen in the towne. This repisall made the way to recouer Legnague, a very commodious towne, and annoy Vincenza and Verona.

One of the ancients said, *That we must not trust our fortune, else she will win her selfe terrible.* Hereafter she leaues the Emperour and returns to the Venetians. The Marquis of Mantoua lodgeth in the Ile of Escala, in the country of Verona, attending the preparations which the Bishop of Trent, Gouvernour of Verona, made to besiege Legnague. *Duke Malheureux* with 200 light horse, and *Zitole* of Perugia, with 800 foot, and 1500 of the Country, besides the garison of Legnague, entring one morning into the said Ile, surprised the Marquis his troops sleeping, spoile them, leading the Marquis, with his Lieutenant *Boiss* (Nephew to the Cardinall of Amboise) prisoners, leauing a lesson to Commanders in the war, to be vigilant, to weigh their owne forces, and not to contemne their enemies. On the other side the Venetians in Friul recovered Valdesere by force, *E Bellone* by composition, & fortified themselves in the Vincentin, by the taking of many other places, as of Seraluade, a passage of great importance, the which *Maximilian* recouered soone after, with the like crueltie vpon the Italians, as the Italians had vsed vpon the Germans at the taking thereof; for hauing not yet assembled sufficient forces to go to field, they make small attempts, besieging now one bourgh, then another, with small honour and reputation for the quality of an Emperour: soliciting notwithstanding all his confederates, to vnite their forces for the taking of Venice. But who should haue reaped the profit? The Pope would neither haue the Emperour nor King possesse it: and the Catholike King detested this enterprize as vnjust and dishonest, moued therunto, not with shew of vertue, but with enuy the which he bare to the greatnesse of our *Lewis* his Vncle, who he thought should haue the greatest benefit by this conquest.

Whilest that the Emperour filled all Italy with a vaine feare of his force, he sent the Prince of Anhalt with 10000 men into Friul, who at his entry tooke Cadore with a great burchery of those that defended it, and the Duke of Brunswicke (whom the Emperour had likewise sent) did put to rout 800 horse, & 500 foot, which *John Paul Gradenige*, Commisary of Friul, brought to the succour of Ciuital of Aultria, which the Germans besieged. *Christopher Frangipan* did also defeat the Venetian Officers, followed by the forces of

The Marquis of  
Mantoua sur-  
prised by the  
Venetians.

A of the Country, he wasted the Country, and seized vpon Chasteaufort, Fiume, and Rauprich. And the Venetians sending *Angelo Trenio* generall of their army at sea thither, recouered Fiume and Rauprich. I conclude, by hungry prizes and repries, men goods and liues were continually in prey.

The Emperour hauing now assembled all his forces, prepares for the siege of Padoua. Besides the forces of the Empire, he had seven hundred French Lances, commanded by the Lord of Palisse: two hundred men at armes, which the Pope had sent him. Two hundred more from the Duke of Ferrara, vnder the command of the Cardinall of Este: six hundred more at armes vnder diuers Italian Captaines, eighteen thousand Lansquenets: six thousand Spaniards, six thousand aduenturers of diuers Nations, and two thousand foot, which the said Cardinall brought vnto him for the Duke, with so wonderfull a preparation for peeces of battery and munition, as the issue of this siege held all Italy in suspense. The Emperour had already taken Limini, neer vnto Padoua by force, when as there chanced a signe of happy successe for the Padouans and Venetians. *Philip Roffe*, and *Fredericke Gonzaga* of Bossole, went with two hundred light horse, to guard the artillery that came out of Germany: six hundred horse issuing out of Padoua, hauing intelligence thereof, charge them in the night, defeat them six miles from Vincenza, and take *Philip Roffe*.

The siege of  
Padoua.

The Emperours  
army.

And in exchange, *Maximilian* hauing extended his companies about twelve miles off from Padoua, to be assured of the commoditie of victuals and pasture, takes by assault and takes the bourgh of Este, *Montefice*, and *Montaguane*, ouerthrowes 3000 peasants at the bridge of Bouolente, and carries away a great prey of Cattel, which they had gathered together. At length after many delaies (which gaue the Padouans leasure to fortifie and furnish themselves with victuals) he is planted before the towne walls the 15 of September. As for the defence of Padoua, the Venetians had furnished it with 600 men at armes, 1500 light horse, and 1500 Stradiots or Albanois, commanded by Captaines of great experience, the Earle of Pentillane, *Bernardine* of Montone, *Anthony Pie*, *Luc Malheureux*, *John the Grec*, and twelue thousand choise foot, vnder the charge of *Denis de Nal*, *Zitole* of Perugia, *Lazzaro* of Bergamo, *Saccasio* of Spoloto, and many other of D meane quality, and 10000 foot, Sclauones, Grekes, and Albanois. And why should not 20000 foot, and 3600 horse defend Padoua, with that multitude of Venetian youth, who (to make proofe of their valour and piety to their Country) had willingly thrust themselves into the towne, seeing they could not haue forced them in field, within any small trench? Padoua was furnished with great store of all kinde of artillery, victuals, and a great number of peasants, who continually labored in the fortifications.

The fortifica-  
ons of Padoua.

The ports, and other fit places were furnished with ballions without, and euery vault vnderneath full of bartells of powder, to blow vp such as did assault them. And within round about the City a Palissadoe, or fortification of piles, trees, and peeces of timber; fortified with a deepe ditch, sixteene fadome broad: flanked with Casemates and small towers full of artillery: and behinde the ditch a rampier of the same breadth, round about the towne, except some places where they could not plant any artillery, and before the rampier, a parapet of seven cubits high, to couer them that should defend the rampiers.

Behold all the Imperiall army is now planted before Padoua, but this was not to attempt a towne besieged, but rather an army camped in a towne, which made head against an army, holding the field. The artillery thunders eight daies together, and preuailes so much, as it seemes they need not to shor any more. They giue an assault to the Bastion; at the point of the port of Codalungue.

The Spaniards and Lansquenets (seconded by some men at armes on foot) win the bastion, and plant two Ensignes: but both the fortresse vpon the ditch, the valour of the defendants, the abundance of instruments for defence, artillery, stones, wilde-fire, and all other kinde of offensive armes, force them to abandon it in hast; many remaining dead or wounded, so as the army being ready to assault the wall (the bastion being wonne) hee retired and disarmed without any further attempt. *Maximilian* despairing of victory by these preiudiciall beginnings, after seuentene daies siege raiseth his campe, and passing (in his retreat) by Vincenza and Verona, receiues their oath of fidelity, he then dismiseth almost all his army, and tooke the way to Trete; determing to make a truce with the Venetians for some months. But growne proud with this prosperity, seeing his asso-  
ciates

The Emperour  
raised the siege.

1509

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ciates to aide him fo coldly, and fupposing that a furreafing of armes would be preiudiciall all vnto them, they prepared to recover Vincenza, Ciuitelle, Baffan, Montefice, Moitagnagno, Este, Polefine, and in the end to make war againft the Duke of Ferrara.

But he that vnderakes too much, repents fometimes. Defire of reuenge is a dangerous Counfeller, and the refolution not to endure a wrong either done, or pretended to be done, grounded rather vpon paffion then reafon, is commonly the caufe of the authors ruine. *Alphonfo* D. of Ferrara recovering of Polefine, had (in hatred of the Venetian name) wonderfully fpoiled the gentlemens houles of the country; he receiued the towne of *Este* from *Maximilian* in fee, and *Montagnagne* in mortgage. The Venetians (building the motives of their difdaine thereon) fend their Generall *Angelo Treuifan* with 17 Gallies, and a great number of other fmall veflels, towards Ferrara, and a good number of horfe by land, to fecond their army at fea, the which being entred into the Riuer of Po, and hauing burnt Corbole, and fome other Villages neare adioyning, they fpoiled all the Countrey euen vnto the Lake of Scure, and without difficultie recovered all the territory of Polefine. To withftand thefe violent courtes, the Ferrarois plants his artillery vpon the bankes of Po, to ftop the paffage of this army, and forceth *Treuifan* to caft anchor in the midft of the riuer, behind a fmall Ifland right againft *Palicelle*, a commodious place to moleft the Ferrarois, and there he fortifies himfelfe with two bafions vpon the bankes, the one on the fide of Ferrara, the other oppofite, whileft that other veflels affailing the Duke of Ferraras country in another part, take *Comache*.

The Venetians  
make war  
againft the D.  
of Ferrara.

The Venetians  
army in 1501.

The Duke ftrengthened with 150 Launces, which the Lord of Chaffillon brought him, and 200 men at armes which the Pope fent him (difcontented that the Venetians had invaded this Duchy, without refpect of the fuperiority which the Church hath over it) fauoured with the knowledge of the country, and the nature and opportunity of the riuer, hauing brought his cannon to the bank oppofite to the enemy, being covered with a ftrong cauley, after an affaile giuen to the bafion, where his men had the worft, he fiftured the Venetian fhips fo furiously, as fome not able to refift, yeelded: others fired with the fhore, were miserably burnt with the men that were in them; others finking, efaped the enemies hand, and the Generall faved himfelfe by flight in a cocke-boat, his Gally flying, fhooting and defending it felfe; was in the end fenne.

To conclude, the riuer being full of blood, fire and dead men, fiftene gallies came in to the Dukes power, fome great fhips, many foits, and other fmall veflels in great number: threefcore enfignes taken, and 2000 men flaine. This army defeated, *Alphonfo* fent prefently *Hippolito* Cardinall of Este his brother, againft that army which had taken *Comache*: but the losse of the other hauing forced them already to retire, the Cardinall employed his forces to recover *Loreto*, which the Venetians had fortified.

This done, the Pope defirous to tye the Duke of Ferrara vnto him, to the end that acknowledging the good he fhould receiue by his interceffion, he fhould depend more vpon him, then on the King, againft whom hee laid the foundation of great hatred, was a meanes the Venetians fhould yeeld *Comache* to the Ferrarois, & fhould no more moleft his eftate. And to reconcile them with *Maximilian*, he fends *Achilles de Graffe* B. of Perfetia his Nuncio vnto him. But through the Emperours exceffive demands, and the Kings Ambaffadors croffing it, *Achilles* returned without effecting any thing. The fafon made them proceed coldly in matters of war, vntill the end of this yeare. *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had contended before the King for the gouernment of the realme of Caffile: the firft for *Charles* his grand-child, the fecond building vpon his wifes teftament, as wee haue feene before. In the end, the Cardinall of Amboife (not confidering how much this accord did preiudice the Kings affaires) drew *Maximilian* to confent, that the Catholike King, in cafe he had no heires male, fhould be gouernour of the realmes of Caffile and Naples, vntill that *Charles* his grand-child fhould come to the age of 25 yeares, and fhould pay vnto the faid *Charles* forty thoufand ducats yearly, fifty thoufand to *Maximilian* at one payement, and fhould aide him according to the treaty of Cambray, to recover that which belonged vnto him. A convention which gaue courage to *Ferdinand* to encounter the Kings greatneffe, the which in regard of the realme of Naples hee alwaies feared. Doubtlefle ambition did to blind the eies of this good Cardinall, as he could no more difcouer this groffe policy, then fore-fee that death prepared him a Biere in ftead of a pontificall Chaire. In the end of this yeare died the Earle of Petillane, generall

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A for the Venetians, old and of great experience in martiall affaires.

Although they proceed flowly in matters of war, yet Princes mindes were diftracted with many diftemperatures, efpecially the Emperours, who defpising to get the victory of the Venetians by his owne proper forces, perfwaded the King to attempt the recovery of Padoua, Vincenza, and Treuifo, receiuing a fufficient recompence. The King knew well, that whileft the Venetians poffeffed a foot of land, he fhould ftill be fubieft to continual charge and dangers. But he was diuerted from paffing of the mountaines, by the fickneffe of the Cardinall of Amboife, to whom only he committed all his affaires: fearing likewife left a new army fhould wholly withdraw the Pops affeetion, who long before deified, by what meanes he fhould diflodge the French out of the eftates of Italy, and fearing (as we haue faid elfe-where) left the King (being armed) fhould difpoffeffe him of his chaire, to place the Cardinall of Amboife in it, he laboured to draw the English from the Kings friendfhip, he praftised to ioyne with the Suiffes, by meanes of the Bifhop of Sion, to the preiudice of this Crowne, and protected the Venetians.

In truth, we may behold three Princes act three diuers perfonages vpon this Theater. The King of a faithfull allice: the Emperour of a weakie; and the Pope of a midloyall. In the end, the King (the better to fupply the affaires of Italy) goes to Lions with an intent to pacifie the Pope, or at the leaft, to keepe him from being his enemy. To this end hee fends *Albert Pie* Earle of Carpi, with commiffion to offer the Pope both the Kings forces and authority in all occurrents, to impart vnto him the affaires that were now handled: the requetts which the Emperour made vnto him, and to leaue it to his difcretion, to paffe or not into Italy: Were not thefe fufficient fubmiffions to pacifie any difcontented minde?

Contrariwife, *Julius* receiued the Venetians into fauour, and the 24 day of February gaue them full and absolute remiffion. He ftill follicits the English to take vpon him the title of Protector of the fea of Rome, againft the French King, againft whom (faid he) if he made war, many others (to whom his power was odious) would rake armes. But hee drew the Suiffes with more efficacy to the protection of the Church, paying a hundred florins yearly to euery Canton. The boldneffe and prefumption wherewith they refused to renew their alliance with our *Lewys* (but vpon condition to augment their penfions) had iuftly difpleafed the King: but this vnreasonable repulle fhall proue very peiudiciall to this Crowne. The King in exchange allies himfelfe with the Valaifans and Grifons, who binde themfclues to giue paffage to his people, and to deny it to his enemies, and to fene him for pay, with fuch forces as they could make. The Pope fortified with this new alliance, bends all his thoughts to fupport and raife the Venetians, to reconcile them to the Emperour, and by their rifing to pull downe our *Lewys*.

But the Pops alienation ferued onely to kindle new fires in Italy. The Emperour and the King difcontent with the fhewes which the Pope made in fauour of the Venetians, diuided themfclues more ftrictly together: and the D. of Ferrara gaue the King occafion to auance his forces, for the protection of his eftate: for the Duke hauing felt an impoff vpon all the merchandife that paffed by the Po to Venice, the Pope commanded him to free it, as not being in the difpofition of the Vaffall to impouere a tribute without the liberty of the Lord of the fee. And in cafe hee difobeyes, he denounceth war againft him. The Duke thus threatend, fies to the King, who had before taken him into his protection, giuing thirty thoufand ducats; his eftate alfo importing the King much for his affaires of Lombardie: yet loath to contend with the Pope for the Duke of Ferrara, he propounded conditions, whereby the Pops might reft fatisfied of the intereft, which the Church and he pretended againft the Duke.

In the end, as the Pope (the more hee fees himfelfe fought vnto) fhewed greater fignes of bitterneffe, the Lord of Chaumont enters into Italy with fiftene hundred Launces, and ten thoufand foot: to whom the Duke of Ferrara fent two hundred men at armes, five hundred light horfe, and two thoufand foot. At their firft entry they take *Palicelle*, *Montagnagne*, and *Este*. Then the Prince of Anhaute, Lieutenant to the Bifhop of Bour, paffing from Verona with three hundred French Launces, two hundred men at armes, and three hundred Lanquens, ioynd with *Chaumont*, and jointly together they march againft Vincenza.

The Venetians abandoned by the Venetians army, which retired towards Padoua, flic

The Suiffes  
forfake the alliance  
of France  
and ioyne to  
the Pope.

A French army  
enters Italy.

He to *Chaumont* to obtaine some reasonable conditions of the Prince, who wonderfully moved with their rebellion, would not receive them with any other condition, but to have their goods at pleasure, and their lives saved. These victories were fruitlesse, without the taking of Legnague, the which the river of Adice diuides into two parts, whereof the les is called Porto. This river is diuided into many branches about Legnague, passing the last branch, they encounter some footmen, set to guard Porto. Our men charged them, repulse them, kill a great number, chase the rest, and enter pell-mell with them into Porto. The taking of Porto made the meanes easie to batter the towne on either side then: for the effecting whereof *Chaumont* sent Captaine *Molard* with 4000 men, and six peeces of artillery, who having in a manner battered downe the bastion, which was upon the causie, at the point of the towne; the Venetian Commissary retired himselfe into the Castle, and the Capitaine which commanded the bastion, yielded to depart with bag and baggage. The bastion taken, the towne was sackt by *Molard*, and the Castle battered, yielded the next day, upon condition, that the Venetian Gentlemen remaining *Chaumonts* prisoners, the souldiers should depart with white wands in their hands. At this time died the Cardinall of Amboise, vncle to the Lord of *Chaumont*, a man of a great spirit and long experience in affaires, but with the seruice of his master he did not forget the content of his owne priuate ambition.

The death of  
the Cardinall  
of Amboise.

Ciuitelle, Marostique, Basciane, Feltré, l'Escale, and other places thereabouts (abandoned by the Venetians) opened their gates vpon view of the Cannon. To conclude, all places where the armies passed, were expoid to takings and retakings, sacking and burning, and all pactions were at the victors mercy. *Manfred* remained yet. The towne is situate in a plaine, and the Castle on the mountaine, compassed in with three walls, whereof the lower required 2000 men for the defence thereof. By reason then of a new contention betwixt the King and the Emperor, that his army should continue yet a month longer in Italy, and that the extraordinary charge, about the payment of the Companies which the King had till then defraied, should afterwards be payed by the Emperor, and the footmen also for that month, and in consideration of 50000 crowns, which the King should add to 50000 others that he had formerly lent the Emperor, Verona with the territories thereof should remaine in pawne to his Maiestie, vntill it were satisfied: *Chaumont* besieged it; Seven hundred foot and some companies of horse, having vpon their approach abandoned the towne, kept the first wall. He battert it, and makes a breach in diuers places. The French (followed with 1500 Spanishe Launces, newly arriued, vnder the command of the Duke of Termini) mount to the assault, chase the Garison, and skirmishing with them, they enter pell-mell within the other two walls, and so into the Castle, the most part being slaine. Such as were retired into the dungeon, yielded: when as the Germans setting it on fire, burnt both the place and the men, so as of this number few escaped either the fury of their armes, or of the fire. The towne was likewise consumed to ashes: This done, a new commandement from the King, calls backe *Chaumont*, with his army, into the Duchy of Milan: which the Pope began to disturbe. Moreover, two armies of diuers nations ioyned together, to make priuate conquests, hardly can the Commanders remaine long vnited in one will. And the Germanes (who can doe little alone) lodged in Lonigie.

We haue hitherto seene, that Pope *Innocent* designs tended, not onely to restore the Church to her preroged estates, but also to expell the French out of Italy. His first project was effected; And now many considerations draw him to the second. The Venetians are partly restored, and all at his deuotion, hauing reuoked their censures. He is strictly allied with the Swisses. He knows well, the Arragonois will be alwaies glad to see the Kings greatness diminished, to haue the better meanes to settle himselfe at Naples. He findes the Emperors forces and authority to be feeble. He is not out of hope to draw the King of England into armes. And that which feeds his couetous passion, he is well informed, that the King hath no will to make war against the Church; and that at all times it shall be in his power to make peace with him, and this is the last helpe the Popes hath alwaies relied on. But with what colour may *Innocent* arme against our *Lewis*? The King will not giue over the protection of the Duke of Ferrara, and *Innocent* desires exceedingly the possession of his Duchy, grounded (although the Seignorie of Comache, whence *Alphonse* drew the last, belonged directly to the Emperour) vpon the dislike for the

The Pope  
seeketh to expell  
the French out  
of Italy.

At the salt pans, and customes which *Alphonse* leaued vnlawfully, and without the leaue (said he) of the Lord of the Fee. This was a crosse device to cloake his couetousness: To colour this, he vrgeeth the King againe to renounce the protection of the Ferrarois: vpon his refusal, he protesteth to fly from the treaty of *Cambray*: that he will not ioine with him, neither yet be opposed vnto him, and that without trying himselfe to any person, he will hereafter seek to maintaine peace in the Church. But on *S. Peters* day, he discouers in effect the motions of his minde: that day the rents due to the Apostolike see are paid; he refuseth to accept those of the Duke of Ferrara, alledging for his reasons, that *Alphonse* under the sixth marrying his daughter *Lucretia*, could not (to preiudice the See) reduce four thousand Ducats to an hundred. And the same day (having before refused to giue the French Cardinall leaue to return into France) advertised that the Cardinall of Auch was gone to field with his dogges and nets, he sent to pursue him, before he fughe; and held him prisoner in the Castle of Saint Angelo. And to win vnto him the Catholike King, against the Most Christian, he grants him the inheritance of the regnone of Naples, vpon condition to pay the same rent which the ancient Kings of Arragon had paid; and entertainment for three hundred men at armes; for the defence of the Church, when it should be demanded.

A leaue be-  
stowed vpon  
and the Pope  
against the  
King.

But behold a strange turbulent spirit, who attempting at one instant to assaile Ferrara, Genoua, and Milan, toiles himselfe infinitely to bring forth paine and confusion. The Ferrarois offered to giue him the salt made at Comache, & to binde himselfe, there should be more made: yet proceeding against him, as against a notorious offender, hee sends his troops by the D. of Vrbin into the territory of Ferrara: who at his first arrival, and at the onely summons of a trumpet, takes Cante, Pieue, Bagnacual, and Lugo: But as he camped before the Castle of Lago, *Alphonse* coming with his people & some French companies, the D. of Vrbin raised the siege, leauing three peeces of Cannon behind him (it is dishonour for a Commander to lose his artillery) & retired into Imola; giuing *Alphonse* means to recouer that which they had taken from him in Romagna: But the army of the church was no sooner refreshed, but they take the same places, & likewise Modena. He sent eleven Venetian Gallies against Genoua, whereof *Grille Comarin* was Generall: D and one of the Popes, in the which were *Ottavian*, and *Iohn Fregosse*, *Ierome Dacie*, and many other banished men. And by land *Mark Anthony Colonne* with an 100 men at armes and 700 foot. About the same time 6000 Swisses (in the beginning of September) passing by Bellinzone, camped at Varese, where 4000 more ioine with them: but this proues but a fire of straw. *Innocent* hoped that Genoua being assailed both by sea and land, it would breed some infallible alteration; that the greatest part hating the French command, would easily maintaine the name of *Fregosse*, and that the French amazed with this alteration at Genoua (being likewise prest by the Swisses) would recall into the Duchy of Milan, all such Companies as they had both with the Emperor and the Duke of Ferrara: that by consequence the Venetians would recouer Verona, and he enjoy Ferrara; and then with their united forces invade the estate of Milan. But he reckoned without his host: for now hee the proceedings of these armes. They shut those gates against him which he expected to finde open. *Chaumont* at the first brute of the enemies approach, had manned Genoua with some Companies. *Freian* a *Prouencal* was entred the port with six great gallies, the sonne of *Iohn Lewis* of Fiesque, with 800 men of the Country, and a Nephew to the Cardinall of Finall, with no lesse number, was come into the towne, for the King; and these together presented all insurrections. So the Pope and the banished men, frustrate of their chief hope, retire to Rapalle. And *Colonne* foreseeing that he should hardly recouer any place of safety by land, for that the Commons were risen, hee shipt himselfe in the gallies, with three-score of his best horse, and sent the rest by land to Speite, who for the most part were spoiled vpon the Marches of the Genouois, *Luxois*, and *Flouentines*. On the other side, the Swisses which camped at Varese, vnder colour (as they say) to go to serue the church, found in the end, to their losse, that they did but serue the ambition of one priuate man. *Chaumont* hauing manned all the passages with sufficient forces, sends *Triumle* to *Mont Brian*, that with his troops, & the helpe of his Country men, he might keepe the Swisses from seizing on the passage: and he himselfe coasting along by them, and still skirmishing with them, with his horse and foot, and many field peeces, cuts off their victuals, and performing the duty of a good Capitaine, without hazarding

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of anything he annoyed them at the passages of rivers. To defeat a poore but a warlike nation, there is nothing but blows to be gotten: & in losing, they hazard an estate. In the end, besides the continuall charges of the French army, oppressed with want of victuals & money, they free our men (who are not accustomed to spend much in spies) of the doubt which troubled them, whether they would passe to Ferrara by the Duchy of Milan, or turne by the hills vnder Como, Lecque, Bergamo and Brescia, or else by the Galears, through the territory of Mantova: for taking their way by the high places of Como, they went to lodge at the bridge of Trese, where (brought to extremities for want of bread and money) they retired by troops to their houses. Whilest the French were thus busied, the Venetians (making profit of their absence, & of the Germans retreat) without tolls, *Esse, Montefice, Montagnone, Marosique, Bassano, & Fincenza*. They besieged therein *Verona* overthrew them. They besieged it with 800 men on horse, 3000 light horse, and 10000 foot, besides an infinite number of peasants, and battered from a mountain opposite, being contrary battered, and wonderfully spoiled by the artillery from the towne. But the Venetians desire was great to conquer this City, and the value of the besieged was no lesse to defend both their honours and liues.

They had four hundred French Lances, three hundred Spaniards, a hundred German, and Italian, five hundred French foot, and four thousand Germans, which the Prince of Anhalt (dead some few daies before) had left there: a thousand foot, with some hundreds of French issued forth in the night, put them to the sword that kept the artillery posted two peeces, and carried them away, when as *Zitole* of Perugia, flying to the rescue, and being slain with almost all that followed him, *Denis* of Nalce arrived, who recovering the prey, repulsed and beat them within their walls. But the Venetians dashed with this check, seeing no rising of the people, as they expected, advertised of the Sufferers great, and that *Chamont* came to succour them, retired to *S. Boniface*. The war continued in Friul and Istria, with the accustomed insolencies and cruelties on either side, but more to the ruine of the Country and buildings, then of the people. At the same time the Marquis of Mantova came out of prison at the Mantovans suit to *Baiatzet* Prince of the Turkes, in whose loue the Marquis had many years held himselfe.

The Pope was not grown wise neither by his owne nor other mens losses: his vaine attempts had nothing daunted his hopes: and they found the prowerbe to be true: *He that hath a companion hath a Master*. A wit blinded with presumption: who (seeing his practices now discovered; the port of Genoua furnished with a strong army; the Towne prouided of all things necessarie for defence) hopes to obtaine that now which he could not get when the port was disarmed: he periwades the Venetians to a second attempt: they come to Genoua with fiftene light gallies, three great, one Galliesc, and three Biscane ships. The French fleet going out of the haven, with two and twenty light Gallies, after they had giuen order that the contrary faction should not rise, met with them at Porto Venere: where by the thunder of their Cannons, and by the Tower of Codifa, they forced them to retire to Ciuita-uechia, whence the Venetian fleet parting to recover the Gulfe, a tempest cast five Gallies vpon the Coast of Messina: the others beaten and bruised, were driven vpon the Coast of Barbary, and in the end recovered the port of Venice, halfe lost. The army which came by land led by the Archbishop of Salazie, brother to *Ottavian Fregese*, by *Iohn of Safarelle*, and *Romer* of Salate the Popes Capitaines, seeing the fruitlesse attempts of the fleet at Sea, instead of Genoua, went to take Faiane in the mountaine of Modena. A small recompence for so many vaine attempts.

This disgrace did rather increase the Popes obstinacy, then make him faint. He might easily obtaine a peace of the King, and with such conditions, as might well content a Conqueror. The King was content to referre the Duke of Ferraras cause to Justice, and gave power to the Pope, to name such Iudges as he pleased. But *Julius* following the holy Oracles, *Lined cursing, and cursing followed him: and for that he took no pleasure in blessing, it forsooke him* seeing the King yield to so reason able conditions, he impudently demands, that Genoua be set at liberty, & with such bitterness, as the Duke of Savoyes Ambassador (offering his Princes intercession for their peace) hee puts him in prison, & tortured him as a spy. He conuerts all his thoughts against Ferrara. The Venetians thrust him forward, fearing (left in the end, losing the hope of his designs) hee

(shoulde

A should be reconciled to the King. And the King sufficiently informed of the Popes bad affection, resolues to defend the Ferrarois; and both by spirituall and temporall armes, to troffle the Popes insolencies.

In the end of September the Pope comes to Bologna, with an intent to assaile Ferrara, both by water and land; the Venetians on the one side, and he on the other, perswading himselfe, that at the same of his forces, the people would rebell against *Alphonso*. But the Venetian companies having brought many barks by the river of Po, into the territory of Mantoua to make a bridge, the Duke of Ferrara, with the French forces, set upon them unawares, took them, and many vessels in certaine Chancells of Polefine, with the Venetian Commissary. Then was there discovered a practice which the Venetians had in Brescia, for the which the Earle *Iohn Maria* of Martingone was beheaded there. This stay of the fleet did nothing discourage the Pope, but perswading himselfe that his owne forces were sufficient to conquer Ferrara, he assembled them all at Modena, vnder the Duke of Valbin being General, the Cardinal of Paucy, *Iohn Paul Bailion*, *Marc Anthony Colonne*, and *Iohn Vielli*, Capitaines of authority: whilest that *Chamont* encamped right against them at Rubiere and Marfaille, trying them with daily skirmishes; hee gave the Ferrarois means, with the Lord of Chaffillon, to recover Polefine, Final, and Genere. Having lackt and burnt it to ashes, he went to ioyne with *Chamont*, upon as three hundred men at armes, many light horse, and four thousand Venetian foot came to win the passage of Po, and to ioyne with the Popes forces; having already taken *Fiequeras* and *Stellato* on the other side, and forced *Alphonso* to goe to the succour of his Country. Thus the two Venetian fleets, having free passage vpon Po, did greatly annoy the Ferrarois territory by daily inroads and spoiles: when as the Duke issuing out of Ferrara put to rout that fleet, which was entered the river of Po, by Primare, & came vnto Adria: the other which consisted of foists and small vessels, being entred by Foraces, and come to Puliselle, seeking to passe into the river of Adice, by a river adioyning, they found the water so low, as they could not enter, but were so battered by the Ferrarois artillery, as they abandoned their ships, seeking to save themselves and their Cannon.

The Pope seeing he could preuaile nothing by his temporall forces, he flies to the spirituall, excommunicating *Alphonso* of Este, and all those that were or should come to his succour, namely *Charles* of Amboise, with all the chiefe of the French army. This furious course made the King to assemble all the Prelates of his realme at Tours, with the most famous Doctors of all his Vniuersities, as well in diuinity, as in the ciuill and canon lawes, who resolue vpon eight notable conclusions against the Pope. "That it was not lawfull for the Pope to assaile any temporall Princes, by force, in their territories not belonging to the Church. That it was lawfull for any such Prince for the defence of his subjects and Country, not onely to repell this iniury by force, but also to innade the territories of the Church possessed by any such Pope; not with an intent to hold them, but to the end (the Pope being dispossessed thereof) should haue no more meanes to molest his estate: seeing the Pope had, through the aide of the said Prince, recovered the same lands, usurped before by certaine tyrants. That for so manifest a wrong and vniust attempt, any such Prince might withdraw himselfe from the Popes obedience, for the defence of his temporall estate, seeing he had stirred vp many other Princes and Common-weales, to invade the Dominions of the said Prince, who deserved reward and loue of the Apostolicall See. That this subtraction being made, they should obserue in France the common and ancient law, and the Pragmaticke sanction, enacted at the Councell of Basile. That any such Prince might by force defend another Prince his confederate, and of whom hee had lawfully taken the protection, for those Seigneuries which hee had long enjoyed, and with a iust title, seeing this confederacy had been made with the consent of the said Pope, who as the chiefe was comprehended therein and that this Prince allied according to the forme of the league, had giuen aide for the recovery of the patrimony of *S. Peter*: that the Pope pretending any thing due for any rights belonging to the Church of Rome, and the Prince on the other side challenging to hold of the Empire, and should refer this controversy to the censure of indifferent Iudges, as equity required, that in this case it was not lawfull for the Pope, without further knowledge of the cause, to make war against any such Prince: the which if he did, the said Prince might oppose his forces with other princes his confederates, so as that right had not been possessed by the Roman church within

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The Venetians  
resolued retire  
from Verona.

The Venetians  
make attempt  
against Genoa.

The Popes  
vniuers the war  
against the  
Ferrarois.

Eight conclusions  
made by the  
French  
Church  
against the  
Pope.



100 an hundred years. That if the Pope would not accept this honest and lawfull offer, but  
 101 contrary to order and right, should give sentence against any such Prince; maintaining  
 102 his right not to depend vpon the Church: neither he, nor any other by opposing, should  
 103 incur the censure of that sentence, seeing that Prince had no free access, neither to go  
 104 nor send to Rome to defend his right. That if the Pope vniuſly (the due course of law  
 105 not obliued) should by maine force, pronouke any censure against any such Prince,  
 106 their allies and subiects resisting in such a case, the sentence were of no force, neither  
 107 could it by any means binde.

The siege of  
 Bologna

These conclusions taken, the King (according to the resolution of the Councell) for  
 Ambassadors to *Inliu*, in the name of the French Church, to admonish him by brotherly  
 ly and spirituall correction, that leauing his desires, he should attend to peace, concord,  
 lous and charity, and reconcile himselfe with the foresaid Princes: vpon refusal, they  
 should summon him to call a general Councell, according to the decrees of the holy  
 Councell of Basill. That his answer heard, things should be ordered according vnto rea-  
 son. In the meane time forty light horse and six hundred foot (hauing at the first sum-  
 mons of a trumpet yodelled *Carpe to Alberti Pies*) were encountered by foure thousand  
 foot, led by *Chaulisse*, defeated, and in a manner all slain. And *Chaumont* desirous to charge  
 the French forces, before they should ioyne with the Venetian companies, and three  
 hundred Spanish Launces, which *Ferdinand* had sent him, in consideration of the im-  
 pture of Naples: but not able to draw them, but to some light skirmishes, by the per-  
 suasion of the *Venturiers*, he turned his forces against Bologna, where the Pope remai-  
 ned sicke, both doubtfull of the peoples faith, being besieged, and so discontented with  
 the long stay of the Venetians, as he protested publicly to *Ierome Donat* their Amba-  
 sador, that if their succours entred not the next day into Bologna, he would agree with  
 the French. And at that instant sent he *Iohn Francis Pic*, Earle of Mirandole, to treat  
 with the Lord of *Chaumont*. *Chaumont* not to alter this good disposition, vnder-  
 standing the Kings pleasure, keeps his troops within their lodgings, and sent backe the Earle  
 with these propositions: That, *Alphonse of Este*, and all those the Pope had comprehen-  
 ded in his censure should be absolved: That in regard of the Venetians, nothing should  
 be done contrary to the treaty of *Cambrai*: That the controuersies betwixt *Alphonse* and  
 the Pope should be decided within six monthes by Iudges chosen by their common con-  
 sent: That Modena should be restored to the Emperor, Corignole to the King, and  
 the Cardinall of Auch set at liberty: and that the gift of all benefices within the  
 Kings dominions should be according to his nomination.

But *Chiappin Viselli* entering into Bologna with six hundred Venetian light horse, and a  
 squadron of Turkes which they had in pay, made the Pope to sing another note, That  
 there was no means of accord, if the King did not absolutely abandon the defence of the  
 Ferrarois. And *Chaumont* seeing that neither by the treaties of Peace, nor by force he  
 preuailed any thing, the people of Bologna holding themselves quiet, and at the Popes  
 deuotion, being also afflicted with the winter, and want of victuals, he returned to  
 Chastilaunc & Spilimberge, the which he had lately taken. *Chaumont* is no sooner gone,  
 but the Pope strangely incensed, exclaimes against the King to all Christian Princes, as  
 thirsting after his blood and the territories of the Church, hauing caused him to be be-  
 sieged with all his Cardinals and Prelats in Bologna: and returning to his former course  
 with more vehemency, he sends his troops to field augmented by 500 men at armes, 1600  
 light horse, 5000 foot, and 300 Spanish Launces. But whilest this army iournes about  
 Modena, some squadrons running toward Rhegium, being defeated by the French, they  
 lost an hundred horse, and the Earle of Matelique was taken prisoner. Moreover, the D.  
 of Ferrara with the Lord of Chastillon encamped vpon the Po, betwixt Hospitale and  
 Bondin, opposite to some other Venetian companies that were on the other side of the  
 river: they sunke nine of their vessels, & forced the rest to returne to Venice. These small  
 victories were crost by taking of Salsole & Forminge, whilst that *Chaumont* refresheth him-  
 selfe within *Paia* & *Asigara* at Rhegium. These conquered towns incensed *Idione* more  
 violently against Ferrara, the which he knew was well furnished with men, and things ne-  
 cessary for defence: & the French through the continual toile of the war, were tired both  
 in bodies & minds. And presuming to make the enterprise more easie, he went himselfe in  
 person the 2 of January before Mirandole, advertised that *Chaumont* had made an escape

A to Milan, drawne thither (as they said) with the loue of a young Gentlewoman: A iour-  
 ney which did greatly quail the courage and hope of them that defended Mirandole,  
 who see themselves abandoned, not so much by the negligence, as by the dissention be-  
 twixt *Chaumont*, and *Iohn Iagues* of Triuulce, (who then was gone into France): where-  
 by it may be, he was not much displeased to see the Earles of Mirandole (grand children  
 to *Triuulce*, by reason of *Francis* their Mother, his bastard daughter) deprived of that  
 place. In the end, after all the duties that might be performed by men besieged, despairing  
 of succours, seeing a breach made, and the water of their ditches so frozen, as it bare  
 the souldiers, they obtained in the end (by the intercession of the Cardinals which as-  
 sisted the Pope) to depart with bag and baggage: vpon condition, that *Alexander Triuulce*  
 Gouverneur of the towne, and all the Captaines should remaine prisoners: and to  
 restore the towne from sacke, which he had promised to his souldiers, they should pay  
 a certaine summe of money.

Mirandole to  
 ken.

After the taking of Mirandole, two things were propounded in Councell by the  
 French: whether they should assaile the enemy, or besiege Modena or Bologna, to draw  
 the Popes forces out of the Estate of Ferrara, and by that means to draw them into a  
 convenient place for a battell. Great Capraines hold it for a firme maxime, and experi-  
 ences hath alwaies taught it, That we ought neuer to vndergoe the hazard of a battell, but  
 for some great aduantage, or when as vrgent necessity doth constrain. This was the ad-  
 uice of *Triuulce*, newly returned to the campe, and accordingly resolution was taken to  
 go to Modena. But let vs obserue a Spanish trick. The policie & secret aduertisements  
 of *Ferdinand* did more harm to the King his vnkle, then the Popes open force. He thinks  
 this to be a means to pacifie the Emperors spleene, and to sow some diuision betwixt the  
 King and him. Modena was held time out of minde, to be a see of the Empire, and the  
 boyles of Este had not enioyed it but by the Emperors inuoluntarie. *Ferdinand* then ad-  
 iusteth the Pope, to the end the French should not haue it, to restore it to the Emperour, as  
 a towne of his iurisdiction. So *Vitfruch*, *Maximilians* Ambassadour, hauing receiued it  
 in that forme, gaue notice vnto *Chaumont*, that Modena did no more belong vnto the  
 Pope, but to her ancient and lawfull Lord. And to enioy this restitution quietly, *Pittfruch*  
 D and *Chaumont* agreed together, that the French forces should not offend Modena, nor  
 the territories thereof: and during these garboiles betwixt the King and the Pope, it  
 should fauour neither party.

Then died *Charles* of Amboise, a Captaine, whom the name of the Cardinall of Am-  
 boise his vnkle, and the government of the Estates of Milan, and of the Kings armies,  
 holding great reputation in Italy: a faithfull seruant to his King, but (to beate so great a  
 burden) he wanted a longer experience in the art of war: seeing that after the death of  
 his vnkle, through that defect he was become contemptible to his souldiers: to whom  
 to keepe them the better at his deuotion, he gaue too much liberty. *Iohn Iagues* of Triuulce,  
 as Marshall of France tooke vpon him the command of the army, attending the Kings  
 pleasure: and inflamed with an honest ambition to performe something worthy of his  
 vantage, hauing in the month of May gathered together twelve hundred Launces, and  
 some thousand foot, he besieged, took, and sacked in one day the towne of *Corone*, and  
 aduon Chastilaunc by composition. Then approaching Bologna, he demanded the  
 Pope, as hauing founded the Bolognois mindes, and drawne from them an expectation  
 of help, he left the Cardinall of *Paia* there, and retired to *Rauenna*. He is no further grieved,  
 but the people looking to the preservation of their priuie, and present estate, rather  
 than themselves furnished with two armies, they take armes and hinder the Cardinall  
 from bringing in of any forces. The Cardinall fainting, & fearing the vnkle must  
 see should see some damage for their honourable Citizens: whose heads he had lately  
 cut off, as trophies to the *Venturiers*, flies in the night disguised into the Chastilaunc  
 from thence towards *Imola* with an hundred horse.

Bologna taken

The next night being knowne, the people began to found out the name *Papale*, with  
 great murmur and tumult. *Laurence Ariosto*, *Francis Rimbis*, and other Captaines of the  
 town, were sent to the *Barbale* to runne to the gates of *S. Felice* and *S. James*, break their  
 way, call the *Populares* and receive them into the towne. The Duke of *Vermigli* ad-  
 uised the Legats to go and see the people smiling, disguised in the night, (being half  
 past of his rate and poulions standing) with all his army, except such as for the guard of

Imola to  
 be taken.

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the campe were on the other side of the river towards the French, to whom he gave as intelligence of his departure. The people understanding of his retreat, and the pefians coming downe from all parts, with great cries and shouts, pursue them, take fifteen peeces of great artillery, and many lesse, the D. of Urbins standard, their munition and baggage. The souldiers had time to save themselves, whilst that *Raphael* of Passy, one of the captaines of the Church, made a stand at the bridge of Rene, untill that by the taking thereof, and rout of all his people, the whole army had a free passage to Bologna. A victory extraordinarily happy, having in one night conquered a great city, and without perill or fight broken a whole army. The Bishop *Vitelli* held the Cittadell, and *Vilfridi* posting thither in the night, perswades him to deliver it into the Emperors hands: but three thousand Ducats which the Bolognois gave him, made him to open the gates: the people having recovered it, and to free themselves both from subiection, and the jealousy of nations, and also from the feare they had lest the King should retaine it, ruined it to the ground. The Duke of Ferrara making his profit of this victory, recovered Cento, Pieve, Cotignole, Lugo and other townes of Romagna.

At the same time the Emperors and the Kings Deputies, assisted by the Cardinals *S. Croix*, *S. Mala*, *Baieux*, *Casense*, *Albert*, and many others, publish a Councell at Pisa for the first of September, the which was lately returned to the obedience of the Florentines. To crosse this Councell, the Pope (following the advice of *Anthony de Mui* of *S. Sanjoan*, one of the eight Cardinals newly created at Ravenna, appointed a general Councell the 1 of May, at *S. Iohn de Lateran* in Rome. And to keepe the Kings quiet, he colourably gave care to a peace, which the Bishop of Tioli his Nuncio, and the King of Scots Ambassador treated for him with the King, and the Cardinals of Nantes and Strigonia with the Pope. But these practices of Peace are broken by the Popes infirmity, the which having brought him even to the pits brink, gave him yet a spit to stir up long calamities. *Julius* is no sooner freed from the danger of death, but makes a new league with the Senate of Venice and the King of Arragon, against the French: to maintain (said he) the union of the church, to defend it from apparant schisme, and to recover all such places, as mediately or immediately depended on the Church.

The first of September was come, when as the Cardinals Attornies, in their names, celebrate the acts appertaining to the opening of the Councell of Pisa. And the Pope much incensed, that the Florentines had yielded to the celebration of this petty councell (as he termed it) in their estate, declared Florence and Pisa, subiect to the Ecclesiastical censure, by vertue of the Bull of the councell which he had caused to be published: and he pronounced the above named Cardinals fallen from the dignity of Cardinall, and subiect to the punishments of hereticks and schismatics. The Florentines and Pisans appeale from this curse to the holy Councell (not of Pisa, but to erre least in their termes) of the vniuersall Church: and by the Magistrates commandement, the Priests continue the publique celebration of diuine seruice in their Churches. The pretext to reforme the Church was goodly and of great profit. But oh pleasant reformers! the Authors of this Councell, thrust on by their own priuate ambitious desires, vnder colour of a general good, contented of their own priuate interest, so as euery one might plainly see, that the sooner should be chosen Pope, would have no lesse neede of reformation, then they now undertook to reform. So as euen at their first entry the Cardinals tried both the tempte & hatred of the Commons. They call the Clergy to assist in the cathedral Church at the first session. No one appeares, the Priests deny their ornaments to the Cardinals offering to celebrate the masse, and that the Church doores, so as the Cardinals, fearing they should not remaine safe at Pisa, vnlesse they were back with forsaige forces, and the Florentines vnwilling to admit any, remembering the Pisans rebellion vnder *Charles* the eighth, they decreed to haue the Councell transported to Milan. They founde like difficulties at Milan. The Clergy abstaine from saying seruice, as before accused persons: the Commons curse them and laugh at them in open streets, namely at the Cardinal of *S. Croix* chosen President of the Councell, whom euery one noted to bee the author of this assembly, hoping by fauour thereof to make himselfe a foot-stoole to climbe to the Popedom. This refusal of the Milanois made them againe to transport the Councell to Lions. Where *Julius* being suspended from his Popedom, and prohibitions made throughout all France, not to send any mony to Rome, nor to bring any buls from thence,

A new league  
against the  
French.

A Councell be-  
gins at Pisa.

The Councell  
transported to  
Milan.

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A he did not only excommunicate all the French, but also granted Bulls of pardon & remission, to any one that should kill a French man: giuing the Realme of France (& that of Navarre, in hatred of *Iohn* of Albret allied to the King, and at the perswasion of *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, who had long gaped after some occasion to lay hold of it,) in prey to the first conqueror. So this councell did nothing but increase their spleenes and kindle new troubles. But as the King had an intent to assaile Romagna, or to maintain the war in another Country, attending his owne coming in person the next spring with all the forces of his Realme, behold 16000 Suisses, with seven field peeces (new raised by the Cardinall of Sion, vnder the authority of *Julius*) enter by Varese and Galere, and from thence they send a trumpet to desce *Gaston* of Foix, D. of Nemours, who with the Count of *Triulze* commanded the French armies, as Lieutenant General to the King his Vncle. *Gaston* (having speedily assembled 700 horse, and such foot as the vrgent necessity would suffer him, the companies being diuided into sundry garisons) presents himselfe before Galere, with much artillery. The Suisses go forth in battell: yet vnwilling to fight in so open a place, they retire to Buzi. In the meane time, the companies of men at armes, and foot, come from all parts to Milan. Captaine *Molare* with his *Gascons* came from Verona, & the Lanquenets from Carpi, who reuiued the spirit of the Milanois, being somewhat danted by this sudden descent. And the more, for that certaine letters were surprised, which the Suisses had written to their Lords, that they had no newes, neither of the Pope, nor of the Venetian army. So as having found some difficulty to passe the river of Adde, they tooke (as in their first journey) the way to Como, and so euery one to his home. Shewing, that for want of conduct, assistance and pay, they doe commonly terrifie more then hurt.

After the Suisses retreat, behold all the townes the Ferrarois held in Romagna were exposed in prey to the Spaniards, being ioyned to the forces of the Church, who assembling at Imola, a thousand men at armes, eight hundred Genetaires, and eight thousand Spanish foot, with many Barons of the Realme of Naples, vnder the command of *Fabrice Colonne*, their General; and for the Pope eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and eight thousand Italians, vnder *Marke Anthony Colonne*, *Iohn Vitelli*, *Mad* *Auguston* to *Iohn Paul Bailon*, *Raphael* of Passy, and others, all subiect to the command of the Cardinall of Medicis, Legat in the army, resolving to bessege Bologna. The Duke of Nemours had put into it, (besides the inhabitants and some horse and foot entertained by the *Bentiuoles*) two thousand Lanquenets, and two hundred Lances vnder *Oder*, son to *Peter* of Foix Viconte of Lautrec, *Tues* of Alegre, *Anthony* of Fayer, *Peter Terrail*, surnamed Captaine Bayard, and in the meane time assembled all the forces of Italy together at Final, to preferre Bologna from the enemy. Already a hundred sadome to the wall neere to *S. Stephens* gate was layed euen with the ground, the Tower at the gate was already abandoned, and the Spaniards had planted an ensigne vpon the wall, when as the besieged placing their Cannon in counterbattery, and hauing slaine some of them that were mounted, they forced them to retire in disorder.

These first attempts had troubled the people, if *Gaston* had not suddenly re-enforced the Towne with a thousand foot, and a hundred and fourescore Lances. The besieged thus fortified, a strange successe doubles their courage. *Peter* of Nauarre having set fire to a myne which he had made at the port of Chastillon, where there was a chappell, both the wall and the Chappell leaped so into the aire, as the army without discovered the towne plainly, and the souldiers prepared to defend the assault, but both the wall and Chappell falling downe, settled in the same place from whence the violence of the fire had forced them. Doubtlesse the Bolognois had reason to make a miracle of this accident, and to believe, that this fall vpon the same foundation, was a manifest testimony of Gods assistance. This happy successe brought *Gaston* to Brescia, whither the Venetian army marched, to effect some intelligences: but perswaded by the Captaines of Bologna, that his absence would double the enemies courage, he parts from Final, and marching all night (notwithstanding the snow, and violent winds) entered the City in the morning, with thirteene hundred lances, six thousand Lanquenets, and 8000 French and Italians, before the enemy had any notice thereof: who being assured of the truth, retired their artillery secretly, and took the way to Imola. In the meane time *Andrew Gritti*, general of the Venetians (perswaded by Count *Lewis Auogare*, and the most part of the Countrymen) had

Warre in Ro-  
magna.

Bolognians be-  
sieged by the  
Spaniards.

A wonderful  
chance.

Brescia taken by  
the Venetians.

Recovered by  
the French.

A new league  
against the  
King.

had taken the towne of Brescia by assault, where James of Aillon Lord of Lude kept the Castle hill. People newly conquered do commonly the like in all occasions. Bergamo (the two castles excepted) Orcinoue, Orcinoue, Pontuque, and many places thereof, obey the victors. The Duke of Nemours leaving 300 lances, and 4000 foot in Bellonia, posted with all speed to Brescia, and having intelligence that John Paul Bailion lodged in the life of Escale, with 300 men at armes, 400 light horse, and 1200 foot, heges to charge them with 300 lances, and 700 Archers; having overtaken them (as they were ready to passe the river of Adice) at the tower of Magnanin, he chargeth them, defend them and kills almost a hundred horse, takes many prisoners (amongst others Guy of Raigon, and Balhazar Signiore of Perugia) dispersed all his foot, (whereof the most part were drowned in passing) and takes two Fauconneux which he had. The next day, in an encounter, he defeated Melager of Furl, Capitaine of the Venetian light horse, the commande remaining prisoner: so continuing his designe, he arrived at Brescia nine daies after his departure, besieged it, takes it by force, and sacks it. Doubtlesse this braue Prince did hazard his owne ruine, if he had not, with great iudgment and order, commanded; that no man should looke to any spoile, before the towne were fully at his command. And hee did well put it in practice, as the first that made shew to abandon his ranke, was slaine by his companions. But who doth use such discipline at this day, when as being greedy of booty, they lose to goodly occasions? Our French lost some men at armes, and many foot: but the enemy lost about eight thousand: some being inhabitants armed, some Venetians, who were five hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, two hundred Souldiers or Carbins, and eight thousand foot. Frederick marion Commisary of the Stradiots was slaine. Andren Griiti, Anthony Iustinian, John Paul Marston and his sonne, the Cheualier Polpe, Balhazar of Scipion, one of the sonnes of Anthony of Pie, Count Lewis Augere his two sons, and Dominique Busche capitaine of the Stradiots were prisoners. Count Lewis and his children (the chiefe authors of this rebellion) were afterwards beheaded. A reuolt dearly bought by this City, which yielded not to any other in Lombardy, in Nobility and dignity, and in wealth (next vnto Milan) it exceeded all the rest.

This chastisement made Bergamo and the other reuolted Townes, to call backe the French whom they had lately expelled. These prizes and reprints, conquests & happy successesse, prolonged the stay of the French in Italy, and yet they did nothing fertile thereof, seeing what they enioyed, was rather a charge and expence to them, then any profit. But behold strange crosses both by land and sea, doe hereafter bandy against the happiness of our men. They giue the King intelligence from Rome, that Henry the eight King of England (notwithstanding his promise) was ioyned in league with the Pope, and it was confirmed by writing, that a Gallies laden with wines, corne, & other provisions, arriving in England from the Pope, had exceedingly altered Henry, with the Nobility, Clergie, and commons of England. That he should with his army at sea invade the coasts of Normandy & Britany, and send 8000 foot into Spaine, to begin war in Guienne ioynly with the Arragonois. And they made already great preparations of men and shipping in England, and likewise of ships in Spaine, to passe into England.

Moreouer, the Emperor was altered and changed in his affection, complaining that the King (contrary to the capitulation of Cambray) did hinder the aduancement of the Empire in Italy. He required that René the Kings youngest daughter should be promised to Charles his grandchild, giuing him Bourgonne in dowry; and that the Lady should then be presently deliuered into his custody. That the conquests for Ferrara, Bologna, and the Counsell should be referred to him. And moreover, having made a truce with the Venetians for eight months, hee protested, not to suffer the King to increase his state in Italy. But these were but bare shifts to couer his bad intent. Besides, the Carrons of the Swisses were so incited against this Crowne, that although the King sought to win their loues with store of gold, yet the persuasions of the Cardinall of Sion (whom they may see that Cardinals haue bene alwaies dealers in matters of State) had him made them grant to the confederates a leaue of sixe thousand men. And the Pope straine all his strings against our Lewis, fearing lest his extreame rigour should induce the Florentines to follow the Kings fortune, to the preiudice of his designes, he reuokes without any lye, the censures whereunto he had bound them. To quench this fire before it flamed farther, the King commanded his Nephew to march

The French  
army in Italy.

A march with speed against the confederates army, of whom he promised himselfe the victory, being amazed and the weaker, and then to assaile Rome & the Pope with all violence desirous that this war (so seeme the lesse odious) should be made in the name of the council called first at Pisa, and that a Legat deputed by the Councell, should receive the conquered Townes, in the name thereof. The Cardinall of S. Severin was appointed Legat of Bologna in the army. So the duke of Nemours furnishing all places with men necessary for defence, gathers together all the forces the King had in Italy, hee makes an army of 1600 Lances, 5000 Lanquenets, 5000 Galscons, and 8000 French & Italians, to whom the Duke of Ferrara added an hundred at armes, two hundred light horse, and a great quantity of good artillery: Gascon having left his at Final by reason of the bad way. The enemies army was 1400 men at armes, a thousand light horse, seven thousand Spaniards, and three thousand Italians newly leauied.

Gascon thrust forward aswell by the Kings command, as by his owne valour and desire of glory, was desirous to see if the enemy would willingly try the hazard of a battell. They on the other side temporized, attending their Suisses, and that the English and Spaniards beginning war in France, should force the King to call backe all, or the greater part of his troopes: and yet coasted alongst the French army, lest the townes of Romagna should be left in prey, and the way layed open to goe to Rome, lodging alwaies in strong places, neere to some strong towne, which might serue them for a retreat at need. So the Duke of Nemours (not able to cut off their victuals through the commodity they had of the townes of Romagna, nor force them to fight, without great disadvantage) goes and intencampes before Rauenna, hoping they would not be so base minded, as to suffer such a City to be lost before their eyes: and by this means an occasion should be offered to fight with them in an equall place.

The enemy discouering this purpose, sends Marke Anthony Colonne to Rauenna, with three score men at men of his company, Peter of Caltre with an hundred light horse, Salazar and Parades with sixe hundred Spaniards: The towne is seated betwixt two riuers, Ronque and Montone, which descending from the Appenine hills, straiten themselves neere vnto Rauenna, with so small a distance, that on either side they passe close to the D walls, then ioyning together they run into the sea three miles from thence. Gascon intencampes himselfe betwixt the two riuers, and plants his artillery, some against the tower of Ronconne betwixt Port Adrian and Ronque, and some on the other side of the riuier Montone, whither almost halfe his troopes were passed to batter in diuers places, and to hold the riuier at his will. He batters the wall, makes a breach of thirty fadome, chooseth ten out of euey company of men at armes to couer the foot: diuides his army into three squadrons, and giues a furious assault, although they could not mount but with ladders, the wall remaining yet about three yards high. Those within maintaine it valiantly, and fighting the space of three houres, in the end they repulse our men with the losse of three hundred foot and some men at armes, with a great number hurt: amongst others the Lord of Chastillon, master of the Ordnance, and Spineuse, who being hurt with the Artillery from the Towne, died within few daies after. In the meane time the Citizens auzed, and fearing a more dangerous charge, treated of their yielding without the consent of Marke Anthony Colonne, when as beheld, the enemy comes, marching to their succour, who camps at Moulinache three miles from Rauenna, fortifying themselves with a trench, such as the shortnesse of time would permit, leauing an entry of about twenty fadomes.

Gascon raiseth the siege, turns the mouth of the Cannon towards the enemies, on Easter day the eleuenth of Aprill, passeth Ronque, leauing his reuerward led by Louis d'Alger vpon the riuers side towards Rauenna, to succour the army at need, to make head against those that should issue out of the towne, and to keepe the bridge which they had made vpon the riuier of Montone: then disposing of his troopes, hee giues the alarme, guard to the Duke of Ferrara, the battell to the Lord of Palisse, and the Cardinall of Saint Severin, who great both in mind and body, couered from the head to the foot with most glittering armes, performed the office of a capitaine rather then of a Prelate. Gascon referred to himselfe no priuate charge, but would be free, to see, and succor in all places: the beauty of his armes, his callocke, is cheerefull countenance, his eyes full of vigour & sparkling for toy, made him very apparent. The enemy seeing our French passe the riuier, were ranged in battell

battell. *Fabrice Colonne* led the foreward, the Cardinal of Medicis, Legat of the Council of Lateran, the battell: but (a fatal signe) in a peacefull habite: *Carnagial* a Spanish Capitaine, the reerward. So the two armies approaching one the other, stood immovable about two houres, the enemies being loth to abandon the circuit of their palliade. The Spaniards artillery thunders, and at the first volley overthrew many French.

The French answers, but with a greater losse to their horse. *Peter* of Nauarre having caused the foot to couch flat vpon their bellies, *Fabrice* cries, presteith, and importunes, to go to the battell, and not to suffer them to be consumed by the Cannon. The Nauarrois contradicts, presuming that the more the danger increased, the more famous would the victory be which hee expected. But the Cannon had so scourged their men at armes and light horse, as they could no longer keepe their ranks. There might you see men and horse fall dead to the ground, heads, armes and legges flie into the aire, when as *Fabrice* cries out: *Shall wee die shamefully here, by the obstinacy and malice of a villaine? Shall this army be consumed, without the death of any one enemy? must the honor of Spaine, and Ith, be lost for the pleasure of a Nauarrois?* Speaking thus, he presteith out of the trench with his company, all the horsemen follow him, the foot rife, and with fury charge the Lanque-nets. All the squadrons ioyne, danger, glory, hope and hatred of nation against nation, besth them in the combat. *Fabrice Colonne* is already taken by the Duke of Ferraraes compaignie, *Alegre* chargeth in flanke with his reerward. The Viceroy of Naples and *Carnagial* are put to flight, leading with them almost a whole squadron. The light horse are dis-ranked, and the Marquis of Pescara their Capitaine prisoner, being covered with wounds and blood. The Marquis of Padillia is likewise defeated with his squadrons, and taken prisoner. The Italian foot shrunke and began to turne their backs, if the Spaniards had not speedily come to second them against the Lanque-nets. But all the best men fled, and the Spanish Battalion retired in order, when as *Gaston* turning to charge them with a great troop of horse, not holding the victory absolute, if those retired whole, he went courageously to assaile them. But alas, as they charge the hindermost, they are inuironed by this battalion, cut in peeces for the most part, and hee (throwne vnder his horse) was slaine, being thrust into the flanke with a pike. Doubtlesse a happy death for him, hauing this content in his soule, to die in so young an age, honored with so much glory, the which he had purchased in few moneths by so many and so notable victories: but a fatal victory, polluted with the death of so braue a Commander, who but euen now began to make his name and his valor knowne, and by his fall caried with him the happiness of the French, and the strength of this army.

The Vicount of Laurec his cousin, remained almost dead by him, maymed with many wounds: but led afterwards to Ferrara, and being carefully looked vnto, hee escaped, to doe the King notable seruice. *Gaston* being dead, the Spaniards retire without trouble or lett: the rest of the army is broken and disperfed. The baggage taken, ensignes and artillery: prisoners of marke, *Fabrice Colonne*, the Marquises of Pescara and Padillia, Escelle and Bitonto, the Earle of Monteleon, *Iohn* of Cardone, *Peter* of Nauarre, many Barons and Noblemen Spaniards, Neapolitans and Italians, and the Legat of the Council of Lateran. There were slaine according to the common estimation, ten thousand, and a third of the French, amongst which were *Alegre* and *Vierrois* his sonne, *Raimond* of S. Maur, *Melare* and some other Galloine Captaines, *Iacob* Colonell of the Lanque-nets, a braue man, and commended to haue assisted much with his troope for the winning of this victory. Two thirds of the enemies, but almost all their chiefe Captaines and the bravest of their army, a great number hurt, and most of them that fled, were stript & beaten downe by the Countreymen, which lay in troopes by the way. And (for the last act of this Papall tragedy) Rauenna is taken by assault and cruelly sacked, and spoiled. *Imol*, *Furly*, *Cesena*, *Rimini* and all the forts of Romagna followed the victors fortune, and the Legate of the Councell of Pisa, receiues them all in the name of the said Councell. The body of *Gaston* was caried to Milan, with an honorable conuoy, in a litter followed by the aboue-named prisoners, and interred with a wonderfull mournfull pompe, namely of the souldiers, whose hearts he had so wonne, as they protested that nothing was impossible vnto them, vnder the leading of such a Commander. And the King his valetre, receiuing these heavy tidings, I would to God (said he) I were driven out of Italy, so my nephew de Foix and the other Noblemen liued. I wish such victories to mine enemies. If we use

The battell of  
Rauenna won  
by the French.

Gaston of Foix  
slaine.

Rauenna taken  
and sacked.

A *quith once more after this fort we shall be vanquished.* Without doubt hee had reason, for from that time this armie (not able to finde a Commandeer of that credit) on the one side rich with spoile, on the other weake both of force and courage, by this so bloody a victory, seemed rather vanquished then victorious. This battell had killed the Court of Rome with terror and tumult, and the Cardinals running to the Pope, prest him with instant prayer to accept a peace, with such conditions as the King offered by the Cardinals of Nantes and Strigonia, wherewith the King was yet content, notwithstanding the happy success of his affaires: That *Bologna*, *Luganum* and all other townes, which *Alphonso* held in Romagna, should be restored, and the Councell of Pisa dissolved. *Rais* seeing these conditions very honourable for him, and that vnder colour of these paises he should flay the Kings army, vntill he heard the resolution of those, on whom hee grounded the rest of his hopes, subscribed these articles nine daies after the battell, promising on his faith to the Cardinals, to accept them: But our *Leuis* must try once more, how dangerous it is to moue a warlike nation. The Suisses wonderfully discontented with the Kings refusal to increase their pensions, by whose valour (said they) hee had conquered so great Estates without his R calme, and for that he had entertained Lanque-nets, as if he had meanes to make warre without their forces, they haue no sooner receiued a florine of the Rhine for euery man from the Pope (whereas before the King was enforced to giue much gold, and great presents to their Colonels, to haue them fight) but descending into Lombardy with ten or eight thousand men, they force *Palisse* Lieutenant generall of the Kings army, to retire to defend the Estate of Milan, *Robert* Vrsin, *Pompey Colonne*, *Anthony Savelle*, *Peter Margant* and *Rance Mancin* had (since the battell) accepted the Kings pay, and now the descent of the Suisses, and the dislodging of *Palisse*, makes some to lead such men as they had leauied with the Kings money vnto the Pope, others retain the money to themselves, only *Margant* (more modest then the rest) restores it againe. All this freed the Pope from feare, and confirmed him in his obstinacy. He begins the Councell of Lateran the 3 of May, pronounceth a monitory vnto the King: That he deliver (vpon the paines yet downe by the holy Canons) the Cardinal of Ardicke, taken prisoner in the warre, being at Milan: and after some sessions hee recourse, to attend the war.

The recovery  
of Iulius.

A new descent  
of Suisses.

*Iohn Paul Bailion*, Generall of the Venetian army, attended the Suisses in the territories of Verona with foure hundred men at armes, 800 light horse, and 6000 foot: being ioynd, they surpriseth a letter which *Palisse* did write to the Generall of Normandy, who remained at Milan: That it would be very hard to resist the enemies, if they turned towards the Duchy of Milan: A sufficient instruction to direct them in their course, which makes them to march towards Milan. *Palisse* had not with him above a thousand lances, and fixe or seuen thousand foot, all his other troopes being diuided into places for defence, and this generall of Normandy, as bad a warrior as a treasurer (I would not forget to name him, if I had learned his name) hauing after the battell of Rauenna, vnder color of sparing for the king, contrary to the disposition of present affaires, indifferently discharged the Italian foot & some French. And besides the small number of men, the dissention and disobedience of Captaines, and the souldiers contempt of their Commander, ioynd with the discomforts of a tired army: a Generall little regarded, ill accompanied, in a Country farre from succours, enuironed with mighty and many enemies, must needs produce losses great and sudden disorder.

Disorders in  
the French  
army.

The best meanes our Captaines could finde, was to abandon the field, and disperse their troopes into the most important places. In Brescia 2000 foot, a hundred and fifty lances, and a hundred men at armes of the Florentines: in Crema fifty lances, and 1000 foot in Bergamo, a thousand foot, and a hundred men at armes of the Florentines. The remainder of the army consisting of six hundred lances, two thousand French foot, and four thousand Lanque-nets retired to Pontique, a strong place of situation, and sit to seer Milan, Cremonia, Brescia, Bergamo, and to withstand the enemy. But it is a great inconvenience to rely most vpon foraigne forces, so subiect to change. The Emperor giues the first stroke, hee calls home his Lanque-nets, and their departure making *Palisse* lose all hope of possibility to defend the Duchy of Milan, hee retires to Piquetion. So the Cremonois abandoned yeelde (except the Castle) at the first approach of the confederates, and pay forty thousand Ducats to the Suisses: Certaine banished men returning into Bergamo, cause a revolt, and *Palisse* being too weake to stop the enemies passage

quish

The estate of  
Milan lost by  
the French.

over the river of Adde, puts himself into Paula. But hee fought to prevent the ruin of a great building with a rush. Then *John Jaques* of Triulce, the General of Moravia, *Anthony Maria Paleogio*, *Galeas* of Genoa, and many other Gentlemen and Frenchmen the King, saving themselves in Piedmont, leave Milan in prey, which bound it the first summons to pay a great summe of money. Paula battered, and abandoned by the French, is saved by the great meane from spoile. All towns except Brescia and Crema, make haste to doe the like.

All the Country calls upon the name of the Empire. All is taken and governed in the name of the holy League (for so they called it) the Cardinal of Sion governs all at pleasure, and causeth all the taxes of the conquered townes to be given to the Swisses, as vpon the brute of this money, an infinite number of other runne and toyne with the first. Rimini, Cefenne, and Rauenna returne to the Popes obedience; Placentia and Parma yeeld willingly vnto him, as members of the government of Rauenna. The Swisses seize vpon Lucerne, the Grisons (who also in this crosse left the French alliance) vpon *Volosine* and *Chiavenna*, Genoua rebels, expels the French, and *John Fregese*, a Captain in the Venetians army, returning, causeth himselfe to be created Duke, as his father had bene. At the same instant the Pope recouers all Romagna, the *Beniti* also abandon Bologna, and the Duke of Vrbis seizeth thereon in *Iulius* name: So eery one polishes peece from the whole, and all these estates conquered with so great toyle, so much money, and such losse of blood, are lost at the first attempt, after this great victory of *Ravenna*, with little labour and lesse blood-shed. Truly, the best waies are confounded in iudgment of these things, and we must confesse, that the issue of humane affaires depend of a higher Councell then that of Man. Nowwithstanding, according vnto many whom I shall we impute the cause of these accidents, but to the death of the Duke of Nemours: for if he had liued, it is likely, that gouerning well his victory, hee had (which helpe that giues and takes) reaped many worthy therof. But *greauis* comes vnto from the East, nor from the West, nor from the desert, for it is God which gouernes, hee will downe one and raise up another.

The Pope still gaped with his old ambition, to haue Ferrara in his power. But by the tercession of the Marquis of Mantua, the Ambassador of the King of Arragon (for *Alphonso* was borne of a daughter of old *Ferdinand*, King of Naples) and the Colonei, *Alphonso* hauing demanded and obtained pardon of the Pope, vpon promise to doe the deeds and duties of a faithfull feudatary & vassall of the Church, *Iulius* turns his reuenge vpon the companies, wherewith the Florentines had ayded the King, whom he caused to be spoiled by the Venetian souldiers, with the consent of the Cardinal of Sion, who notwithstanding had giuen them a passport to passe safely into Tuscane. And by the practices of the said *Iulius*, who (according to the ancient desire of all Popes) fought to haue authority in this common weale, the Medicis, with the helpe of the confederates, returned to Florence, and seized themselves by force in the dignity which their father was wont to enioy. Italy being for this time freed from the feare of the French, the King holding nothing but Brescia, Crema, Legnague, the Chasteler and the Lanterne at Genoua, the Castles of Milan, of Cremona, and some other forts: all these confederates gaged after the Duchy of Milan: and the Swisses (on whom the Pope then partly depended) opposing themselves, not to suffer this estate to fall into the hands of any other Prince, but of such one as could not maintaine himselfe without their ayde and succor, *Maximilian* grand-child to *Lodowick Sforze*, was named D. of Milan, who made his entry in the end of December, receiving the keyes from the hands of the Cardinal of Sion, as confirming the said *Maximilian*. That hee held the possession of Milan in the Swisses name. An honorable act and worthy of their generosity, not to yeeld the honor which belonged vnto them to the other confederates, the which notwithstanding they should much esteeme, and (it may be) might haue obtained it for money. Nauarre returns soone after to the obedience of *Sforze*.

Then the Genouois recouered the Chasteler of Genoua, for ten thousand Ducats, given to the Capitaine, and the Venetians besieging Brescia, *Asprigh* who defended it, resolves to deliuer it to the Spaniards, to breed a ialousie betwix them, euen as a few dayes before *Palis* had giuen Legnague to the Emperour, to nourish a discord betwix the Emperour and the Venetians, who besieged it. *Othman Sforze* Bishop of Lode, and

*Sforze* restored  
to Milan.

gouernment

A new league  
where the Venetians  
are excluded.

A gouernor of Milan, sent foure thousand Swisses to conquer Crema, for *Maximilian Sforze*: but *Benedict Cribario*, corrupted by gifts, deliuered it to the Venetians, with the consent of the Lord of Duras, who kept the Castle. This was of purpose to breed a diuision betwix the Swisses and the Venetians. A Councell generally concluded by the French, which remained of this shipwrack, the which in the end wrought some effects: but the losse fell vpon the French, for with this first diuaine of the Venetians against the Emperour by reason of Legnague, beheld a new leuaine of discontent is layed by the Bishop of Gurce, *Maximilian* ambassador at Rome. He made great instance, that the Venetians should deliuer Vincenza to the Emperour, wherunto, neither solicitings, intratings, nor the Popes threats could induce the Venetians. The Pope (desiring to gratifie *Maximilian*: that in his fauor hee should approve the Councell of Lateran against that of Pisa) protested to the Ambassadors of Venice: That he should be forced to pursue their common weale both with spirituall and temporall armes. So as nothing moued with this proclatation, the Pope, the Emperour, and the Arragonois renew the league of Cambray, declaring the Venetians to bee excluded. So the Emperour (by the Bishop of Gurce, in the next session of this Councell of Lateran) disauowed all them that had vied his name in the Councell of Pisa, and allowed that of Lateran.

In the meane, the six thousand English (promised by *Henry* King of England) were staid at Fontaraby, a towne seated vpon the Ocean, and frontier of the realme of Spaine towards France, to assaile ioyntly (according to the conuentions of the two Kings of Arragon and England, father in law and son) the Duchy of Guienne, vpon this pretext the Arragonois had intreated *John*, sonne to *Alain* of Albret King of Nauarre, (by reason of *Katherine* of Foix his wife, heiress of the said Realme) to remaine a neuter betwix the King of France & him, and that for the assurance thereof, he should deliuer certaine places into his hands, promising to re-deliver them when the war should be ended. But the Nauarrois, knowing well the demanders intent, obtaines a promise of succor from King *Lewis*, who, to free himselfe from the Arragonois forces, treated with the Duke of Alua Lieutenant general for *Ferdinand* in this army. But when the one party is vigilant and politique, and the other slothfull, there soone appears great effects. The industry and vigilancy of *Ferdinand*, the slacknesse and too great facility of *Lewis*, who (abused with the policy and deuices of his nephew) did equally hurt the Nauarrois, who suffered himselfe likewise to be deceived with the fraudulent hopes wherewith the Arragonois entertained him, who (seeing the succors of France far off, the Realme vnfurnished of forces, and the places not yet fortified) enters into Nauarre, takes Pampelune, and the other Townes of the Realme, abandoned by *John* (being vnable to defend it) who fled into Bearne.

And hauing no lawfull title to possesse it, publisheth, that he is lawfully seized thereon, by the authority of the Apostolike see, whereby the said Realme was giuen to the first that should conquer it, by reason of the alliance which *John* had with the French King, a lawne enemy to the Church, and by the Popes bull, who being subiect to the censures, as heretikes and schismatikes. Without doubt the Pope holds not this prerogative of *John* Christ, to giue Kingdomes, and to expose them in prey: for he exhorted to yeeld to, and not to take from *Cesar*: & the Apostles did not busie themselves, to diuide earthly possessions. Moreover, is it lawfull for the Pope to vsurpe another mans right, giue away that which is not his owne, and consequently to vse the spirituall sword against those he cannot iudge, hauing declared himselfe a party? After the Conquest of Nauarre, the English persuaded *Ferdinand* to the siege of Bayonne, who without this place made no reckoning of the rest of Guienne. But he held that which he long wished for, as a commodious Country and very necessary for the safety of Spaine, and could not affect the war on this side the Pyrene mountains. So as the English, seeing that *Ferdinand* did vse them onely to further his priuate couetousnesse, tooke shipping and sayled into England.

To recouer this vsurped Realme, the King sent *Francis* Duke of Longueuille, gouernor of Guienne, *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, son to *Gilbert* late Vice-roy of Naples, *Odet* of Foix Vicount of Lautrec, *John* of Chabannes Lord of *Pallise*, Marshall of France, *Peter* of Terrail, the Lords of Maugiron, Lude, Barbezieux, Turenne, Elcars, Ventadour, Pompadour, and other valiant Captaines, with the old bands and *Gascous*, which hee assembled from all parts. But the army being diuided by the dissention of the Duke of Longueuille, who as Gouernour of Guienne, pretended the command to belong vnto him:

Nauarre taken  
by the King of  
Arragon.



1513

and the Duke of Bombon unwilling to yeeld unto him, by reason of his quality, proved fruitlesse for the King of Nauarre. Thus the Realme of Nauarre was invaded by the Spaniard, who remained master thereof. The departure of the English, and the enterprise of Nauarre being made frustrate, the King affects the affaires of Milan, with greater valency, whilst that the Castle, and that of Cremona held good: but the opposition of so many enemies bred many lets. There were many hopes to draw some one of these from this common alliance. The Bishop of Gurce had courteously given care to a friend of the Cardinall of Saint Seuerins, whom the Queene of France had sent vnto him, and bid him one of his people at the Kings Court to make a motion, that the King should bind himselfe to aide the Emperor against the Venetians: that Charles grand-child to Maximilian should marry with the Kings youngest daughter, to whom he should giue the Duchy of Milan in dowry: that the King should yeeld vnto them the rights he pretended in the Realme of Naples, and that the said duchy being recovered, Cremona and Guastalla should be held by the Emperour. Moreouer the Venetians were wonderfully grieued at the Popes new treaty with the Emperour: which put the King in hope to draw the Venetians vnto him. The Arragonois came betwene by a politicke stratageme: to make a new conquest of Nauarre, he had sent two Fryers into France (it is the Spaniards custom to manage affaires by the meanes of religious persons), to make their negotiations more graue, and to colour their policies with more subtilty) to treat with the Queene, touching a general peace, or a priuate, betwixt the two Kings. The amity of these did import much, but remembering that by their forces, Charles the 8 had first moued the peace of Italy; Lewis his successour, by meanes thereof had conquered the Duke of Milan, recovered Genoua, and ouerthrowne the Venetians; that at this present the Pope and other Potentates of Italy paid them annual pensions, to be receiued into their confederacie: They grew obstinate in refusing the Kings alliance, which hee sought by the Lords of Tremouille and Triuulce. In the end, the King (being reiecte by the same) seekes to the Venetians, who conclude to make a league with the King, according to the capitulations made formerly betwixt them, by the which Cremona & Guastalla should remaine to them. Robertus, Secretary of State, Triuulce, and almost all the members of the Councell approved this league. But the persuasions of the Cardinall of S. Marin opposite to Triuulce, and the Queens authority, (who desired much the gratification of her daughter by the foresaid marriage, so as the might remaine with her vntill the consummation thereof) made the King and his Councell incline to the Emperours parte. But discovering that these were but practises of the Emperour, to make the King succede more coldly in his courses, hee soone gaue it over.

Whilst that armes ceased on all sides, the Popes passions increased. Hee resented his designs against Ferraro, Sienna, Luques, Florence and Genoua; and as if hee were in his power to beat all the world at one instant: he thrust the King of England into war, in whose fauour he had dispatched a Bull in the Councell of Laceran; whereby the Duke of Most Christian was giuen vnto him, and the Realme of France againe abandoned to him, that should conquer it. But as he deuided of all these things, and without doubt of many other greater designs (according to the capacity of his turbulent spirit) death ended the course of his present toyles, the one and thirtieth day of February at night.

A Prince doubtlesse of great courage, of admirable constancy; and most worthy of glory, if he had directed his intentions to aduance the Church by peace, as he sought to grow great in temporall things, by policies in warre. John Cardinall of Madrie succceeded him, and was called Leo the tenth. The happy memory of his father, his lowly condition, free from bribes and simmony, his faire conditions, his liberality and mildnes of spirit, gaue great hope of the quiet of Christendome. Yet soone after his death, he shewed plainly that he was rather a successor of his predecessors hatred and obsequious passions, then of S. Peter. According to the treaty of the above named Fryers, the Kings of France and Arragon concluded a truce, whereby our Lewis, hauing more liberty to manke of the warres of Milan, resolved to send an army, knowing well that the people of that estate, oppressed with excessive taxes, leaues to pay the Swisses, and with the lodging and payment made to the Spaniards, desired earnestly to returne to his obedience. And to make this enterprise more easie, he accorded propoies before with the Venetians was againe renewed: so as the Venetians considering, that a concord with Maximilian

Popes Inlitt dies.

A truce betwixt France and Arragon.

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Peace betwixt the King of France and the Venetians.

(keeping Verona from them) was not sufficient to protect them from troubles and dangers, and that hardly they should get such an occasion to recover their estate, they binde themselves by Andrew Gritti: To aide the King with eight hundred men at armes, fiftene hundred light horse, and ten thousand foot: to recover Ast, Genoua and the Duchy of Milan. And the King, to assist them, until they had recovered all they had possessed in Lombardy, and in the Marquissate of Trensio before the treaty of Cambray.

The King knew well, it was but labour lost to seeke the Pope, who desired to haue no Frenchman in Italy. Yet the deuotion hee had to the Romane sea, made him sue vnto Leo, not to hinder him in the recovery of the aboue named places, offering not only not to passe any further, but also at all times to make such peace with him as hee pleased. But Leo treading the steps of his Predecessor, perswades the King of England to ioyne with the Arragonois in the inuasion of France, according to the Bull giuen by Inlio, hee protested to continue in the league made with the Emperour, with the Catholike King, and with the Swisses.

The King thus frustrate of a peace with the Pope, sends the Lord of Triuulce, with fiftene hundred Lances, eight hundred light horse, and fiftene thousand foot, halfe French and halfe Lanquenets. The whole Country was already in a mutiny; the Earle of Mulsacques, son to John Iames of Triuulce, was entred into Ast & Alexandria: the French had taken Cremona, Sonzin, Lode, and other places nere, and the Milanois had excommunicated themselves to their Duke, who was at Nauarre: for that hauing no man to defend them, they made their composition with the French, yet giuing him hope to returne to his subiection, when as the Swisses and his confederats should ioyne in field. Bartholomew of Aliuane, Generall of the Venetian army, had taken Valege, Pelquiere & Brefcia, when as the Kings army at sea approaching to Genoua, and finding Othobon and Simband, the sons of Lewis of Fiesque, leading foure thousand foot, and on the other side Antemel and Teroge Adornes, with a great number of the Countreymen: they tooke Genoua from the French, where the victors entring (transported with the fury of reuenge) the two Fiesques brethren, caused Zachary brother to the duke of Genoua, to be slaine, and then to be tied cruelly to a horse taily, and dragged through the City, being perished a little before, at the death of Jerome their brother, who coming out of the Palace, had bene murdered by Lodowike and Fregosin, brothers to the Duke.

Genoa taken.

All this succeeded well, but forty thousand ducats, lately sent by the Pope to the Swisses, had drawne an infinite number into the estate of Milan, thrusting themselves into Nauarre, at the first brute that the French meant to besiege it. It was the same Nauarre, where in Lodowik Sforze, father to this present duke, was taken prisoner. In the Kings campe were the same Captaines, Tremouille and Triuulce, some of the same Ensignes and Colonels which had sold the father, accompanied the son in this warre. And these presumptions caused Tremouille to make this over-bold promise to the King: that he hoped to deliuer him the sonne prisoner in the same place, where before he had giuen him the father. The representation of what had past, comforts this hope: but let vs take heed, lest vnder this colour we grow insolent and carelesse. Now the arrogancy of our French, finds a firme resolution in the Swisses, whereof follows a strange catastrophe, and an ouerthrow of the designs. The army batters Nauarre furiously, and layes a great part of the wall euen with the ground: but whereas the defence was wonderful hard and dangerous, so as Tremouille aduertised, that new Swisses were entred into it, and that Aloisius, a very famous Colonell, brought a great number, which coming by the valley of Aouit, approached to Lurec, despairing to take the Towne, hee retired his campe, to goe fight with the succors that came, making his accompt to breake the enemies, rather by their owne disorders for want of pay, then by the force of his armes.

But by the perswasion of Martin, one of their captaines, ten thousand Swisses issue forth in the night, the six of Iune, without horses or artillery, against a mighty army, and better provided: they set vpon our French, not addepe, but in a lodging vnfortified. The men at armes assemble at the first alarme of their Capitalls, rage themselves in battell, and the foot vnder their colors. The artillery layed many Swisses on the ground, when as the Sunne beginning to appeare, the body of their army resolving rather to be cut in pieces then retire, seven thousand of them fall violently vpon the Lanquenets, who guarded the artillery: and 3000 of them plant themselves with their pikes charged against

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French defeated at Novarre.

The memorable valor of Robert de la Marck.

the horse. The Suisses and Lanquenets, thrust on with a mutuall hatred, and a desire of a victorie, Hew one another with a bloody fury: one while the one thrunkes, is chafed and recoyles, and then the other: filling the field with dead bodies, wounded men, and with blood, in view of the men at armes, lodged so as the could not succour the foot, by reason of brooks and ditches, that were betwixt them. So the Suisses after two houres combat remained victors, win the artillery, turne the mouth of it against our men, and put both horse and horse to flight, of whom there is nothing remarkable observed, but that *Robert de la Marck* Lord of Sedan, understanding that *Foranges* and *Lamets* his sons, Colonels of the Regiments of Lanquenets, lay among the dead carcases, moved with fury and a fatherly affection, he runs into the midst of the Suisses troopes, and in despite of them layes the eldest vpon his horse, and the youngest vpon one of his men at armes, bringing them shut out of the conflict, being referred to shew future proofes of their valor. There died about fifteene hundred Suisses, with the author of this glorious Councell: Of ours, the west part of the Lanquenets fighting and of the French flying, vnto the number (as the Italian Authors say) of ten thousand. All the horse in a manner saved themselves: the Suisses not able to pursue them for want of horse, all their baggage was lost, and two and twenty peeces of great artillery, with all the horse appointed for the same. Doublesse it was one of the most glorious batels that euer the Suisses won: whereby wee observe, that be surprized and preuented, takes away all iudgement of command from the best commanders, dants the souldiers courage, and breeds confusion in order. This victorie being gotten, all places which had declared themselves for the French, craue pardon, and purchase their peace for money. Milan for two hundred thousand Ducats, and the rest according to their power, to be distributed to the Suisses, to whom was due the glory and profit of this victorie gotten by their blood and valour. *Ottavian Fregese* (aided by three thousand Spaniards, commanded by the Marquis of Pescara) enters Genoua, and causeth himselfe (to the preiudice of *John* his brother) to be created Duke of Genoua. *Aluian* (having left this happy successe of the Suisses and Spaniards should draw them vpon him) retires himselfe, takes Legnague from the Germans, besiegeth Verona, but in vaine, and then lodgeth his army within Padua. The two chiefe Authors of the Councell of Pisa, *Bernard*, *Caruagial*, and *Fredericke* of S. Suerin, amazed with this rout, went and craned pardon of the Pope, and were restored to the ranke of Cardinals. In the end of the year, the Caste of Milan and Cremona, returned to the Duke of Milans obedience, so the King held nothing in Italy, but the Lanterne of Genoua, the which we shall see taken and razed by the Genouois. Without doubt, he that seekes profit farre from his owne home, is oft times forced to returne poore and naked.

The King thus dispossessed of his estates in Italy, now turnes his thoughts and armes, to crosse the attempts of *Henry* King of England, who hauing (at the Popes perswasion) resolved to invade the Realme of France, agrees with the Emperour to giue him sixteene thousand Ducats, to enter into Bourgogne at the same instant, with 3000 horse, and eight thousand foot, Germans and Suisses, promising the Suisses a certaine sum of money, to toyne their forces with *Maximilian*, being content they should retaine a part of Bourgogne, vntill they were fully satisfied. According to this agreement, the English enters the marches of Picardy, and camps before Therouenne, with sixe thousand horse, and about forty thousand foot. But the English forces did not molest France at land onely, the Admirall of England ran along the coasts of Normandy & Britany. And the King to resist their incursions, caused foure Gallies to passe the straight of Gibraltar, vnder the charge of Captain *Prigent*. At the first encounter the Admirall chased *Prigent* into Breff. Here *Prigent* turnes his force, fights with the Admirall, and hurts him, whereof hee died within few daies after. After that, fourecore English ships, and twenty Normandy and Brittons ships, fought with equal forces, ours hauing the winde. But in the end *Prigent* was a Britton, Capitaine of the Nunne, which *Quene Anne* had caused to be built, best by ten or twelue English ships, and resolute to sell his death dearely, graped with the Regent, the chiefe ship of the enemies fleet, and firing it, burnt both the one and the other, with all that was in them.

*Therouenne* was defended by two hundred and fity Lances, and two thousand foot, whilst the King prepared 2500 Lances, ten thousand Lanquenets led by the Duke of Gueldres, sixe thousand others, which the Duke of Norfolk brought (being led

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A long before (our of England) and sent thousand French, to succour the besieged, who in the meane time molested the enemy, day and night, with their artillery, with which the great Chamberlaine of England was slain, and *Walter* capitaine of Calais also legged. The troopes assembled, the King commeth to them, and sheweth the want of *Lamets* and *John* d'Albille, Marquis of Retelin, Capitaine of an English Regiment of his own hold. Victuals growdeant in Therouenne, when as the Lord *de Pons*, Gouverneur of Heandry, and the French Capitaine chose out the most select of all their troopes, and gaue them charge to the individuals to the Towne. And for that their enterprise had happily succored, they raying too confidently, and depending on the cheery of courage, they haue an intelligence of their intent, the English haue sent their horse, and fiftie thousand foot, to cut off their passage, who did ride on their noses disarmed, they charge them vnawares, (being ready to wade through a river that pasteth as *Hoch*) they kill about three hundred, and take many prisoners: amongst others, the Marquis of Retelin, *Regard*, *de Rages*, *Clement* of Anlon, and *Safford* Ambroise. All the rest casting away their Lances, and thrusting to their heels, and horses, saved themselves by flight. And therefore they call this battell of Purges, which caused the yielding of Therouenne, the which was almost ready to take away all cause of discord, betwixt the Archduke *Charles*, (who by ancient right pretended it,) and the English who challenge it, as conquered from the enemy by the sword. *Henry* the sonne of *Charles* the Duke of Burgundie, and *Henry* went to campe before Tournay, following in this resolution, not so much the actions of a good Commander in the warre, (seeing the taking of this place, lying within the Low Countries brought him small profit) as the persuasions of *Maximilian*, hoping that this towne pulled from the French, might in time returne to the obedience of his grand-child *Charles*, to whom they pretended it appertained. Tournay was furnished of men of warre, and despairing of succours, for that the King (not being master of the field, nor of sufficient force to withstand the English) could not succor it, saved himselfe from spoile paying a hundred thousand Crowns. To crosse the English at home, the King had stirred vp *James* King of Scotland (an ancient ally to this Crowne) but the successe of armes was nothing fortunate for him, neither at last, nor at last. After these victories, the end of October approaching, *Henry* left a great garrison in Tournay, dismissed his strangers, and tooketh his way towards England, carrying so other accompanie for so great, and sumptuous a preparation for warre, but the City of Tournay. But some designs vpon Scotland (fallen into a populls hands,) hapened him home. Another storme threatened France. The Suisses armed according to the former conuention: the King sends *Trumouille* vnto them, to disperse them, vnder whom many of the Colonels had received the Kings pay. But neither by presents, nor promises, prevailed he any thing: onely he had a secret intelligence given him from some Capetaines, to provide for the defence of his government of Bourgogne, whether the Pope, the Emperour, and *Henry* did thrust them. And beheld fourteene or fiftie thousand Suisses, with the 10000 of the French County, a thousand horse, and the artillery which the Emperour gaue them vnder the conduct of *Ulrich* Duke of Wirtemberg, camped before Dijon: *Trumouille* was returned, with a thousand Lances, and six thousand foot, who by his practices had greatly altered the Colonels, when as he mulctured doubting the faith of their Capetaines, takes the artillery, and battens the walls: *Trumouille* not able to resist the force of this nation, which increased daily, flies to the last remedy, and without expiating any authority from his Maiesty, agrees with them: That the King should renounce the right he had to the Duchy of Milan, and should paye them 400000 Crowns within a time prefest, which they pretended was due for their seruices in the former warres: and for assurance thereof, he gaue for hostages, his nephew of Mezieres Baisile of Dijon, and foure Bourgeois of the said towne, who saving themselves a while after in Germany, escaped the threats of these people to cut off their heads, if the King did not ratifie it. Doubtlesse these were wise men to saue their heads from the Suisses choier. A very preiudiciall accord for the King, if he had bene constrained to ratifie it: But was it not better to let the Suisses sleepe, then to lose Dijon? Our *Lewis* is now fixed as in incombustibles, the English, and the Suisses: But the exemption of present dangers freed him not from a relaps, for the English depending threatened to returne into Britany, and prepared already being lecherous, any more to long at the warre. The Emperour had the like intent to annoy him.

Therouenne besieged.

The Suisses enter into Bourgogne.

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The Emperor  
affects to be  
Pope.

The Catholic King desired (as he was discovered by a letter, written to him Ambassador resident with Maximilian) the means to draw this Duchy of Milan to Ferdinand their common grandchild, younger brother to Charles the Archduke, shewing that by that means, all the other states of Italy should be forced to take their law from their shawl should be easier for the Emperor, assisted with the arms of Aragon and Naples, to make himself Pope, and which he had always desired since the death of his wife; and being installed in Saint Peter's chair, he should renounce the Imperial Crown in favour of the said Archduke. Moreover, the bad affection of the irreconcilable Swiss was a point. The sight of the hostages had newly incensed them, who threatened Bourgoigne and Dauphine, should not be ignorant of the designs of the said Council.

The Pope desired greatly the whole extinction of the Council of Pisa, especially in matters decided since by the ambition of the said Council, not against the Pope's authority, which (not touched) need needs breed great confusions. Yet could he not obtain abolition before the King did raise it. Three Cardinals were therefore appointed to redress these disorders. But the greatest difficulty was about the abolition of Genoa, which the King said they had incurred, thinking it a thing unworthy of the Apostolic see to grant it if the King did not demand it: the which his Majesty would not yield, whereby both his person and his Realm had been touched of shame. In the end, ruling over-ruled by the earnest suit both of the Queen and his subjects, weakened with so many crosses, resolves to yield to the Pope, will hoping hereafter, by this means, to find it favourable. And therefore at the session of the Council of Lateran, which was done end of the year, the Kings agreed in this name, and by his command, pronounced the said Council of Pisa, adhering to the Council of Lateran, and so obtained full remission of all things committed against the Romaine Church.

The death of  
Queen Anne.

Amidst so many foreign crosses which did infinitely trouble the King, there came a home-bred affliction, the death of the Queen, his wife. A Prince, indeed, with many virtues incident to an honorable Lady, and for this cause greatly lamented of the whole Realm. This death was the accomplishment of the marriage betwixt Francis Duke of Valois and Eisle of Angoulême; and of the King's eldest daughter, to the which had been deferred so long, for that the Queen had now Lais of Savoy, mother to the said Paul, and affected more to have Charles of Austria, afterwards Emperor, for her son in law. The Realm being reduced to the obedience of the Church of Rome, the Pope (to whom the Kings gave themselves as commonly fearfully) begins now to fear lest his power should be too much suppressed, and that the enemies of France should thereafter joyne their forces to the prejudice of the Romaine Court. To balance things in such sort, as he might sustain the middle, and that the means which ayded once his intentions, should not hurt another: considering that the irreconcilable hatred of the Swiss, might force the King to resign his rights of the Duchy of Milan to the Emperor and Catholic King, in regard of the marriage which they intended (a very prejudicial thing to the common weal of Italy); and holding it also dangerous to have the King to recover it, he persuaded the Swiss, that their extreme hatred might not force the King to take a course less hurtful to the liberty of their common weal: considering the little love which Maximilian and Ferdinand did bear them) then to the Church and all Italy; Maximilian to make the Kings defense into Italy more difficult at all eyes; he labours an agreement betwixt the Emperor and the Senate of Venice: who being resolute, either to have a peace concluded, or open war, would by no means give ear to any treaty, for that had been to leave the Emperors affairs at those towns which he enjoyed.

The Pope's persuasions were fruitless with the Swiss: the Emperor and Venetians made him judge of their contentions, but without decision for either party. He only commands them to forsake from arms; vail the proclamation of his sentence. The Catholic King could not more firmly assure the Realm of Navarre, then by a peace. Our Lewis did he prolong the truce for a year, adding to the former articles another new secret. That during the truce, the King might not molest the estate of Milan: That which the Pope could not get of the Swiss, he obtained of the King of England Henry, discontent that his father in law had againe devoted him; by the prolongation of a truce, his our his content grew daily more unwilling, to make war in France. The Pope desiring by some kindness, to win the Kings love, fearing daily, that Lewis oppressed with enemies would

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A peace with  
the English.Lewis King of  
France meets  
Anne of  
England.

would ally himself, both by a peace and confanguinity with Maximilian and Ferdinand, he sent the Cardinal of York, to persuade his King, that in recompence what redemption of faith he had found in the Emperor; the Catholic King, and the Swiss, left contenting himself with his happy passage and returne, he should forbear any more to assist France with his forces. The Cardinal finding Henry disposed to please, whom the Duke of Longueville (a prisoner taken in the war) had already moved; and whose designs with all his heart, (having sent the General of Navarre) but more made colour to treat of the delivery of the Duke of Burgundie, smother his complaints to prison, they made an agreement betwixt the two Kings, in the beginning of August, for their lives, and a peace after their death, upon condition, that the King of England should deliver the Duke of Longueville, and the King of France should pay him for his ransom. The Duke should be bound to defend the estates one of another, with ten thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, in land, and six thousand if it were by sea. And the French King should furnish the Duke of England with twelve hundred Lances at need, and the King of England with six thousand foot: but at his charge, that should have need. This peace was confirmed with the marriage of Lewis with Mary sister to Henry. But the Pope was not persuaded, to give so valuable might suddenly be converted into amity, and alliance, for his own good. For, as he had made the first motion, so did he expect to be made acquainted with the conclusion: wherein he made account to reserve this slaverie of Maximilian, which was the Duchy of Milan for a time. The Emperor and Catholic King were exceedingly jealous, yet the last assured himself to receive two comforts. The one, that the Archduke his grand-child was out of hope, to give his sister in marriage to Lewis: the other, that Lewis being in possibility to have heirs males, the succession of Francis Duke of Angoulême should remaine doubtfully, whom he hated exceedingly, seeing him greatly inclined to embrace the Realm of Navarre, to the ancient estate. The Swiss resolved, to use as a condition they bore unto the King, but forseeing that Lewis having peace with the Aragonois, and peace with the Venetians, and English, would employ his forces to recover Milan, and this should be a new whetstone to sharpen their hatred, and make their virtue knowne to the whole world. No man doubted of the Kings resolution hereon, and indeed he prepared for it, having retained the Lais of Savoy, which the Duke of Guelders had brought against the English.

And the Pope, although it were a very troublesome thing unto him, to have the King recover his estate, yet knowing that his persuasions could not disperse the enmities, he desired him (but faintly) not to prolong it, giving him to understand that thing were all prepared to resist. The Emperor had no forces, and as little money, the Aragonois army was growne weak, and not paid: the people of Milan poore, and brought almost to despair; no man could furnish money to make the Swiss march, and Lewis was now out of hope to agree with his Majesty for the Seignoury of Genoa. But Lewis observed this policy: All these negotiations came not from a sincere heart. The Pope fees every thing tired with travells past, and ill provided. And now the French had taken breath, and Lewis used themselves with new alliances: he begins to fear the King, and would suffer himself of histories, in case he came into Italy. Moreover, he began to think that he could not so easily recover the estate of Milan, by reason of a clause mentioned in the treaty with the Aragonois: and if it should fall out by his good digestion and will, should leave him for an excuse with the King, when as he should require either his consent or help. During this truce, the Lais of Savoy and Genoa, being devoted to all enmities for want of victuals, and not able to be sustained, yielded to the Genoyois, who made great use of the canopy. Thus the King was distressed with his conquest in Italy, and not without that the people make beapes of stones of Castles within their towns, when they fall into their powers, for they are but shackles of their liberty.

In the meantime, the new confederacy which the Pope contracted with the Emperor, betwixt whom and the Venetians, he laboured an agreement, to give him the fifth any notice thereof) lending him forty thousand Ducats, and receiving from him Modena in pawn, gave our Lewis new causes of jealousy and distrust. To be resolved then of the Pope's intent, he sends to intreat him, to declare himself in his favour; adding moreover, that it might not be in good termes of friendship with him, he would accept such conditions of Maximilian and Ferdinand as he had refused. On the other side, Maximilian

million and the Arragonois wanted no persuasions full of efficacy; to vntite the Pope vnto assist in the defense of Italy: shewing; that if vnited together, they had bene able to shake the French out of the Duchy of Milan, they were not now more vnable to defend it against him. They did not omit to shew; that if the King prevailed in his designe, he would not faile to be reuenged at the same instant of all the injuries hee had receiued; namely, of the money, whereunto *Leo* had lately thrust the Swisses into Bourgoigne; and the authority of the Swisses (who continuing in their first spleene, offered for the said Florins of the Rhin, to make & defend the passages of Mount Sents, Mount Gennay, and Fochin; and for forty thousand Florins, a month to invade Bourgoigne with twenty thousand men) did strangely moue the Popes minde, who restrained by feare of the most desired, made more slemple to bewray his conceits; giuing them all good hopes, under generall termes.

In the end, being pressed by the King, behold his answer: *That he had perswaded the Swisses Italy; when without danger or effusion of blood he might haue reaped an endless glory. That when other Princes haue so ordered their affaires, as there is no more hope to win, but with much hazard and blood. And for that the Turke had lately increased his power much by a notable victory against the Sophi of Persia, Leo therefore forbearing to add, that it was neither conformable to his nature; nor agreeable to his office, to see Christian Princes armes against themselves. That he could not but exhort him to (surrendering some more easie and better opportunity, which being offered, he should alwaies find him the same disposition to his glory and greatness, that he had some few moneths before him of ease and rest.)*

This answer was sufficient to quail the Kings hopes of *Leo's* fauour; yea, to let him understand, that he would oppose both his Councell & forces against this enterprise. And the King, being resolved for the Duchy of Milan, according to the charge he had giuen the Duke of Bourbon. But death, which commonly cuts off the counsellors of men with his life, staied this resolution; to reuine it soone after in his next successor. For as he pleased himself exceedingly in the excellent beauty of his new Spouse, being but threene yeeres old, behold a sudden, accompanied with a flux of blood, frees him from the troubles and cares of this world, to enjoy an eternal and happy rest in heauen, nothing the first day of January with the exceeding griefe which his memory grained in the hearts of all his subiects. He was a godly Prince, iust, chaste, milde, temperate, loyall, loving his Princes, his Nobility and his people; and likewise beloued of them; a friend to truth, plainnesse and equity, an enemy to enuy, lying and flattery. Let vs observe for a testimony thereof this royall Apotheame, being vrged by the flatterers of the Court, to the usage of *Lewis of Tremouille*, who had overcome and taken him at the battell of *Coignac*. A King of France (saith he) doth not take vpon him the quarrells of a Duke of Orleans: If he hath faithfully serued the King his Master; against one who was but Duke of Orleans, he will doe the like forme, who am now King of France. But above all, hee was good to his subiects, whom he did alwaies studie to ease: for how many leanes hath hee made both of hisse and theirs, without the oppression of his people by any new impositions? How often haue his subiects willingly granted him an increase of Subsidies, to supply his raigne and domestical affaires, and yet would hee not allow of these impositions? Deferring rather to cutt off the expences of his owne person, and his house, to saue his people from oppression and spoile.

France was neuer scene so populous, so fruitfull, so rich, so well tilled, nor so well built as in this raigne. A happy raigne in the obseruation of Justice, martial discipline, liberty of traffike, increase of goods, cheapnesse of victuals; & which is more, every man to eate his bread quietly at his own board, free from the outrages and insolencies of soldiers. To conclude, neuer King loved his people so much, neuer Subjects loved their King more; neuer Subjects giue with greater joy to their Soueraigne, then the French did to him, that glorious surname of Father of his people.

FRANCIS

## FRANCIS the FIRST: The 58 French King.



**F**appy is that Realme (saith the wife man) which falls not into a childes hands. This was the first comfort which reuied the hearts of the French, oppressed with mourning and heavinesse for the death of their good King *Lewis* the twelfth: The second was, that they cast their eyes vpon a worthy Successor, a Prince well borne, iudicious, and of a generous spirit; liberal, courteous,

in the prime of his age, and fit for government, affable to the people, fauourable to the clergy, pleasing to the Nobility (who do naturally loue their Princes good countenance) and (that which all subiects admire in their Soueraigne) of an excellent beauty. Thus capable was he of the royall dignity. *Francis* being then 22 yeeres old; before Duke of Valois, and Earle of Angoulesme, tooke vpon him the government of this Monarchy, as Son to *Charles* Earle of Angoulesme, Son to *John* Earle of Angoulesme, who was the youngest Sonne of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans (murdered by the Bourguignon at Paris, in the time of *Charles* the sixth) who was also the youngest sonne of King *Charles* the fifth. He was annointed at Rheims the 25 day of Iannary, being attended on by the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, the Barons of Montpensier, Vendosme and S. Paul, & the Prince of Roche-sur-Yon, all of the house of Bourbon. Then having made his entry into Paris, and a solemn Townie kept in S. *Anthoines* street, he confirmed all the ancient officers of the Crowne; and to supply those which were vacant, he created *Charles* D. of Bourbon Constable of France, (being void by the death of *John* the second Duke of Bourbon) *Anthony* Prat Chancellor; (for then *Stephen* Pencker Bishop of Paris was keeper of the Seale) *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Vendosme, gouernor of the Isle of France, making the said Countie a Duchy, and a Peere of France; the Lord of Lautrec Gouernour of Guien, *Palisse* Marshall of France, *Bosch* his gouernour in his youth, Lord Stewart and Superintendent of his house; with whom he ioyned *Fleuremunde* *Robert* Secretary of State. With this title of French King, he tooke vpon him that of the Duke of Milan, not onely as descending of the house of Orleans, the true heire of that Duchy, but also as comprehended in the inuestiture made by the Emperour, according to the treaty of Cambray. And for that he succeeded equally both to the Crowne, and the desire his predecessor had to recouer that goodly estate of Milan, he therefore (to waite it with more facility) renewed the peace made betwixt the deceased King, and the King of England, sending home *Mary* the widow of *Lewis*, with a dowry of threethou thousand crownes a yeare: who afterwards married with the Duke of Suffolke. Hee also confirmed the alliance this Crowne had with the Senate of Venice. The Archduke *Charles* sent a very honourable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of Nassau was the chiefe, to do him homage, for the Counties of Flanders, Arthois, and other Lands which held of this Crowne, & (the which gaue hope of a future peace betwixt these two Princes, both being young, but marked for great designs) to treat a marriage betwixt the said *Charles*, and *Renée* the Queenes sister; who was afterwards wife to the D. of Ferrara. And for that the said Earle was greatly fauoured by Prince *Charles*, the King desirous to gratifie him, caused him to marie with the daughter of the Prince of Orange, bred vp in his Court.

*Charles* was yet vnder age, but so carefully instructed by that wise Lord of Châlons of the house of Croy, whom the deceased King *Lewis* had made chiefe of gouernment in his youth (for that *Philip* the father of *Charles*, had by his testament appointed *Lewis* to accept the charge of his Son) that euen in his younger yeares he made him capable to vnderstand the affaires of state, presenting vnto him all packets that came, causing him to make report thereof vnto his Councell, & to determine all things in his presence. He did foresee, that after the death of *Ferdinand* his Grand father by the mother, the French might cross him in his passage from Flanders into Spaine, holding it dangerous to stand in the midst betwixt the Kings of France and England vnited together, and not to fortifie himselfe with this common alliance. Moreover, his subiects of the Low countries would haue no way with the Realme of France. The King likewise desired to take from him all inducement to gouerne himselfe hereafter by the Councell of his two Grand fathers. They therefore agreed; That the marriage proceeding betwixt the Archduke and *Renée*,

His designe;

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the King should give him 600000 Crowns, and the Duchy of Berry for ever, to her and to her heires, upon condition he should renounce all rights of inheritance, both from father and mother, namely, to the Duchies of Milan & Brittany. That after the death of the Catholike King, the King should aide the Archduke with men & ships, to go and receive his Realms of Spain.

The Arragonois demanded a continuance of the truce: but the King meaning to put out that clause: Not to molest the Duchy of Milan during the truce, their parle was fruitlesse. The Emperor (who ioynd his designs to the counsels of Ferdinand) opposed against the amity of the French. The Suisses were as forward as before. As for the Pope, Francis desired to be freed from all bond to him, that he might resolve for the best, according to the course of his affaires. To build vpon these foundations, he now employs his Capitaines, men at armes, & the provisions which his predecessor had first prepared, & makes his army march with speed to Lions, whither his Maiesty comes in July, hauing left the Regency of the Realme to Louise of Sauoy his mother. The D. of Bourbon Constable, led the forward, accompanied with his brother Francis, newly created Duke of Castelleraud, the Marshalls of Palisse, and Trioulet, Charles of Tremouille Prince of Talmont, sonnet to Lewis Vicount of Toulars, the Earle of Sancerre, the Baron of Beaur, the Lords of Bonniuet, Imbercourt, and Telligent Senehall of Rouergue, Peter of Nauarre (whom the King had drawne to his seruice, giuing him his liberty without ransom) commanded 6000 Gascons, and the Lords of Longes (grand-father to the late *Montmorency*) Pirack of Maugiron, Richbourg, Lortel, Little Laine, Onaitlen, Hercules of Dauphiné, and Capitaine Chamarque, euery one commanding 500 foot, making 4000, and eight or nine thousand Lanquetois, led by Charles Duke of Guelders.

The King led the Battell, followed by the Dukes of Vendesme, Lorraine and Albain, the Earle of S. Paul, Claude of Lorraine Earle of Guise, brother to the D. of Lorraine, the Lords of Laureac and Lescut, brothers to Arual, a younger brother of the house of Albert, Tremouille, René barlart of Sauoy (who was afterwards Lord Steward of France, and Gouernor of Provence, whose daughter Anne of Montmorency the Constable married) and Capitaine Bayard, to whom the King did that honor the day of the battell, to receive his Knighthood at his hands, hoping that the happinesse of so gentle and braue a Knight would accompany his armes. The reward was committed to the D. of Alanson, who had married with Marguerite of France, afterwards wife to Henry of Albret, King of Nauarre, Grand-father by the mothers side to Henry the fourth, lately murdered. At the first bruce of this army, the Emperour, the Arragonois, Sforza, and the Suisses contract a league together, to force the King to renounce his rights to the Duchy of Milan, the Suisses receiving thirty thousand crowns a moneth of the other Confederates, should keepe the passages of the mountaines, and invade Bourgonne, or Dauphiné; and the Catholike King, France by Pargignan or Fontarabia. The Pope (although the King made some account of his friendship, for that Italian of Medicis his brother, had lately married with Philiberte, sister to Charles Duke of Sauoy, and Aunt by the Mothers side to his Maiesty) in the end ioynd with them.

The Duke of Genoua (sworn betwixt two streames, and (as they say) held the Wolfe by the eare: Both the French forces, and the confederates victory were fearfull vnto him, namely the Pope, who vnder colour to keepe this Duchy from any stranger, desired exceedingly to vntie it out of the Church. In the midst of these contrarieties, he yeelds Genoua to the King vpon condition: That he should lay aside the title of D. of Genoua, & take that of Gouernor of Genoua, perpetually for the Kings, with power to giue the officers of Genoua: (This was retaining some markes of Souerainety) & that the King should giue him an hundred markes a year, the order of S. Michael: and a yearly pension during his life. That the King should not repaire the port of Tedeja, and should restore vnto the Citizens all the priuileges, which King Lewis had disannulled. That he should giue certaine Ecclesiasticall livinges, to Frederick Archbishop of Salern, brother to Oscanian, and to himselfe (if he should be expelled Genoua) some places in France.

The army approached neare the Alpes, which diuide France & Italy, & the Suisses, according to their capitulation, had layed vpon the passages of the mountaines and valleys, as well of Montmain which is of the iurisdiction of Sauoy, the shortest way, but the most vnusur, as of the Mount of Geneure, which is of the iurisdiction of Dauphiné, the longer way, but the lesse painefull, being the ordinary passage of the French armies. The

King

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A King had intelligence, that Prosper Colonne was at the foot of the mountaines within Piedmont, with fiftene hundred horse which the Pope had sent to succour Milan, not fearing any enemy, for that the Suisses (as he thought) had seized vpon all the approaches. But (some guides belonging to Charles of Soliers, Lord of Morette, hauing shewed them a passage neere to Rocque Espierre) the King sent Palisse (whom hereafter wee will call the Marshall of Chabannes) Imbercourt, Aubigni, Bayard, Buis of Amboise, and Montmorency, at that time highly fauoured by the King, leading foure Cornets of light horse, vnder the charge of the said Morette and his guides, who hauing waded through the Po, beneath Villefranche, whereas Colonne lodged, they came to the gates not discovered, but by some inhabitants, who run speedily to prevent their entry, but two hardy men at armes of Imbercourts company, which led the Scouts, whose names were Beaumais the braue, a Normand; and Hallencourt, a Picard; set spurs to their horses (so as Hallencourt was vntied into the ditch) and amazed the inhabitants: Beaumais thrusting forward his lance, kept the gate open, vntill the troops arriuing, surprisid both Villefranche and Colonne as he lined; they made booty of the baggage, and about twelue hundred Neapolitan horses, and caried away the Commander and his troupe prisoner to Toslan.

In the meane time the forces passe, some with the artillery betwixt the Alpes towards the sea, and the Codiennes, descending towards the Marquisate of Saluce: the roile of men exceeding all difficulties, which the steepe and craggy mountaines, and the rough downe-falls in the deepe vallies of the riuier of Argentiére, did present vnto them, where the artillery, not able to passe in those straights, the horses being vnproffitable in such daies it was forced vp with reapes by maine strength, in those places whereas neuer Cannon nor horseman was scene to passe. Others, with infinite paines and difficulties, recovered the pace of Dagogniere: some, the high tops of the rocke of the Perroir of Cuni (passing lying towards Prouence) where the Marshall of Chabannes had passed: Thus the Suisses decieued of their hope, abandoned the straight of Suze, where they defended the passages of Mont Senis and Geneure, and that of Coni, returning with shame toward Milan, spoiling and sackeing Chiuas, Verceil and other places, where they entred whilest that Anard of Prie, hauing passed with the first, had with the helpe of Oscanian, Frezeli, reduced Alexandria, Tortone (and all that lies beyond the Po) to the Kings obedience, who hauing passed the Po at Montcalier, and presenting himselfe before Noirare, receiued the towne at his deuotion, and then Padua. The Milanois sent Ambassadors to the Kings lodging at Bufalore, to beseech him to rest satisfied with victualls, and a promise from the people to remaine affected to his crowne, and so to march on against his enemy, assuring him, that Milan should most willingly giue him aid, when he should be master of the field. It is an ordinary stratagem of inconstant townes, to set vp the ensignes of the stronger partie. The King, hauing amightie army in fiour, granted their demands for that time.

Then the Duke of Sauoy did make an accord betwixt the Suisses and the King his Nephew, wherein he preuailed so much, as they concluded, That the King paying vnto them four hundred thousand crownes, promised by the treaty of Dijon, and all which they pretended to be due for their ancient seruices, they should yeeld vnto the King his Duchy of Saluzian, and the vallies which the Grisons enjoyed, and the King should giue vnto Maximilian Sforza 60000 ducats of yearly pension. But some hope to gaine, who lose all, especially in these cases. A new supply of Suisses, by reason of their surpassing victories (being invaded by the Cardinall of Sion) brake this treaty, and bring matters to the same estate they were before. Thirty thousand take the way of Monte, to lodge in the suburbs of Milan, vntill the Papes army, led by Laurence of Medick, and the Spanis by Raymond of Cardone, should ioyne with them, Maximilian Sforza, and the Cardinall pressed them, but distrust of one another staid them. Raymond had surprisid letters of credit, sent from the Pope to the King, and was well aduertised that Laurence had secretly sent (whither vpon his own motion, or by the Papes command he knew not) a Gentleman to the King, to excuse himselfe for the army, which he led against him, being forced by the duty he did owe vnto his vncle, promising, That without offence to his vnicle, or blemish to his owne honor, he would endeavour to content his Maiesty according to the desire he had alwaies had, and now especially more then euer. Meane while, the Arragonois designe was to remaine quiet, so as this army did not threaten his new conquest of Nauarre.

And

An army rally  
in the Duchy  
of Milan.

A league against the King.

Genoua yeelded to the King.

Prosper Colonne  
surprised.

King Francis  
his first passage  
ouer the Alpes.

Inconstant  
treachery of the  
Suisses.

Raymond  
Cardone.



1515

And *Laurence* on the other side, seeing the delays of *Raymond*, conceived, that he had some secret charge from the King his master, to forbear to fight, and give others leave to decide the quarrell, and both joyntly feared to engage themselves between the Kings army, and the Venetians, led by *Bartholomew* of *Aluiane*, the which was very available for the King. Without doubt all their private intents were to ad this tragedy with the blood and loss of the poore *Suisses*. Thus these two armies of *Arragon* and the Pope, did onely labour to keepe the Venetian from ioyning with the French; and the French, thefew from the *Suisses*. A miserable estate of Italy, the which at one instant was oppressed with five sundry armies, French, Venetian, *Suisses*, Spaniards and Italians. Upon hope of this treaty of peace, the King had countermanded *Aluiane*, who was at *Landi*, and commanded *Laurenc* to cary vnto the *Suisses* all the money they could get out of the Kings coffers, or borrow of the Princes and Nobility, but through the perswasions of this mutinous Cardinal, they resolute, both to take the money from *Laurenc*, and suddenly to give the King battell, when he least doubted any enemy. This counsell had prevailed with some drowie Commander. But *Laurenc* (aduertised by his spies of the trecherous resolution of these *Suisses*) left the way and retired into *Galere*. And the *Suisses*, failing of their purpose, passed on, to wreake their choller vpon the King. The King was come from *Marignan*, to lodge at *S. Donat*, the 13 of September: when as beheld they come with a resolution, and charge the artillery of the vanguard which the *Languenets* guarded, they overthrow the first they encountered, recover some peeces of Cannon, and amaze a battalion of *Languenets*, who (supposing that the treaty of peace with the *Suisses* had continued firme) feared lest they should deliuer them into the hands of their ancient enemies. But seeing the horse, and the King himselfe in person come to seke them, they resume their courage, enter the combat, stay this violence of the *Suisses*, and with a fore fight maintaine the shocke with variable and doubtfull euent, vntill the dnt and approaching night made them retire. At this first charge were slaine *Francis* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Chastelleraud*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, *Imbertcourt*, and many other gallant Gentlemen.

The battell of  
Marignan.

The King seeing the greatnesse of the danger, planted his artillery in convenient places, ordered his battalions, gathered his horse together, sent for *Aluiane*, and lay all night armed with all peeces but his helmet vpon the carriage of a Cannon. The Sunne was scarce risen, when as the *Suisses* (growne proud with the conceit of some aduantage) charge the *Languenets*, and force them to recoyle aboute a hundred paces, and but for some horsemen, who repelled the violent force of the *Suisses* the issue had beene very dangerous. The Cannon thunders through their squadrons; the French and Gascon (that make a horrible slaughter, the horse charge them in flanke, *Aluiane* comes vpon their back in the fury of the fight: They had continued many houres very hot in skirmish, when as the *Suisses* (hauing lost most of their Capitaines, being charged in front, in flanke, and behinde) grow amazed, despaire of victory, turne their squadrons, and make a goodly retreat, some to *Milan*, others home to their houses. A great number flue themselves into the Constables lodging, where (refusing to yeeld to the Kings mercy) they were all burnt, and many of our men that were entred pel-mell with them; amongst others, *John* of *Mouy* Lord of *Mailley*, who carried the white corner. In this second battell was slaine the Prince of *Talmont*, *Bussy* of *Amboise*, the Lord of *Roye*, and many other valiant Knights: *Gilbert* of *Leui* Lord of *Ventadour* was hurt, *Claude* Earle of *Guise* overthrowen and troden vnder the horse feet, but he was relieved by Capitaine *James* a Scottisman, a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber. The King was often in danger of his person, receiving many a puff of the Pike vpon his armour.

Without doubt this was the most furious battell that euer the *Suisses* gaue, the which by the testimony of *Trinulle*, seemed rather to haue beene fought by Giants then by men. For that the eightene battells wherein he had beene, were like the encounters of small children in regard of this. That which happened to *Gaston* of *Foix* at the battell of *Ravenne*, made the King to give them that fled free passage, leauing fourecore or fiftene thousand slaine vpon the place. The King lost of French and *Languenets*, about three thousand. The Cardinal of *Sion* (the chiefe author of this battell) fled at the first charge to *Milan*, and from thence (seeing the *Suisses* in a mutiny, as well for their loss, as for three moneths pay, that were due vnto them) into *Germany*, to *Maximilian*.

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We may iustly say, that the *Suisses* had need of this correction for the remembrance of their forperalled prosperities had made them insolent beyond the bounds of modesty, but they repaid a benefit by their shame, growing more tractable and friendly to them that corrected them. Moreover, this should be a good advertisement to the King, to consider rightly of the warres of Italy, in the which (for want of iudgement) both he and his Realme were afterwards in a manner ruined. After this happy victory, *Milan* and all other places of the Duchy followed the Conquerors fortune. *Peter* of *Navarre*, had by a myne blown vnto the Castle gate. *Maximilian* *Sforza* and the *Suisses* (besieged therein by the Duke of *Bourbon*) yeeld it, vpon condition, That the *Suisses* should depart with baggage and baggage, and *Maximilian* should deliuer the Castle with that of *Cremona*, vnto the King, and all other places held by him, and should goe into France, where the King during his life should give him threecore thousand crownes a yeare pension. According to this Capitulation, *Mauleon* brother to *Tremouille*, *Francis* Earle of *Posseme* (with many other Gentlemen) conducted him into France. The King entred into *Milan* armed, accompanied with the above named Princes, and the Nobility of his army, whither the Potentates of Italy sent vnto him, some to reconcile themselves, others to congratulate this victory.

The Pope did not forget his ordinary practices, to stay the course of the Kings victory, and finding the King very obedient to the Sea of *Rome*, they concluded a mutual league for the defence of the Estates of Italy, of the Pope, the Church, of *Julian* and *Laurence* de *Medicia*, and the Estate of *Florence*. By this accord the King gaue the Duchy of *Nemours* to *Julian*, who had married a sister to the Kings mother; which Duchy (after the death of *Julian*) the King did giue to *Philip* of *Sauoy*, who tooke to wife one of the daughters of *René*, Duke of *Alancou*: to whom the Duke of *Nemours* now liuing, is Grand-child. And the Pope deliuered *Parma* and *Placentia* to the King. These Articles were confirmed by an enteruie betwixt the Pope, and the King at *Bologna*, in the beginning of December, where they treated of many things touching the Realme of *Naples*, which the King refused to invade, for the recovery whereof, the Pope promised him his fauor, after the death of *Ferdinand* (which euery man thought to be neere) or at the least when as the truce were ended. He promised also to giue him power to leaue the tenth part of the reuenues of Clergy within his Realme, and the collation of Benefices, the which before belonged vnto the Colleges and Chapters of Churches; and for the Kings sake he made *Adrian* of *Gonsieres*, brother to the Lord Steward, Cardinal. And the King, to gratifie the Pope, granted an abolition of the pragmaticall Sanction, making new conuentions in stead thereof, whereunto the French Church and the Vniuersities opposed.

The Venetians sent foure Ambassadors to the King, the chiefe and most honourable persons of their Senate: *Anthony* *Grimani*, *Dominic* *Trevisan*, *George* *Cornaro*, and *Andrea* *Gritti*, to congratulate his victory, and to beseech him to make them partakers of the fruits thereof, that by his ayd they might recover their townes, according to their agreement. At their request, the King gaue commission to the barard of *Sauoy*, and to *Theodore* *Triulze*, to ioyne with *Aluiane* with six hundred Lances, and six thousand Foot, led by *Peter* of *Navarre*. Then leauing the Duke of *Bourbon* his Lieutenant Generall in the Duchy of *Milan*, he returned into France about *Candlemas*, whither the desires of *Henry* King of *England* did call him.

*Henry* did content that the King had taken the young King of *Scotland* into his protection, and to that end had sent *John* Steward Duke of *Albania*, both to gouerne his person and his Realme (which *John* had punished either with death or banishment, all such as hee found to fauour the English, and euen the mother of the young King, sister to the sayd *Henry*) for reuenge whereof he thrust the *Suisses* to new attempts against the King. But returning to their first sincerity, they ioyne in league with this Crowne, binding themselves, To giue vnto the King for euer, in Italy or out of Italy, and against all men (except the Pope and the Emperor) such numbers of men as he should require vnder his pay. The King did also confirme their ancient pensions, promising to pay within a certaine time the sum due by the treaty of *Dijon*, and three hundred thousand Crownes more, yeelding vnto him the townes and vallies which they held, belonging to the Duchy of *Milan*. But the *Suisses* Cantons which did enioy them, hauing refused to ratifie this accord, the King beganne to pay vnto the other eight that part and portion of money which was due vnto them, who accepted thereof, but with an expresse condition; That they should not bee bound to march

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vnder

The number of  
the dead.

1515

A new league  
against the  
king.

under his pay, against the other five Cantons. A means to draw the others to the alliance of France.

Maximilian alwayes his mind bent to seeke means to annoy his neighbour. The Kings prosperity, makes the Emperor, with the Kings of England and Aragon, to devise how to crosse him. The Emperor (alwayes desirous of innovations) could not with his own forces hold the townes he had taken from the Venetians: and the English remembering the fruitlesse promises which Ferdinand his father in law had made him (which he respected not where he might gaine) stood waivering betwixt the distrust hee had of his father in law, and the hatred hee bare to our Francis, but this treaty is suddenly broken by the death of Ferdinand, who died in the Month of January. A Prince excelling in counsel, and many vertues, so as it his promises had beene accompanied with their effects, he might well haue bin numbered amongst the most perfect.

Ferdinand dies.

This death seemed to make the Kings enterprise vpon Naples more easie, purposing to send the Duke of Bourbon for the execution thereof: Many reasons moued him thereto. There was some reuolt in the Realme after the decease of Ferdinand. The Archduke Charles was young, and could not come in time to succour it: the Popes fauour might ayd him much (yet the King trusted to him who deceived him in the view of all the world) but about all, the priuate interest of this Crown, to whom the greatnesse of Charles (there to so many Realmes by the death of the Catholique King and future successor of the Empire) should bee wonderfully suspect. But the designs of our Francis are crossed by the

The Emperors  
voyage into  
Lombardy.

Emperors comming with ten thousand Germanes and Spaniards, foureteeen thousand Suisses, and five thousand horse, to succour Brescia, iointly besieged by the French and Venetians, which made them retire to Milan to the Duke of Bourbon. So Maximilian passing the riuers of Mincio, Oglio and Adde, without any lett, had all the Country betwixt Oglio, Po, and Adde, at his command, except Cremona and Crema, the one kept by the French, and the other by the Venetians. Then hauing taken Laude by composition, he sends to summon the Milanois with threats: that if within three dayes they did not expell the French army, he would entreate them more rigorously then Frederick Barbarossa, one of his predecessors had done: who not content to haue burnt Milan vnto ashes, did also slay in memory of his wrath, & their of rebellion. The inhabitants began to rise, and our men grew amazed, when as Albert Peter, leading thirteeen thousand Suisses and Gifons, arriuing, confirms them, he made them to change their resolution, to burne their suburbs, and to resolute vpon defence.

The Cardinall of Sion, and many others banished from Milan, followed the Emperor, feeding him with hope, that at the first brute of his approach, the Citizens would set vp his Ensignes. Marke Anthony Colonne likewise followed his army: with two hundred men at armes, at the Popes charge (a manifest signe of his counsels and dissemblings.) But Maximilian seeing no shew from the towne (the chiefe of the Gibelin faction being expelled by the Constable of Bourbon, as adherent to the Emperor) remembering the treachery of the Suisses to Lodowick Sforze, and fearing lest through the ancient hatred of that nation to the House of Austria, the Suisses in the French army, and those in his (which refused plainly to fight one against another) visiting their forces, should deliuer him to the enemy for that James Stafflet Colonel of his Suisses, had with much arrogancy demanded their pay, he secretly departs from his army in the night, with two hundred horse, so as he was twenty miles off before they were priuy to his departure. His army (wanting both a commander and money) tooke the same course. The Earle of Saint Paul, with the Lords of Montmorency and Lescun, pursuing them, defeated a great number, whereof three thousand part Germanes and part Spaniards, yielded to the French and Venetians, being in campe, and our Suisses (notwithstanding they had beene payed for three months) went home to their houses, except some three hundred which remained with Peter.

Maximilian  
retires.

During these garboiles, the Pope smothering his conceits, laboured to be as pleasing as he could to either party, yet was he grieved the Emperour had brought so great forces; for he could not remaine a victor, but hee must afterwards seeke to oppress all Italy, or put Leo from the Papall seat, to hold it himselfe, according to the common report. On the other side (as we iudge of causes by the effects) the King had many reasons to suspect the Pope. He had consented to the Emperours descent. Colonne the Popes pensioner did accompany Maximilian. He refused to lend 5000 men at armes for the defence of Milan, and

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Brescia yielded

Verona yielded.

Francis Marie  
chased from  
Verona, and  
Lawrence of Medici  
instructed in the Duchy.

A and to pay three thousand Suisses, as he was bound by the treaty of Bologna. So as the King, to let Leo know, that the brightnesse of his Myter did not so dazle his eyes; but he discovered his practices; he made him brewesse of the same bread: declaring, that seeing the league they had made, was fruitlesse in time of warre, he would contract a new one which should not tie him but in time of peace. The Emperours army being dissolved, the Duke of Bourbon returns into France, and of his owne motion resignes his Government into the Kings hands, by whose command the Lord of Laurec taking the charge of the armie, to free the King from that bond, ioyning with the Venetians, returned to Brescia, which pressed with two batteries, one by the French, the other by the Venetians, yielded to the King, their liues and goods saved, and Laurec deliuered it to the Venetians. Verona had a harder issue, for being battered by the French towards Mantoua, and by the Venetians towards Vincenza, giving two assaults: afflicted with want of victuals and munition, and troubled by the hurting of Marke Anthony Colonne, Gouverneur of the City, yet being assured of eight thousand men, led by Count Roguendosse, that came to their succour, they held out vntill Christmas, at what time famine forced the Spaniards to yeeld the towne, the which was in like sort deliuered to the Venetians. The Pope, to make profit of the Kings victory and forces, solicits Laurec to ayd him, to dispossesse Francis Maria of Rouere of the Duchy of Vrbino. The motives of this warre, which Leo pretended against him, were, for that Francis had denied the Pope those men, for the which he had receiued pay of the Church, and had treated secretly with the enemy: That he had slaine the Cardinall of Paui, and committed many other murders.

That in the hottest of the warre against Pope Julius his vnkle, he had sent Balibasar of Chastillon to the King to receiue his pay, and at the same instant hee denied passage to some Companies that went to ioyne with the army of the Church: and pursued (in the estate which he held as a feudatary of the Church) the fouldiers which sued themselves at the defeat of Rauenna. Laurec desiring to please Leo, sent Lescun his brother, the Lord of Chisle, the Knight of Ambrun, the Lords of Aulstin and S. Blimond, and many other Captaines, with good numbers of horse and French foot: who in few dayes reduced the said Duchy to the Popes obedience, who did inuett Lawrence of Medicis his Nephew in the said Duchy. Moreover, the Kings friendship was very necessary for the Catholique King. Charles the Archduke tooke vpon him that title (after the death of Ferdinand his Grand-father by the mothers side) to make his passage more easie from Flanders into Spaine, and to assure himselfe of the obedience of those Realmes.

Fitting therefore his resolutions according to the time and necessity, by the aduice of the Lord of Chieures his Gouverneur, he sent Philip of Cleues, Lord of Rabastein to the King, to make choice of a place where their Deputies might meet, so decidall controuersies betwixt them. Neyon was named: and for the King there came Arthur of Gouffers, Lord of Boissy, Lord high Steward of France: for the King of Spaine, Anthony of Croy Lord of Chieures, both Gouverneurs of their Masters. Nonage, and both assisted with notable personages. Who concluded: "That within six months the Catholique King should yeeld the Realme of Navarre to Henry of Albret, sonne to John of Albret, and Katherine of Foix, deceased the same year: or else should recompence the said Henry within the said tearme, to his content: else it should be lawfull for the King to ayd him to recover it: That the King should give his daughter Louise (who was but a year old) in mariage to the Catholique King, and for her dowry, the right he pretended to the Realm of Naples according to the diuision made by their predecessors: vpon condition, that within three years of marriage, Charles should pay unto the King an hundred and fifty thousand ducats yearly, towards the maintenance of his daughter. That the dying of the King had any other daughter, he should give her to the Catholique King, vpon the same conditions. If he had none, then Charles should marry with Anne, daughter to the deceased King. To propound and conclude marriages to children of so little age, is not possible to mocke one another: Seeing that only two years time brings forth alterations which make Princes to alter their designs, whose minds are often inconstant. This treaty was respectively sworn by both Kings, who appointed an interuiew at Cambray, attending the which they sent their Orders of Knights and other officers: and sent the Emperour ratified these conventions; but we shall see small fruits thereof.

France reaped another benefit of this peace - the Suisses being a source of armed men.

1518

twixt the Emperour and the King) compounded, as the former had done: That the King should pay unto their Cantons, within three moneths, three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and after that a perpetual and annual pension: That the Swisses should furnish him, whenever he demanded, a certain number of men at his charge. But diversely, for the eight Cantons bound themselves to furnish against all men indifferently; and the five, no otherwise, but for the defence of his owne Estates. As for the Castles of Lugan and Lugarne, strong passages, and of great importance for the security of the Duchy of Milan, they desired rather to raze them, then to take three hundred thousand ducats for the restitution thereof.

Let vs now lay all armes aside for a certaine space, and giue our warriors time to take breath, and returne againe shortly to warre, by the ambitious factions of two most great and mighty Princes. This yeare in February was borne Francis, Dauphin and successor to this Crowne, if his end had not beene violently forced. Lawrence of Medicis did present him at the Font for the Pope his Vncle. A Christning celebrated with ioules, skirmishes, incounters, besieging and taking of places, and other such stately shewes, as the memory of man hath not obserued greater. And the King, to make a more strict league with the Pope, he caused the said Lawrence to marry with Magdalene, daughter to John Earle of Auvergne and Aurague, and of Isane sister to Francis of Bourbon, Earle of Vendosme, who died at Verceil, when as King Charles the eight returned from Naples. Of this marriage came Katherine of Medicis, whom we shall see Queene of France, and mother to the three last Kings of the name of Valois.

At the same time, the King sent Gasson of Breze, Prince of Fonquarmon, brother to the great Seneschall of Normandy, with two thousand French foot, to succour Christierne King of Denmark, against the Rebels of Sweden, who (after they had wonne a battell for the King) being abandoned in the end by the Danes, in a combat vpon the Ice, (where those Northerne Nations are more expert then ours) were ouerthrone, and the most part slaine: such as could escape the sword, returned without pay, without armes, and without clothes.

1519  
The death of  
Edm.

The yeare following, the last of March, Henry the Kings second sonne was borne, who by the death of the Dauphin his brother, shall succeed his father. Henry King of England was his God-father, and gaue him his name. During this surcease of armes among Christian Princes, the Pope motioned, but (with the Originall) rather in shew, then with any good intent, a generall warre of all Christendome against Selim Prince of the Turkes, Baiazet (as we haue sayd) in his latter age studied to install Acomath his eldest sonne, in the Throne of the Turkish Empire: Selim the younger brother, through fauour of the Janisaries and souldiers of his fathers Guard, forced him to yeld the gouernment vnto him. Selim was no sooner in possession, but (as they say) he boysoned his father, and murdered his brethren, Acomath and Cereis, and in the end, all that descended from the line of the Ottomans. Then passing from one warre to another, he vanquished the Adulians, overthrew the Sophist Persian battell, tooke from him Tauris, the chief cite of his Empire, and the greatest part of Persia, rodd out the Sultans of Egypt, and the Mamelukes: tooke Caire, and seized vpon all Egypt and Syria. So as hauing in few yeares almost doubled his Empire, and taken away the hindrance of so mighty Princes, who were ialous of his Monarchy: Christian Princes did not without cause feare the happy course of his victories. Hungary was weake of men, and in the hands of a Popill King, gouerned by Prelates and Barons of the Realme, diuided amongst themselves. Italy discombered by former warres, feared lest the partialities of these Princes should cause Selim to turne his eyes towards it. The Pope and all the Court of Rome (making shew to prevent this imminent danger) thought it expedient to make a great provision of money, by a voluntary contribution of Princes, and a generall taxe ouer all Christendome: That the Emperour, accompanied with the Prince of Polonia and Hungary, and an army of Riches and Lanquenets, he shoud goe to great an enterprise, should assaile Constantnople: and the French King with the forces of his Realme, the Venetians, Swisses, and Potentates of Italy should invaile Greece, being full of Christians, and ready to rebel vpon the first approach of foraine forces. The Kings of Spaine, Portugal, and England, should passe the Streight of Gallipoli with two hundred sayles, and hauing taken the Castle at the entry thereof, they should approach neere to Constantinople: That the Pope should follow the same course, with an hundred great Gallies.

These

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A These were goodly plots in conceit. This counterfeit shew to send an army into Turkie, was but a device to fill the Popes coffers, which were made empty by the former warres, especially by that of Verona.

To treat of these Propositions, Leo published in the Consistory a generall Truce for five yeares amongst all Christian Princes, and vpon rigorous censures to them that should breake it: Appointing for Legats, the Cardinall of Saint Sixte, to the Emperour, the Cardinall of Saint Marie in Portico, to the King; the Cardinall Giles, to the King of Spaine; and the Cardinall Lawrence Campege, to the King of England: he proclaimed his Bulls of pardon to all such as should contribute a certaine summe for so worthy an expedition. All Princes accept this truce, and shew themselves very willing to so honorable an action. But the meanes wanted, how in so short a time to make a firme vnion among so many Potentates, who had bene long at deadly warre: Euery one studies of his priuate interest, and finding the danger to concerne one more then another, they care for themselves, and manage these affaires carelesly, more with shew then deuotion.

This negligence of the publike State, and greedinesse of priuate men, was the more confirmed by the death of Selim, who leaving his Empire to his sonne Soliman, young of age, but of a milder spirit, and not so inclined to war: then all things seemed to incline to peace and loae betwixt so many great warriors. The Kings of France and England renewed their friendship by a defensue league betwixt them, vpon promise of a marriage betwixt the Dauphin, King Francis eldest sonne, and the onely daughter of Henry King of England, both very young: which contract, many accidents might hinder before they came to sufficiency. And Henry yielded Tournay for foure hundred thousand Crownes, the one half for the charge in building the Citadell, and for the artillery, powder, and munition which the King of England should leaue in the place: the other halfe, for the expences in conquering thereof, and for other pensions that were due vnto him. Thus oftentimes the loser payes the shot. On the other side, the Kings eldest daughter being dead; whom they had appointed to be wife to the King of Spaine: a peace betwixt these two Kings was reconfirmed, according to the first Capitulation, with promise of the younger. An alliance which either Prince did confirme, with great outward shewes of friendship, King Francis wearing the Order of the Golden fleece on Saint Andrewes day; and the King of Spaine that of Saint Michael, on the said Saints day. The Venetians also, by the Kings meanes had prolonged their truce for five yeares with the Emperour.

A peace concluded with the  
English.

And with the  
Spaniards.

But the Soueraigne Iudge of the world (hauing decreed to punish the disorders of Christendome with sundry afflictions) tooke Maximilian out of this world: in whose life wee may obserue a strange alteration of affaires: for if prosperity did often present vnto him goodly occasions, aduersity did as often crosse him in the execution. A good Prince, mercifull, courteous, very liberrall, a great spender (the which did many times hinder his good successe) painfull, secret, well scene in the Art of warre: but his happy beginnings did commonly prove fruitlesse, through his owne delays and inconstancy. This death bred E an equal desire in the minds of the two great Princes, Francis King of France, and Charles King of Spaine. Francis sent the Lord of Bosly Lord Steward of France, to purchase the fauour of the Germane Electors for the Empire. Some promised all fauour for the King his master: yet the cause was not so fauourable for the French, hauing no correspondence with the Germanes, neither in tongue, manners, nor life. Moreover, the Commons of Germany were sutors that the Imperial dignity might not goe out of the Nation. The Pope fauoured the King, but in shew only, hoping that by these demonstrations of loue, he would hereafter giue more credit to his Councils: whereby discouraging, that in his inward thoughts the election both of Francis and Charles were alike suspected vnto him, he laboured to perswade the King (that seeing there was small hope for him to carie it by voyces) he should seek by his authority to aduance some other Germane Prince to this Crowne, rather then Charles. But whilst that Francis feeds himselfe with vaine hopes, giuen him by the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Archbishop of Treues, who (to draw money from the King) gaue him great assurances. Charles in stead of gold, brings armes to the field. An army approacheth neere to Francford, for the K. of Spaine, vnder colour there should be no force in the election: the which encreased their courage that fauoured his cause, made them yeeld that wauered, & troubled the French faction. So Charles of Austria King of Spaine, the first of that name, was chosen Emperour of Germany.

The death of  
Maximilian.

A 23

the

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The election of  
Charles.

the twenty eight of Iune. The election of a new Emperour consists in the voyce of fixe A  
Germane Princes. Three are of the Clergy, the Archbishops of Maience, Cologne, and  
Treuës: Three secular, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of  
Brandenburg. The King of Bohemia is Vnmpier, when as the voices are equal: The Em-  
perour is chosen at Francford, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle.

Who could doubt, but these two young Princes, hauing so many occasions of iea-  
lousie and quarrell, would soone breake forth into fierce and cruell warres, the which had taken  
deepe root in both their hearts. The King desired infinitely to recouer the Realme of Na-  
ples, and did greatly affect the restitution of *Henry of Albrert*, to his kingdom of Nauarre,  
whereof hee sees himselfe now frustrate by the suddeth advancement of *Charles* to so high  
a dignitie, and all that which the French held in Italy was in great danger. The Emperour  
on the other side was discontented, that the King contemning the accord first made at Pa-  
ris, and knowing the necessity of his passage into Castile, for the which his fauour did  
much import, had in a manner forced him to agree to new Articles. Moreover, the King  
had taken the Duke of Gueldres into his protection (an enemy to the Flemings, who were  
subiects to *Charles*) a sufficient cause to draw both *Francis* and *Charles* into armes. But  
aboue all, the recovery of the Duchy of Bourgongne, caused strange alterations in the  
mind of this new Emperour. The Duchy of Milan was a sufficient motiue of quarrell: the  
King since the death of *Lewis* the twelfth had neither demanded nor obtained inuestiture,  
and therefore they pretended the possession to be of no validity, & his interest to be void:  
yet all these were not sufficient motiues to stirre vp those horrible confusions, which so  
afflicted the Estates of these two Princes for the space of thirty yeares. Ambitious hatred  
is alwaies grounded vpon light beginnings. In the mean time the Preachers of this voyage  
against the Turke, dispersed throughout all Christendome, grew vehement, promising  
(according to the Popes Bulls) pardon for all sinnes, and the Kingdome of Heauen, to such  
as payd a certaine summe of money. Without doubt *Leo* vsed the authority of the Apo-  
stolike sea too boldly, dispersing throughout the world, without distinction of time or  
place, most large pardons: not onely for the liuing, but also to redeeme the soules of the  
dead from Purgatory for money. And ther that euery one did plainly see, that these par-  
dons were onely granted to get money, which the commissioners (appointed for such ex-  
actions) demanded after an impudent and shamelesse manner; being also well knowne that  
the greatest part of them had purchased their authority from the Popes officers. *Leo* incur-  
red great dislike: many were discontented with this insolent proceeding, especially in  
Germany, where the ministers of this Collection, appointed (according to the common  
opinion) for the deliuey of poore Christians, fighting vnder the burden of the Turkish  
yoke, sold for a small price, yea played away in their Ale-houses their authoritie to re-  
deeme dead mens soules from Purgatory.

And that which did more encrease the peoples spleene, it was generally reported, That  
*Laurence* of Medicis had caried a Brieffe from his Vncle to King *Francis*, whereby hee al-  
lowed him to employ the money gathered throughout his Realme for this warre, to what  
vses he pleased: vpon condition to yeeld it when it should be demanded for the voyage  
beyond the Seas, and to employ fifty thousand crownes to the benefit of the said *Laurence*  
his Nephew. A worthy cause to make the French repine, seeing the money they gaue to  
good intent, was conuerted to contrary vses. But that which made the Germanes wonder-  
fully impatient, *Leo* had giuen to his sister *Magdalene* the profit of the exaction of Indul-  
gences in many parts of Germany, who appointed the Bishop *Arembould*, a Commis-  
sioner in that part, *Worthy* (saith the History) of such a charge, the which he executed with great  
crueltie and extortion: Being the more odious for that this holy money went to satis-  
fie the greedinesse of a woman. So as not onely this exaction, and the Agents thereof, but  
also his name and authority that granted it, became odious in many Prouinces.

*Martin Luther*, a religious man of the Order of *S. Austin*, learned and vehement, began  
to preach against these Indulgences in his publike Sermons: he taxeth the Popes authori-  
tie; complaines of *Albert* of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Maience; and of the doctrine  
which these gatherers did teach, inducing the people to beleue confidently, That by the  
purchase of these pardons they must needs be saued: as if the vertue of these money-pa-  
dons could wipe away any sin, and the money put into the coffers of the Church, or of the  
Commissioners, could draw mens soules out of Purgatory, and send them into Paradise.

And

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A And thereupon he exhorts euery man to beleue soberly, and to gouerne himselfe wisely  
in this businesse, and rather to employ their money otherwise then in this frivolous mer-  
chandise. The people giue care vnto him, find his doctrine plausible: and *Frederick* Duke  
of Saxonie his Prince doth embrace it, *Luther*, supported by the fauour of his Prince and  
the people, proceeds: he publisheth propositions, wherein he doth dispute at large, of  
Purgatorie, of true repentance, of the office and duties of Charitie, of Indulgences and Pardons,  
to seeke out (saith he) the truth, calling al such to dispute as would propound any argument  
to the contrarie. He intreated all such as could not assist, to answer by writing: protest-  
ing, that he would not maintaine any thing, but submit himselfe to the censure of the holy  
Church: yet reiecting all things that should not be conformable to the holy Scripture and  
the decrees of the Fathers. In the end he encounters the Popes authoritie, the Images of  
the Church, the celebrare of Religious persons, restraining the Popes authoritie within the  
limits of the Bishopricke of Rome, and publishing the doctrine, which hath caused a ge-  
nerall Schisme vnto this day. The Pope to quench this fire, cites *Luther* to Rome, for-  
bids him to preach, declares him *Contumax*, if he did not obey, and submit himselfe to the  
Ecclesiasticall censure. Notwithstanding the Original faith, hee did not reforme many  
things that were of bad example, which *Luther* did blame with reason, being very odious  
to all men, vnto his pontificall office with small reuerence. But this was to cast oyle into  
the fire. These Ecclesiasticall armes did but encrease *Luthers* reputation with the people,  
C Neither the religious men, which *Leo* sent to preach against him, nor the letters which hee  
did write to the Princes and Prelates, nor all the other meanes hee employed to suppress  
him, could any thing withdraw the peoples inclination, nor the fauour of *Fredericke*  
from him.

This action seeming still of greater importance to the Court of Rome, made them to  
fear some great disgrace to the Popes greatness, to the preiudice of the Court of Rome,  
and the vnion of Christian Religion. Many assemblies were made at Rome, many con-  
sultations in the Popes chamber betwixt the Cardinals and Diuines appointed to prevent  
these inconueniences. Some did shew, that for asmuch as they did not correct in them-  
selves so many vices and damnable things which did scandalize all Christendome, the per-  
secution of *Luther*, would but augment the hatred of nations against him: giuing counsell  
like vnto that of *Gamaliel* in the fift of the Acts of the Apostles, that it had been better to  
haue winked at such a folly, which happily would haue vanished of it selfe.

Notwithstanding, the hate and violence of others prevailed, so as not onely the perse-  
cutions were doubled against him, and his followers (who by his name were called *Luther-  
ans*) but an excommunication was decreed against *Fredericke* Duke of Saxony: the which  
did so incense him, as of a fauourer hee became a vehement protector of the cause: the  
which since hath been dispersed ouer all Christendome, so as neither prisons, nor banish-  
ment, fire, nor water, sword nor tortures, nor any other punishments, could preuaile against  
it. Without doubt, we haue learned by experience, that Religion is not planted, nor roo-  
ted out by violent meanes. The Altars of pietie are enemies to Armes, Drums, and Trum-  
pets. Mens consciences must be gently intreated, not violently forced. Let vs attend this  
so desired reunion from heauen. The mediation of the most Christian King is necessary:  
let vs hope, that the continuance of a holy peace will giue him the means, as he hath a de-  
sire to choose men capable thereof, who not regarding their priuate interest, will seeke the  
advancement of Gods glorie. But let vs returne to our Historie. Whilest that *Charles*  
the fift was crowned at Aix, the people of Spaine fore-seeing, that by the means of his  
advancement to the Empire, he should remaine for the most part out of Spaine, being also  
incensed against the Lord of Chieures, and some Flemings which had gouerned *Charles*  
in his youth, through whose couetousnesse, Offices, Graces, Priuiledges, and expeditions  
F (which had been vially giuen to Spaniards) were now dearely sold vnto them: they re-  
belled, refusing to obey the Kings officers. They erected a sort of popular gouernment,  
with the aduice almost of all Spaine, whilest the Nobilitie sought by force to suppress  
this popular libertie. The King, by the Popes counsell (who makes his profit of Christi-  
an Princes quarrels, that he might haue peace, whilest they are at warre) seeing that the  
Emperour, being often vrged, did in no sort performe the Articles of the treatie of Noy-  
on, sent an Army into Nauarre, vnder the command of *Esparre*, brother to *Laurens*, who  
in lesse then fiftene dayes reduced Nauarre to the obedience of *Henry* of Albrert, his  
lawfull

Nauarre recei-  
ued.The beginning  
of Luthers  
doctrine.

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lawfull King. This was enough for *Esparre*. It had beene better to returne a victor triumphing with glory and honor, then to follow the aduice of too violent a Councillor. *Saint Colombe* Lieutenant of *Lantress* Company (promising to himselfe, it may be, the conquest of Spaine, as easily as that of Nauarre: or fed with a hope to make some good booty:) carried *Esparre* euen to the frontiers of Catalonia: who hauing taken Fontaraby, did runne as fast as the Grongne. The Spaniards being incensed, (the Nobilitie against the people) had endured the losse of the kingdom of Nauarre, but seeing them to inuade their owne marches, they put in practice the by-word of the dogs, who fighting together, laid aside their quarrell, to fall vpon the wolfe their common enemy. So the, being at great discord among themselves, gaue ouer their intestine quarrels, to pursue their professed enemies.

Taken againe.

The Nobles and Commons ioyne their forces, they encounter *Esparre*, who to saue the souldiers pay, had dismissed some part of his army, giuing leaue to all that would, in yedding halfe a pay: they charge him, defeat him, and take him prisoner, being hurt in the eye with a Lance, whereof he grew blind. The Lord of Tournon was likewise taken, with many other good men. So the Spaniards finding Nauarre vnurnished of Souldiers, recovered Pampelune, with as great facilitie as the French had conquered it. The first breed of the horrible confusions which shall follow. But let vs see another motiue of warre betwixt these two Monarchs, which rising from a small fire, shall flame ouer all this Realme, and many other Estates.

The Prince of Chimay, of the House of Croy, had before-time obtained a sentence against the Lord of Aimeries, giuen by the Peeres of the Duchy of Bouillon (which iudge souverainly) for the Towne of Hierges in Ardennes: yet through the fauour and credit which *Aimeries* had with *Charles* of Austria, and the greatest in his Court, he was released, although he had not appealed from the said sentence in time, grounding the causes of his reliefe vpon the lets and hindrances he had had during the former warres, at which he had alwaies assisted in person. So as a commission being granted before the great Chancellor of Brabant, and a day assigned to the heires of Chimay, to come to heare the reasons of *Aimeries* reliefe: and if need were, to see the former sentence (giuen to their behoofe) reuoked. They found this commission so vniust and vnreasonable (seeing that both their father and they had beene in long and quiet possession of the said rowne) and that this decree was not subiect to appeale: as they repaired to *Robert de la Mark* Duke of Bouillon, as to their Lord and protector, that with their right hee might defend the liberties and priuileges of his Duchy. *Robert* discontented, that his company of men at armes had beene castred for the extortions and robberies they had committed in Italy and else where, had left the King, and was retired to the Emperor. But seeing that iustice was denied him, as well for the priuate interest of the pupils (whose vncke and tutor he was, hauing married their Aunt, sister to the Prince of Chimay) he made his peace with the King, by the mediation of his wife and his sonne *Fleuranges* (the being daughter to the Earle of Brenne) with the Kings mother.

A bold and insolent fact.

*Robert* hauing assured his affaires with the King, sent to desie the Emperor at Wormes, where he had called a Diet of the Princes and free townes of Germany, against the new-bred troubles, by reason of *Luther*. A bold attempt of a petty Prince against an Emperor, mighty in meanes, men, and courage. A great Riuier runs quietly betwixt the bankes that bound it, but at the first breach it ouer-flows a whole Country: so there is nothing more easie then to incense Princes; but being once moued, they are hardly appeased. This desie giuen, *Fleuranges* the eldest sonne of *Robert*, notwithstanding the Kings expresse prohibition, made a leaue as well in France as in other places, of three thousand foot, and foure or five hundred horse, with which he besieged Vireton, a small towne in Luxembourge belonging to the Emperor. But soon after he retired his army by the kings commandment, and dismissed it. But their spleenes were wonderfully incensed vpon new occasions. The King, for that the Emperor failed in the payment of the pension for the realme of Naples, and in the restitution of Nauarre: & withall, his preferment to the Empire had greatly discontented him. The Emperor was grieved for the enterprise of Nauarre, and the contempt of the Duke of Bouillon, being also well informed that the King sought meanes to recover the realme of Naples. *Francis* had sent a Gentleman vnto the Pope to know when it should please him to performe his part for the execution of that which they had concluded

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A cluded together (the which his Maiestie knew according to the disposition of *Leo* to be more counterfeite their currant.) And *Leo* giuing the Gentleman a note of the horse, foot and artillerie, that was necessarie for this enterprise, assigned the King two and twentie dayes to arme, whilest the Venetians might enter into this League.

1521  
Leo ordinarie  
ambassing.

The Pope had no meaning, that Naples should be subiect to the French. If the King had not in the meane time neglected his affaires, *Leo* had been forced to runne another course. And the Pope glad to haue some colourable shew of discontent, accuseth the King either to be carelesse, or ill-affected, hauing not drawne the Venetians into the said League, for the defence of Italy. He complains, that his Maiestie had not payed but the first month for the leauiue of Swisses, which they had been forced to make against the Spaniard, who a little before had inuaded the territories of the Church, whereof the King should pay a moitie, and makes a shew as if the King had treated something with the Emperor, without his priuie, and to his prejudice.

Thus *Leo* seeming iustly displeased, receiued into Rhegium (contrary to his agreement with the King) all the banished men of Milan: he inuested *Charles* of Austria in the realme of Naples, made a defensie league with him, including the house of Medicis and the Florentines: and devising how to conquer Milan, they agreed: That *Farma* and *Placentia* should remaine to the Church, to hold them with the same rights it did before: That *Francis* *Sforza* brother to *Maximilian* should be put in possession of the Duchie of Milan, as hauing right from his father, and his brothers renunciation: and that the Emperor should ayde the Pope against his subiects, and feudatories, namely, to conquer Ferrara. This mutall resolution of allyance was a meanes, by Gods prouidence, to shew his wonderfull iudgements, and a scourge to punish both French, Italians, and Spaniards for many yeeres: whereby followed so many curstions of townes, oppressions of people, desolations of Prouinces, and the death of so many men of valour.

The Emperor in the meane time, leaues a great armie of horse and foot, vnder the command of *Henry* Earle of Nassau, who tooke Longenes from *Robert de la Marke*, razed the Towne, and hanged the Captaine, with twelue of the chiefe of his troope. The Captaine of Musancourt, (deliuered by some of his Souldiers, with the place to the said Earle) escaped the gallows at the intreacie of the chiefe of his armie, but twentie of his souldiers were hanged, and the place likewise razed and spoiled to the ground. About this time, there was much controuersie touching the Duchie of Milan, the Emperor pretending it belonged absolutely to him, not onely by conquest, but much rather by inheritance: concerning which, the most learned in the Lawes of the Empire produced many and very probable reasons and arguments. These two prizes caused *Fleuranges* and *Sansey* his brother (the sonnes of *Robert*) to put themselves into *Lametz*, with a resolution to die or keepe it. The Earle after foure dayes siege, hauing seene the garrisons firme resolution, raised his Campe, to take the way to *Fleuranges*. The Germans which kept it, yielded vpon both the Towne and their Captaine the Lord of *Lametz*, the sonne of *Robert*, into the hands of the Earle, who hauing ruined it, did the like vnto *Sansey*. Bouillon was afterwards yeelded to him by intelligence. After this, *Robert* obtained a truce of the Emperor for six weekes. But the Emperor *Charles* dreamed of a more important warre. If his spleene had beene only against the house of *La Mark*, why should he graunt them a truce, being thus ruined: and being a Conquerour, and strong enough to subdue the said *Robert*, why did he still increase his aile?

La Marke  
ruined.

The King hauing intelligence, that waite was proclaimed against him, prepared his forces to withstand the Emperor: and to this end hee gaue a Commission to *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Saint Pol, to leaue six thousand foot, to the Countesse of Bourbon eight hundred horse, and six thousand foot: and to the Duke of Vendosme the like charge. And to rectifie the disgrace receiued by *Esparre*, he sent six thousand Baniquets, and of whom *Francis* of Lorraine Earle of Guise was General, vnder *William* of Cleu, Lord of Conbray, a Admiral of France, to whom he gaue five companies of horse, & commission to keepe that number of Galcons and Balques he should thinke necessarie. The Lord of Lescat was in like sort releued with French and Swisses, for the warre of Italy. The armies on either side were in field: there remained nothing but for the onset to make brach: the battails began. There had been 1586, and a great quarrell betwixt *Francis* of Bourbon, and the Lord of Liques, a Gentleman of Humaine, for the Abbey

sailed  
to Rome.



Abbey of Saint *Amand* which the Cardinall enjoyed, *Liques* takes this occasion to assault the Abbey, which being of no strength, was delivered unto him by *Champeroux*, Lieutenant for the King in Tournais, in the which *de Leges* Gouverneur of Tournay was surprised. We might pretend that these were but private quarrels: but *Liques* advanced with his forces to Mortagne, a place subject to the King, the which hee said hee had sometimes enjoyed.

In the end *Prancy*, Captaine of the said place (having no hope of succours) yielded it, not to *Liques*, but to the Lord of Portien, vpon condition to depart with their lives and baggage. But contrarie to the Law of armes and honestie, they were pursued, stript, and hardly escaped with their lives. On the other side, *Fiennes*, of the house of Luxembourg, Gouverneur of Flanders, besieged Tournay with a thousand horse, eight thousand foot, and fixe Cannons, continuing there five moneths, whilest that the Bourguignous did take, spoile, & raze Ardres: the Lord of Teligni in exchange did charge, defeat, and cut in peeces sixe hundred Bourguignous, that were entred the Realme to spoile it. In the beginning of these garboyles, *Henry* King of England did offer himself an Arbitrator betwix these two Princes, *Charles* and *Francis*, & Calais was named for the treatie of a good peace. But what meanes was there to yeld to the Emperours vnreasonable demands, to refuse vnto him the Duchie of Bourgondie, with an abolition of the homage which he ought vnto this Crowne, for Flanders? being vnreasonable (as he pretended) that an Emperour should doe homage to a King of France: as if we did not commonly see Princes hold their lands by homage of simple Gentlemen. So this parle tooke no effect.

Hitherto the Imperials dealt vnder-hand, protesting not to make warre against the king, but now they discover themselves, and come with enignes displayed to besiege Mouzon: they batter it in two places, the one by the meddow towards the port of Rheims: the other from the mountaine going to Luoy. The foot-men newly leauied, and not yet trained, grew amazed, and force *Montmort* the Captaine of that place, to demand a composition: for the obtaining whereof, he went with *La Signi*, his companion, to the Earle, and obtained, *That every man at armes should depart with a curtall unarmed, and the foot-men and archers without armes, and a white wand in their hands*: what policie was this, to see two Lieutenants to a King, goe forth off a place to capitulate with the enemy: without doubt they deserved the shame which many haue suffered for the like rashnesse, to be detained prisoners, put to ransom, and forced to yeld the Towne at discretion.

The taking of all these Townes without opposition, drew the Earle to Mezieres (commanded by the Cheualier Bayard) but he found a more generous resolution then at Mouzon. The experience and valour of the Captaines, and the desire which *Anne* Lord of Montmorency had to doe the King some notable seruice in his youth, had drawne him into the Towne, with many well-minded Gentlemen of the Court: amongst the rest, the Lords of Lorges, Annebault, Luce, Villeclair, *Iohn de la Tour* Lord of Breumont, *Iohn de Bevil*, Lord of Berbee, *Nicholas* of Thours Lord of Suilly, *Ataithurin*, and *Charles de Lorraine*, (whose valours and fidelitie deserue a place in our Historie.) *Anthony Duke of Lorraine* (whose Lieutenant Bayard was) and the Lord of Orual, Gouverneur of Champagne, commanded either of them, a hundred men at armes. *Bousart* and the Baron of *Montmorency*, had either of them a thousand foot. This might seeme too much for a small place, but it was strong and of importance. The Cannon did no sooner begin to batter, but all of the foot grew amazed, and in despite of their Captaines fled some by the gate, others over the walls: Bayard by the basenesse of them that fled, tooke occasion to assure the resolutions of such as remained, For (saith he) preferring the Towne with the help of few men, we shall haue the more merit and reputation: our troopes are of the more force, being discharged of this unprofitable burthen.

The Earle coming neere to Mezieres, sent to summon the Commanders to yeld the Towne vnto the Emperour. Report vnto the Earle of Nassau (said Bayard to the trumpet) That before he shall heare me speake of yielding up the Towne, which the King hath given me to charge, I hope to make a bridge of my enemies carriages, over the which I may march. He makes two batteries, and shakes the walls, for the space of a month. But finding by long dry fallies (in the which the besieged did most commonly carry the honour and advantage) the resolution of the Commanders, men at armes, and souldiers, haue also intelligence of the defeat of a hundred choise horse of the Emperours campe, and two hundred

A foot, led by the Earle *de Foix*, to spoile Arrign, vpon all which *Francis* of Silli, Bayliffe of Caen, Lieutenant to the Duke of Alencon, had put to the sword, except 5 or 6, which were carried prisoners to the said Earle to Rheims, the Towne hauing been also beleagued, the first of October with a thousand foot led by *Lorges*, four hundred horse by *Reilleg*, and some munition, hee heard the first fury of his artillery, and despayning to take the Towne by force or famine, hee raised his Campe, and made his retreat by Mont: Colnet in Aidenes, Maubert, Fontaine, and Aubenon, for Veruin and Guise, spoiling, burning and killing, Men, Women and Children without distinction: a mournfull beginning of the cruelties which haue been committed in the succeeding warres. Bayard for a worthy reward of his vertue, was honored by the King with a company of a hundred men at armes, and the order of Saint *Michael*. In the meane time the King assailable his forces at Feruacques, to cut off the enemies way about Guise, and to fight with him: during whose retreat, the Cont Saint *Paul* recovered Mouzon, for the King.

Such was the estate of Picardy, and Champagne, whilest the Admirall of Bonniuet arrived at Saint *Iohn de Luz*, for the enterprise of Nauarre. His purpose was to surprize Fontarby. To hold the enemy in suspence, he first tooke the Castell of Poignau vpon the mountaine of Roncevaux, then making shew to take the way of Pampelune, he turned head through the mountaines towards the Towne of Maye, and whilest he lodged his artillery, hee called the Earle of Guise (who commanded the Lanquenets) to take the way by the river of Behaube, running at the foot of the mountaines which come from Nauarre, and so passe into the sea before Fontarby: and in the morning he followed with his Army. Having some Spaniards in front, which camped on the other side of the water, hee passed the river at a ford, the said Earle marching before them with a pike in his hand. Don *Diego de Vere* chiefe of the enemies army, being equal in number, and hauing an aduantage over those that came wet from the passage of a river, amazed at the resolution of our men, left the field, and fled with his men through the mountaines.

The Castle of Behaube kept all victuals from our Campe, and held it in great distresse. But the first Volley of the cannon, hauing split one of their best peeces, & slaine the Governor, with some others that did assist him, the souldiers being amazed, forcetheir Capitaine to yeld at discretion: whereof the Admirall sent the best prisoners to Bayonne, the rest returned away being dispersed. The way being thus layd open to Fontarby, (a place which they held impregnable, and one of the keyes of Spaine) fortified on three parts, with the sea, river and mountaine, in few dayes he made a breach, but not assailable. Notwithstanding the Gascons, Basques and Nauarrois, demanded the assault, the which was defended with as great resolution as it was assailed: but the besieged hauing discovered some peeces, which the Admirall had planted on the mountaine, to beate them the next day in flanke at the second attempt, and knowing the resolution of the assaillants, by the proofe they had formerly made, caused them to yeld, vpon condition to depart, with their baggage and baggage. *James* of Aillon Lord of Lude, was made Gouvernor thereof.

Let vs returne to Feruacques, where we haue left the King preparing to fight with the enemy. To this end he giues the forward to the Duke of Alencon (who had married *Marguerite* of Valois the Kings sister) accompanied with the Marshall of Chastillon, (this was the first morie of the Constable of Bourbons discontent, the which place was due vnto him as Constable of France.) He tooke the bataille himselfe, taking the said Duke of Bourbon vnto him, and committed the reeward to the Duke of Vendosme. Bapaume did much annoy the frontier towards Peronne, Corbie & Doullans. The Earle of Saint *Paul*, the Marshall of Chabannes and the Lord of Fleuranges tooke it, beat downe the defences, and burnt it to ashes. The Duke of Vendosme had Commission to doe the like vnto Landrecy: who arriuing late, foure or five Ensignes of the bands of Picardie march, without commandement and without ladders, and fite furiously to the port, where they plant their Ensignes vpon the draw-bridge, but they were repulld by 7 or 800 Lanquenets and some of their Ensigne-bearers slaine. This furie of the Picards did so amaze the Germanes, as without attending batterie, breach, or assault, they retired into the next towne, where they could not pursue them, by reason of the river running thorough the Towne. Thus Landrecy vnurnished of men, was the next day taken, razed and burnt.

The Emperour was retired with his Armie towards Valenciennes: the King halloied bridge over the river of Elbau beneath Bouchain, either to fight with him, or to make him abandon

Mouzon taken.

The Bastille  
Medius leuatus  
Mezies.Fontarby  
taken.The ruine of  
Bapaume.The Valais  
resolution of  
Bayard.

1521

The Emperor  
differencable  
resources

abandon the countie with dishonour. Charles having intelligence of this bridge, sent twelve thousand Lanqueters, and four thousand horse to stop the passage, but the Earle of Saint Paul with those five thousand men which he commanded, was already in battaile on the other side of the water, in a march towards Valenciennes, and the King followed him secretly with all his Army, which were about sixteen hundred men at Armes, and six and twenty thousand foot with the light-horse. The which the enemy perceiving, he left seven or eight hundred horse to cover the retreat of his footmen, taking the way to Valenciennes. Tremouille and the Marshall of Chabannes offer to charge them in the reare: the Swisses cried out for battaile, to give a testimonie vnto the King, that they desired to see the confirmation of their new alliance with some notable service: and if their aduice had been followed, the Emperour had that day by all likelihood lost his honour, and the flower of his Armie. So the enemy retired without any losse, except the battaile of Aimeries and some prisoners. GOD doth often minister occasions, the which being once neglected, are neuer recovered with so great aduantage. But howsoever, the Emperour retired by night into Flanders with an hundred horse, leaving all the rest of Arme behind him.

Hedon taken.

The next day, Bouchan yielded at the first summons to the Duke of Bourbon. This shameful retreat of the Imperials draws our armie to Hedin, being vnfurnished of soldiers, when as the inhabitants feared no enemy, being busied at the marriage of a daughter of the Receiuer general of Arthois. The Dukes of Bourbon and Vendosme and the Earle of Saint Paul, with the troopes (commonly called the Blacke bands) notwithstanding the continuall raine, were at the Towne-gates, before the Citizens had any intelligence of their departure from the Armie. The Towne being resolutely attempted was taken by assault, and spoiled by the footmen, the which abounded in wealth: for that in olde time the Dukes of Bourgongne had made their chiefe residence there. But in the midst of the spoile, one quarter of the Towne was fired, contrary to the Commales expresse commandement, the which deprived the Souldiers of part of their booty. The Ladie of Rieux and the Garison of the Castle departed with their baggage: but the Inhabitants that were retired and come into it, were put to ransom. The Lord of Biez had the government of the Castle, and Lorges of the Towne, with a thousand foot. This happened on all-Saints day.

Journey lost.

Winter was come, and the enemy appeared no more: the King dispersed his Army, and giuing the most of the Gentlemen that had followed the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendosme the command of twenty five horse a peece, putting his Companies into Gaen, and disposing of the rest of the Armie he retired to Compiegne, about Christmas, notable for the disemperature of the weather to releue Tournay, necessitie forcing the Lord of Champroux to depart with an honourable composition, armed, their Ensignes played, Drums founding, and their baggage saved.

Now may we see, what effects the Popes league with the Emperour shall bring forth. Being both equally desirous to expell the French out of Italy, they thought it best, before they came to open force, to shadow their practices with a Foxes skin, and by increase of the banished men, to assaile the Duchies of Milan and Genoua at one instant, with the Cities of Parma, Placentia, Cremona, and Crema. But he that attempts too much, performs little: so manyundry enterprizes doe most commonly terrifie more then hurt. According to this plot the Emperours Gallies, remaining at Genoua, the Popes come suddenly into the port with two thousand Spaniards, led by Jerome Adorne, hoping that the partisans of that Family, would not faile to mutinie: but the good order which *Frederick* had made their designe fruitlesse. On the other side, *Lautrec*, before his coming into France, to marry the daughter of the Lord of Orual, had expelled many out of Milan, that were ill affected to the King, whereof they said the most part had been banished for slight occasions, or to seize vpon their goods.

Without doubt, severity loseth those hearts, which clemency and moderation in a temperate commander would make vfe of at need. *Francis Sforza*, *Jerome Maron*, *Manfred Paluissin* and *Soto* of Brindesi, were the chiefe, who having assembled a great number of their Partisans, for the execution of their designs, retired to Regium, belonging to the Church, although neither the Pope, nor the King (according to their treaty) ought to haue supported them in their territories. *Lesclap* Marshall of Foix, Lieutenant to his brother, advertised

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A advertised of these stirres, by *Extenderick* of Boffele, retired from Milan on Midsummer Euen, accompanied with four hundred Lances, and followed by *Raffa*, a trading ship, and foot, to require Count *Guy* of Rango, Gouverneur of the towne for the Pope, the assenting to the Treaty, he should deliver these banished men into his hands. Whiles that *Lesclap* and *Raffa* conferred together vpon their fauour, a post came carrying news to *Raffa* that at the gate which goes to Parma, the one complaining, that contrary to the articles of the league, they did suppose kin to towns belonging to the Church, to be banished men, being assembled to trouble the Kings Estate, and the other, that he had suddenly entered with armes into the territories of the Church: beheld a gate being opened for the hitting in of a cart laden with meale, the Lord of Bonaual aduanced with some men at armes, to seize vpon the Port, but they were repulled, and the gate shut. Some banished men being vpon the wals, discharge their Harguebuses, and hurt *Alexander* *Teincke*, whereof hee died two dayes after. Nothing saved *Lesclap*, but the feare, which the Marquibuser had, that aimed at him, to kill the Gouverneur. The indiscretion of one man, is pernicious to such as accompany him. During this garboile, the Earle, to assure *Lesclap* person, led him vpon his faith into the ruelin. The men at armes taking this for an imprisonment, fled to eary news to the troops, which stayed two miles from Regium, who standing doubtfull, whether they should march against the towne to recover their Leader, or returne to Parma, thinking it a practice to surpris the towne in their absence: the Marshall arised, being released by the Earle; forbearing to stay him, having giuen him his faith, and received commission not to proceed against the King by open warre. This enterprize, as badly effected as rashly attempted, was of consequence. It was a good colour for the Pope to accuse the King, and to iustifie his confederacy with the Emperour. To prevent this, *Lesclap* sent *La Morte* to *Les*, to disauow the attempt at Regium, and to let him vnderstand, that what hee had done, was neither to attempt against him, nor against the estate of the Church. For answer: *The Marshall of Foix* (said the Pope) in great choller, hath lodged (in armes like an enemy) upon my territory; I will make him know the wrong hee hath done vnto the King. Presently after this threat, hee did excommunicate the Marshall out of the Church. The designe vpon Como, succeeded no better then that of Genoua; for *Manfred* of Paluissin, and *Soto* of Brindisi, having in the night approached to the wals, with eight hundred Italian foot, and Lanqueters, hoping that *Anthony* *Raffa* a Citizen of Como, would make a breach for them in the wall behind his house, as he had promised to *Benedict* *Lorne*, another of that City that was banished; *Captaine Garrou* a Balque by Nation, a man well practised in armes, did mingle the townsmen with the souldiers, at the guard of the wall, to prevent the exception of their intelligence, if happily they had any. So as the conspirators not daring to discover themselves, *Paluissin* despaired of his foolish enterprize, hauing planted his guards about the towne, where he thought most fit to sleep. *Garrou* issues forth to giue them a skirmish, he kills the greatest part; some seek their safety vpon the lake, others vpon the mountaine. Three Barks were sunke in the lake, and seven taken by *Garrou*. Many were taken prisoners; amongst others, *Manfred* and *Soto*, who after they had confessed the results and practices in the Estate of Milan, were publicly quartered at Milan: and *Bartholomew* *Ferrier* their complice, a man of authority in the towne, was beheaded vpon the returne of the Lord of Lautrec; whom the King (being advertised of these disorders) sent presently to Milan. The Lanqueters had leaue to depart into their Country. Seeing the Popes secret practices could not succeed, hee now discouers himselfe, hee complains in the Consistory of Cardinals, of the attempt of Regium: and concludes, that the King is ill affected to the Apostolike Sea, and (concealing the Capitulations hee had secretly made with the Emperour) hee protests that he is forced to ally himselfe vnto him, who (said *Lesclap*) had neuer committed any thing vnworthy of a Christian Prince, and very zealous to Religion.

So the Wolfe in the Fable accused the Sheepe for troubling the water. Thereupon he presently makes shew to contract with *Don Iohn Emanuel*, Ambassadour to Charles, the league which hee had formerly concluded; and resolves, by the aduice of *Raffa* *Garrou*, to invade the Estate of Milan with six hundred men at armes, and the companies of horse, which the Emperour had in the Realme of Naples; six thousand Italian foot, two thousand Spaniards, (which *Adorne* had in the River of Genoua) two thousand Neapolitanes, (which the Marquis of Pescara should bring) four thousand Lanqueters,

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1521

An ominous  
signe to the  
French.

nets, and two thousand Grisons (which should beo named at their common charge) and two thousand Suisses, which had remained voluntarily, of a great number, under the Popes pay.

Whilest this was working, beheld a small signe to our Frenchmen of their instant calamities: for on Saint Peters day, the Sunne being set, and the sky cleare, lightning fell vpon the great Tower of the Castle of Milan, and overthrew the sadomes of the Curtaine on either side, consumed two hundred & fifty thousand weight of powder, twelvehundred fire-pots, the provision of salr for five yeares: and vnder the ruines were slaine *Richbourg*, Capitaine of the Castle, and about three hundred Gentlemen and souldiers that were walking there. *Leo* did not forget to triumph at this accident, and to impute it to the wrath of God laid vpon the French.

This heauy accident was a spur to hasten his resolutions, for the ruine of four men. And knowing that the estate of Mantoua did import him much for the wars of Lombardy, he entertained *Frederick Marquis* of Mantoua with two hundred men at armes, and two hundred light-horse, giving him the title of Generali for the Church: for the accepting whereof, the Marquis renouncing the Order of Saint *Michael*, sent back the collar to the King, wherewith his Maiefty had honoured him. The Marquis of Mantoua and *Prosper Colonne*, hauing armed for the Pope, and the Marquis of Pescara for the Emperor, they besieged Parma, seated vpon a Riuer of the same name, and easie to be passed: but after great raine, and the day after the beheading of *S. Iohn*, hauing battered the Port of *S. Croix* towards Milan, (which at that time was but the Suburbs) and made a breach of fifty paces, giuen three sharpe assaults and were repulsed, about foure thousand Italians (of six thousand that were within the towne) went out at the breach, and yielded to the enemy. The Marshall of Foix, who had undertaken the defence thereof, the Lord of Pont-Dormy, gouernour of the towne, and the other Capitaines, hauing kept the bafe towne about fiftene dayes, retired into the towne beyond the Riuer, leaving an Italian Capitaine at the breach, to fauour the retreat of their men at armes, who, to worke his owne safety, deceived the enemy by a gentle stratagem, he caused euery one of the Harquebussiers, to lay an end of match, light vpon the rampier, where they did vially make their guard, so as it was an houre after the breake of day, before the enemies had knowledge that the breach was abandoned: which hauing discovered, they passe their artillery, spoile the suburbs, make their approaches to the towne at Noonday, and begin to batter the wall, which defends the other banke of the Riuer.

But small accidents doe often disappoint attempts of great consequence. The same night that the enemy entred into Codipont: (which is the suburb they had abandoned) news comes, that *Alphonso* of Este, Duke of Ferrara, with an hundred men at armes, two hundred light-horse, two thousand foot (whereof *Lantrec* had sent him a thousand Italians and Corsegues, and twelve peeces of Artillery) had surprisid Final and Saint *Felix*, and threatened Modena. *Prosper Colonne* would not diminish his army, when as he feared the enemies approach. But to assure Modena, they must draw out of the Popes armie two hundred light-horse, and eight hundred foot, led by Count *Guy* of Rangon, to ioyne with six hundred others that were left within the place.

On the other side, *Lantrec* approached with his army, which consisted of senca or eight hundred Lances, thirteene or fourteene thousand Suisses, foure thousand French, which *S. Wallier* had newly brought: five hundred men at armes Venetians, and foure thousand foot vnder *Theodore Trinsule* Generali of the Venetians, and *Andrew Gritti* Commissary, accompanied with the Duke of Vrbin, and *Marke Anthony Colonne*. These two considerations, with the oblatinate resolution of the besieged, forced the enemy to raise the siege, and to take the way of Po, to enter the estate of Milan. *Lantrec* follows them: but hauing lost two or three dayes in taking the Castle of Roque-bianque, he gaue them leisure to passe the Riuer. It is good to obserue the errors of a Commander, that others may iudge and make their profit thereby. The Popes army lay open to the spoile: the Lansquenets mutined for want of pay, refusing to follow, and refused to ioyne with the French. The retreat was made in confusion: the army was full of feare, for this sudden dislodging: they had in front a great difficulty, being to passe the Riuer of Po: when a great army passeth any Riuer, it is easie to disturb them, if the enemy bee diligent and valiant: were they not then likely to bee put to rout, if *Lantrec* had pursued them hotly? This they passed

Retreat of the  
French army.

1521

A passed the Po, this first of October, spending a whole day, and a good part of the night at the passage, but the pairing of spies makes Commanders oftentimes not slip goodly occasions, being ignorant of the disorders and difficulties that troubled the enemy.

This is not all, other accidents happen, which being neglected, the French shall receive a shameful disgrace. The enemies army was so weak, as the Spaniards and Lansquenets were too weak to shoue open the thousand, the Italians (for their third part new souldiers) seemed rather to make a number, then for any strength; and lodged at it euey, attending a supply of Suisses, to pass for euery one, as the provision of moneie, which was brought vnto them in small quantity, was distributed to the companies by measure. The Souldiers for want of Ones, shaked their positions vpon the ciphers. Their Suisses came not, many Italians fled away secretly, and all men confessed, that if the French army which lodged at Boirdillane, in quierles neere to the enemies campe, had charged them at their rising from Rebec, halfe vanquished with so many difficulties, there had remained little or no hope of safety. For the more necessity had forced them to retire where they stood, being long, and the enemy neere, the danger had bene too vident, considering that from the Castle of Pont-luy, belonging to the Venetians, they might disorder their battalions with the Cannon. But the fruitlesse and long stay of our commanders at Rebec, after the enemies departure, gaue them leisure to passe the Riuer of Ogny, and to lodge in the village of Orlans, with an intent not to rise before the arrival of their Suisses.

The Feast of All-Saints drew neere, the nights grew long, the continuall raine and cold annoyed our Suisses, who demanded that pay which the law of Armes giues vnto souldiers that haue won a battell, saying, that it was not their fault they had not obtained a victory. But in this case not the will but the effect merits such a pay: so as of all their company there remained about foure thousand. This being full of disdain and discontent; suborned likewise by the practices of the Cardinals of Medici and Sion, who as Legats to *Leo*, marched in the middle of the army with their crosses of silver, enuironed (saith the Original) with numbers of armed men, artillery, blasphemers, murdherers, and theues: they did greatly weaken the Kings army, to fortifie the enemy, ioyning with *Prosper Colonne*, and imputing the chiefe cause thereof to the want of pay. Without doubt, it is a great error in

D Kings Officers, especially in an army, to conuert the money appointed for the payment of an army to other vices. As was at the passage of the Riuer of Adde, that the last act of this tragedy must be played: for the defence whereof *Lantrec* lent the Lord of Pont-Dormy, with his company: that of *Ocellian Frége* (led be Count *Hugues* of Pepoli a Bolonis) at thousand or twelve hundred foot, and two falcons. But it pleased God at this time to satisfie the Popes couetousnesse with the spoile of four men, that hee might execute the iust Iudgement of his vengeance soone after vpon his person. The enemy beats backe our guards, and puts them to flight, kils some, and amongst others, *Gratian* of Luce and Chardon, neighbors to the forest of Orleans: who commanded either of them a Regiment of five hundred men. They passe Adde at Vaudi, and force *Lantrec* to retire to Callan, and so towards Milan with his whole army.

The passage of Adde recovered *Prosper Colonne's* reputation, who for the retreat before Parma, and his ordinary tediousnesse, was ill reputed of, as well at Rome, as in his army. Contrariwise, *Lantrec* wanting neither valour nor braue resolution, but Vigilance and happinesse, purchaseth contempt of his men, and hatred of the Milanois, whom he did the more exasperate, in causing *Christopher d'auoisin* to be publicly beheaded, a man of great Nobility, great authority, great age, and a long time detained prisoner. *Colonne* aduertised of the retreat of the French to Milan, lodged at Marignan, and his Suisses in the Abbey of Cleuauay, doubtfull whether he should passe on to Milan, being fortified with so many men: or turne to Pavia, being destitute of Souldiers. Being thus irresolute, there appears from the Marquis of Mantoua, an aged man, meane in shew and apparell, who being brought before *Colonne* and the other Capitaines, assures them that he is sent from the Parishioners of *S. Car* of Milan, to let them vnderstand, that at the first approach of their army, all the people of Milan are resolu'd to take armes against the French, by the sound of the bells of euery parish: wishing them to set forward with speed, without giuing the French leisure to bethinke themselves, And so he vanished away, not knowne to any man.

The Commanders gave credit to this intelligence. The 23 of Nouember the Marquis of Pescara with his Spanish bands, presents himselfe at the port of Rome at Sunne setting.

Bbb 2 and

*Lantrec* addresse  
to his army.



1522

Milan besieged.

paired his companies, and the Venetians assembled theirs about Cremona; who being joyned with the Suisses, passed the River of Adde, the fifth of March, and *John de Medici* with them, who persuaded by the Kings great and certain entertainment, was newly drawn to his service. They march like men resolved to assault the rampier, but the trenches stay them, the third day *Mark Anthony Colonne* and *Camille* bastard sonne to *John Jacques* of Triangle, walking together in a house, & desiring to make a mount to shoot from thence with their artillery, betwixt the enemies two trenches, a volley of Cannon shot from the towne, did beat downe the said house, and buried them in the ruines thereof. Thus *Lautrec* despairing to take Milan by assault, converteth all his thoughts to vanquish it in time by famine, he waits the Country, stops the victuals, breakes the mils, and cuts off their water. But not to fall into their hands whom they feare, they dread not death. The peoples hatred against the French, and the desire of their new Duke whom they expected, makes them to endure all distresses patiently. *Francis Sforza* comes to Trent with six thousand Lanquenets, who by the taking of the Castle of Croare, having opened the passage of Po, arrived without any lett at Pavia. The way was difficult from Paula to Milan: for at the first brute of their approach, *Lautrec* went to lodge at Cassin, and the Venetians at Binasque, upon the way to Pavia. There fell out an accident which helps *Sforza*, the Marshall of Foix came out of France with money, and some troops of footmen. *Lautrec* sent *Frederick* of Bossole, to receive him into the Estate of Milan, with four hundred Lances, and seven thousand Suisses and Italians: being joyned together, they went to Nonarre, and through the favour of the Castle, took it at the third assault, with the slaughter of most that defended it. A small gaine which shall cause a great losse.

Nonarre taken.

For *Lautrec* wanting a great part of his forces, he gave *Sforza* means to enter into Milan, with his Lanquenets, and three hundred horse, with an incredible joy to the Milanais. The coming of a new Prince is very pleasing to an Estate, whereby the people hope for ease. *Lautrec* seeing *Sforza* dislodged from Pavia, and received into Milan, resolves to besiege Pavia, where the Marquis of Mantova commanded, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. *Lautrec* batteries the towne, and makes a breach of thirty fadoms, he gives two assaults, and is repulsed.

Pavia besieged in vain.

There was a posterne in the towne, lying to the River of Tegn, where they waited their horses, which by reason of the River was ill guarded: whilst they did busie the Imperials at the breach, *Saint Columbe* had charge to passe the River at a ford, with two thousand foot, and *Riberac* and *Rochepey* with four hundred horse: of the companies of *Lautrec*, and the bastard of Sauoy, who marching along the wall, where there was no watchers, should by the swiftnesse of their horses seize upon the posterne, and hold it whilst their foot came. *Riberac* and *Rochepey* execute their designe, they enter the Towne, plant a Cannon upon the Posterne: but *Saint Columbe* was content to bring his men to the River side, without wetting of his foot. So as the Citizens had leisure to come to succour him, and to repulse our men: who if they had beene followed, had taken the towne. *Lautrec* was faine fighting, and *Rochepey* had his leg broken with a musket shot. This attempt did wonderfully amaze the inhabitants, considering their want of men, and money, and the Marquis made it knowne, that without succours he should in the end be forced to yield the towne.

Knowing the danger, sent twelve hundred Colles and Spaniards, who marching by night, speaking Gallies, were taken for Catalines, by the Venetians, and passed their sentinels, and meeting with some French scouts, speaking Italian, were taken for Milanais. So as deceiving the Commanders by this stratagem, they passed without discovery, but very late, by the posterns, and so turning their backs, flew some small way off.

The death of *Antony*, kinne unto *Lautrec*, made him to double the fury of the Siege, and all prepared for an assault. With this new strength, with 5000 foot, and 300 horse, and comes to Camp at Cassin, three miles from the French. While he was there, there was more to give an assault, having a mighty army behind them, and changed one necessity for another. The money which *Lautrec* had brought, was spent, and that which came from France, was stayed in Arcole, by the Viscount *Cardigne*, who was sent to that end from Milan to Buße. The continual rage had cast downe the River of Tegn, and small brookes grew to great rivers: so as the victuals which came from

Omeline

1522

A Omeline, to the campe, could no more passe, whereby they were forced to raise the sieges, and draw towards Monce, to enjoy the commodities of Laudecan and Cremonois.

The enemy seeing the French Army take the way to Monce, fearing they would recover Milan, went to lodge at Biococque, a Gentlemans house, but of so great a circuit, as twenty thousand men might easily be put in battaille, upon the way from Laude to Milan. Without doubt, the valour and wisdom of *Prosper*, gave the first wound to the French affaires, but the impatience of the Suisses did vicerly ruin them. Their Colonels gave *Lautrec* to understand, that their companions were weary of camping so long without any profit, that they demand of three things the one; either money, leave to depart, or a battaille. Our Commanders hoped by famine to drive *Colonne* out of his borrow, and what reason was there to assault a mightie enemy, in a Fort entrenched, flanked with great platformes, and well furnished with Artillery? But neither persuasions, prayers, promises, nor authority could divert them from their first resolution. Seeing then there was no other meanes to detain them, *Lautrec* resolved, rather to hazard his army by a battaille, then to give any occasion to be suspected of cowardise. An unfortunate condition of a Commander, who sees himselfe a slave to those he should command: and what a griefe is it to be forced to doe that which must needs bring shame and confusion? But where force reigneth, right hath no place.

Lautrec forced to fight by the Suisses.

The day of *Quasimodo*, the Army marcheth towards Biococque. The Marshall of Foix led the foreward: *Lautrec*, the Marshall of Chabannes, the bastard of Sauoy, and *Galeat* of Saint Seurin, the battaille. *Francis Maria*, Duke of Vrbin, with the Venetian Army, the reeward. *Peter* of Nauarre marched before, to make the way. The Lord of Montmorency should assault them on the one side with eight thousand Suisses. *Lescars*, with three hundred Lances, and a Squadron of French and Italian foot, should charge at the bridge, entering into the enemies lodging: and *Pontdormy* should march before the Marshall of Foix, with a troupe of horse, to watch lest the Imperials should come behind and disorder the Army; and likewise to succor where neede should require.

Besides force, *Lautrec* vied this policy, to cause the men at armes to set red crosses upon their Casocks, the make of the Imperiall army, in stead of a white, the luerie of France. But the providence of *Colonne* made this device fruitlesse, as we shall see. On the other side, *Colonne* had sent for *Sforza*, who having suddenly assembled four hundred horse, and six thousand of the Commons, was set to guard the Bridge, and all the troops were put in battaille upon the trench. *Montmorency*, accompanied with a great number of the Nobility, was come close to the enemies rampier, intreating the Suisses to attend the Artillery; and that the Marshall of Foix should be ready to assault them on the other side: that *Colonne* being charged on all sides, might be constrained to divide his forces. But a rash fury transporting the Suisses to their owne ruine, all runne furiously to the enemies fort, the Cannon entertaines them before they approach, and kills above a thousand of them. A volley of small shot kills most of their Captaines, and chiefe Soldiers, and the Rampier being above a Pike in height, staves them foudainly. The Earle of Montmorency sent for the Earle of Laual, *Milans* of Sauoy, *Granville*, brother to the Vidame of Chartres, *Roque-laure*, la Guiche, the Lords of Tournon & Longa, *Launay*, a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, and many others died there. Colonel *Albert Peter* (who above all others, thrust into this furie) suffered the paines of his rashnesse. *Montmorency* was once within the towne, but suddenly reliev'd by the Gentlemen that were about him.

The battaille of Biococque.

In the meane time the Marshall of Foix forced the guards upon the bridge, and charging the enemies within his fort, gave hope of Victory. But this violent heat of the Suisses was once quenched. All retire, yet keeping a kinde of order. The Imperials freed from the Suisses, attack all their forces upon the Marshall and *Pontdormy*, who had not above three hundred horse; and force them to repasse the bridge with the losse of some men. On the other side, the Spaniards issuing forth; charge the Suisses in the reeward, and find them to rout, if *Pontdormy* had not by a sudden charge kept them within their fort. The Venetians kept themselves safe from danger, but if they had charged with the Suisses, and men at armes, the Marshall of Foix had beene well followed. The French had won the victory. But when things are done there neuer waits an If. The Suisses had about fiftie thousand men, and two and twenty Captaines. The Enemy lost 15,000 men of quality, but 1000 of Cardone Earle of Cusane. So *Lautrec* returned with the rest of

Lautrec returned to Biococque.



1522

of his armie, the Suisses, and the artillery to Monce, from whence the twelfth day after, the Suisses returned to their houses, and the Bastard of Savoy, the Marshall of Chabannes, and Gales of Saint Seuerin retired with them. Now shall wee see this Nation so daunted, as of many yeeres they shall not shew their accustomed vigor.

The remainder of the French hopes was chiefly grounded vpon the towne of Laude, for the passage of the river of Adde, and prefection of the country of Cremona. *Lantrec* sent *John of Medicis*, and *Fredericke* of Boffole thither with their troopes, which were about four hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, comprehending those which *Bonneuil*, Captaine of the place had. These Companies tired with their march in the night, arrived in the morning, and leaving the guard of the towne to *Bonneuil*, they took their lodgings, to refresh themselves and their horse. The Marquis of Pescara followed them, and his forward marching neare vnto the towne, gave occasion to the garison to come forth to skirmish; in which our men were so roughly repulsed, as the enemy entred with them pell-mell into Laude, and surprised most of the soldiers in their beds at noone-day. Thus four hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, were shamefully taken in a towne without battery, without breach, and without ladder. *John de Medicis*, and *Boffole* saved themselves in Cremona.

The losse of Laude from the French, was the cause the enemy recovered *Pisqueton*, one of the strongest places vpon Adde. Hereupon *Pont d'ormy* offers to put himselfe into Cremona, with such as would follow him, and being strong or weak, he would fight withall that should come, desiring rather to dye by the enemies Sword, then to fall into the mercy of villaines, or returne into France without armes, and honor. *Lantrec* yeelds, and he gathers together a troope out of many companies. The Marshall of Foix would haue his part of this glorie, five or six dayes after, the Imperials Campe before it. At their arrival, *John de Medicis* mutines, hee demands pay for fiftene or sixtene hundred men, which he had gathered together presently after his retreat: he seizeth vpon one of the gates towards the enemies Campe and threatens to deliuer it for want of payment. They search their purses and pay him the summe demanded.

But he was corrupted, and our men seeing his treacherous intent, having no hope of succours, did capitulate: That if within three monthes the King did send a strong army able to passe the river, they should depart with their baggage, armes, & all their artillery, marked with the armes of France, and should be conducted in safety vnto Savoy; and the said *Marquis* should deliuer into *Prosper* hands, all what soeuer was held in the Kings name, in the state of Milan, except the Castles of Milan, Cremona, and Novarre. This capitulation was found of hard digestion: for, *Montmorency* was in possibility to renew the league with the Venetians, but aduertised of this composition, they changed both affections, and partie. The reason which made *Prosper* yeeld to so honourable a composition, was the desire he had to restore the *Adornes* into Genoua before the leauy of four hundred Lances, and fourtee thousand Galscons should be ready to enter into Italy. *Prosper Colonne* plants himselfe before Genoua, which was then gouerned by *Ottavian Fregose*, a man of excellent vertue, who for his Iustice, and other commendable parts, was as much beloued as any Prince might be, in a Citie diuided into factions, having not yet lost the remembrance of the ancient libertie. *Fregose* seeing *Ierome* and *Anthony Adorne* take armes in fauour of the Imperials, and the people inclined to sedition, created of an accord, when as *Peter* of Nauarre enters into the port with two gallees, and some two hundred, to assure the towne attending the succors of France. But a Tower which the Marquis of Pescara had battered neere vnto the gate, made them returne vnto their parte. Being ready to conclude, the Spaniards discouraging the small guard they made within, vnder colour of this hope, seized on the Tower, entering the Towne thereby, and by the wall which was pynched, killing all they met, and getting a great spoile; *Fregose* being sicke yeelded to the Marquis of Pescara, and within few dayes after died.

*Peter* of Nauarre was taken fighting in the market place. The Archbishop of Salern brother to *Ottavian*, and many Captaines saved themselves by sea. *Anthony Adorne*, chosen Duke of Genoua, and within few dayes received the Citadel, the Chastelle, and the Chaytel of Saint *Francis* by composition. Six thousand men newly leuied by the King vnder the command of the Lord of Logres, for the succour of Genoua, and the Marquis of Claude of Orleans, Duke of Longueville, to separate the affaires of Lombardy, returned

Laude taken from the French.

Cremona yeelded.

The Venetians forsake the King.

Genoua taken and spoiled.

turned without any effect, being already entred into the territory of Asti and *Exfol*, prest by the terms limited by the composition, deliuered Cremona to *Colonne*, leaving *Ranen*, Captaine of this Castle. Thus the French were againe expelled out of Italy. *Lantrec*, seeing the impossibility of laudemade fruitlesse, his Armie ruined, the Suisses and Venetians retired, he returned into France, bringing to the King, rare instructions of hostilities, with any signs of his victories; imputing the cause of their disorders to want of money, without which they could no longer keepe the men at armes together, who had served eight or ten monthes without any pay, the Kings mooder having raised foure hundred thousand crownes, appointed for the payment of the Armie, which summe (the said) he had placed on the Treasurie of Prince Hercuron, and King appointed certain Iudges and Commissioners to determine of this contumacie, and to arraigne the said *Semligny*, for the which he lost his life, and was beheaded.

Let vs now passe over the Pirenee mountains, and thence we will returne to the frontiers of Picardie, and other Theatres where there was likewise a mournfull and bloody Tragedie. The Admirall *Guennart* was no sooner returned into France with his troopes, but the Spaniards went and encamped before Fontarabie, and had so prest ir with sieges for the space of a yeare, as many were dead of hunger. The Marshall of Chastillon marched with an armie to relieve the towne, and *Lude*, being then Gouernor, continuing to *Dan* (six leagues on this side Bayanne) he died of a violent sickness. A Nobleman of great experience and credit, *Montmorency* (who was then at Venice) succeeded him in the office of Marshall, and the Marshall *Chabannes* in that of Lieutenant General for the King in his Armie; who having gathered together his troopes, lodged in Endauy, hauing a riuer betwixt the Spanish Armie and him; attending *Larigues* Viceadmirall of Britany, with an Army at Sea, for the victualling of the towne. But not appearing (either through lack of misfortune) he resolves of an other course: he passeth the river, dislodged the enemy with his Cannon, and by continuall skirmishes, makes them flee through the mountains. So *Chabannes*, having victualled the towne, returns, leaving *Franquet* to gouern there in the Kings name: he was Lieutenant to the Marshall *Chabannes*, leading away *Dido*, to refresh himselfe in France. (Without doubt, *Lude* deserves to be registred in this History, having (saith the Originall) won such honour in the defence of this place, as he may well bee compared to any that haue maintained sieges in our daies, or our forefathers. Contrariwise, *Franquet* shall purchase as much infamy as his predecessor did honour. During these confusions beyond the Alpes and Pirenee mountains, the warre continued throughout all the garisons of Picardie, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse. The day of the Ammonition; twelve hundred Lansquenets going out of Arras, having spoiled Bernaillie, and other Villages thereabout, led away their booty, when as *Espre*, commanding the company of the Duke of Vendosme, which was in Garison at Doullans, advertised hereof, goes to horse about midnight with 30 men at armes only, fifty Archers, and three hundred of the country-men without pay: he attends them at a passage of the river of Othie: vpon their retreat, hee chargeth them; decicates them, and kills an hundred and fiftie, making the rest to leave their prey. And if this handfull of men could giue them so great a checke; what had bene the issue if their foomen had come to fight in this encounter were slaine the Lord of Rieame, and the bastard of Dampout.

The enemy grieved at this disgrace, sought to be reuenged by the surpris of Doullans, where there were no foot-men. With this designe the Earle of Bures, Lieutenant General for the Emperor in the Low countries, incamps before the towne with all his garisons; batteries it with fix peeces of artillery; makes a breach neere to the Tower of Corriere, gives an assault, and plants many ladders. Here the Inhabitants shew them selves braver Menemen, then in our late troubles; who backey this small troope of men at armes, repulse the enemy, and overthrow a good number dead in the ditch.

To raise this siege, the Earle of Saint Paul (vnder the authority of the Duke of Vendosme his brother) gathers together such forces as the garisons could furnish, whereof the Bourguignons aduertised, they shamefully returned to Arras, leaving their ladders within the trenches; Durnal, Bruell, and other places about Becunie (wonderfully annoying the Frontier) were ruined by the Duke of Vendosme. But oftentimes a small going is crost with a notable losse. *Telligny* came from Monstreuil, to ioyn with the Dukes troopes

the French expelled out of Italy.

Fontarabie besieged by the Spaniards, and relieved by the French.

Warre in Picardie.

Doullans besieged.

1522

Valley flaine.

A league be-  
tween the Em-  
perour and  
the King of  
England.

troopes at Mouchy le Cayen; when as passing by Heslin, hee encountered aboute a hundred Bourgignons foot, drivinge the booty before them: hee charged the battell, slew many, and tooke others. A very preiudiciall victory, in regard of that valiant knight, so well experienced in martiall affaires, who beinge shot into the shoulder, hee dyed within a few daies after. In the meane time the Emperour passed into Spaine, to pursue the business of the sedition before mentioned; impairing his deigne to take the King of Englande this voyage, was not fruiteless, they remained well satisfied, one of absolute, to the satisfaction of the Crowne, both equally desirous to reunite. But it shall be told in another place, that the favour of heaven against their common attempts, was quite too barren for them. The first effect of their treaty, was to send the Ambassadors jointly to request the Emperour, to require the Senat to ioyne with the Emperour, for the defence of Italy. For the second; The King of England, complaining that the King did not continue to pay him the fifte thousand Crownes yearly, which hee ought him (as wee have said) hee proclaimed warre against the King by his Herald, in case he would not make a generall treaty with the Emperour, comprehending the Church, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines. Thinking that this was, and as for the pension, it is not reasonable (said he) to give to your enemies, that aids mine enemies with money. Henry King of England had before that time a summe of money to the Emperour; but not discouering himselfe openly, hee sent the Duke of Suffolk, husband to Queene Mary, widow to Lewis the twelfth, to Calais, and the Emperour ioynd his forces with him, being led by the Earle of Burgh, till that no more was said.

The King opposed the Duke of Vendosme, commanding aboute a thousand men, Armes, with their archers; and eightene thousand foot, assisted by that veteran blinde man Lewis of Tremouille. The enemies Army was not ready in fiftene daies. The Duke there fore diuided his forces into Bologne, Therouenne, Heslin, Montreuil, Abbeville, and other places subiect to the enemies invasion. He must not suffer their courage to quicke through idleness: Bapaume serued them for an exercise. The Earle of Saint Paul led the Earle of Guise and Lorges thither, equall in charge, with foure hundred men at Armes; five hundred foot and foure Cannons: who hauing taken blimt and razed the Towne and Castle, they tooke their way, to the passage of Sluce, and finding it guarded by the Bourgignons, they charge them, and chase them to the gates of Douay. Here Francis brother to the Duke of Loirain and Earle of Guise, of the age of sixteen or seenteene yeeres, carried his first Armes, who seeing in this chase, seuen or eight Bourgignons on foot, seeking their safety within the woods: being alone, not seene by his followers, hee lights and chageth them, but Martin du Bellay arises happily, accompanied with ten or twelue horse, by whose means these run-awaies were cut in peeces.

The English  
land in France.Heslin besieged  
by the imper-  
ials and  
English.

Hereupon the English arise at Calais, and at their first entry, they become masters of the castle of Comtes, betwixt Montreuil and Heslin. To prevent these incursions, the Duke sent the foresaid Earles into the trench of Bologne: Andres was there ruined and lost, who by the recovery of the said castle, put all to the sword they found within it, except the Capitaine: and afterwards overthrow many other troopes, that were dispersed in the land of Oye, while the two Armies, English and Bourgignons assembled betwixt Andres and Saint Omer, consulting upon the first object of their forces. Heslin seemed the easiest to be attempted, yet it must needs cost blowes. The Lord of Biez commanded there with thirty men at Armes, and two hundred dead-paies: *Scam* with a thousand foot, and *La Lande* with five hundred. The battery continued fiftene dayes; and a breach was made of forty fadome, but no assault given: the enemy being diuersed by continuall alarms: The Earles of Guise and Pont-dornay, vnderstanding one day amongst others, that foure hundred English were gone towards Biez, and the Commander of Oison, they part from Montreuil with their companies, and some of the Duke of Vendosme, they ouertake them, charge them, and kill or take them all. Some few dayes after, Pont-dornay encountering some other troopes, which had burnt Fressin, a house of his elder brothers, hee put them all to the sword.

Thus kept within their lodgings, by continuall enterprises, and assisted with a generall aux, which went through their Army, proceeding in part by the continuall raine, after five weekes siege, they raised their campe with shame, to march towards Dourlans, which was not defensible. At that time there was no castle, and from the mountains where it was built, they discovered the towne on all sides. The Earle of Saint Paul prouoked the enemy,

A and (lest they should make vse thereof) he spoyled the victuals, and tooke off the gates: then he retired to Corby, to withstand the attempts of the English. Then arrived the Marshall of Montmerney, bringing with him the two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, with authority from his Maiestie to command in Corby, if the enemy did besiege it.

But there was too great a resolution in Corby, the wayes were too foule, the infirmities were many in the English and Bourgignons Armies, and winter approaching (it was about all-Saints) inuited them to set faile. Being able to doe no worse, they burnt Dourlans, and the villages about, and retired into Arthois, putting the Bourgignons into Garison, and the English toke their way for England. Let vs conclude this yeere with an inglorious and fatal losse for the Christians. *Seliman* did not forget to make his profit of these horrible confusions, who by a painefull and constant siege, for the space of eight moneths, brought the Isle of Rhodes vnder his obedience; where (to the great contempt of our religion) hee made his entrie the day of the birth of our Lord and Saujour. In the beginning of the following yeere, the cattle of Milan (preft with diseases and want of all things) compounded to depart with bag and baggage, if they were not releued by the fourth of April. But death preventing most part of the garrison, hindered them from enioying any benefit of the Capitulation.

Rhodes taken  
by the Turks.The cattle of  
Milan yielded.

At the same time *Linet*, a Souldier of the garison of Guise, treated with the Duke of Alfort, to deliuer him the Towne (but not according to the buyers intent) by the consent of *Nicholas* of Buslu Lord of Longueval, captain of the castle. The party was well made, and the plot cunningly laied, to take the merchants when they should come for their possession. The Lord of Fleuranges, with three hundred men at Armes, and foure or five thousand foot, should lie betwixt Auennes and Guise, to stop the enemies retreat. The Duke of Vendosme, with five hundred men at Armes, foure thousand Germanes, and foure thousand French, should cut off their way betwixt the Abbey of Bonhoury and Guise, so as the enemy seeking to retire, had the one before him, and the other behind. The chiefe of all their troopes would bee partakers of this enterprise: When as newes comes vnto them, that the King (who would countenance this exploit with his presence) was come in post to Genlis, neere vnto Chauns. This made them turne head without any effect, giuing him the strappadoe that sold it, and was their guide, the which *Longueval* required with the like to the hostages, which the Duke of Arcefoot had giuen him for the performance of covenants.

His maiesty, to make vse of these troopes which he had assembled, commanded them to victuall Therouenne, the which *Fiennes* besieged with fiftene thousand Flemings and six hundred English, the King had a little before repaired it. Baileul upon the hill, a strong place, betwixt Arras and Dourlans, and defended by three hundred Spaniards, was a hindrance to this designe. The Duke of Vendosme tooke charge of the Army, whereof the Duke of Norfolk led the Germanes, the Lords of Serquy, *Bourmonville*, *la Hergerie*, *Fouvent* and *Heills* commanded the French. *Brian* had foure hundred archers of the Kings guard, and *la Fayette* commanded the artillery: he made his approaches at noone day, without any trenches, but with the losse of three Gunners that were slaine, and the Lord of Pienres shot into the arme: he barred it the same day, gaue them their lues that were within it, and razed the Castle. The enemy lodged in Andinfont and Dellente, halfe a league from Therouenne: and *la Lude* Marshall of the Campe (hauing lodged his Army at Fougernberg, to haue victuals more commodiously from Montreuil, & to keepe them from the enemy) did cut off the way to Saint Omer, and the garison of Therouenne; that of Aire, *Fiennes* seeing them approach so neere, dislodged in the night, and went to Campe at Elfaur. The Duke of Vendosme followed, with an intent to fight, whilst that *Brian* marching directly to Therouenne releued it with such victuals as were brought from Montreuil. The Earle of Dammartin and the Lord of Eguilly began the skirmish, when a sudden feare surprising the Flemings, puts them in rout towards the riuer of Coldees, where many were drowned in the passage, not able to be staied, although no man followed them: for that *Brian* returning from Therouenne, brought commandement from the King to the Duke of Vendosme, not to hazard a battaile, but to keepe his forces whole for the voyage of Italy, which his Maiesty pretended to make in person.

The Flemings  
put to rout.

But he must likewise prouide for the frontier, especially for Therouenne, being onely re-  
fract

1522

Valley flaine.

A league be-  
twixt the Em-  
perour and  
the King of  
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troopes at Mouchlye Cayen: when as passing by Hedin, hee encountered abire hundred  
Bourguignons foot, driving the booty before them: his charge was the hardest slowness, but  
some and rooke others: A very preiudiciall victory, in regard of the Count of Artois, who  
well experienced in martiall affaires, who being shot into the shoulder, hee dyed within  
days after. In the meane time the Emperour passed into Spaine, to punish the authors  
of the sedition before mentioned, impairing his defence to the King of England: this  
voyage was not fruitlesse, they remayned well furnished with one of the best of the provisions  
of this Crowne, both in quantity and quality: But it shall be made as in former times, in  
favour of heaven against their common attempts.

The first part of their treaty, was to send their Ambassadors in yearly succession to be  
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Armes, with their archers, and eighteen thousand foot, assisted by that veteran old man  
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sand foot and four Cannons: who hauing taken, burnt and razed the Towne and Castle,  
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and

1523

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At the same time Lincot, a Souldier of the garison of Guise, treated with the Duke of  
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and the plot cunningly laied, to take the merchants when they should come for their pos-  
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thousand foot, should lie betwixt Auenues and Guise, to stop the enemies retreat. The  
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guard, and la Fayette commanded the artillery: he made his approaches at noone day, with-  
out any trenches, but with the losse of three Gunners that were flaine, and the Lord of Pi-  
ennes ther into the arme: he battered it the same day, gaue them their fues that were with-  
in it, and razed the Castle. The enemy lodged in Andinton and Dellenne, halfe a league  
from Therouenne: and la Lude Marshall of the Campe (hauing lodged his Army at Fou-  
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the enemy) did cut off the way to Saint Omer, and the garison of Therouenne, that of  
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Rhodes taken  
by the Turke,The castle of  
Milan yielded.Baillieu be-  
sieged by the  
French.The Flemings  
put to rout.

1523

fresh for some dayes. The victuall and carriages being ready, and the troopes camping A before Andinon, vpon the River of Lis, the foreward led by the Marshall of Montmorency, was on the one side of the River, and the battaile on the others the Flemings and Botrugnions (advertis'd of these divided lodgings) come and charge them both by night at one instant, fall vpon the guards of the light horsemen of the battaile, and repulse them to the men at armes, whereof part being then on horse-backe, they sustaine the shooke; and if they had not buſied themselves with the spoile, before a small victorie, it would have caused a great disorder in the Armie.

The Marshall had fortified his guards. *Tiguerette*, a man at Armes of his company commanded them, who at the first alarm given by his Skouts, being advanced to discover, B he was compassed in and taken prisoner. Our Historie owes the report of his name, to the faithfull affection he bare vnto his country: for, fearing lest the Campe should be surpris'd, he respected not his life in regard of the advertisement he might give, in crying to armes. So the enemy seeing himselfe discovered, made the victualling of Therouenne easie by his retreat. This exploit increased the Kings desire to repasse the Alpes. With this intent he sent the Marshall of Montmorency, to make a leavy of twelve thousand Suisses, appointing the Rendezvous for his Army at Lions in the beginning of August, he dispatched the Admirall of Bonniuer, with six thousand French, led by *Lorges*, to get the passage of Suze, vntill he might follow with the rest of his forces.

The Venetians, hauing tried in former times that the neighborhood of the French C King, and the Emperours of Germanie, had caus'd them to attempt against their common weale, desiring that the Duchy of Milan might remaine in the possession of *Francis Sforza*, whose power they nothing feared; and for that the Emperour, not able to proceede further, inclined to the restoring of *Sforza*, they embraced his friendship, and concluded a peace and perpetual league with him, with *Ferdinand* Duke of Austria, and with *Francis Sforza*, Duke of Milan, whereby they bound themselves; *To arme for the common defence of Italy, six hundred men at armes, six hundred light-horse, and six thousand foot.* And the Emperour, with the like numbers of men should defend all that the Venetians possesse in Italy. Moreouer, Pope *Adrian*, desiring (in shew) the generall peace of all Christendome, had soone after his coming to the Pontifical seat, made some D shew to interpose his authority for the reconciliation of our warriors.

But he had beene a long time at the Emperours deuotion, so as he did willingly giue care to such as perswaded him, not to suffer the French King to repossesse the Duchy of Milan. And certaine letters of the Cardinall of Volterres, intercepted by the means of the Duke of Sessa, Ambassador for the Emperour at Rome, thrusts him on to make his declaration against the King. This Cardinall aduiled the King, by the Bishop of Xaintes his Nephew, to assaile the Island of Sicilia, with an Army by Sea, to constrain the Emperour to turne his forces to the defence thereof, and to make the way more easie to recouer the estate of Milan. And according to this counsell, a practice was discovered in Sicilia, in the Kings fauour, which was the death of the Earle of Camerata, the Master E of the Ports, and of the high Treasurer of the Island, who was quartered. These reasons and the landing of the French, which was bruited throughout all Italy, did easily draw the Pope to ioyne with the Emperour, the King of England, the Archduke *Ferdinand*, brother to the Emperour, the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, Genouois, Sienois, and Luquois, who agreed to leauy an army to oppose it against any one that should invade any of the confederates in Italy. Neither the Emperours league with the Venetians (who had plaid the turne-coates) nor the vnion of so many Princes and Estates conspired together, could daunt the resolution of our *Francis*: and now the rumour of his coming bred new tumults in Italy. *Lionel*, brother to *Albert* Eie surpriseth the towne of Carpi, which the Emperour had taken from him, proclaiming him a rebell to the Empire.

*Francis Sforza*, riding one day from Monce to Milan, and his troope remaining behind, left they should annoy the Duke with the dust which their hories did raise, *Boniface Visconti*, a young Gentleman (grieved that a kinsman of his had beene put to death within Milan, by the consent (said he) of the said Duke) watching his opportunity, pricks forward with a dagger in his hand to strike *Sforza* in the throat: but being mounted vpon a little Moyle, and *Boniface* vpon a tall and swift Turkish horse, *Sforza* had meynes to slip aside, so as he hurt him in the shoulder, & then the murderer began to strike him with his sword

Allegorize  
between the Venetians  
and the Emperour.

The Duke of  
Milan hurt.

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A sword, but his traine coming to his rescue, they forced him to leaue him, and so by the swiftnesse of his horse, he saved himselfe in Piedmont. *Galeas* of Birague followed by the banished men of Milan, and some French souldiers which were in Piedmont, seized vpon Valence, but hauing no time to fortifie it, *Anthony* of Leua besieged it, battered it, and the second day of the siege tooke it by force, with the slaughter of foure hundred men, and many prisoners taken, of which number was *Galeas* chiefe of the troope.

The French Armie passed the Alpes in small troopes, and the King prepared to follow them. But it is a matter of dangerous consequence for a King to thrust a great Prince into despair, who hath means of reuenge, if without respect of his degree or quality, B they seeke wholly to oppresse him. Notwithstanding Princes should forbear to cause any innovations, if they did but duly examine the causes and reasons whereby men colour their bearing armes against their country. The Kings journey is staied by the like occurrent. We have noted before, that the leading of the foreward (giuen by the King to the Duke of Alençon, and to the Marshall of Chastillon) was the first moue which estranged *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, from the Kings seruice, and this other did wholly withdraw him. Of the marriage of *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, and *Anne*, sister to King *Charles* the eight, *Susanne* was borne, their only heire, the which being made sure to *Charles* of Valois, Duke of Alençon, *Charles* of Bourbon, Earle of Montpensier, and afterwards Constable, commenced a suite, after the decease of the said *Peter*, C that all the lands of his succession belonged vnto him, as the heire male issued from a younger brother of Bourbon. To end this controuersie, a marriage was made betwixt the said Earle of Montpensier, and *Susanne*, and he called himselfe Duke of Bourbon. *Susanne* dying soone after the first discontent of *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, the Kings mother being Regent (by the counsell as they say of *Anthony Prat*, then Chancellor) pretended, that such lands as came by the succession of *Peter* of Bourbon, and were held by gift, belonged to the King: and such as were held by inheritance, appertained vnto her, as the next heire, and daughter to a sister of the said *Peter* married with the Duke of Sauoy.

The suite depended in the Court of Parliament at Paris, and *Charles* either distrusting the equity of his cause, or fearing lest the Regents authority should preuaile against his D right, and so by consequence dispossesse him, choosing rather to abandon his country, then to liue in want, he practiseth with the Emperour, by the means of *Adrian* of Croy Earle of Rieux: and to make the articles of his transaction the more strong, he obtains a promise from the Emperour, to marie *Eleanor* his sister, widow to *Emanuel* King of Portugal.

The King being past the Alpes, the Constable should invade Bourgongne with twelue thousand Germans, which should be secretly leauied by the Emperour and King of England, who at the same instant should invade Picardie, whilst the Spaniards recovered Fontarabie, as they did. Of their conquests, he onely referred Prouence, pretending to call himselfe King of Prouence, as belonging vnto him (said he by the house of Anjou, yielding all the rest to the English). A practice sufficient to shake France, before the King (being absent with his forces) should return in any time to succour it. But they reckoned without their host, and the Guardian of this Crowne did prevent them: for *Argoules* and *Maignon*, Gentlemen of Normandie, and household seruants to the Duke, had aduertised the King of his pretended retreat to the Emperour, but they were ignorant of the agreement made betwixt them. To diuert him from this resolution, the king passing by Molins, did visit the Duke in his chamber, who made a shew to be sicke, and that cunningly. "I vnderstand (said the King) of some practices which the Emperour makes to withdraw the loue you undoubtedly beare vnto the Crowne, as issued and ascribed to the house of France. I doe not beleuee, that you haue giuen care to any such persuasions, moued E with any dislike of me, or of my realme. Some feare of distrust to lose your Offices, hath perchance made a breach in the loue you haue alwaies made shew of. Let not this conceit trouble you, I promise you, in case you should lose your suite against my selfe & my mother, to restore you to the possession of all your goods. Prepare therefore to follow me after your recovery, in the voyage of Italy. The Duke (being very wise) dissembled his intent cunningly, confessing vnto the King, that in truth the Earle of Rieux had sought him for the Emperour; but he would giue no date vnto him, that his intention was to haue aduertised his Majesty at the first view, being loth to commit it to any mans report; that the

The Duke of  
Bourbon re-  
solues.

Ccc

Physicians

1523

Physicians gave him hope to be soone able to goe in a Litter, and that he would not faile A to come to Lions, to receive his Maiesties commandements. But, considering that he had to deale with too strong a partie, and that hardly he should enjoy his goods, which were already sequestred by a Decree of the Court, he retired to Chantelles in the beginning of September, a house of his owne, where he had the most sumptuous mouables that any Prince could have. From thence he sent the Bishop of Autun, of the house of *Burians* to the King, with instructions signed with his hand, promising, *To serve his Maiesty well and loyalty in all places, whensoever it should please him, during his life, and without any breach, upon restitution of the possessions of Peter of Bourbon.*

The Duke of  
Bourbon  
is disguised.

The King finding this manner of proceeding hard and insolent, sent the bastard of Savoy, Lord Steward of France, and the Marshall of Chabannes, with four hundred men at armes, the Captaines of his Guards, and the Prouost of his house, to besiege the Duke in Chantelles. And understanding that many Lansquenets did troope together vpon the frontier of Bourgogne, he caused the Bishop of Autun, the Chancelor of Bourbonnois, the Lord of Cars, *Saint Valler, Buffy* brother to *Palisse*, *Emard de Prie*, *la Pangaion*, and many others to be taken prisoner, who for the loue of him were content to abandon their Country, families and goods, notwithstanding they found grace with the King. But the Duke (despairing of his estate) resolved to hazard all; and to beginne a furious Tragedie, in the which we shall see our *Francis* act the part of an vnfortunate prisoner of the warres, and *Charles* referred for a bloody and tragick end. He disguised himselfe, and taking the Lord of Pomperant for his onely companion, whole seruant he seemed to be. After many turnings being often feared, as appears in the Originals, the waies being laied, and the passages stop, or full of troopes, marching into Italy, he recouers the Franche countie, and so by Ferrete, crossing through Germany, he came into Italy, and according to the choise which the Emperor gaue him, either to passe into Spaine, or to remaine in Italy with his Army; in the end he continued at Genoua, to see the end of these two great Armies.

The Marshall and Lord Steward seized vpon Chantelles, with the mouables of *Carlus*, and generally of all the lands of the house of Bourbon for the King. In the meane time the Marshall of Montmorency had made such speed, as his twelue thousand Suisses were ioyned with the Admirall, attending the Kings coming at Turin. But his presence was necessary in France: there were strange practices against him. He therefore sends part of his forces to the Admirall, and commands him to execute the enterprise of Milan, as they two had concluded. He had eightene hundred Launces, twelue thousand French, ten thousand Suisses, six thousand Lansquenets, and three thousand Italians, a sufficient army for a great attempt: but want of iudgment to imbrace occasions, and negligence of his businesse, made the Admirall lose the opportunity to recouer Milan at the first, and to be vnfortunate in this voyage.

*Prosper Colonne*, considering the Venetians league with the Emperor, and the treachery of the Duke of Bourbon, could not beleue that the King should continue constant in his resolution, to invade the Duchie of Milan that yeare. This persuasion had made him carelesse to make necessary prouision for his war. But now (notwithstanding his infirmities) hee imployes all his meanes and forces to keepe the French from passing the River of Tefin, neglecting to repaire the Bastions and Rampiers of the suburbs of Milan, being for the most part ruined and spoiled. But the French finding the waters low, some passed at a Ford, others in Boats about some foure miles from the Imperial campe, making a Bridge for the Artillery. *Colonne*, knowing that an encounter of the French is very dangerous, in their first heat, retired into Milan, and finding the Citizens and Souldiers wonderfully amazed, seeing no meane to keepe the Citie in the estate it was, hee abandons it, to provide for the defence of Laude. Without doubt the capricious propositions of an enemye must bee duly examined: and moreover an assault, that hath prevented his enemye, should not lose any houre neither by his two great lenities, nor his baste negligence.

Hereupon *Galeas Visconti* gives the Admirall to vnderstand, that if he enters forcibly into Milan, there will be no meane to saue it from spoile, and so by consequence, the King shall make no vse thereof against his enemies; but if hee would suffer him to goe and compound with some Citizens, which did sollicite him, hee would giue order the Imperials should depart, and furnish the King with a good sum of money, which might greatly

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A greatly auail him in his affaires. The Admirall is carried away with these persuasions. But whilst that *Galeas Boyer*, General of Normandie, and some others doe treat, they spend some time in vaine by the River of Tefin, during the which, *Prosper* deluded out with parles, reuiued the hearts of his men (who had already packt vp their baggage for their retreat) and with exceeding diligence, puts the Rampiers in defence. And then knowing his forces vnable to defend the whole Duchie, hee restrained them to keepe Milan, Cremona, and Pavia; whilst the fury of the French should grow cold by an idle abode, and the winter approaching neare, ruine them.

The Admirall, finding the error he had committed by his too great credulity, employed all his forces against Milan, but too late, the Citizens had gotten heart, and *Prosper* B had now gathered together eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, foure thousand Spaniards, six thousand five hundred Lansquenets, and three thousand Italians; besides the Inhabitants, who were all armed. He doth notwithstanding besiege it, betwixt the wayes to Laude and Pavia, and seeing other places abandoned, hee takes Monte for the King, to cut off the victuals from Milan: he sends *Buffy d'Amboise*, with 2000 Frank-archers, to seize vpon Alexandria, and the Cheualier *Bayard*, with four hundred men at armes, eight thousand foot, and ten pieces of artillery to Laude, where leaving a strong garison, he went suddenly to attempt Cremona. The Castle held yet for the King, but the enemies had made two great trenches betwixt the towne and the Castell. There

Milan be-  
sieged.

C *Rance de Cere*, a Baron of Rome ioyned with him, leading foure thousand Italians. This supply encouraged *Bayard* to attempt the towne in another place. They make their approaches, and within three daies make a reasonable breach. But all fall out crossly for the French, being ready to goe to the assault, a continuall raine of foure daies, made the ascent so slippery, as they went as much backward as foreward, and did so breake the waies, as no victuals could come to the Campe from any part, euen so it chanced to *Lautrec* before Pavia. Moreover, the Venetians came on the one side, and the Spaniards on the other, cut off their Victuals. So *Bayard* prest with famine, resight the Castle with men and victuals, and returned to Milan. Without doubt *Bannon* with the whole garison that kept this Fort, deferred great commendations: where hauing continued two yeares in extremitye necessity, desiring all rather to dye, after the example of their Captaine then to yield the place by treachery, there remained onely eight souldiers, whom *Bayard* found languishing, but resolute in their constancie.

Wee haue vnderstood, that by the intelligences of the Duke of Bourbon, the Emperor at the same instant should assaile Bourgogne, and Champagne; the English Picardie, and the Spaniards Fontaraby. According to this designe, and to make the siege of Fontaraby easie, the Spaniards campe before Bayonne the seuenteenth of September. *Lautrec*, Governor of Guienne, although he were vnprouided of men, (the Kings forces being dispersed in Italy, Champagne, and Picardie) furnished the towne with victuals, munition; and such men as the time and necessity could afford; and hee himselfe went into it: where the valour of this Noble man, who continued three daies and three nights continually vpon the walls, providing for all things necessary, especially for the entrie of two Rivers which passe at Bayonne, giuing such courage to men, women, and children, as euery one falling to worke, the most coward made shewes of great willingnesse.

So as the fourth day of the siege, the enemy finding that hee did but lose his time, left Bayonne to besiege Fontaraby, which shewed no proofes of like valour. It was furnished with good store of men, and other things necessary. *Francis* commanded there, as we haue formerly declared. He was an ancient Gentleman, and all his life had had the reputation of a good Souldier. But now to saue his goods, not attending any force, hee yielded the towne which was not to be forced. A cowardice which brought him to a scaffold at Lions, to be there degraded of his nobility and himselfe, with his posterity declared base, for that hee had beene so faint-hearted and carelesse, to prevent the conspiracy, which hee said, *Don Pedro* of Nauarre (the Sonne of *Peter* Marshall of Nauarre, whom the Spaniards had lately caused to die in prison) had with the Spaniards. On the other side, the Lansquenets which had beene leauied for the Duke of Bourbon were come into Champagne, vnder the command of *William*, Earle of Buxtemberg, and spoiled the Province, after they had taken Collic, a place vpon the confines of the French Countie of Montreuil, a Castle seated vpon a mountaine, neare to Chaumont in Bassaigne. The Duke of Burgundy

Fontaraby  
yielded.

War in Champaigne.



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whom the King had made his Lieutenant generall in Bourgogne, in the place of the Lord of Tremouille, lately advanced to the government of Picardie: having with his company of an hundred men at armes, those of the Dukes of Alençon and Vendosme, joynt with the forces of *Ornel*, Gouverneur of Champagne, and some other troopes, making about six hundred men at armes, so restrained the enemy, as having no means, for want of horse, to guard their foragers, they were in few daies famished, and forced to seeke their retreat at Neuf-chastell in Lorraine. The Duke of Guise, advertised of their course, sent some three hundred men at armes before, to charge them in front, at the passage of the River of Meuse, whilst that he should set on them behind, being laden with a great bootie. The Duke came, and finding them halfe past, he cut the remainder in peeces, and recovered the bootie. But a quarrell chanced betwixt *Courville* and *Chastelet* a Lorraine, Ensigne-bearer to the said Duke, the which (*Courville* being thrust through the mouth with a sword) overthrew the better part of this goodly enterprise. The Duke of Suffolke was lately landed againe at Calais, with fourteene or fifteene thousand English, which joynt with the forces of the Earle of Bure, made five or six thousand horse, and about five and twenty thousand foot. But if in their former voyage, they made a great stirre, and reaped small benefit, so likewise, they will make but a bare conquest by this last descent.

*Tremouille* (although he had so few men, as he was forced, when he had left the place, to retire his men, to put them into that whither the enemy seemed to bend) had so furnished the townes with valiant Commanders, and all things necessary, as the Duke and Earle, having made a shew to besiege Theroenne, Hedin, Dowlans, and Corbie, in the end they Campe before Bray vpon Somme: the wall was weak, and three mountaines commanding the towne, were the cause they could not fortifie it: yet that brave *Pontdormy* had thrust himselfe into it with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and some fiftie hundred foot, to defend this passage against the enemy. Let vs not blame a valiant Captain, if he receive a disgrace in a weak place. He made his account (in case he were forced) to retire by the Causey, and to breake the Bridges after him. But he was so prest, as he had no means to retire, but in disorder, with the losse of foure-score, or an hundred men: and if he had not maintained the fight with his men at armes, whilst his footmen recovered Corbie, there had bene no hope of safety for the rest.

But see how he reuenged this disgrace. The enemy threatened Montdidier: and the small forces *Tremouille* had, made all men vnwilling to lead any succors thither. *Pontdormy* was neuer daunted with the difficulty of any enterprise. Night being come, hee goes to field, and without any encounter, puts *Rochebaron* an Auernac, into Montdidier, and *Fleuras* Lieutenant of the Earle of Dammarins Companie, either of them commanding fifty men at armes, and *René* of Pallaciere, with a thousand French. And fearing lest *Tremouille* should haue need of him, hee had not the patience to attend for night to make his retreat, hee doth it at noone day, resolute to charge all he should encounter, having but his owne companie, with that of the Vicount of Lauedan. With this resolution hee meets with five hundred horse, chargeth them with such fury, as hee puts them to rout. But two thousand men, coming to succour the rest, he was forced to leave the chase, to fauour the retreat of his troope. In the which, his horse being slaine, he left *Barnieules*, and *Canaples* his brother & nephew, to beare the shock with twenty men at armes, whilst that hee saued the rest in Amiens, the enemy cutting off the way to Corbie. *Barnieules*, and *Canaples*, ouerthrowne from their horses, were taken prisoners, with seven men at armes of their Company. So Roy remained at the enemies mercy, who having taken and burnt it, marched to Montdidier, where a breach being made, they within distrusting of their forces, departed with their baggage, and came to *Tremouille*.

The enemy had opened the passage of Qlfe, and approached within eleven leagues of Paris. But their courses are staid, and Paris is assured by the arrivall of the Duke of Vendosme, with four hundred men at armes, so as the English and Bourguignons fearing to be compassed in by the Duke and *Tremouille*, and so famished, tooke their way to Artois, and alke after All-Saints day (a notable season for the losse of corne, which was frozen generally throughout the Realme) they dismissed their armie, carrying no other spoiles of their victory, but the taking of the Castle of Bohain, which was yielded vnto them without any assault. But the enemy was no sooner retired, but *Tremouille*, before the Duke of

Vendosmes

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A Vendosmes arrivall, made so furious a battery with six Cannons, as the Garrison, seeing their armie broken, yielded by composition. Thus Picardie is freed from a mighty Avemie, which at their departure held not one foot of land of their conquest.

In like sort, the Duke of Bourbons attempt against Bourgogne returned to snooke, for wanting money to pay his Lansquenets, the King did practice some of their Captains, who came to him with their troopes. So despairing to get any thing in France, he retired to Milan. *Adrian* the Emperor ioued treason, but not the traitor. So the Emperor *Charles* ioued his actions, but not the Duke of Bourbons person. To keep him from passing into Spaine, vnder hope of marrying with *Elenor*, sister to the Emperor *Charles*, he made him his Lieutenant General in Italy, whilst that hee prepared to passe into France in person, as we shall see.

Let vs now returne into Italy, where we shall see a Pope of a more turbulent spirit then *Adrian*, who died the fourteenth of September, little lamented; and of small esteeme. He was a stranger, and little acquainted with the affaires of the Court of Rome: he was learned, and not greatly vicious. The Colledge of Cardinals repined to see any other set in *S. Peters* Chaire, but an Italian, or at the least, one bred vp in Italy: *Nicolas* Cardinal of Medici, after many & sundry strifes and contentions, euery one of the Cardinals seeking the choise & election by the support of such as favoured him, in the end carried it; the nineteenth of November, Through the fauour (saith the Originally) of the great revenues of his Ecclesiastical living. In all his Actions we shall see him discover a spirit wonderfully ambitious, of a great courage, aduise, desirous of innovations, given to affaires especially of the world; not much subiect to his pleasures, and gluing hope of great and extraordinary matters: and for that presently after his insalment, hee vsed clemency to the Cardinal of Volterre, declared vninsufficient to come into the conclau: by *Adrian*, for this subiect we haue formerly noted: hee therefore tooke vpon him the name of *Clement* the seventh. In the meane time our Admirall tooke cold before Milan, which hee thought to famish, cutting off the Conduits that went into the towne, and beating downe the Milles: but the great number of hand-milles (which *Goleme* had caused to be made) preserved the Citizens from famine. And to cut off the victualls that came from Lauedan to the French Campe, *Colonne* had put the Marquis of Mantoua, with five hundred horse into Pavia. The Admirall fearing lest hee should seize vpon the Bridge hee had made at Vigé, by the which victualls came vnto his Army, hee commanded *Bayard* and *Rance*, to come and lodge at Vigé: But by their dislodging from Monce, the passage was open to the enemy, and then victualls entered abundantly into Milan, which caused the ruine of the French Army.

Nothing succeeded happily with them; whom the providence of God doth not fauour. The hope to famish Milan is frustrate; and the intelligence which the Admirall had within the towne, with one *Morgand*, a Corporall of the Squadron of *Isabelle de Medici* is discovered; with the losse of all their hues, that had consented the should haue receiued the French into a bastion, when the guard thereof fell vnto him. Moreover, the enemy growes proud of small advantages and light victories; who being accustomed to overcome by degrees, resolves to vanquish all at once. *John de Medici* being to guard the victualls that came from Trefle to Milan, with five hundred horse and a thousand foot, met with foure-score French Lances, and by a skilfull retreat drew them into an ambush of five hundred Harguebuziers which hee had laid: he easily defeats them; slew some, and takes the rest.

In another encounter, *Sucere* a Bourguignon, put to rout three score men at armes of the companie of the Master of the Horse. Our men being in guard at the residence, whilst were made to go vnto the rampiers, assisted by many skirmishes, had most commonly the worst. So decreasing in number, prest with abundance of snow, and the sharpness of the winter which they had endured six months together, the Admirall leaved his armie to lodge it in *Bizias*, & other places thereabouts. He sent the Earle of *S. Paul* to *Bizias* with *Rance de Cote*, and *Louise*, General of the French foot, to besiege Arona, a towne vpon Laco-Maiore. They make their approaches, plant their Ordnance, batter about five and twenty daies, and give two or three assaults: But *Colonne* foreseeing this designe, at the retreat of our men, had manned the towne with twelve hundred soldiers, who made our attempt fruitlesse. Thus which they could not do by assault,

Ccc 3

they

The valour of  
Pontdormy.Clement the  
7. chosen.John de Medici  
his stratagem.

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they seeke to effe by myne, blowing vpa great part of the wall. But they kick against the pricke. The wall falls vpon the same foundation, and stands firme. So frustrate of their intention, hauing lost many good men, they retorne to the Campe.

At that time *Prosper Colonne*, the chiefe pillar of the Emperours affaires in Italy, dyed the last day but one of the yeare. A famous Captaine throughout all the course of his life, well practised in matters of warre, slow to imbrace the occasions which the weaknesse or disorders of his enemies might present him: but commended to haue managed the warre more by counsell, then with the sword. *Don Charles* of Lauoy, Viceroy of Naples, was substituted by the Emperour: *Don Charles*, hauing taken vpon him the gouernment, employed all his wit to expell the French out of the Duchie of Milan, either by force or famine: and to approach neere vnto them, attending a supply of six thousand Lanquenets out of Germany: an occasion was offered to make the first fruits of his armes famous.

They giue him intelligence, that *Bayard Mezzeris*, and *Saint Mesme* with two hundred men at armes, and *Lorges* with the French foot; whereof he was Colonell, lodged at Rebecq, two miles from Biagras. To giue them a Canuissado on the sudden, hee sends the Marquis of Pescara, and *Iohn de Medicis*, who came from the taking of Marignan by composition. Sometimes renowned Captaines are lulled asleepe with conceit of their owne reputations: and although the enemy feares them, yet hee most obserues them, and desires most to circumvent them.

But *Bayard* was sicke, and that day had taken Physicke. The Spaniard falls vpon the French guards two howers before day, and presently beates them backe vpon their men at armes; *Bayard* (being sicke) and *Lorges*, gather together what men they could, and maintaine the shooke whilst the rest retired to the Campe: few men, but all the baggage was lost. Hereupon the Lanquenets arise, and the Imperiall army ioyned with the Venetians: and the Popes (a right Florentine, and no lesse counterfeiter then *Leo* the tenth, his kinsman, for hee assured *Saint Maxent*, the Kings Ambassador, that hee would asside neither party, and yet hee did ayde the Emperour both with men and money) being come to lodge at Caserte, five miles from Biagras. There were in the Imperiall troopes, fixteene hundred men at Armes, fiftene hundred light horse, seven thousand Spaniards, twelue thousand Lanquenets, and fiftene hundred Italians. The chiefe Commanders were the Dukes of Milan and Bourbon, the Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis of Pescara.

The Duke of Vrbino commanded for the Venetians, six hundred men at armes, six hundred light horse, and seven thousand foot. *Iohn de Medicis* led the Popes forces. The Admirall, besides his companies diuided into Garisons, and the French troopes camped at Biagras (attending six thousand Swisses to refresh his army) had with him eight hundred Lances; eight thousand Swisses (and within few daies after three thousand more ioyned with him) four thousand Italians, and two thousand Lanquenets. The lodging was safe, and no means to force them: onely feare of famine must dislodge them. With this designe the Imperials passe the riuier of Tefin, and lodge at Gambale, to cut off the victuals that came from Omeline to the French: they take Garleas from them, and *Saint George*, seated about Monce. Garleas furnished their army with victuals, which came freely to them from Pavia: and *Saint George* cut off the prouision that came to our men from Biagras.

So the Admirall fearing to be distressed for victuals, and to lose the other places of Omeline, the which being taken, hee had bene in a manner besieged of all sides; hee leaues an hundred light horse, and a thousand foot in Biagras, vnder *terrence Caraccioli*, a Neapolitan, and went to lodge at Vigewe. He was farre inferiour in number, yet hee presents his army in battaile three daies together, but the enemy refuseth the combat; he would not hazard a victory which hee held assured without losse of men. It was better to dislodge the French from Vigewe: for the effecting whereof, the Imperials march to Sartrane vpon the Riuier, fit to cut off the victuals from our men: *Hugh Earle* of Perpoli, and *Iohn* of Biraghe seek for the King. The Admirall followeth them to save both the men and the place. But vpon the way hee had newes that it was forced; most part of them slain, and the Commanders prisoners. *Marsil* supplied our men with most part of their necessary victuals. The enemy by the means of *Ernst* of Erlow, thus vp the *Chapelle*, being stronger

The French  
charged and  
beaten in their  
quarter.

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A stronger then the *Guelphes* in the said City, who by their mutiny bring in the Imperials, which gaue them great hope to haue the French army at their mercy for want of victuals: and if need were, to stop their retreat into France; and to this end they seize vpon the passage of Camarian. Mischiefe vpon mischiefe is no safety: *Monteian*, and *Boutieres* Lieutenant of *Bayard* his company, had chosen an hundred or six score of their best men at armes for the execution of an enterprise they had plotted. But being ill guided, they encountered a stronger party, were defeated, and all taken prisoners: a great weakning to an army in an after-season. The Admirall did still temporize, grounding his hopes vpon four hundred Lances which the Marquis of Rotelin did bring: who passing by the Mount of Geneure, should ioine with ten thousand Swisses, and *Rance* de Cere brought six thousand Grisons, by the country of Bergamo, to passe at Laude to *Fredericks* of Boheme, who led a great number of Italian foot, to assaile the Duchy of Milan on that side, and force the enemy to re-passe the riuier of Tefin. With this designe the Admirall comes to lodge at Nourarie.

But the ruine of our men approached. *Sforza* sent *Iohn de Medicis* against the Grisons, with fifty men at armes, three hundred light horse, and three thousand foot, who ioyned with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, and four thousand foot of the Venetians, and stopp their passage, so as being discontented, hauing no ayd of horse nor foot as *Rance* had promised them, they returned to their Country. This thorne pulled out of the Imperials foot, *Iohn de Medicis* takes Carauage, batters downe the bridge which the French had vpon Tefinar Bufalore: and nothing remaining of all the townes betwix Milan and the Tefin, but onely Biagras, which lying vpon the great channell that runnes to Milan, did cut off the victuals which were wont to come to the towne in great abundance: *Sforza* followed by all the youth of Milan, besieged it, accompanied with *Iohn de Medicis*, he battered it foure or five dayes, and was repulsed from the first assault; hee forced it at the second, and spoiled it. A spoile deely sold to the Milanois. Biagras was infected with the plague, so all the houses of Milan, whither any of the booty came, were infected with the same contagion, which was the death of aboute fifty thousand persons. Biagras taken, (to stop all the passages from the French) the Viceroy went to lodge at Marignan: and the Admirall, considering that it was better to hazard the rest of his army, then to perish by famine and pestilence, which had greatly diminished his troops; hee took the way to Romagnan, to ioine with eight thousand Swisses which were come to Yurce. But they stricke the last stroke. They send him word, that it should suffice them to retire their companions, and conduct them into Suisse, seeing the King had broken his promise with them; by the which they should meet at Turin with *Claude* of Longueville, and four hundred Lances to convey them. Their country-men which remained in the Campe, understanding that their companions were vpon the banks of the riuier of Stesie, dis-banded for the most part, to ioine with them that were newly come.

In the meane time the Imperials, by the perswasion of the Duke of Bourbon, followed the Admirall at the heeles, who to take from the enemy the knowledge of the Swisses disorder, endured the shooke with such men at armes as hee could gather together: but being hurt at the first charge with a shot in the arme, and forced through the griefe of his wound to leaue the retreat of the army to the Earle of Saint Paul, and to Captaine *Bayard*, *Bayard* and *Fandenesse* (performing wondrous deeds of armes) died there: *Fandenesse* presently *Bayard* thrust through the body, caused him selfe to be layd at the foot of a tree by his sword, his face turned to the enemy, as hee thir neuer turned his backe. The Duke of Bourbon pursuing the chase, firing him in this pitifull estate, I am sorry for you, said hee, hauing sorrow you should die a Knight. Sir (said *Bayard*, drawing towards his end) there is no more left A wordy speech of Bayard, I die an honest man: you are to be lamented, who force against your Reason, your Conscience, and your oath: and soone after hee gaue vp the ghost. *Lorges* arliuing with aboute few French, which remained, repulsed such as passed vnto the body of their arme, as the Earle of Saint Paul hauing passed the riuier with the losse of few, but the bravest of his men, deliuered his artillery to the Swisses, who made their retreat by the valley of Aoste, and himselfe by Turin, Laude, Alexandria, Nourarie, and generally all which the King possesse in Italy, remained at the Vicers deuotion. The Duke of Bourbon, who had followed the French, and was now at the foot of the mountain, saw the French army, and being much amazed, hee sent to the Duke of Bourbon, and desired him to let him see the French King. The King of England

A wordy  
speech of  
Bayard,  
I die an  
honest  
man: you  
are to be  
lamented,  
who force  
against  
your Reason,  
your Conscience,  
and your  
oath: and  
soone after  
he gaue  
vp the  
ghost.

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England did willingly giue care vnto it. The fauour, the authority, the many followers, A and the great intelligence which the Duke of Bourbon presumed to haue in France, invited him thereunto. To this end the Emperor treated with the English, and the Duke of Bourbon: "That the Duke should enter into France with a part of his army which was in Italy: That hauing passed the Alpes, the King of England should pay him an hundred thousand crowns for the charge of the first moneth, & should continue the same monethly, vntill he would inuade the Realme with a mighty armie: That France should be conquered for the English, and Prouence for the Duke of Bourbon, according to the Treaty we haue before made mention of: That the Emperour at the same instant should make warre vpon them from the confines of Spaine, and should procure the Potentates of Italy to concur in this enterprise, for the freeing of themselves for euer from the inuasion of the French.

Marfeilles is a commodious port to annoy France, and to passe from Spaine into Italie: According to the Emperours desire, and the former treaty, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pescara, march to the conquest of Marfeilles. The King aduertised of their designe, sends *Rance de Care*, a man well experienced in war, and the Lord of Brion, with two hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, for the guard of Marfeilles: repaired his army, and sent to make a leauy of foureene thousand Swisses, and six thousand Lanquenets.

The Duke and Marquis had now lyen six weekes before Marfeilles: the King hauing vinited his forces, marcheth with an intent to fight with his enemies, who seeing to great a power to approach, embarked their great Ordnance for Genoua: the lesser they layd vpon Moyles, and so made a speedy retreat. The Marshall of Chabannes, who had the leading of the fore-ward, sent four or five hundred horses after them: who ouerthrew many, and returned with great spoile, every one leauing his baggage behind him, and the souldiers casting away their armes, to bee more light to runne away. The King seeing himselfe to haue a goodly army ready, and his enemies retired, resolues to cut off their way, or to come before them into Italy: many dissuaded him, the reason might well diuert him (for it was in the middle of October) the Regent his mother aduised him to make war by his Capitaines, and not in person: and the Bishop of Capua came from the Pope to treat of a general peace: But the heat which transported this good Prince to his owne ruine and dishonour, made him to say vnto the Bishop: *That he should treat with him by Letters, and attend him at Anignon with his mother.* If the King makes haste to pursue, the Duke and Marquis made as good haste to arriue in time for the defence of Milan: so as in one day the King arriued at Verceil, and the Marquis at Albe: the Duke followed a day after him with the Lanquenets.

At that time *Claude* Queene of France died at Blois, leauing three sonnes by the King and her, *Francis* the Daulphin, *Henry* Duke of Orleans, and *Charles* Duke of Angoulême: and two daughters, *Margdalene* married afterwards to the King of Scots, and *Marguerite*, which shall be Duchesse of Sauoy: The Vice-roy seeing the King to march directly towards Milan without stay, he put *Anthony de Leua* into Paui, with twelve hundred Spaniards, and six thousand Lanquenets: posing himselfe with exceeding speed to Milan with the rest of the army: Milan had changed her mind, the plague had wonderfully wasted the Citizens: many (to auoid this danger) had absented themselves: there was no such store of victuals within it as was usual: the traffike had ceased, there was no means to recouer money: they had made no account to repaire the fortifications, and the King had from Vigee sent *Michael Anthony* Marquis of Salusses, with two hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foot: who at the first ouerthrew the Spaniards that were sent to guard the suburbs of Milan: beat them into the towne, and kept the suburbs: notwithstanding their continuall sallies, by means of the Lord of Tremouille, who came to second him. The Vice-roy finding the Citizens minds to be little at his deuotion, went out by the Port Romane, seeking with him the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, and the rest of the army to Laude. The Milanais freed from the danger of the Imperials, retired in the Marquis of Salusse and Tremouille. The Imperiall army retired in great confusion and disorder, vntill they were forced by the way, hauing lost many horse and armes: If they had beene hotly pursued, without doubt they had bene easily ouerthrowne. Moreover, if our men had presently gone to Laude, the Imperials had not dared to stay there: and

Milanais.

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A and it may be, passing the Riuer of Adde with speed, they had disordered the rest of the army with the like facility. But when as the prouidence of God meanes to chastise a people, he blinds the eyes of their vnderstandings, in such sort as they cannot iudge of occurrences, but oftentimes they embrace those counsels which be most dangerous.

Thus it fell out with our *Francis*: for according to the aduice of such (as held it not for his Maiesties affaires, to leaue a strong towne behind him, manned with many souldiers) he turned head to Paui, in the end of October. He had with him *Henry* of Albrer king of Nauarre, the Dukes of Alancou, Lorraine, Albany, and Longueuiller, the Earles of Saint Paul, Vaudemont, Laual and Tonnerre, the Marshalls of Foix, Chabannes and Montmorency, the bastard of Sauoy Lord Steward, the Admirall of Bonniuet, the chiefe author of this counsell, Lewis of Tremouille, the Marquis of Salusses, *Anthony* of Rochefcault, the Lords of Brion, Elcars, Bonneau, Fleuranges, Paulmy, Roche-du-maine: the Vidame of Chartres, Aubigny, Clermont, Buffy d'Amboise, de Conte, Fontenay, a younger brother to *Rohan, d'Anmour*, and a great number of others: two thousand Lantes, eight thousand aduenturers, eight thousand Lanquenets, six thousand Swisses, and foure thousand Italians, which number did afterwards greatly increase.

The Imperials gathered together the remainder of their ship-wraoke, and made a new leauy of twelue thousand men in Germany: but want of money did greatly trouble their affaires. The Emperour could not helpe them: to draw any out of the Duchy of Milan, there was no meane. From their ancient confederates, they hoped for small or no succors at all. The Pope and the Florentines contented them, but with generall words. *Clement* sought to maintaine himselfe in the middle of these stormes, and would make no league with any other Prince. The Venetians, vrged by the Vice-roy, to furnish the men wherunto they were bound by the Capitulation, made cold answers: They grew now more jealous of the Emperours ambition. All Italy complained, that he would not iustly *sforare* the Duchy of Milan, vnto which the Popes authority did moue him: to whose example, and counsels they had then great regard, being willing in like sort to frame themselves to present occurrences. And the King of England, instead of furnishing them with the money he had promised, demanded all that which he had lent. All these considerations, made our *Francis* resolute, to the siege of Paui. He battered in in two places, makes a breach, and gives an assault, they winne the breach, but had not meane to enter: they find large and deepe trenches to stay them, and the nearest houses furnished with shot, forced them to abandon the breach after the losse of many good men.

As they despaird to take Paui by force, *James* of Sully, Bayliffe of Caen, propounds a more easie meane to force it. The Riuer of Tesin diuides it selfe into two branches, two miles about Paui, and ioynes againe a mile beneath the towne before it runnes into Po. By reason of the depth of the water, the wall was nothing fortified vpon the greatest streame, hee vndertakes to cut this arme, and to diue all the streame into the lesse, hoping that the coule of the water being dried, and making a sudden and furious batteric on that side, the Towne should bee forced, before the enemy had any meane to prevent it.

They spend many dayes, employ an infinite number of men, and make a great expence in this worke. But the water is of more force then the labour of men, or the industry of engineers. A continuall raine did so swell the Riuer, as breaking the sluices and banks which were made within the Channell in one houre it made all this great labour fruitlesse. So like the attempts of our men were reduced to a hope, so forth them to yeeld at length by necessity. The Pope in the meane time (moued with the Iudiciall spoile, and conquest of the Duchy of Milan, by the Kings desire to settle his affaires and business, and to pacifie Italy the better, sent *John Mathieu*, *Gilbert* Bishop of Verona his Datarie, to exhort the warrours to peace and concord. The Vice-roy trusting in the strength of Paui, refused to giue care to any agreement of composition, whereby the King should hold any sort of landing the Duchy of Milan: the King on the other side, such up with his good dugges, the greatness of his army, the hope not onely to maintaine it, but also to therewith to preserue vnto himselfe the Estate of Milan, to recover Genoua, and afterwards to assault the Realme of Naples, made him as vnwilling to yeeld to any negotiating, but to stand on. Thus the Pope being failed, to reconcile these two Princes, the chiefe author by the sent his Datarie, took effect. *Clement* had with him *Francis* the first, and *Henry* the second, open

The state of the Imperials.

The Pope makes a league with the King.

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*open secret against the King.* And the King received the Pope and the Florentines into A his protection, especially to maintain the family of *Medici* in their greatness. The Pope supposed the Emperour should goe to the wall, but he will soone repent him. This agreement drew the King to the enterprise of Naples: for the execution whereof, hee made *John Steward* Duke of Albany his Lieutenant generally, accompanied with *Rance de Core*, six hundred men at armes, three hundred light-horse, ten thousand foot, and ten or twelve peeces of artillery. His intent was to force the Vice-roy to abandon the Estate of Milan, to flee to the defence of Naples; whereas there remained no Garisons. But hee should have consulted hereof after the absolute conquest of the Duchy. The enemy will make his profit of this indiscreet division of his army in so unreasonable a time. He did foresee, that in succouring Naples, the Duchy of Milan would be wholly lost. The Vice-roy having resolved to make head against the King within Lombardy, sent the Duke of *Traiteur* to give order for the defence of the Realme, in case the French did assaile it. Let vs leave the King a little at his siege, and see some exploits of armes.

The Marquis of Saluces, Lieutenant for the King at Savonne, had in the beginning of March sent two thousand men in garison to Varas, a small towne, all walled upon the sea-shore, mid-way betwixt Savonne and Genoua. *Don Hugues* of Moncade, Vice-roy of Sicily; then Gouverneur of Genoua for the Emperour, brought the Emperours Gallies to beat downe the gate of Varas with their Cannon, hoping that the weakness of the place would force the souldiers to make their retreat to Savonne: and with this designe he put himselfe in ambush with four thousand men, betwixt Varas and Savonne. The Marquis advertised of this battery, flies thither with those few men which the present necessity would suffer him to gather together. At his approach, the besieged take courage, and rampier up their gate quite ruined. The Gallies of Genoua grow amazed, and turne their prowes. The Marquis pursues them. *Don Hugues* seeing himselfe abandoned by his forces at sea, begins likewise to make his retreat to Genoua along the shore. *La Mailleray*, by the commandement of the Marquis, goes to shore, draws forth the garison of Varas, and leads them in the pursuit, whilest that he coasted along, seeking to disorder them with his Cannon, being forced to march by the sea side, by reason of the mountains. *Moncade* falls into the rearward with some of the chiefe Captaines to endure the shooke. They charge him, and put his troops in rout, and he, with all them that did accompany him, are taken prisoners. The Marquis takes two gallies, and pursuing his victory, finds the Admirall of Genoua in the road: he forceth her to yeeld, and makes a great booty of artillery, munition, and other riches. And if his forces had beene sufficient to assaile Genoua suddenly by land, as well by sea; considering the feare which had seized upon the City, it had beene in danger to have beene lost for the Emperour.

On the other side, *Anthony* of Crequy Lord of Pontdormy, parting from Monstruel, at such time as the King lay encamped before Paula, to put victuals into Therouenne, and to try if he could force Neufosse (which was a great trench full of water, that shut up the valley of Caffel) from Saint Omer unto Aire, furnished with bulwarkes at every entry with artillery, and well manned to guard the entries and passages of the said valley, whither they retired all their goods and cattell; he came to Haucumberg with three hundred men at armes, some twelve hundred foot and two Culverins. And after the men at armes had had their horse, having put the victuals they had brought into Therouenne, he passed for the execution of his enterprise; and coming to Neufosse before day, hee forced the passage, carrying away an inestimable prey. & passing in his retreat neere to Arques, half a league from Saint Omer, he overthrow the Garison of the said Saint Omer, which issued forth to succour the valley. In this charge *Efrise*ooke *Lieues*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Alencon, who the same day had married his mistress, to whom *Efrise* was likewise a servant but with a courtesie neuer enough to be praised, at the request of the new bride, he sent backe his mistress. Those of Aire and Betune likewise came posting, to the number of eight or nine hundred naturall Spaniards, five or six hundred Wallons, and three hundred horse of their Ordnnances, and joyned with the troops of Saint Omer, to stop or hinder the retreat of the French. *Pontdormy* chargeth them, beats backe the horse upon their Spanish foot, and entring pell-mell, beates them, slue two hundred and forty, and taking away eight or nine hundred prisoners to Therouenne, all which hee sent backe to Aire upon pay, and for hostages retained their Captaines.

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A *Moreouer*, *Pierres* Gouverneur of Flanders, having suborned a Souldier of the Garison of Hedin (which had beene taken in the warres) to deliver him the Castle of Hedin: the souldier advertised *Pontdormy* of the means he had to deliver into his hands the said Governor, the duke of Alencon, and most of the Noblemen of the Country. The souldier brings this troop at the day appointed. *Pontdormy* is there with two hundred men at armes; and cōters bolls of wild-fire with straw, in a ravelin of stone, where the enemy must passe, into the which those that were about the gate should cast fire, when as they should see a sufficient number of the enemies entred. Men encounter their enemies both by fraud and vertue: but fraud is oftentimes fatal to the author.

B *Pontdormy* having his mouth open to speake, the fire was so suddenly cast by him that had it in charge, as entering in at *Pontdormys* mouth, it burnt his bowels, whereof he died two dayes after. *Cannable* his Nephew, had his face likewise so burnt, as there remained no forme thereof: so as their enterprise to charge the enemy behind in this disorder, came to nothing. Fourscore or an hundred Bourguignons being entred within the Ravelin were burnt: the rest saved themselves in this amazement, and many were lost in the wood upon their retreat. But all were not sufficient to repaire the losse of that worthy and valiant man of warre.

The siege of Paula was continued, when as the Duke of Bourbon bringing five hundred men at armes Bourguignons, and six thousand Languishers, the Imperials resolve to succour Paula, and to that end part from Laude the 23 of January. The Imperials approach assured the King he should have battell; and to provide for it, hee had caused *Tremouille*, whom he had appointed Gouverneur of Milan to come into him, leaving *Theodore Triunlee* with *Chandell* within Milan. *John de Medicis* with three hundred light-horse, and three thousand foot, was newly come into the Kings pay, and had wonne him many Italian Captaines: amongst which, *Guy* and *Francis* Earles of Rangon, and *John Lewis* *Salusis*, brother to him whom *Lantree* had beheaded at Milan. *Tremouille*, the Marshalls of Foix and Chabannes, with other Captains of great experience, advised the King to retire his army from before Paula, and to encamp in some strong place, whereof there are many in that Country, by reason of the *Chamells* which overflow the meadowes. They gave him to understand, that the enemies army being unfurnished of money, they should be forced within few dayes to breake, and to put their companies into Calison: That the strangers for want of payment of their money, would make some dangerous mutinie: That the enemies did not maintaine themselves together, but with hope to give battell: and if they did see the warre prolonged, they would be engaged in many difficulties and confusions. To conclude, it was (say they) exceeding dangerous, to thrust betwixt a Towne defended by five thousand men, and an army that came to succour it, being mighty in numbers of men, in valour and experience.

But all this was to cast oyle into a fire which already flamed. The King will not leave the siege, and yet will he keepe the enemy from entering into Paula. He referred (saith the Originall) the government of the army to the Admirall: hee selected his counsell onely, and gave care to *Aire* of *Acquimorette*, and *Philip Chabot* Lord of *Briant*, men pleasing unto him; but not yet of any great experience in matters of war. Moreover, he had not that number of men in his army, as they gave him to understand. The Duke of Albany had led away part of his horse: some remained for the guard of Milan, many were dispersed into townes and villages about. There were but eight hundred Lances in the Campe: and the negligence of his Officers, with the desert of his Captaines, especially the Italians, abused him; notwithstanding the number of footmen, for the which they received pay. But howsoever, hee must needs fight. Behold pittifull first-fruits, fore-runners of a general overthrow.

F Two thousand Villains lodged at Saint Simeur, betwixt S. Lanchranc and Paula; They with charge them suddenly, and disperse them. *Pierres* brother to *Frederick* of Boffole, held the Castle of Saint Angelo with two hundred horse, and eight hundred foot. This place lay betwixt Laude and Paula, stop the victuals which might be brought from Laude. *Ferdinand* of Aualo approacheth with his Spaniards, takes away the defenses, and forceth the garison to yeeld: that *Pierres*, *Emilie* *Chaurane*, and the three Sonnes of *Philip* *Gonsalves* remaining prisoners, all the rest should depart without armes or horses, and for a month should beate no armes against the Emperour. Belloyeuse, and then all the

A notable victory  
gotten by  
the Marquis of  
Saluces.

The worthy exploit of  
*Pontdormy*.

*Pontdormy*  
slaine.

Sad fore-run-  
ners of an  
overthrow.

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the other places which lay behind them, except S. Colombain, which they had so besieged A as no man could issue forth, came into the power of the Imperials.

Moreover the King caused two thousand Italians to come of those which had maintained the siege of Marcellis. Passing the confines of Alexandria, neere to the river of Vibé, wearied and toyled with the tediousness of the way, *Gaspard Maine* Capitaine of Alexandria, chargeth them suddenly, breaks them, and chaſeth them into Chastellat, and there forceth them to yeeld with ſeventene Enſignes. The like ſucceſſe had *Iohn Lewis Palaiſin*. The King had ſent him to ſurpriſe Cremona, which was guarded onely by five or fix hundred foot. *Sforza* advertiſed that he lodged at Caſſal the great, with four hundred horſe, and two thousand foot, ſent *Alexander Bentiuole* with ſome number of horſe, and two thousand foot, ſuddenly leaued, to Cremona. Too great confidence doth no leſſe prejudice men then feare. *Paluiſin* (holding himſelfe ſtrong enough without attending of *Francis* of Rango, who came to ioyne with him with three or foure thousand men) abandons his fort to fight with them, marcheth directly to the enemy, and at the firſt puts *Sforza*'s horſemen to flight: but *Bentiuole* coming with his footmē, *Iohn Lewis* was overthrowne in the middelt of the combat, taken priſoner, and all his men put to rout, which was a great prejudice to the Kings affaires. Behold another diſgrace of no leſſe importance.

*Iohn laques* of Medicis, a Milanois, Capitaine of the Caſtle of Muſ, had intelligence, that the Capitaine of Chiauenne, a Caſtle vpon the Lake of Como, belonging to the Grifons, hauing no enemy neere to annoy him, went daily to walke without his Fort (the taking of this place was a fit meanes to diuert fix thousand Grifons, newly come vnto the Kings Camp) *Iohn laques* lying one night in ambuſh cloſe to the Caſtle, ſailed not of his prey, but holding this inſufficient Capitaine, he brought him before the gate, with a dagger at his throat ready to ſlab him, if his wife had not let downe the bridge. The gate being open, three hundred men iſſue forth of another ambuſh, ſeize vpon the Caſtle, and ſo on the Towne. The Grifons ſuppoſing that *Medici* had other enterpriſes vpon their places, call home their men, who notwithstanding the ſhame they ſhould purchaſe in forſaking (vpon the point of a battell) a Prince, whoſe pay they had receiued, and to whom they had giuen an oath, returned five dayes before the fight. All theſe difficulties chancing D one vpon another, were inſupportable fore-runners of ſome great diſaſter: which when he ſees come, he ought carefully to provide for the preſeruatiō of his Eſtate, or with a firme and conſtant reſolution, try the hazard of a battell. A Commander may lawfully try this laſt remedy: but a King muſt vie the other.

The two armies approached within halfe a mile: the fore-ward led by the Marſhall of Chabannes, lodged with the Suiſſes at Ronces, in the Suburbs neere to Saint Iuſtins gate: the King at the Monafteries of Saint Paul and Saint Iames, places of advantage, neere vnto Pavia: the Duke of Alanco, at Mirabel with the rereward, ſo as holding Pavia girt in of all ſides, the Imperials could not enter, vneſſe they did paſſe the River of Teſin or the Parke of Pavia. The Imperials lodged at Prati towards Saint Iuſtins gate, and extended E vnto Treleuere and La Motte, and in a wood by Saint Lazare, ſo neere as they did greatly endamage one another with their Cannon, being diuided onely by a little brooke, which they call Vernicule. The lodging of both armies had in front on their wings, and on the left ſhancke, great rampiers enuironed with trenches, and fortified with battions. But the Imperials had this advantage, being approached ſo, neere vnto Pavia, as in a day of battell they might be aſſiſted by them within the town. In the meane time *Anthonny de Leua* did greatly annoy our men by continual ſallies, and in many ſkirmiſhes had moſt commonly the better.

The 17 of February, *Iohn de Medicis* to be reuenged of a diſgrace which his troops had receiued by a former ſally, laid a bait for them of the town, ſeconded with a double ambuſh, the one in the trenches neere vnto the town, the other farther off. The Spaniards drawne on by their former victories, purſuing them which had charged, they diſcouer the fartheſt ambuſh, and beganne to retire, when as the neerer cutting off their way, puts them all the ſword. But this ſmall victory did greatly prejudice the generall. *Iohn de Medicis* had the bone of his heele broken with a ſhot, and was caried into Placentia. His troops were ſo diſperſed after his hurt, as the army was diminiſhed about two thousand, and his abſence did coole his ſouldiers courage and heat in ſkirmiſhes and aſſaults: for he

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A was a great ſouldier, and the good ſucceſſe of a battell doth partly depend vpon the preſence of ſuch perſonages.

The Imperials had no more meanes to maintainethemſelues within their Fort, want of money had ſoone driuen them forth: yet they conſidered that by their retreat, Pavia would be loſt, and they were out of hope to preferre the reſt, which remained in the Duchy of Milan. To aſſaile the French within their lodging, were a dangerous and vaine attempt. Alſo the enemies reſolution was not to giue battell, vneſſe ſome advantage were offered them, but onely to retire their men that were within Pavia, and to man it with freſh troops, the which they could not do without paſſing in view of the French Campe. B They therefore prepare themſelues to two effects, either to execute their deſigne, or to fight if the King iſſuing out of his fort would ſtop their paſſage.

The night before S. *Matthias* day, the 25 of February, the day of the Emperor *Charles* his Natiuitie, they diſquiet and tire our men with many falſe alarmes, and make two ſquadrons of horſe, and foure of foot. The firſt vnder the command of the Marquis of Guſt, conſiſting of fix thousand Lanſquenets, Spaniards, and Italians. The ſecond vnder the Marquis of Peſcara. The third and fourth of Lanſquenets, led by the Viceroy and Duke of Bourbon. They come to the Parke wall, caſt downe about threeſcore ſadome, enter within it, and take the way to Mirabel, leauing the Kings armie vpon their left hand.

The artillery planted in a place of advantage, doth much endamage their battalions, C and forceth them to run into the valley for ſhelter. Here impatience tranſports the King. He ſees the enemy diſordered, and thinks they are amazed: moreover, hee had intelligence, that the Duke of Alanco had defeated ſome Spaniards that would haue paſſed on the right hand, and had taken from them foure or five Cannons. Thus the King, loſing his advantage, ſeekes his enemies, and paſſing before his owne Cannon, hinders their execution. The Imperials deſired nothing more, then to haue the King out of his fort, and to be coered from his artillery. They now turn head againſt him which was directed to Mirabel. The King (ſupported with a battalion of his Suiſſes, being his chiefe ſtrength) marched directly againſt the Marquis of Saint Ange, who led the firſt of the horſemen, overthrowes them, kills many, and the Marquis himſelfe. But, oh villany! The Suiſſes D in ſtead of charging a Battalion of the Emperors Lanſquenets, which did ſecond their men at armes they whele about, and goe to ſaue themſelues at Milan. The Marquis of Peſcara came to charge the King with his battalions: *Francis* brother to the Duke of Lorraine, and the Duke of Norfolk, who led about five thousand Lanſquenets, marched reſolutely againſt him, but they are ſuddenly inuironed with two great battalions of Germans, defeated and cut in peeces: the Suiſſes thus retired, the Lanſquenets loſt the whole burthen of the battell lay vpon the King, ſo as in the end, being hurt in the leg, face, and hand, his horſe ſlaine vnder him, charged on all ſides, defending himſelfe vnto the laſt gaspe, he yeeded vnto the Viceroy of Naples, who kiſſing his hand with great reuerence, receiued him as priſonour to the Emperor.

E At the ſame inſtant the Marquis of Guſt had defeated the horſe that were at Mirabel, and *Anthonny de Leua* iſſuing out of Pavia, charged our men behinde. Thus (ſeeing the pitifull eſtate of the Kings perſon) all giue way, all ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight. The Duke of Alanco ſeeing no hope of recouerie, preferres the rere-ward in a manner whole, and paſſeth che riuier of Teſin. The Vant-guard (for a time) maintained the fight, but in the end it thrunk by the death of the Marſhall of Chabannes. This day deprived vs of a great number of the chiefeſt Noblemen of France, among the which the Marſhalls of Chabannes and Foix, the Admiral of Bonniuet, *Lewis* of Tremouille, about threeſcore and fifteene yeares old, (a worthy bed for ſo valiant a Nobleman, whoſe counſell deſerued to be followed) *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin Maſter of the horſe, *Francis* of Lorraine, the F Duke of Norfolk, the Earle of Tonnerre, *Chauumont* ſonne to the great Maſter of Amboiſe, *Buſſy* of Amboiſe, the Baron of Buzangois, *Beaupreau* Maſarſin the chiefe Quire of the Kings Stable, and about 8000 men. The Baſtard of Sauoy, Lord Steward of France died of his wounds, being priſoner. There were taken *Henry* K. of Nauarre, the Earle of S. Paul, *Lewis* of Neurs, *Fleuranges* ſonne to *Robert* de la Marke, the Marſhall of Montmorency, *Lual*, *Brion*, *Lorges*, *la Rochpot*, *Monteian*, *Annebaſt*, *Imbercourt*, *Frederick* of Boſſole, *la Roche du Maine*, *la Maileray*, *Montpeſat*, *Buſſy*, *Curion*, *Langey*, and many others. Of the enemy there died about 700, few men of marke beſides the Marquis of Saint Ange.

D d d

Triuſſe



1525

*Triunice*, and *Chendious*, who remained at Milan, advertised of the ruine of their Armie, returned with their men into France, so as the very day of the Battaille, all the Duchie of Milan was fired from the French Forces. The next day the King was led to the Castle of Piquetou, vnder the guard of Capitaine *Alarçon*, alwaies intreated according to the dignity of a royall person, but so far-forth as the quality of a prisoner would permit. The Duke of Albanie was farre engaged in the realme of Naples, and all passages by land were by this disgrace stoppt. To draw him out of danger, the Regent, Mother to the King, giuing order for the affaires of the Realme, sent *Andrew Doria* General of the Kings Gallies vnto him, with *La Fayette* the Viceadmiral being at Marseilles: who (without any losse of men, but of some scoures, chased by the Colonniois euen to the very gates of Rome) returned safely into France. The estate seemed now neare a shipwracke, as well by the imprisonment of the head, as by the death of many worthy personages, who might haue serued greatly in the preservation thereof. But God by many corrections would often chastise France, but neuer ruine it. And now touching the King of England (who was then ready to imbarke for Calais) he suddenly changeth his hatred into loue, so as growing ielous of the Emperours exceeding greatnesse, the Regent, hauing intreated him by *John Iachin* a Geneuois; her Ambassador, to giue care to some milde treaty, rather then to invade the Estate of a captiue Prince: hee promisseth all succours both of men and money for the Kings deliuey, and without any demand of restitution for his charges hee dismisseth his armie.

In the meane time, the Emperour adueth in Councell, what course hee should hold with the King. The Bishop of Osime, the Emperours Confessor, is commended to haue aduised him to shew a brotherly loue, and to set him free, referring this notable victory to the expresse will of God: shewing that the chiefe vse thereof should bee the peace of Christendome, threatened with a total ruine by the Turkish armes, whereof wee shall soone see farall effects. But the aduice of *Fredericke* Duke of Alba, a man of great authority with the Emperour, was of more force. Hee yielded to the Kings libertie, but with so excessiue conditions, as it might haue bene the means for *Charles* to lay the foundation of an absolute Monarchy in Christendome.

According to this aduice, he sent the *Barly* of Reux, his Lord Steward, to offer the King liberty, so as he would resigne all the rights he pretended in Italy: restore the Duchie of Bourgongne, as belonging to him by right; with Prouence and Dauphiné for the Duke of Bourbon, to incorporate them with other lands which he had formerly enioyed, and to make all together a kingdom. Moreover, the Emperour offered to giue him his sister in marriage, propounding many other conditions, so absurd and void of reason, as it is better to let the curious read them in the Originalls themselves. Amongst all losses, that of liberty toucheth nearest: but our *Francis* hauing learned to withstand all aduersity with a constant resolution, I will die (said he) a prisoner, rather then make any breach in my realme for my deliuerance: whereof I neither will nor can alienate any part without the consent of the soueraigne Courts and Officers, in whose hands remains the authority of the whole realme. We prefer the generall good before the priuate interest of Kings persons. If the Emperour will treat with me, let him demand reasonable things, which are in my power, then shall he finde me ready to ioyne with him, and to fauor his greatnesse. And to redeeme his liberty with honour, and his subiects content, who wonderfully desired his enlargement, he then offered, To marie his said sister, widow to the King of Portugal, and to hold Bourgongne for her dowry, the which should belong to the children that should come of this marriage: to resigne his interest to the Realm of Naples and the Duchy of Milan: to accompany the Emperour with an army both by land and sea, when he should go to Rome to receiue the Imperial Crown. Was not this properly to giue him all Italy in prey? To yeeld vnto the Duke of Bourbon his offices, lands, and moueables confiscated, and the reuenues receiued by reason of this seizure, and to giue him to wife the Duchesse of Alarçon his sister, newly a widow by the death of the Duke of Alarçon, in stead of *Eleanor*, the widow of Portugal, which had bene promised him: to content the King of England with money: and to pay what summes of money should be set down for his ransom.

Hereupon the Earle of S. Paul, hauing corrupted his guards, escaped out of prison, and ioyntly with the Earle of Vaudemont, and the Marquis of Salusses, treated by the means

The King of England offers alliue to the French King being a prisoner.

The Emperours unreasonable demands.

The Kings reasonable offers.

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A of *Francis* Earle of Pontrefme, with certaine Princes and Captaines of Italy, to stay the King from being transported out of the Duchy of Milan, hoping that the Potentates of Italy (feareing lest the Emperour should seeke to supplant them) would seeke his Maiesties deliuey with their common forces. And the Venetians being now aduersified of the reconciliation of the English with the King, retired themselves from their league with the Emperour. But the Viceroy discouering these practices, gaue the King to vnderstand, that he had commandement from the Emperour to passe him into Spaine, that being there, their maiesties by a gracious and fauourable enteruiew, would easily conclude a peace, which should cause his liberty. So the King vnderstanding that the Duke of Bourbon pursued his marriage in Spaine with *Eleanor*, yielded to this passage, hoping hee would rather desire to marie a King of France, then a Prince disinherited. They imbarke the seauenth of Iune, and within few daies after the Emperour hauing commanded, that hee should be receiued, with all the honour that might be, as he passed they arriue happily in Castile: the King was lodged at Madril, a place of hunting and pleasure, but farre from the Sea, or the confines of France.

The Emperour would not admit the King to his presence, before the accord were made, or in such rearmes, as there were no doubt thereof: for the aduancing whereof a truce was concluded vntill the end of December, during the which *Marguerite* the Kings sister, Duchesse of Alarçon, came with a large Commission into Castile, to treat with the Emperour. Her arriual was very pleasing and healthfull to the King: who finding him so sicke, as few men hoped for his recovery, he did more reuiue him then all the Physicians art. But hauing found the Emperour (who was come to visit the sicke King) constant in his vnreasonable demands, especially for the restitution of Bourgongne, whereunto the King would not yeeld, but vpon the former condition, or that they might trie it by law, to whom it belonged, and seeing that the King had recovered his former health, hee returned into France leauing with the Emperour, the Archbishop of Ambrun, afterwards Cardinal of Tournon, and *Iohn de Selus*, chiefe President at Paris, to pursue the treaty begun, bringing with her an ample declaration from the King, whereby (resigning vp his crowne) he gaue her power to inuest the Dauphin his Son, the King remaining resolute, rather to continue in perpetual prison, then to pass any thing to the preiudice of his realme.

But the Emperour seeing the King constant in this resolution, in the end yielded to his Maiesties deliuey, whereof we will set downe the most important points: "That within six weekes after his deliuey, he should consigne the Duchie of Bourgongne to the Emperour; and with all the dependances, as well of the Duchy, as of the Countie, the which should hereafter be sequestred from the Soueraignty of the realme of France. That at the very instant of his enlargement, they should deliuer into the Emperours hands, the Dauphin, and with him the Duke of Orleans, the Kings second sonne; or twelue of the chiefe Noblemen of France such as the Emperour should name, to remaine as hostages, vntill the restitution of the said lands, and ratification of the peace, with all the Articles, by the generall Estates of the realme: and vpon the restoring of the Hostages, they should deliuer vnto the Emperour the Earle of Angoulême, the Kings third sonne, to be bred vp with him, the better to assure and maintaine the peace. That hee should resigne vnto the Emperour, all his rights pretended to the Estates of Naples, Milan, Genoua, and Ast: That he should quitte the Soueraignty of Flanders and Arthois; and should marie *Eleanor*, sister to the said Emperour, with two hundred thousand crownes dowry, and Jewells fit for her estate; and the Emperour should renounce all his pretensions to any place belonging to the Crowne of France, especially to Peronne, Montdidier, Roye, Bologne, Pontieu, & other Seigneuries, lying on either side the Riuer of Somme. Without doubt these were hard conditions and beyond all the bounds of reason. But the King being a prisoner, guarded, and nor his owne man, of what validity could they bee in law? It was therefore in his power to redeeme his Children by money. These be the fruits the Spaniards would gather by his victory, to teach the French not to fall againe into their hands. The iudicious Reader may consider whether they be growne wife by their owne losse.

Then the King and Emperour did visit one another againe, with great demonstrations of loue: they shewed themselves together in publicke places, had often, long, and secret discourses, they went in one Carosse together, to see *Queene Eleanor*, to whom the King was made liue. But for that in the midst of all these shewes of loue, the King was at

The King transported into Castile.

The King see at liberty.

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no more liberty then before, but more carefully guarded: who would not have held this accord to be full of discord, this alliance without love, and the most part of the articles extorted by force, would bring forth the fruits of their ancient jealousies: A lesson for Princes that be victors, to containe themselves within the limits of reason; for, whatsoever is forced by violence, is not durable. Some daies were spent in these actions: then the King was conducted to Fontarbie, where exchange was made of his maiesty, with his two sonnes being yet very young. At Bayonne the Ambassadors of Charles demanded the ratification of the treaty which the King should give at his entry into the realme; but he could not alienate the Bourguignons without their consent, and therefore he answered, that he will shortly assemble the Estates of the country, to know their mindes. Let vs see then what followed, and begin somewhat higher.

After they had transported the King into Castile, *Francis Sforza* fearing lest the Emperor should retaine the Duchy of Milan to himselfe, together with the excessive summe of twelve hundred thousand Ducats, which he demanded for the expences hee had made in the conquest, and defence of the said estate; considering also, that part of the Spaniards were gone into Spaine with the Vice-roy, part were with the Duke of Bourbon, many laden with spoile were retired into divers places; and the Marquis of Pescara was in bad termes with the Viceroy: he persuaded himselfe, that the rest of the troops might be easily overcome, if the Marquis would give his consent. *Sforza* therefore by the advice of *Jerome Moron* his Chancellor, did found the Marquis his minde; hee propounded unto him to cut in pieces those companies which remained within the Estate of Milan, and to make him King of Naples, if the Pope and the Venetians would agree. A sufficient spur to prick forward an ambitious man. The Pope did not dislike it, the Venetians shewed themselves most affectionate, all ioyntly doe malice the greatness of Charles. The Marquis at the first gave eare unto them, but having discovered the whole practice to the Emperour, and growing suspect vnto the rest, having accepted the Lieutenantancy of Lombardy of the Emperour; he publicly put in execution what hee had in charge, to prevent these imminent dangers, as he should thinke most fit. And first hee seized upon *Moron* (whom he made to confesse all the conspiracy, charging Duke *Sforza*, as culpable and consenting to all that had passed) he made him to resigne vnto him Cremona, Treffe, Lecque, and Piquetion, the Keyes of the Duchy of Milan, hee forced the Milanais to take the oath of fealty vnto the Emperour, and *Sforza* to shut himselfe into the Castle of Milan. But when as the Marquis had reduced him to all extremities, death takes him away before he could enjoy the fruits of his malice. The Duke of Bourbon did succede after him.

The Marquis  
of Pescara dies.

A league  
against the  
Emperour.

There was great likelihood, that the Emperour being in quiet possession of the estate of Milan, all the rest, especially the Pope (lying betwixt Lombardy & the realme of Naples) would remaine in prey. To prevent Charles his attempts (who made shew to invett the D. of Bourbon in the Duchy of Milan, if *Sforza* were found guilty of the crime, whereof they accused him) a league was made at Cognac, betwixt the Pope, the Kings of France and England, the Venetians, Florentines, and Suisses, for the common liberty of Italy and the restoring of *Francis Sforza* to the Duchy of Milan, being besieged as we have said.

This league was signified by the King to the Viceroy of Naples, to the Duke of Trieto, and to *Alarcon*, whom the Emperour had sent, to be fully satisfied of the Kings intent, who, excusing himselfe that he could not performe his promise for the alienation of Bourgongne, as very preiudiciall to the Crowne; hee offered to accomplish all the rest, and for the ransom of his children to pay two Millions of crownes. According to this treaty, the Pope sends to fight eight hundred men at armes, seven hundred light horse, and eight thousand foot, vnder the charge of *Gui Earle of Rangon*, and *Iohn de Medicis* Colonel of the Italian foot. The Venetians sent eight hundred men at armes, a thousand light horse, & eight thousand foot, commanded by *Francis Maria D. of Vrbino*. Laude was the first object of their armes, the which by the intelligence of *Lodowike Visarin*, a Gentleman of that town, they surprised from 1500 Neapolitans, whom the Marquis of *Gual* & *Anthony de Leua* had lodged there, vnder the charge & command of *Fabrisio Marama*.

These happy beginnings should have made the heads of the league to have proceeded in their course speedily, and valiantly. By the taking of Laude the way was openen'd to the Gates of Milan: the enemy had no more meanes to succour Cremona, and if they

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A they had speedily advanced towards Milan, they had found them in great perplexity and confusion: the Citizens oppressed by the tyrannicall yage of the Spaniards, breathed nothing but rebellion; but the Duke of Vrbino, terrified with the very name of Spaniards, marching slowly like an Abbot, and staying a whole day in every lodging, to attend the Suisses, without which he thought it dangerous to approach neere Milan, by his slow and faint proceeding, hee caused an irreparable losse and belemit to his owne reputation, and to his matters. For having by his long delays, kept the Duke of Bourbon leisure to enter into Milan, with eight hundred Spaniards; before the Army of the league could approach, the souldiers of Milan refused courage, charged the Artillery in the night, and so terrified the Duke, as he presently retired his Army, desiring rather, said he, to repaire the forepassed error, then to persist in it, seeing they had approached so neere Milan; contrary to his opinion, where expecting no resistance he knew that a longer aboad would wholly ruine the league. He trembled for feare at the report of the Spanish forces, and yet would make shew as though he had to deale with men made of snow, who without striking stroke would suffer him to reape the fruits of his pretended victory. So the Duke retired to Marignan, being resolute, not to dilodge: untill he were fortified with twelve thousand Suisses: without doubt a hundred thousand men cannot assure a fearfull minde. It was a foule error, at the beginning of a long and dangerous voyage. The Imperials freed from this army, repaired the Rampiers and Bulwarkes of the Suburbs, disarmed the people, thrust forth such as were suspect, and lodged the Souldiers in the Citizens houses: who insulting over their hostes, as in a towne of conquest, forced them to furnish victuals, cloaths, and money, abused their wives and daughters, compelled servants to discover their masters wealth being hidden; to conclude, they practised all acts of inhumanity, which licentiousnes doth commonly breed in this nation being a conqueror.

The miserable  
estate of Milan.

Being thus oppressed, they repaire to the Duke of Bourbon, being newly ariued, and with pittifull complaints, teares, and lamentations, they beseech him to ease their miseries. The Duke (after he had imputed the causes of these insolencies to the want of pay for the army) promised to lodge them else-where, so as they would provide thirty thousand crownes, for the entertainment of one month: and the better to countenance his promise, he wished, *In case that ever any extortion were committed, that he might be slain with a halbebufe, at the first enterprize he should be at.* A praier which wee shall soone see take effect. The money was gathered, but the people finding no fruits of his promise, the pittifull estate of the multitude being spoiled, nothing mollifying the cruell insolvency of these barbarous souldiers, many not knowing to whom to haue recourse, cast themselves head-long from the tops of their houses, many hanged themselves, many ended both their liues and miseries, by other horrible and strange kinds of voluntary torments.

The second  
sage of Milan.

*Francis Sforza* was at this instant ready to yeeld vp the Castle, when as the confederates, fortified with sixe thousand Suisses, newly ariued, drew the Duke of Vrbino a second time before Milan: but this was to make a second discomfey of his indifferetion and cowardise; for being still ready to number his souldiers, possessed with a strange feare, and seeking rather meanes to flee then to fight, *Sforza*, preff by famine and want of courage in the Duke of Vrbino, yeelded vp the Castle of Milan, to the Duke of Bourbon, the 24 of July, and retired himselfe to the confederates, who put Laude into his hands. Then the Kings army ariued lead by *Michael Antonie* Marquis of Saluces, consisting of foure hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, and foure thousand Gascons; and within few daies after, the twelve thousand Suisses, leaued in the Kings name, encouraged the Duke of Vrbino to returne towards Milan, where leauing part of his men at Armes, the Popestroopes, and the foresaid Suisses, he went with the Venetian foot to fortifie *Alatresse Baillon*, who with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, and eight thousand foot, besieged Cremona, and so preff it, as they yeelded by composition, the which was likewise deliuered vnto *Sforza*.

The Castle of  
Milan yeelded.

Cremona taken  
by the confederates.

Euery one hath his turne, saith the Prouerbe: the Pope had bene the principall author of the Kings sending the Duke of Albany into the estate of Naples, and now hee sollicit his confederates againe to inuade the realme, supposing things could not succeed happily if the Emperour were no where else encountered, but in the Duchy of Milan. But whilst hee seeks to fire and burne his neighbours house, it falls vpon his owne head. Ill counsell is commonly dangerous to the giuer. All these warres had bene plotted in the

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The Colonne  
capitulate with  
the Pope.

Rome surprised.

Councillor at Rome, was it not reason he should reape what he had sowne? The Pope agreed his confederates to lend a part of their Sea-forces into the Realme of Naples; which consisted of foure Gallions, and sixtine Gallies for the King, thirteene Gallies for the Venetians, and eleuen for the Pope, ouer all the which Peter of Nauarre was appointed Generall at the Kings instance, notwithstanding the Popes pursuit in fauour of Andrew Doria, whom he had entertained. The Colonne, vnable to resist such forces, did cunningly make faile, and to buisie the Pope vntill the Vice-royes returne from Spaine with the armie at Sea, they did capitulate with him the two and twentieth of August. To retire their shippes to Naples, with the which they did molest the territories of the Church; and on the other side the Pope should remit all offences past, and reuoke the manitory which he had published against Cardinall Colonne. This reconciliation made the Pope in a manner to admitt all the horse and foot, which he maintained vpon the territories of the Church, against the Colonne, and to disperse the rest into townes about Rome, growing cold in his designe to invade Naples.

The Colonne, cared not to wrong the Pope with the prejudice of their honour, but hauing no meanes to make open warre against him, they straine all their wits to circumuent him by fraud. Payning therefore to suppress Agnane, defended by two hundred men in the Popes name, they flic with all speed to Rome the twentieth of September, with eight hundred horse and three thousand foot, they seize vpon three gates, sacke the Popes Palace, and the ornaments of Saint Peters Church. There were present in person *Arsenio Colonne*, *Don Hugues de Moncade*, *Vespassian*, sonne to *Prosper Colonne* (the mediator of the accord, and who had plighted his faith, for himselfe and the rest.) Cardinall *Pompey Colonne*, so far transported (saith the Originall) with ambition and fury, as hauing conspired to put the Pope cruelly to death, hee had refused to force the Cardinalls to make choise of himselfe, and to install him in the chaire being vacant. The Pope in the beginning grew resolute, like vnto *Boniface* the eight, when he was surprised by *Sarre Colonne*, but in the end conuired by the Cardinalls that were about him, he retired himselfe into the Castle of Saint Angelo, where *Don Hugues* hauing receiued the Popes oath, and the Cardinalls, *Cibo* and *Rodolphe* his Cousins, for hostages of his safety, capitulating with him in tearmes of a Conqueror, he forced the Pope to promise, To retire the army of the League out of the Estate of Milan, and not to giue any succours to the Confederates for foure Moneths.

Times for punishments are noted in the Councell of Gods diuine providence, who meant to giue two notable strokes with one stone, as we shall shortly see. This truce was wonderfully commodious for the Emperors affaires. Milan had bene vanquished at length: Genoua oppressed by the Confederates armie at Sea, cryed out for bread; and the small store of victuals which came by land, did but keepe them in breath for some few daies. But behold two great effects diuerted by the comming of *George Fronsberg*, who knowing the extremity of *Gasper* his sonne, Colonell of the Lanquenets, which were within Milan, hauing stirred the Germans, with hope to enrich themselves with the spoile of Italy: he led a good number of horse, and foureteene thousand Lanquenets, who receiving euery man a crowne, followed him to the succour of Milan. The Marquis of Saluffes, and the Duke of Vrbin, aduertised of these succours, abandon the siege of Milan, with an intent to cut off their victuals, and to charge them at the passage of some river. But the Dukes accustomed delays had giuen *Fronsberg* leasure to assure himselfe of the field, so as the league could no way annoy him but by light skirmishes: in one of the which *Tobin de Medicis* hauing his thigh broken with a faucon shot, retired to Mantoua, and there died, within few daies. This death was an absolute victory to the aduersary party, for he was young, wise, and a valiant Captaine. Laude and Cremona did cut off the victuals from Milan, and the Duke of Bourbon being freed from the siege, hauing no more meanes to maintain his army, after he had by strapadoes and other tortures wristed some money from the Citizens to pay his Spaniards, he left *Anthony de Leua* in the Citie, and entred the territories of the Church, with an intent to possesse Placentia. To prevent him the Marquis of Saluffes (leaving the Duke of Vrbin in field) put himselfe into it, so as the Duke of Bourbon (seeing the towne well manned, and the Venetian armie to follow him) left Placentia, and by the Duke of Ferrarais aduice (whom the Emperour had won vnto him) being ioyned with *Fronsberg*, he marched directly towards Rome.

The

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The Duke of  
Bourbon slain.The Duke of  
Bourbon slain.

Rome sacked.

The Duke of  
Bourbon slain.The Duke of  
Bourbon slain.

A The Pope (to be requented of the outrage received by the Colonne) called the Earle of Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorraine, vnto the House of Anjou, a House greatly detested by the ancient partisans thereof to the Realme of Naples; the Earle was conducted by *René de Gerc*, with about ten thousand foot, and some horse, into the Realme, had taken Aquila, Salerno, and many other places, chased *Don Augustin Colonne*, and raised the siege of Iericon, which the Imperialists had besieged, when at the Vice-roy of Napels required of the Pope in the Emperours name a summe of money to maintain his army so long and heavy a burthen of the warre, the Pope had no money to maintain his army so long and heavy a burthen of the warre, the Pope was greater difficulties in the enterprise of Naples then he expected, the King did not seeme willing to make warre out of Italy, as he had promised in the articles of their Capitulations neither did he furnish besides his part of forty thousand crownes a moneth for the Common warre, the twenty thousand which he ought to giue monethly for the expedition of Naples, the French gallies were so ill furnished both with men and munition, as they remained fruitles at Saouonne, not attempting any thing; the succours of the King of England were farre off, and vacetraine; the tedious and variable proceeding of the Duke of Vrbin did vex him; the approach and threats of the Imperiall army at the gates of Rome, did amaze him; All these considerations made him conclude a truce with the Vice-roy for eight moneths, whereby either party called backe his men speedily deliuered vpon the places taken, and caused the army at sea to retire. This was another meanes to lull the Pope asleepe a little before his ruine.

For threethou thousand ducats which Pope Clement had giuen in regard of this truce, were not sufficient to satisfie two payes due to the Duke of Bourbons Lanquenets; the Germans and Spaniards gaped greedily after the sacke of Rome, which had bene long promised them. The truce did nothing stay them from shewing all acts of hostility, they spoiled the Countiees of Bologna and Romagna, and then camped before Rome, the next day, the Duke of Bourbon causing a furious assault to be giuen, marching in the head of his troops, with a ladder in his hand, was slaine with a Harquebus shot. *Philippe* of Chaulon, Prince of Orange (who marched besides him) to conceale him from the soldiers, caused his bodie to be covered with a cloake, and following the charge hotly, he forced the suburbs and the City. The victors entering, put about foure thousand men to the sword. It is to be becupplied, the slaughter had bene greater; if the death of their Generall had bene knowne; they spoile friend and foe indifferently, Prelats, Temples, Monasteries, and reliques. They ranfome both secular and religious men. They sacke the Cardinalls Palaces (except such as had redeemed their goods, and such as were fled into their houses) with exceeding summes of money. And which is worse, many being spoiled by the Spaniards, were saced againe by the Lanquenets, being seasoned for the most part with Lutheris doctrine, and by consequence passionate enemies to the Sea of Rome. To conclude, Rome is subied to all the infolencies of a conquered towne which they meant to ruine.

B The Pope besieged in his Castle of Saint Angelo, sent for the Vice-roy of Naples, hoping that he would make him some better composition. But coming to Rome, he found the Imperials nothing pleased with his government, who had chosen the Prince of Aranges for their Generall, with whom the Pope (void of all hope of succours) agreed the sixt day of Iune: To pay vnto the army foure hundred thousand ducats, a fourth part presently, the rest at sundry termes: to remaine prisoner with thirteene Cardinalls that did accompany him, vntill the first hundred and fifty thousand were paid, and then to goe to Naples, or to Caite, to attend how the Emperour would dispose of them: To giue in hostage for assurance of the money, the Archbishops of Signe and Pisa, the Bishops of Pistoia and Verona, Iames Saluati, Simon Ricafoli, and Lawrence brother to the Cardinall Rodolphe: To deliuer into the Emperours hands (so hold so long as he pleased) the Castle of Saint Angelo, the fortress of Ostia, Civita vecchia, and Civita Castellana, with the Cities of Placentia, Parma, and Modena. The Accord being made, *Alarcon* entred the Castle with three Companies of Spaniards, and three of Lanquenets, lodging the Pope very straitly, and with small liberrie.

This insolent and hard proceeding against the Pope, to the scandal of all Christians, dome, caused the Kings of France and England to make warre in Italy at their common charge, to free the Pope and his Cardinalls being besieged both with warre and pestilence, and

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Ance league  
against the  
Emperour.

and to restore him to the possessions of the Church: the King of England contributing A for his part three score thousand Angels a moneth: and to confirme the league betwixt the King and the Venetians they promised to entertaine ten thousand Suiſſes in common, the Kings furniſhing the first pay, and the second, and so consequently. The Duke of Milan with the Venetians should likewise entertaine ten thousand Italians. *Odo of Foix* Earle of Laureac was made General of the whole army, and passed the Alpes with a leaſy of five thousand horse, six thousand Lanſquenets, ten thousand French and Gascons, and ten thousand Suiſſes. Then *Andrew Doria* was entertained by the King with eight gallees, giving him thirte thousand crownes pay every moneth.

Before they came to open warre, the two Kings sent jointly to the Emperour, to demand the Pope's enlargement: the restitution of the children of France, with an offer of two millions of crownes for their ranſome, the preservation of the Estates and Governments of Italy: and finally, a general peace, which the Emperour accepting, the Duke of Orleans should marrie with the daughter of England: but having refused the articles, they did swear and solemnly proclaim their league the eight day of August. The expectation of *Lanſquet* forces was great, and the confusions of the Imperiall army great, being dispersed by the plague about Rome, and to diminished, as there scarce remained ten thousand men of all the Emperours forces.

*Lanſquet* had no sooner set footing in the marches of Lombardy, but having intelligence that the Earle of Lodron had sent two thousand Lanſquenets to Boleo, in the territories of Alexandria, he beleaguered them, battered it night and day, and the tenth day of the siege forced them to yield at his discretion, who keeping the Captaines prisoners, dismissed the souldiers: but upon condition that the Spaniards should returne into Spaine, through France, and the Lanſquenets into Germany, through Switzerland: but these were afterwards received into the Kings service: under the Earle of Vaude-mont, Colonel of the Lanſquenets. This small victory was the fore-runner of another of greater importance. *Andrew Doria* General of the Kings Gallies, made hot warres against the Genevois, so as no ship durst goe to sea along the river of Genoua: and *Caspar Frigese* advertised by his friends that were within Genoua, of the great scarcity of victuals which did presse the inhabitants, being sent by *Lanſquet* with two thousand men by land, he kept D them so short, as in few dayes there was neither corne nor cattell for the inhabitants. The belly is an importune solicitor, especially when many mouths cry for meat. The Genevois had no more hope of helpe, but in hazzarding some gallees to sea. They arme some, and send their out by chance to seeke victuals, foure laden with corne were taken by the French gallees, foure returned fraught with corne, and one with other merchandize: and nine were sent forth of Genoua to waite them, when as having newes of *Proges* approach, they abandon their gallees to goe to charge him. In the meane time *Andrew Doria* arrives, he compasseth in these gallees in the port of Genoua, burnes one, and takes all the rest, whilst the Genevois (having overthrowne the first they encountered) chased them so far, as they being cut off by the French betwixt the towne and them, they were all defeated and *Gabriel* Earle of Martinegue their General taken prisoner. This misfortune, with sundry other crosses and losses of money and diuers ships, the famine having brought them to the last extremity, reduced the towne to the Kings obedience, whereof *Lanſquet* made *Theodore Trimle* Governor.

The losse of the Lanſquenets had wonderfully daunted them of Alexandria, so as although *Alberis* of Bel-joyeuse had somewhat reuited them with a supply of a thousand men, yet the rough and continuall battery of *Lanſquet*, forced the Earle of Lodron to enter into composition, whereby the Lanſquenets departed with their baggage, taking an oath not to carry armes against the King, nor his allies for six months. The taking hereof brought *Rigues*, with all the Country of Lomeline and Biagras to the Kings obedience. *Anthony de Leua* had not within Milan above a hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Lanſquenets and Spaniards, being ready to abandon the towne (doubting to bee vnable to defend it, with so few men, and so many difficulties) and to retire to Pavia. But Pavia was ill victualled: and moreover, his army could not live there upon extortion and spoile, as it had done at Milan. He therefore sends *Ludowick* of Bel-joyeuse to Pavia, and two thousand five hundred men, and resolves himselfe to defend Milan. *Lanſquet* follows him, and besiegeth it on the Castle side, and the Venetians on the other part: he makes a breach, and

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Pavia taken,

A and takes the towne at the second assault, he leaves it eight dayes in spoile to the souldiers, and leads away *Bel-joyeuse* (who lately for a quarrell with *Fredrick* of Boffole, had forsaken the King) prisoner to Genoua. All which places according to the treaty were restored to *French Sforza*. Milan wauered, the confederates did sollicite the taking thereof: But it was thought good to leave this thorne in the Venetians feet and *Sforzas*, for being both freed from feare of the Emperour, (who having this passage stop, should draw no succours out of Germanie) would have beene lesse affected to fauour the King in his enterprise of Naples. Moreover, it was a meanes for the King to make a more easie treatie of peace with the Emperour, of whom (leaving the Estate of Milan) he might with more ease obtaine the liberty of his children, according to the treaty with the Emperour, by the Ambassadors of France, England, and Venice. But the King desiring that *Sforza* should still stand in need of helpe, gave the Emperour meanes to speake bigger. He was of a great spirit, and never daunted in aduersity. He protests, that neither loue nor force shall make him to alter any of the conditions before propounded: and his proud demands make prooffe, that he had no inclination to peace. As the Venetians and *Sforza* laboured to stay the French forces in Lombardy, so the Pope pressed them to driue the Imperiall army out of the territories of the Church. He therefore passeth the river of Po, the 18 of October, with an intent to attend the rest of the Lanſquenets, commanded by the Earle of Vaude-mont, which were not yet arrived, to be in the Suiſſes place, being for the most part retired.

*Lanſquet* had no sooner turned his backe, but *Anthony de Leua* came and recovered Biagras, the eighteenth day of the said moneth, and prepared to passe into Lomeline to take *Vigue* and *Nouarre*: but *Lanſquet* advertised of this attempt, sends backe *Peter* of Nauarre with six thousand French foot, and some men at armes, who chased the Spaniard into Milan, and seized *Sforza* in Biagras.

The Lanſquenets being arrived, *Lanſquet* took the way to Placentia, where the Duke of Ferrara (it may be) well pleased to see the Pope, against whom he had beene long incensed, receiue some disgrace, leaving the Imperials, ioynd in league with the King, and there was concluded the marriage of *Hercules* his eldest sonne with *René* the youngest daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth. The Marquis of Mantoua, a friend to the strongest, did likewise ioyne with the confederates.

The Emperour then foreseeing, that the inuasion of the Realme of Naples by *Lanſquet*, would force him to call backe his forces which he had in the territories of the Church, he sent his Commission to let the Pope at liberty, which done, after many treaties he agreed, the last of October, To attempt nothing against the Emperour, neither for the Estate of Milan, nor the Realme of Naples: To pay three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, that is, three score thousand presently to the Lanſquenets, and thirty five thousand to the Spaniards, the like summe within fifteene dayes, and the rest three moneths after.

The Pope to free himselfe from prison, fled to those remedies, which he had before his E restraint neglected, he made Cardinals for money, the most of them (saith the History) being unworthy of so great an honour. Necessary it was that the Court of Rome should thus be disgraced, that they might meddle lesse in worldly affaires, and looke to their spiritual duties. The tenth of December was come, when as the Spaniards should conduct the Pope to a place of safety, but knowing the bad affection of the Spaniards, especially of *Don Hugues de Moncade*, Vice-roy of Naples, by the death of *Launay*, and fearing a worse condition, or some other change, he deceived his guards, and the night before (disguised like a Merchant) he went secretly out of the Castle, and saved himselfe in Oruieto: but his hostages payed his ranſome.

A rare example to be noted in the Church, since the time it came to that greatnesse: To see a Pope issued from one of the greatest Families in Italy, fallen from so great a dignity, to lose Rome, to be a prisoner, and to haue all his Estate possessed by the violence of Christian armes: then in few moneths, to bee restored to his seat, and by the meanes of the eldest sonne of the Church to recover his Estate, greatnesse and authority. Without doubt the Emperour, suffering himselfe to be so much prest for the Popes deliury, shewed that the Councell of Spaine was more governed by ambition then deuotion.

The Pope being at liberty, he exhorted the confederates to draw their companies out of the territories of the Church, that by their example the Imperials might make their retreat

Genoua yielded  
to the  
King.Alexandria  
taken.The Pope  
delivered.

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retreat according to promise, as indeed they did: he gave thanks to *Lantrec* in particular, for that he had assisted him in his deliverance; adding, That hee was as much bound vnto the King and him, as if he had bene freed by his forces. But the *Moore* changed not his hue. He held (saith the History) his accustomed disposition, hauing not (by his imprisonment) left his craft and couerousnesse. As the Kings of France and England, requiried him to re-joyne his armes and meanes, with them and their allies: sometimes he fed them with hope that he would employ himselfe for a generall peace, and the good of all Christendome; sometimes with excuses, that wanting men, money, and authority, his vniou with them would be fruitlesse, and giue the Imperials occasion to wrong him in many respects.

*Lantrec* stayed at Bologna, attending directions from the King, either of a full resolution of peace, or to proceed in his course of armes. The Emperor offered to settle *Assise* in his Estate, and to compound with the Venetians, Florentines, and other confederates. But the Emperour and the King stood vpon the point of honor, which should trust other. A point which plainly discovered the bitterness of his spleene. The King would not be bound to draw his army out of Italy, before he had recovered his children, yet he offered to put hostages into the King of Englands hands, for performance of whatsoever hee should be bound vnto, if vpon the deliuey of his children he did not presently withdraw his army. The Emperor grew obstinate, saying, that he could not trust him, who had once deceived him. The Ambassadors of France and England tooke their leaues of the Emperour, and according to their Masters Commission proclaimed war against him. The Emperor accepts it cheerfully; but to stay the Ambassadors instantly, to send them fiftene leagues from Bourges (where then the Court of Spaine remained) to giue them a guard of foot, and halberds, and not to suffer them to conferre, or to write in any fort. Was not this to violate the law of Nations? The fire is now kindled, they dreame of nothing but war. *Lantrec* proceeds in his course, he takes the way to Rimini, Ancona, and Recanate, chafeth the Imperials before him into the Realm of Naples, where we shall soone see the exploits of his armes.

The King aduertised of the detention of the Bishop of Tarbe, his Ambassador, who was afterward made Cardinal of Grandmont, he committed *Nicholas Perrenot* Lord of Granuelle, the Emperors Ambassador, to the Chastellet at Paris, and stayed all Merchants, subjects to the Emperor. But this was not all. The Emperor had before time at Granada, when as they treated of a peace betwixt them, sayd; That he would willingly end all controuersies with the King by a single combat of his person against the Kings: he now deliueres the same words vnto the Herald that denounceth war vnto him: adding, That the King had basely and treacherously broken his faith with him. The King would not haue refused it, but his Ambassador did then wrong him, in concealing this speech. It may bee the Emperour had such an intent. He was a most valiant Prince, but our *Francis* did yeeld nothing vnto him in courage. He had no sooner intelligence of his challenge, but calling together, the twenty eight of March, all the Princes, all Ambassadors, with the whole Court, into the great hall of the Palace at Paris, sitting in his royall seat, he caused *Iohn Robertet*, one of his Secretaries of State, with a loud voice to reade a cartell signed with his owne hand: that the Emperour, accusing the King to haue falsified his faith, had spoken vntruly, and as often as he did speake it, he did lie. To the end therefore he should not deferre the deciding of their controuersies, hee wished them to appoint the field, and hee would bring the armes, the King protesting, that if afterwards the Emperor should write or speake any thing prejudiciall to his honor, the shame of the delay should redound vpon himselfe, seeing that the combat is the end of all writing. Without doubt, this proceeding had bene more seemly for Knights, then for such Princes; and no enterprises are commendable, but so far forth as they agree with the dignity of their persons and States. And for that *Granuelle* refused to take vpon him this charge, the King dismissing him, did accompany him with a Herald, to present this writing vnto the Emperour. Within few daies after, *Henry* King of England sent him the like desie, and did put away *Katherine* his wife, daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* King of Spaine, whom he had married, being widow to *Arthur* his elder brother. A divorce which Pope *Clement* granted, vpon promise, that *Henry* should, for his safety, maintaine him a guard of foure thousand foot.

In the meane time, *Lantrecs* forces preuailed in the Realme of Naples, with such applause

The King of France and England proclaimed war against the Emperour.

King Francis challengeth the Emperour to the combat.

Henry King of England desies the Emperour and puts away his wife.

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A plause of the people, as, whether for affection of the French, or hatred of the Spaniard, almost all the townes, sent to offer their keyes and gates. *Peter* of Nauarre had chased the Prince of Melphy out of Aquila, and reduced all Abruzzo to the Kings obedience, the whole Estate of Naples was ready to set vp the banners of France, when as the Prince of Orange hauing assembled within Troye, and thereabouts, fise thousand Germanes, fise thousand Spaniards, and fiftene hundred Italians, hee made *Lantrec* to vniue his forces, which were dispersed, and to turne head to the enemy, with an intent to fight with him. He wanted the finewes of warre, the Kings assignations failed, so as hee could not long maintaine the burthen of the warre: the aduantage of men, victuals, and the field, did inuite him, he must therefore attempt some great matter. He goes to field with three thousand French, whereof the Lord of Bury was Colonel; foure thousand Gascons, vnder the command of *Peter* of Nauarre, and the Lord of Candale, eight thousand Germanes commanded by the Earle of Vaudemont, three thousand Suisses vnder the charge of the Earle of Tende, with ten thousand Italians, and approached neere the enemy, but there was no meanes to draw him out of his fort. Many dayes were spent in skirmishes. In one of them, three hundred horses coming out of their battalions, which marched after the artillery, were charged by *Morice* and *Pomperant* (it is that faithfull *Achates* to the Duke of Bourbon, whom the King had drawne to his seruice, and honored with a company of fifty men at armes, for the good seruice hee had done him at his taking at Pavia, hauing freed him from some souldiers that had enuironed him, and not knowne him) were wholly defeated, and their guidons caried away.

*Lantrec* offered battell, yet well pleased not to fight in the absence of *Horatio Bailion*, who brought thirteene Ensignes of foot, whom *Iohn de Medicis* had long before trained in the exercise of armes. But behold, a heauy signe of a farall disaster, the windes were so violent, and the sky so troubled, as all the tents in the French campe were ouerthrowne, and many men slaine.

*Bailion* arises, the enemy packes vp his baggage, stops the bels of his moyles, and marcheth through the woods directly to Naples, without sound of drumme or trumpet. It had bene a goodly thing to pursue these run-aways. The French Captaines flew after them in their hearts, but *Lantrec* said, *I will haue them at my mercy, and without losse of my men.* But the wit of man is ignorant of future destinies. *Don Hugues de Moncada* and other chiefe seruants to the Emperour, did so hate the Prince of Orange, as without doubt, they had shut the gates of Naples against him, the which had giuen the French a great aduantage, but the soueraigne Iudge of armes had otherwise decreed. The Prince of Orange being dislodged, *Lantrec* sent some troops of French horse and foot with the blacke bands (which were those of *Bailion*) to go before Melphy, which might cut off the victuals from the army lying before Naples: the Prince thereof defended it with three thousand men, who by their continuall sallies had much endamaged our troops. They made a small breach with two Cannons, and the Gascons burning with heat, offer themselves to the assault; the black bands follow them, without any commandement or direction from their Captaines. A volley of shot makes them retire, kills many Gascons, and some three score of the black bands. At night they renew the battery, and make a second attempt, but with like success, yet at length they carie it.

The next day they haue a supply of artillery, wherewith they make two great batteries. The peasants (which were in great numbers within Melphy) mutine for feare, that they are indeed more fit to amaze, then to serue at time of need. The souldiers terrified with this tumult, abandon the defences, and recover the Castle: they enter the towne, spoile it, and kill of souldiers and inhabitants fix or seuen thousand: they take the Castle by composition, and the Prince with his wife and children prisoners. Barleta, Trani, Venouse, Acofti, with all the places thereabouts, except Manfredonia, yeeld to the victors fortune, who prepared a great masse of victuals for the siege of Naples: the Venetians troops hauing fortified the army with about two thousand men. Capoua, Acerre, Nola, Auerce, and all places thereabouts, hauing voluntarily opened their gates, made the way easie for *Lantrec*, who campt before the wals of Naples, in the end of April the Imperials were refused, onely to defend Naples, and Caiete. It was a great matter to haue chased the enemy out of the field, and to keepe them chopt vp within the capital citie.

But alas! what shall become of so great a multitude of men: our French must learne once

1528

*Lantrecs* success in the Realme of Naples.

*Melphy taken.*



1528

Naples besie-  
ged.

The discommodities of the figge.

once more, to their cost, that all their strange enterprises attempted farre off, haue beene A  
mournefull graues vnto them. *The issues of death belong to the eternall God.*

*Lantrec* employs all his wits in the siege of Naples: but who can hope for any happy successe? The City was full of men of defence, and the means to famish it very vncertain: for the gallees of *Phillipp*, Nephew to *Andrew Doria*, being unable to stop up the ports, some ships fraught with meale stole in: those of Venice came not, the enemies light-horse (which were many) cut off the victuals from our men, the ordinary grosseffe of the ayre, the continuall raine, the difcommodities of the souldiers, who for the most part lay open, filled the campe full of diseases: the Kings slow prouision, and the negligence of the Treasurers, were the cause that no money could passe the mountains: the Venetians, of two-and-twenty thousand ducats which they should contribute every moneth, did owe threecore thousand, and that little which *Lantrec* did gather of the custome of the cattell of Apulia, was employed for the defraying of his ordinary expences. The number of the defendants was great, their experience in deeds of arms well tried, being 9 or 10000 old souldiers. It was therefore better to beseege, then to assaile Naples, and to provide that they might not be relieued with victuals, neither by land nor sea; *Phillipp Doria* kept the gulf of Salerne, and the Imperials relying vpon the valour and strength of their men, conceiue a hope to overcome him.

This resolution was necessary for the Spaniards, they make choice of a thousand Spanish ship, and divide them into five Gallies, four Poibts, and two Brigantines. *Don Hugu* the Vice-roy, *Gobbe* an old sea-Captaine, and almost all men of command, will be partakers; and to amaze *Doria* a farre off by a shew of a greater number of ships, they make a long traine of Fisher-boats, and send two Gallies before, giuing them charge to retire at the enemies approach, that they might draw them into the open sea. *Doria* aduertised of the Imperials counsell, by faithfull spies, makes three of his Gallies to disperse themselves as if they fled, to the end that turning, they might (through fauour of the wind) charge them in flankes and in poope: and followed with five gallies, hee marcheth towards the enemye. The greatest stratagemes consist in expedition: the first blow is worth two. The Spaniards presumed, that compasing in *Doria*, with the smoake of their Cannon to take from him his sight and mark. *Doria* presents them, and for the first check, he carries away D with one Cannon-shot, forty men out of the Admirall, amongst the which was the Captaine and many officers: the other peeces flye discharged, doe likewise disorder them. On the other side, the Gally of *Don Hugu*s discharging her Cannon, kills the Captaine of *Doria*s gallee, and hurts the Master, with some others. The approaches are made, and a furious charge is giuen with their shot and other armes. These two fight with great courage; three other Imperials preece two Genotouilles, and seemed to haue the better, after the death of many men of either side, when as the other three which made shew to flye (having gotten into the open sea) they turne the prow against the enemy, beat in pieces the Admirall, and another called *Gobbe*, take their Poibts, sincke some, burne others, kill their men, breake their armes, and fighting hand to hand, and foot to foot, in the end they get E both the advantage of the combat and the honor of the victory.

Don *Hugues de Monaco* Vice-roy of Naples, *Fieramosque*, with many other Gentlemen and Captaines, and about a thousand men were slain, and remained as a prey for the filth. Two Spanish Forts forsoe battered recovered Naples with great difficulty: the Prince of Orange caused the Master of one of them to be hanged, the other went and yielded to *Philippin Doria*. The Marquis of Guast, *Africanus* and *Camillo Colonae*, the Prince of Salern, *Saint Croix*, *le Riz*, *Gobbe*, *Serenon*, with a great number of chiefe men, were taken prisoners.

These are goodly beginnings in so famous a siege, which fill the French with great hopes of a happy success, and the Imperials with a strange amazement. They see the flower of their men buried in the waves, they have lost the command of the sea, and are blockt up so neere at land, as they have no means to be relieved with victuals, they have no moneie but their hand-mills, no money for their soldiers, the plague did daily diminish their numbers. Staby, Saint Germaine, Fondy, and all the Country about, yields to the Conqueror: the Prince of Melphy joynes to that party, the people of Calabria seeme very willing to come under their command; but the point of a totall victory consisted either in the conquest or the defence of Naples. Our men were much annoy'd for fresh water.

A fresh-water disease increased, the which did greatly wast the army; the enemy being stronger in light horse, did cut off their provisions by their daily sallies.

**D** *Diuine*, without doubt a great *Capitaine*; but absolute in his opinions, left much of his  
 horfemen difperfed at Capoua, Auferre and Nola, fo as the blacke-Bands hauing no hope  
 to fecond them, came off with difaduantage from their skirmishes. The report way  
 that they prepared an armie for the feaft Martilles, but it was only in imagination. The  
 Venetians more careful of their private intereft, then of the generall good, filled them-  
 felues of thofe places which fhould be their portion of the conqueft. The Pope had no  
 other defigne, but to recouer the authoritie which his houle was wont to enioy at Flo-  
 rence. Thus there appeared many difficulties on either fide, yet fuch as there was an ex-  
 pectation of victory for the French, for in the end there arifes two and twenty Venetian  
 Gallies in the gulph of Naples, the tenth of Iune, which deprived the befieged of all  
 commodities at sea, and threatened them with a generall famine. But see what caufed the  
 totall ruine of our French, The Emperour in the midft of a losse, makes a great gain. We  
 doe commonly finke vnder our owne burthens, and are the caufe of our owne miseries:  
 The infidelicke of the Genouois is herein detestable: but we may obserue a goodly lesson  
 for Princes, to endure much of a rude fervant, when he is profitable vnto them; and that  
 they must neuer hope to recouer him, when he is chased away or lost. *Lauterbrudert*  
 led of the fore-said victory, commanded they should send the *ambassadors*

C Philippin puts them into two Gallies, with that intent, But the boocie was too good, and might easily draw a Genouois soule to dispenche with his faith. As they passed by Genoa, *Andrew Doria* layed them, covering his secret designs with this pretext; That the King had not satisfied him for the ranfome of the Prince of Orange, and other prisoners, which he had taken at *Porte-finding* during the siege of *Paia* (the which had bene set at libertie, as hee being concluded at *Madril* with the Emperor) neither yet for the entertainment of his gallies, without the which hee could no longer maintaine them. That fit pleased his Maieitie to doe him right, and yeeld unto the Genouois their accustomed commands upon *Sauonne* (the King thinking to keepe Genoua in awe, had transformed the traffick of merchandise, and the custome of *Sixto* *Shauonne*) with their ancient liberties, and priviledges, hee would deale with the people, that for allurance of his faith, the Moitay furnish the King with twelve gallies maintained, in the which he might place all his *Capitaines*, and *Souldiers*, as he should thinke good, referring only two gallies for the service of the port.

— A strange and insolent courtier for the servant, to prescribe a law to his Master, and the loss of such a servant was the loss of Genoux, of the Realm of Naples, under the name which hefiged it. But these demands of *Doria*, being found unreasonable by the *Chancery*, especially by the Chancellor *de Pons*, a Frenchman, and of great authority, he sent *Anthony de la Rochebouché*, Lord of Barbezies, with the office of Admiral, into the East-seas, and a Commission to seize vessels on his Majesty's gallees, as of those of *Doria*; yea and of his person, if he might find them any. *Anthony* succeeded in this charge, retreating him to his gallees, and pursued him to the bottom, till he could carry off

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A braue Stratz-  
gem - f Philip-  
pin Doris.

**A victory at sea  
gotten by Phi-  
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1528

to supply him with money and men in their roomes that had died of the infection. The King lent the Prince of Naurre, brother to Henry King of Naurre, but with so small a troop (whereof the greatest part were voluntary young Gentlemen, who marched only for pleasure and to win honor) as he was forced to lend some out of the way to conduct him safely from Nola to the campe, and to receive some money which he brought. This charge was given to *Candeller*, Nephew to the Marquis of Saluces, who passing in his returne, before Naples, was charged by the Imperials, who issued forth in great troops, being burnt his men put to rout, and himselfe taken prisoner and brought to Naples, and then redeemed by exchange for one of theirs that was taken in the fight; he died of his wounds. *Hugh Earle* of *Pepoli* was likewise exchanged for another, and their troops were diminished about two hundred that were slaine and taken. A hard fore-runner of a fatall checke, which within few dayes shall daunt our warriors.

Now behold a pitiful Catastrophe of these two armies. The Imperials, by their daily fallies, provided them things necessary, and doe often cut off the victuals from the French armie, take their baggage and forage, euen at their forts, and their horses; at the watering, their hopes encrease with their advantages : their Lanquents mutine no more : euerie one effectes it a glory to haue suffered. Contrariwise, the others decay, both in force and courage, the horse disband, some to refresh themselves, others to avoid the plague : the footmen faint, hauing no horse to second them ; the plague beegane to cease at Naples, and encreased amongst our men. The Earle of Maudemore, Gruffy, with many other Captaynes were already laid in their graves : the Prince of Muscare, *Simen Trimale*, and almost all the men of command were sicke; and that which did most import, *Leutens* stricken with sicknesse, could not redresse those things, which did hourly tend to ruin. *Raice de Gers*, whom he had sent towards Abruzzo, to make a levy of foure thousand foot and five hundred horse, found the Treasurers who payed him with their ordinary pay, *I have not as farthing, the King hath no money in his coffers*. The enemies did so beleaue wayes, as they could not goe to Capoua : euerie man almost was sicke in the armie, the footmen were much wasted. *Simen Ramais*, a brave Knight, and of the French partie, had bene detained in Calabria. Some had benee taken with the slaughter of a troop of men at armes, and light-horse. Most commonly these were no valiant, but they were taken water, all the eithers being deayd, and no hope to their millicies; *Amere* by the 15 of August, interred with him all his brave defenses.

The head failing, all the members faint and loone decay. Moreover, we obſerve in this Nobleman that no man (how wife and valiant he ever) is always happy, ſo vertue and fortune, neither waye can be hated and morall warre. Thinking did henceby his ſineſſe of puniſh ſuch Church in Paris, with a mourning ſong beſet for one of his ſouldiers. The Marquis of Saluſſes rook upon him the government of the army. A ſort of couſage, boldnes and will followed by men of warre, it but it Deceayed, and diſorders increaſed. Can

The force of Sami with a thousand Spaniards, chased their hundreds foot from Sami which were in garbion boats, and followed with a greater crabbe the took boats from the force of Sami who being wared into the callos attacked two thousand men which the Marquis sent him the number being charged in the plains of the Indian war from the *Florida* Marquis, a force of Naples with four hundred men and finding Capotina in manner for taken or might any, sent the justice in the Florida's banding Pozzo in the garbion into Africa a place of great importance for the camp.

[illegible]

*A* *armes, horses and baggage, but such as had command might every one carry away a horse, or a mule, at their choice : That the strangers should not beare armes against the Emperour for six moneths.* So all the companies were defeated, all the Capitaines dead, taken or fled : and this accord was a conclusion or scale of the miserie of the French in the Realme of Naples, and a confirmation of the Spaniards greatness in Italy.

Things having succeeded after this manner, the Marquis was caried sicke in a Litter to Naples, where within few dayes after he died. During the siege and after, there died the Earles of Lautrec and Vaudemont, Charles Prince of Nauarre, Candelles, the Barons of Grandmont, Buzançois, de Cony, the Lord of Tournon, and his brother, Claude of Estampes Lord of la Ferte Nabert, la Val a Dauphinois, Gruffy, Morice, d'O, Pomperant, Montadragon, Lonpé, Cornillon, Grutuze, Maunourri, the elder Iarnac, Bonivet, Hugh Earle of Popoli, Count Wolfe, with fogreat a number of others, as for so many men at arms there remained not a hundred, and of so many thousand of foote there hardly escaped foure thousand : but let vs see the successe of our forces in the estate of Milan.

The Duke of Brunfwick, having paſſed the river of Adice the tenth of May, with ten thouſand Lanſquenets, and fix hundred horſe well armed, hee marched to the ſuccour of Naples. And the King, to croſſe his deſignes, oppoſed the Earle of Saint Paul, brother to the Duke of Vendome, with five hundred men at armes, five hundred light horſe, vnder the command and government of *Boiffy*: fix thouſand foot ſold by *Lorges*, and three thouſand Lanſquenets by *Montenai*. The Earle had commandement from the King, to follow this Germane Duke at the heeles, if he directed his courſe to Naples, and to engage him betwixt the two armies: but neceſſary prouiſions for his troops cauſing the Earle to make a fruitleſſe ſtay at *Aſt*, gaue the Duke liberty to take by compoſition, *Pefcara*, *Riuolte*, *Lunata*, & almoſt at the other places vpon the lake of Garde. This little ſucceſſe drew him to the ſiege of *Laude*, but in vaine; the valour of the beſieged, the plague among the beſiegers, the policy of *Anthony de Lena*, (who would haue no companions of the booty, nor ſo great forces as might preſcribe him a law in his government) tooke from them all hope to recouer any money, conſidering the poverty of Milan, and the difficulty of victuals, whereof there was great want in Lombardy: the Lanſquenets mutining, returned home in diſorder the thirteenth of Iuly.

The Earle being thus freed from this thorne, and ioyned with the Dukes of Vrbin and Milan, recovered what the Imperials had feized on, and all that they held betwixt Po and the river of Tefin vnto Pauia, which then obeyed the Emperor : for after the pallage of *Laurence* to Naples, *Anthony de Leua* aduertified that it was carelefly kept by *Peter of Lumene*, with four hundred horfe, and a thoufand Venetian foot, and by *Hannibal Pifinar* a Cremonois with three hundred foot, he fcaled it in the night, and furprifed it. *Biagras* and *Arone* were by the fame meanes brought vnder his obedience. The confederates meaning was to affaile Milan fuddenly, but a continuall raine breakes their way going to the port of Verceil, by the which they fhould enter, fo as they change aduice and went to E campe before Pauia. They battered it with twenty Cannons, and made a reasonable breach, where they difputed who fhould haue the point of the affault, the French and the Venetians affecting this honor equally. The lot fell to the Venetians, who gaue it : but skirmifhing coldly and farre off, *Lorges* moued with choller and impatience to fee them fo faintly pufhe the aduantage which fortune had giuen them, thrufts himfelfe betwixt them and the breach, and takes it by force, before the Venetians could approach. *Florimond* of Chaillly and Granfay (who did fecond *Lorges* on either fide, if need fhould bee) were there flaine, and the Enfigne which marched before them. *Peter* of Birague died, being fhot in the thigh. There were flaine within, about foure hundred, almoft all Lanquenets. The towne being taken, the caftle yeelded by compulfion.

But this victory is crossed with a notable losse. The plague was great at Genoua, and for this reason the towne was almost defoliate. *Andrew Doria* embraceth this occasion; he approacheth neere the towne with some Gallies, enters it with small resistance, ruines the Chafelte speedily, and in the end receiues it by a composition made with *Theodore Triulze*, being vnurnished of men and money. The Geneuois being restored to their liberty, raze the Chafelte, establish a new forme of gouernment, name a Councill of foure hundred Citizens, by whom all the offices and dignities of the City should be chosen: they abrogate the law, whereby all Gentlemen were excluded (a good expedient to ha-

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A brave act of  
Lorges which  
caused  
the taking of  
Pauia.

nish all partialities) they refuse in their important affaires, the prehemence which *Andrew Doria* had deferred in recompence of the liberty which he had purchased for them, who (neither medling with the election of their Duke, nor any other magistrates, neither yet with the government of the treasure) made his authority lesse hatefull, and this new policy more pleasing. Afterwards they rooke Sauonne, and the better to hold it in subjection, they ruined the fort, and filled vp the haven with stones.

The Earle of Saint Paul, relying on the word of some Citizens, who promised to giue him meanes to surprize the towne, parted with speed out of the Duchy of Milan, with three thousand foot and some horse to second them : but hauing no prouision of victuals, but for foure and twenty houres, and no artillery with them, all turned to smooke, and he retired to Alexandria, to winter the rest of his troops, his Lanquenets being already retired, and the French halfe diminished of their numbers for want of pay. The Spring being come, the Earle of Saint Paul goes to field with those small troops he could gather together : he takes Mortare, a strong towne well flanked, and with double ditches full of water : Nouarre abandoned by *Conte Philippi Tormiel*, Vigec and almost all other places on this side the riuer of Tefin : yet all this was nothing, seeing the towne and castle of Milan, with other chiefe places were in the Emperors power. The Dukes of Vrbino and Milan aduertised, that the French army kept the field, came and ioyned with them at Marignan : yet all these armies vnited, were not sufficient to assaile Milan, the Venetians hauing not the moiety of twelue thousand men, which they should entertaine by the articles of the league. Moreouer, *Anthony de Leus* was newly relieued with three thousand Spaniards, which came from Naples : They resolute therefore, that (to cut off the victuals from the Imperials) the French should march to Biagras, the Venetians to *Cassan*, and *Sforzato* Pavia : but the Earle of Saint Paul did wonderfully affect the enterprize of Genoua. *Andrew Doria* departed the eight of Iune with his galleys, to guard the Emperor, who passed into Italy. This absence put the Earle in good hope, that *Cesar Fregose* (to whom the King had promised the government of Genoua) would make the towne reuolt with some few foot.

Enterprize  
vpon Genoua.

This was to take a mighty Wolfe by the eares, which will bite them shrewdly that thinke to lay hold. They had behind them too vigilant an enemy. According to this designe, the Earle in stead of Biagras arises at Landriane, the twentieth of Iune : but in the night a great raide doth so swell the riuer, as he had no meanes to passe his artillery. *Anthony de Leus* aduertised of the Earles stay, parts from Milan, overtakes the Earle, (who was busie in pulling downe an old house, to haue some pieces of timber to put vnder the cariage of a peece, that was mired) and chargeth him before he had in a manner discouraged him. At the first, the Earle forceth the Spanish shot to retire into the battalion of their Germanes ; and the French Lanquenets had repulsed those that had passed a little Riuer which diuided the two armies : but pursuing and following them to the bankes, they were greatly annoyed by them that were opposite on the other side. *Gay* Earle of Rangon, had in the morning taken the way to Pavia with the fore-ward, so as hee had no notice of the fight, vntill it was past time to succour them. *John Thomas* of Galere and the Castellain of Laude, Colonels of the Italian foot, were already well advanced : and leaving them engaged that were desirous to fight, they retire on the one side and saue themselves likewise in Pavia. *John Ierome* of Castillon, and *Claude* of Rangon, Commanders ouer two thousand Italians, performed wonders. But the Imperiall horsemen hauing passed the riuer with a great battalion of Germanes, our Italians turne their backs, our Lanquenets yeeld to their Country-men, the Earle and *Annebault*, with those few horsemen which remained, made the retreat, alwayes turning their faces to the enemy, vntill they were stayed by a brooke, which the Earle was not able to passe, through the weaknesse of his horse : whereas he and almost all that followed him, were put to the sword, or taken prisoners, except *Annebault* and some few Lances which leaped ouer the ditch : the footmen were all defeated, the artillery lost, and the baggage taken.

After all these stormes and confusions, after so many fatall sweats, caused by the waight of their armes, was it not now time to take breath ? The Alpes and high-pointed Pyrenees mountains, be they not sufficient barres to restrain vs within our bounds, and to be content to enioy and defend that which belongs vnto vs ? was not so much blood spilt sufficient to make all Italy drunke ? Such pittifull spectacles of Frenchmens bones, wherewith the

A the plaines of the Estates of Milan and Naples were made white, had they not force and vertue to take from vs all future desire to beare armes in such mortall conquests ? Without doubt they had reason to make this complaint with the ancient Church : *all our enemies haue opened their mouthes vpon vs ; they haue bified, gnashed their teeth and said ; wee haue confounded them, this is the day which we expected : we haue found it, we haue sene it. And with the like repentance to cry, Remember O Lord what hath chaunced vnto vs, behold and see their reproches. Turne vs vnto thee O Lord, and we shall be turned. Behold now the pittifull reliques of our Frenchmen, harteall to strangers, scorned of all the world, bearen on all sides, returning home with their shirts tyed vpon their shoulders, who hauing scarce breathed some yeares, we shall see againe fall to armes.*

This vnfortunate successe of our men, hauing caused armes to cease in a manner throughout all Italy, the Emperour and Pope both being bare of money, treated of some articles of peace. The Emperour had no inclination thereto : yet he could not grant it in a season more beneficiall for himselfe. The King sought it : two notable afflictions drew him thereto ; the Imprisonment of his children, and the ruine of so many armies, with the wasting of his treasure. But one speciall consideration did moue him. If the confederates had discovered his intent, they might haue preuented him, and by their agreement with the Emperour excluded him from a league with any of them : and by consequence haue brought him to that point as he should haue bene forced to accept farre lesse tolerable

C conditions of peace. *Eluise* the Kings mother, and *Marguerite*, Aunt vnto the Emperour by the fathers side, did treat it at Cambray, furnished with authority and counsell from both their Maesties ; where finally they concluded ; " That the King should pay two millions of crownes for the enlargement of his Children : that is, twelue hundred thousand crownes, whereas the said children should be in France and at liberty : He should deliuer the lands which *Mary* of Luxemburg, mother to the Duke of Vendome had in Flanders, Arthois, Brabant and Hainault, and those which the Duke of Montpensier, cousin-germane to the said Duke, did possesse in the said Countreys, for foure hundred thousand crownes to be redeemed within a certaine time ; and for the other foure hundred thousand remaining, he should acquire the Emperour of so much to the King of England, which

D he had lent vnto him, and fifty thousand more which the Emperour did owe vnto the English, for the indemnitie of the mariage betwixt the Emperour and *Mary*, daughter to the said King of England, whom he had left to marry with the daughter of Portugal. Moreover, he should vngage the Flower-de-luce of gold, enriched with precious stones, and a peece of the Crosse which *Philip* the Emperours father had ingaged to the King of England, father for fifty thousand crownes. That the King should renounce the souverainety of Flanders and Arthois. That he should marry with *Elenor* the Emperors sister : and if they had a sonne, he should haue the Duchy of Bourgogne. That he should restore whatsoever he possessed in the Duchy of Milan, and the Realme of Naples. That he should disanull the Duke of Bourbonns proccesse, restore him to his honor, and his children to their inheritance, and generally all others that had bene spoiled by reason of the warres. These articles thus concluded, were read and published in the great Church of Cambray the first day of August. But could the King renounce such pretensions, seeing they were inheritances purchased to the Infants of France by the succession of *Claude* their mother, daughter to *Lewis* the 12. Duke of Orlence, of whom depended the said succession of Milan ?

This treaty did greatly moue the confederates, for that they were not acquainted with it, especially the King of England : notwithstanding, his secret designes made him to temper his choller. He meant to put away *Katherine* his wife, Aunt to the Emperour, and daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Spaine, saying, as it was true, that shee had bene before married to his eldest brother, wherewith the Pope could not dispence, belonging to the Law of God : which conclusion he obtained by the meanes of the Lord of Langey, in the Vniuersities of Paris, Pavia, Padoua, Bologna, and others. The Emperour and his ministers crosse him in this desire. This quarrell had neede of a strong support. To make vse of the Kings fauour at need, he lent him the said sum of foure hundred thousand crownes, to be paid in five yeares : he forgave him the fiftie thousand crownes, & gaue the Flower-de-luce to his god-sonne *Henry* Duke of Orlence.

The tenth of May was come, when as the Deputies should meete at Bayonne, for the exchange of the Infants of France, with the payment of their ranfome. *Montmorency*

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Lord Steward and Marshall of France, came for the King; for the Emperour came *Relafques* Constable of Castile: the Crowne is told and put to the proof: but being found somewhat altered by the aduice of the Chancelor *du Prat*, who thought to make it a benefit to the King, forty thousand Crownes more payed the interest of the whole summe. There were about foure moneths spent in the tryall of these Crownes: and in the beginning of Iuly, the Dauphin of France and the Duke of Orleans came to the tiuer which runnes by the walles of Fontarabie, and diuides France from Biscay. A great boate was fastened in the midst of the streame, with anchors and cables, that the sea which flows twice a day, raising the boate to the height of the water, might serue as a bridge: and onerthwart this great boate, they made a barre, to the end that the boate which carried the Infants of France, and that which brought the money for their ransom, being fastened on either side the great boate, the Frenchmen should passe into that where the Infants were, & the Spaniards where the ransom was. Thus it was performed, & they came accompanied with Queene *Eleanor*, to meete the King their father betwixt Roquehort of Marfan, and Caprieux, in a little Abbey of Nunnes, where the King and Queene were married an houre before day. Then taking their way by Bourdeaux, Cognac, Amboise and Blois, they came to Saint *German* in Lay, attending the preparatiues for the Queenes coronation at Saint *Denis*, and her entrie into Paris.

The Emperour being thus assured of the King, who about all others might crosse his desires, he is now refused to be Crowned. To this effect, he must winne the Pope (for he must receiue the Crowne from him:) and the Pope who desired some notable reuenge of the Florentines, for the injury they had done him during his captivity vnder the Imperials (they had spoiled all the goods belonging to the *Medici*, and chased them and their adherents out of the estate of Florence) was easily drawne to the Emperours will; yea with such extraordinary priuiledges, as the Emperour fitting himselfe to the Popes passions, settled the foundation of that admirable greatnesse, which his house doth at this present inioy in Italy. The Pope hauing granted the Crowne to the Emperour, which he could neuer obtaine of his predecessor *Julius*: vpon condition, that for recompence thereof, he should succour him with an army, to restore them of his name to their ancient authority within Florence, he imbarques at Barcellona, lands at Genoua, passeth to Placentia, and at the Popes request, restores *Francis Sforza* to the Duchie of Milan: but he reserves in his owne power the Castles of Milan and Cremona: hee marieth the said *Sforza* with his neece, daughter to the King of Denmarke, a prisoner, and dispossessed of his Realme: and on Saint *Matthias* day (so famous for his natiuitie, and the taking of the King before Pavia) he receiued the ornaments of the Imperiall dignitie from the Pope.

One scruple with-held the Emperour from resolving against the Florentines. The Turke besieged Vienna in Austria, with two hundred and five and twenty thousand fighting men: but the valour of *Philip* Count Palatine, the Earles of Solme & Rokendolf, and the succours brought by *Ferdinand* Arch-duke of Austria, and King of Hongarie, hauing forced the Infidels to take their way to Constantinople, with shame and losse, the Emperour gaue the charge of this warre to the Prince of Auranges, who ioyning with *Dan Ferdinand* of Gonzagua, and the Marquis of Guast, takes from the Florentines, Cortone, Arezzo, Lafric, Pistoia, Prato, Volterra, Empoli, camps before Florence, and reduceth the Citizen to extremity: but as he marched to encounter some forces that came to succour the besieged, meaning to winne the horse, or to lose the saddle: hee was slaine in the charge being in the head of his troopes, performing (saith the Original) rather the office of a man at armes, then of a General.

The succours notwithstanding defeated, the Florentines (after a long and painfull siege of eleuen moneths) fell in the end into the Popes power: who by many and sundry punishments of death and banishment, did so weaken the City, as in the end (the power of the *Medici* being more free) they haue settled the Soueraigntie in their family. The Duke of Ferrara had in time purchased fauour with the Emperour: and happy was he, for without it they would haue clippt his wings shorter. Wherewith the Pope was so greatly moued, as hee would not ratifie the sentence, by the which the Emperour had condemned the Ferrarise in an hundred thousand Crownes to the Pope: neither would he accept the money, nor the rent, which according to the ancient custome, the said Duke caused to be offered vnto him, at the feast of Saint *Peter* following: and even then

The Prince of  
Auranges  
slaine.

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A then began to studie how hee might secretly oppress the Duke by ambulations, or find some matter on occasion to wrong him openly, with the ayde of great Princes. But hee did not fore-see, that death would soone cut off the thred of his life, and interre with him the issue of his desires. The present estate of things promised in shew a generall peace betwixt these two great Princes, but their minds had other impressions: That of our *Francis*, with a wonderfull desire to be reuenged for the rigorous conditions of the treatie of Cambray, being forced to renounce the Soueraignties of Flanders and Artois, ancient members of the Crowne of France, and to quier his rights to the estates of Milan and Naples, the which had wonderfully discontented him. That of *Charles*, who feared lest the King or his successors should draw those Prouinces within the bounds of the Realme, and by the recourie of the Duchie of Milan, molest him continually in the possession of Naples and Sicily. To exclude the King from all hope, the Emperour thought it best to restore *Sforza* to the Estate of Milan, that he might rule him at his will and pleasure: and for a time giue good contentment to the Potentates and Common-weales of Italy, to sequester them from the alliance of France, and make them enter into a defensie League for the said *Sforza*: the first motion or occasion, which within few yeares shall transport our armes beyond the mountaines. There were diuers others which toucht as neere, Sauoy lyes vpon the way or passage from France to Lombardie: therefore to lay a strong barre before the King, if he should reuise his ancient quarrels and pretensions, the Emperour sold to *Charles* Duke of Sauoy, the Countie of Ast with the appertinences, being the ancient patrimonie of the house of Orleans, to tie him to his command, and to draw him to this League, as hauing now a priuate interest in the warres of Lombardie. Moreover, hee employed the mediation of the said Duke, to withdraw the Swisses and Grisons from the Kings friendship to his. These were new motives of new troubles, and for enenemy, he had two: they all had priuie perswaders, who desirous of new boyles, anchored the hope of their priuate affaires, vpon the generall troubles of Christendome.

A scarce scratched too hard, breakes forth easily: a noble courage wronged, doth with like facility feele an outrage. Here we obserue a publike prejudice done to the Crowne, and a priuate contempt to the Kings person. A notable wrong, cutting off from the Soueraigntie two rich neighbour Prouinces. A contempt, for that we see *Sforza* issued from a mean stocke, and the sonne of a bastard, (oftentimes termed by the Emperours owne mouth, a traitor and periured) preferred before the King, brother-in-law to the said Emperour, and his Maiesties children, whom no iust title, but onely force of armes could exclude. Let vs adde hereunto a third sting, sufficient to animate any generous mind: vnder a colour pretended, that they sought to steale the Infants of France secretly out of prison, the Emperour had put most of their Officers into the Gallies: and although he had bene often summoned by the King, by vertue of the treatie of Cambray, yet would hee neuer enlarge them. Let the iudicious Reader iudge, which of these two did first inringe the Articles of the said Treatie.

But the vices of precedent warres, being not yet well cured, and the King calling to mind the calamities to come, they dissuaded him from taking armes. It was better to trie a friendly course, and seeke to recouer his owne by money, rather then by force. With this designe he sends *Rabodenges* to the Emperour. The Regent and Queene, assist and labour for an interview betwixt the Emperour and King. The Emperour aduertiseth the Pope, and doth assure him, that whatsoeuer he treats with the King, hee will conclude nothing with him to bring him into iealousie. The Pope dares not rely vpon this promise: hee complains of the King, that without his priuiey such practices are managed. The King excuseth himselfe, alledging, that they were not so farre forward, as it deserved to be lightly imparted to his holinesse: notwithstanding, hee surceaseth the said practices, and the death of *Louise* the Kings mother and Regent, chancing the 22 of September, did quite dissolve them. There are other matters which shall hereafter import. The Emperour sought to force the Princes and other estates of the Empire, to receiue *Ferdinand* his brother for King of Romans, making them to allow of the election made of him, to the prejudice of the golden Bull, and contrary to the ancient orders of the said Empire. A iurisdiction, which shall cause the ciuill warres, that hereafter shall assidit Germanie. Moreover, the Princes pretended, that the Emperour failed in the performance of many things promised

Causes of the  
Kings discontent.

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mised by him, touching the rights, priuiledges, and liberties of the Empire: So as *John* A  
Electour and Duke of Saxony, *John Fredericke* his sonne, *William* and *Lewis* Dukes of Ba-  
varia, *Philip* Landgrau of Hessen, with many other Princes, make a generall league, for  
the forelaid causes. And now seeing the King discontented, that the Emperor had newly  
discovered vnto the Pope the treaty of their enteruiue, mediated by the Ladies; and that  
the King had many & lawfull occasions to giue care to the perswasions which were made  
often vnto him, that the Emperor did but seeke to lul him asleepe, while that he did forsize  
himselfe with men, money, and alliances: they intreat the King to enter into their asso-  
ciation, by vertue of an ancient league obserued long before betwixt the Emperor and the  
Crown of France: they send him an authentick copie of their treaty, that hee might know  
their intencion was not to make any inuasion, but for the defence of the Empire; the  
which they did foresee, that *Charles* the fifth did seeke to subuert; and to make it heredita-  
rie to his House, to the great preiudice of the neighbour Princes; greatly troubled with  
the Emperours exceeding ambition and inuiolent outrages.

The King, to giue two strokes with one stone, imparts this matter to the King of Eng-  
land his perpetuall Allie: asketh his aduice and counsell, how they two together might en-  
ter into this league, without breach of the treaties they had with the Emperour:  
and in the end, by *Pommeray* his Ambassador, he doth capitulate: "That the King of Eng-  
land being assailed by the Emperour, he should succor him with twelve ships well appoin-  
ted and victualled, with six hundred men at armes, French, and three thousand foot. And C  
in like case, if the King were inuaded within his Realme, the King of England was bound  
to furnish him the like proportion of shipping, and with six thousand Englishmen, both  
the one and the other to be entertained at his charge that was assailed. That either of them  
being assailed, they should stay all Merchants that were subiect to him that did assaile,  
which should be found within the territories of their obedience, and deliuer them to him  
that was assailed, to redeeme such as had been seized on by the aggressor, in the begin-  
ning of the warre. That neither the one nor the other Prince, should hereafter treat or  
make alliance with any other Prince, Potentate, or Communitie without the consent  
and association of either of them.

Enteruiue of  
the two Kings.

And they treated likewise of the means how they might best vndertake to resist the Turk D  
(if he did persist to inuade Christendome): whereupon their Maiesties concluded an inter-  
view at Bologne: the 23 of October they made a new treaty: *That to giue a more perfect  
proofe of their zeale and desire to enlarge Christendome, and to summon other Princes by their  
example, considering that the Turke, notwithstanding his retreat, had left a good part of his  
forces in Hungary, they should assemble together by their ioynt forces, an army of fourescore  
thousand men, whereof there should be tenne thousand horse with artillery: requisite for the said  
Campe.* And besides this treaty, these two Kings had many causes of discontent: Our  
King found himselfe grievously wronged, for that the Pope and the Emperour with their  
partisans, had newly made a league for the defence of Italy, whereof they had declared  
*Anthony de Leua* to be Generall.

The King of England had no lesse cause to complaine of the wrong, hee said the Court  
of Rome did him, touching the matter of his diuorce, seeking to force him, either to goe  
in person to Rome, or to send, with expresse deputation, men of great account that should  
stand to the Popes iudgement.

As inuolent proceeding in like cases, chanced among foueraigne Princes: seeing  
that such a businesse of that importance, and touching the conscience so neere, did well  
deserue, that (according to the vsuall custome) they should send Iudges to the place: it be-  
ing reasonable that the persons should speake personally, and not by their Attorneys: and  
very vnreasonable that a foueraigne Prince, leauing the rule and gouernment of his Estates,  
should goe and plead his cause at Rome. Moreouer, he did complaine vnto the King, of the  
exactions of the Romane Church vpon the Clergy and people of England, and did in-  
stantly require, that they two should fend their Ambassadors ioyntly together to the  
Pope, to summon him to appeare at the next Councell, to heare of the extorsions hee did  
vnto Princes and Christian people.

The King propounded all abuses. The Pope had dissembled with him touching certaine  
tithe which he had granted him to leaue vpon the Clergy: and the French Church  
complained of him, of the vnuie and new exactions, which vnder colour of piety they  
made

1532

A made at Rome for the expedition of Bulls, by means whereof, all the treasure was daily ca-  
ried out of his Realme, to the preiudice of the Clergie which grew poore: the Churches  
were not restored, nor the poore clothed nor fed: their yearly rents were excessive, no  
equality in them: many officers newly created, which were payed vpon the dispatch and  
expedition of Bulls, ouer and aboue the iust price which they were wont in former times  
to pay: the Offices which fell void, were sold to the great benefit and profit of *Saint Pe-*  
*ter*, entertaining many Groomes, Chamberlaines, Protonotaries, their seruants, Gardi-  
ners and others: and for the repairing of *Saint Peters* Church, a great summe of money  
was leauied, the which they did afterwards imploy to make warre against the King. Yet  
B the King would neither wholly allow nor disallow of the King of Englands complaints:  
but for that the Pope had sent him a promise, by the Cardinal of Grandmont, of an en-  
terview at Nice, or Anignon, after the Emperours returne into Spaine, he requested the  
King of England to attend the issue of their parle. These griefes of the French Church  
had been presented vnto the King in the assembly of the Estates of the Countrey and  
Duchy of Britany, with many other things, farre from that charity which ought to be  
in the Church. In the said Estates it was concluded; *That Francis the Kings eldest sonne,  
Dauphin of Viennois, should be acknowledged Duke of Britany: That the eldest sonne of  
France should hereafter cary the titles of Dauphin of Viennois, and Duke of Britany: and the  
said Duchie should for ever be incorporate to the Crown.* So the treaty made by the marriage  
C betwixt King *Charles* the eight, and *Anne* Duchesse of Britany, and others following,  
were disannulled in regard of the said Duchie.

The Duchie of  
Britany incor-  
porate to the  
Crown.

As these things passed in England, *William* of *Bellay*, Lord of *Langey*, promised the Ger-  
mane Princes in the Kings name, That for the affection he bare to the preservation of the  
priuiledges, rights, and customes of the Empire: if the Emperour (with whom he desired to  
obserue inuolubly the alliances and treaties he had with him) would in that case employ  
his forces to their oppression, he would succour them with all his power: so as neither  
his men nor money should bee imployed to the offence of any of his confederates,  
namely, of the Emperour; but onely to defend the rights and priuiledges of the Em-  
pire. A great designe is alwaies shadowed with goodly shewes. Hereupon the Em-  
D perour came to Bologne, to conferre againe with the Pope. The Kings of France and  
England, well informed of the Emperours bad disposition, and especially the English,  
of the Popes to him, by reason of his pretended diuorce: they sent the Cardinals of  
Tournon and Grandmont, the Popes seruants, that vnder colour to accompany him at  
this enteruiue, they might employ their authorities, that nothing might be done to the  
preiudice of their Maiesties: or at the least, they should giue intelligence of their con-  
clusions. And the said Cardinals had commission to lay open vnto the Pope, the griefes  
and complaints of the two Kings, and to summon him to make reparation: if not, they  
would take order for it. So as his Holinesse might well perceiue, that they two together  
were not to be contented: & to wish him to consider wisely, of the support and profit he  
E might draw from these two Kings; and what disgrace otherwise in discontenting them,  
especially the King of England, whose cause the King did no lesse affect then his owne.  
For (said the two Princes) if wee come to demand a generall Councell, and his Holi-  
nesse doth not grant it, or delays it, wee shall take his delay for a denial; and calling it  
without him, we will easily iustifie the fact with other Princes, who producing the like,  
or greater complaints, would in the end forbid their Subiects to send or cary any  
money to Rome.

The Kings of  
France and  
England com-  
plaine of the  
Pope.

If his Holinesse (for so did our *Francis* protest) will proceed by censures against mee  
and my Realme; and that I be forced to goe to Rome for an absolution, I will passe  
the Alpes so well accompanied, as his Holinesse shall bee glad to grant it mee. The  
F scandals of Rome haue already withdrawne most part of Germany and the Cantons  
from the obedience of the Romane Church. It is to bee feared that if these two  
mightie Kings seuer themselves for want of Iustice, they shall finde many adherents;  
and these two together with their open and secret allies, may make such an attempt, as  
it will be hard to resist. That if his holinesse be disposed to moderate things (especially  
towards the King of England) there is hope, that at the first enteruiue, all may bee  
ordered by mildnesse, before they should proceede to greater bitterness, by a generall  
summons from both the Kings.

Thus



1533

Thus the King spake vnto those Cardinalls whom he sent to Rome. But we haue else where obserued, that men of the Church doe commonly preferre the Popes respect, before the seruice of such as employ them. These men see the Ecele by the tayle, and in stead of following their instructions from point to point, beginning with rigour, and ending with mildnesse, they take a contrary course. They feared (said they in their iustificacion) that his Holinesse holding the Wolfe by the eares, pressed on the one side, sometimes with promises, sometimes with threats by the Emperour: and on the other side, in a manner despairing euer to finde grace or fauour with the King, should in the end cast himselfe into the Emperours armes, and run the same fortune with him. To draw him therefore to the French partie, they offer the Pope in the Kings name, to make him Iudge and Arbitrator of such controuersies and quarrells, as hee had with the Genouois, the which his Maiesty pretended were not contained in his renunciation. And the better to draw him, they renewed (without any speciall Commission) the proposition first made by Pope Leo, and after reuiued by Clement, of the marriage of Henry Duke of Orleans, with Katherine daughter to the Duke of Vrbin. This did greatly please Clement, who then began to hold vp his head, and resolved to strike whilst the iron was hot. This match was wonderfull honourable and beneficiall for his Holinesse, and helped much for the ratifying and support of his house, the which he had in singular regard.

The Cardinalls  
meanes to win  
the Pope.

The Emperour did presently discouer, that vpon the coming of these Cardinalls, the Popes affection to him was greatly altered. And vpon the first discouery of this treaty of marriage, he imploies the Lords of Cannes and Granuelle, to breake it, in fauour of *Francis Sforza*, with the said Duchesse of Vrbin, and to perswade the Pope, that this practice was artificially brought in by the King, to entertaine him onely, but not with any intent to conclude it, considering the great disparitie of their degrees and qualities: and seeing these two Cardinalls (said he) had no sufficient authority touching this alliance, it was an euident prooue of the fraud. But by means of this marriage, the King thought to strengthen his house, and to get new footing in Italy; and the Pope did thereby free himselfe from the feare of a Councell, wherewith he was threatened from France, Germany, and England. While the Cardinalls attend a Commission from his Maiesty to conclude this marriage, the Emperour continued his pursuit, for the assurance and declaration of his league, comprehending the estate of Genoua. And the better to write it, he required his confederates to make a tax among them, for the pay of such souldiers as should be fit to entertaine in Italy for the peace and quiet thereof: that the first payment should be presently consigned into the hands of a Banker of Genoua, and that the Emperour should not be tied to any contribution, in regard of his great charge to resist the Turkes inuasion, and to preuent the attempts of such as would trouble the common quiet of Italy, whereof there was now great likelihood. By the force of his perswasions, the matter was in a manner concluded. But through the liuely reasons of the French Cardinalls, and the Lord of Velly, Ambassador for the King, shewing, That the Emperour had no other designe, but to entertaine his army vpon the frontiers of Italy at other mens charges, being ready to assaile the King vpon all occasions without any charge to himselfe: and that without doubt the King (having reason to looke to his affaires) would encounter him with another army on the frontiers of Italy, in the Marquisate of Salusse, or in Dauphiné, which would breed no quiet, but troubles and combustions throughout all Italy (for two Armies being neare, they willingly fall to blows) they concluded, not to make any configuration, but that euerly one of the confederates should tax himselfe for his portion (any war chancing in Italy) and should giue a caution for his part, the which did amount to an hundred or six-score thousand crownes a moneth. So the Emperour sent three thousand men out of his army into Spaine, as many likewise to Naples, and the rest he dismissed.

Then came authority from the King to the Cardinalls and his Ambassadour, with an expresse clause for the confirmation of the Marriage. And the Emperour seeing himselfe frustrate of his intent (to make the Pope declare himselfe openly against the King) he embarked the 8 of Aprill at Genoua, and sayled towards Spaine: the Pope went towards Rome, whither the aboue-named Cardinalls did accompanie him, alwaies insisting by the Kings impotunity, that the troubles of England might be pacified, before the fall of that great storme which threatened the Church.

But the King of England wearied with the Popes dissembling and delays (whom he then

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A then called but Bishop of Rome) vpon the matter of his diuorce, he caused it to be decided by the English Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, being President where, by sentence of the said Church, his marriage was declared void, and the dispensation void, as given in a case that was not dispensable, & which is not in the Popes power, nor in the Churches: according to this sentence, he left his first marriage, and took to wife *Anne Bullen*, and in her name did publish an ample treaty, against the authority and preeminences of the Church of Rome, resolute to sequester himselfe wholly, if the Court of Rome did him not iustice. These newes being published, the Emperour grows in chollier, threatens to raise all the world against England: takes his Aunts cause in hand, summons the Pope to administer the like iustice to her that was put away, as her cause required: if he doth it not, he protests with an oath to be reuenged. The Colledge of Cardinalls stormes, they enuiron the Pope, and all with one voyce demand iustice against the attempts of the King of England, and the Archbishops, having taken knowledge of a cause, the deciding whereof belonged to Iudges deputed by his Holinesse: his Holinesse desired to temporize, and to make a more quiet end. He did foresee, that proceeding to condemnation, and hauing no means to execute it really, were a fruitlesse enterprise, and would make his Apostolike Authoritie contemptible, hauing no means to put it in execution without the Emperours assistance: besides, they had a great lett, which was the strict alliance of the most Christian King with the English, who ioyning their mutual forces, offensive and defensive, might engage all Christendome in more mortall waies then euer. Notwithstanding in the end (as well to gratifie the Emperour, as his Cardinalls) hee pronounced his censures against the King of England, if within a certaine time he made not reparation of the said attempts. Then he prepared for his interuiew with the King, notwithstanding all the crosses which the Imperials gaue him, transforming themselves into as many shapes as *Proteus*, to draw him from this resolution: all which are to be read in the Originalls.

Nice had been appointed for this effect: the Duke of Sauoy had freely offered it at the Popes request; holding himselfe happie (said he) that so holy a worke should be treated of in his country. And in truth it was his best course. The Pope did affect this place, that he might by this meanes reconcile the Duke vnto the King, who for many respects (as we shall note hereafter) was discontented with him. But the Emperour forgetting nothing which he thought might serue to breake off this interuiew, gaue him such goodly reasons, as afterwards he let men vnderstand, that this assembly was nothing pleasing vnto him. *Marseilles* supplied the defect of Nice. Patience being moued (saith the Prouerbe) turns into fury. If the King to this time had many motives of discontent, now is hee prick to the quicke, which will soone draw him to reuenge. The vnusd death of the Seigneur of *Mervilles*, who was a Gentleman of Milan, bred up in Court, since King *Lewis* the 12, one of the Quirries, and now Ambassadour for the King with *Sforza* Duke of Milan, yet secretly, having besides his instructions and letters of credit, a private letter directed to the Duke, in recommendation of some business for the said *Mervilles*: to the end, that if the Emperour should grow ialous of the Duke, he might by means of the said letters, iustifie his being there, not in quality of an Ambassadour, but onely for his owne private affaires. It chanced the first of Iuly, that *Mervilles*, accompanying the Duke through the Citie, a Gentleman Milanois of the house of Castillon (having either by chance or by purpose pickt a quarrell) demanded of one of *Mervilles* servants, to whom hee belonged? He answered, I serue the Lord of *Mervilles* of France, who is here. Now trieplesd *Castillon* *Mervilles* of the gallows: which was a very ignominious word. Another following his Lord, takes hold of this speech, and inbitt and reproacheth the Milanois: as hauing spoken ill against such a personage; the Milanois denies it: the lyc is giuen on the forehead, and the French-man offers to maintaine it with his Sword. *Castillon* happily discerning a man of better quality then himselfe, retires, two of his seruants draw their swords, but they are parted. Afterwards *Castillon* gathers together ten or twelve Rusticks, with Haggebuzes and Pertuisans: hee passeth and repasseth often before *Mervilles* lodging: one evening he meets six or six of his seruants, offers them to his house, they retire: *Mervilles* complains to the Captain of the Justice, and intreats him to take order, being loth to seeke reuenge of their wrongs, or that they should continue to wrong them.

The first mo-  
tione of the re-  
paration of  
England from  
the Church of  
Rome.

was not a  
discreet  
choice.

The

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The worthy  
execution of  
Mornu.

The Capitaine makes no account thereof. *Castillon* continues his course, and sets againe vpon *Mornu* servants: but the first feare had made them wile, they defend themselves, kill him, and put his followers to flight. The next day being the fourth of July, the Capitaine goes in the morning, to take an Inuentorie of *Mornu* goods, puts him into prison, and all his servants he could finde: gives the strapado to one about foure score yeares old, being deafe for very age, to wrest some confession from him against his master: he suffers not any of his friends to speake with him, or to see him: teares in pices, disdain to reade the iustificacions (which according to the custome of Milan some of his friends had presented him in writing: ) and the Sunday following, after midnight, first informed of the Dukes pleasure, he cuts off his head in prison, and cauleth his body to be caft vpon the Merchants meeting place. A horrible and insolent proceeding against so notable a person, being publike, sacred, and inuioable! If it shall be lawfull so to violate the law of nations, what safety shall Ambassadors find with them to whom they are sent:

The King demands satisfaction of this wrong of the Duke: he writes to the Emperour and to all Princes and Potentates of Christendome; as hauing all a priuate interest in this publike iniurie. The Duke excuseth himselfe by *Francis Tauerne* his Chancellor, Nephew to the said *Mornu*, who alledgeth, that the Duke his master did neuer acknowledge *Mornu* to haue the place, nor to hold the ranke of an Ambassadour: but as a priuate man, his vassall and subiect, he had suffered iustice to be done, for the murder committed on the person of one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of his house. That *Mornu* was a man of a vicious conuersation, seditious, scandalous, a concealer of murderers and conspirators against the life of the Duke his Master, who for these causes had often let him vnderstand that his stay at Milan was not pleasing vnto him.

An unkinde Nephew (he was sonne to *Mornu*es Sister) and a bad Advocate in a bad cause. Had not *Sforza* belayed himselfe in a letter of his owne, dated the seventh of December 1533, whereof the King had the Originall, where he did giue him to vnderstand, that his coming from the most Christian King, (to whom he was, and desired to be a most humble seruant) was very pleasing vnto him, and that for many respects, hee should alwayes haue bene welcome to Milan? And could *Tauerne* be ignorant of *Mornu*es qualitie, seeing that he himselfe had procured this charge for his Vncle, being at Fontainebleau, and propounded this meanes of priuate recommendation to the Duke, to seruise a shadow against the Emperours ieaiousness? Moreouer, he knew his Vncle had letters of credit to the Duke, and his instructions signed with the Kings hand. But the hastie proceeding from Friday to Sunday following, the execution done by night and without the peoples priuitie (who perchance would tumultuously haue opposed, fearing to incur the reuenge, which without doubt the King would take) doe they not plainly discover, that the fact was not excusable, nor to be iustified?

The Emperour made answer to the Ambassadour *de Velly* that *Mornu*es had well deserved death, not being acknowledged for an Ambassadour, but for a priuate Gentleman, subiect to the Duke, and following his owne priuate affaires, being nothing moued, when *de Velly* presented him the Dukes letters vnto the King for his allowance: whereby it appeared what place *Mornu*es held with the Duke. Thus seeing himselfe more assured of *Sforza*, he sent into Flanders for his Niece, the yongest daughter of *Christiane* King of Denmark, according to the promise which had been made him at Placentia. About the same time the Pope made his entrie at Marsilles in great pompe, set vpon a yong Ass: he was carried in a high chaire vpon two mens shoulders, followed by his Cardinalls, and the Duchesse of Vrbain apart, accompanied with a great number of Ladies and Gentlemen. There was nothing ready for a Councell, which the Princes of Germanie did solicit with great vehemency: neither was there any intent of reformation: But expecting the opportunitie of this generall Conuocation, a Bull was sent forth to stay the course of religion, which passing from Germanie into Swisserland, and from thence into France, did greatly increase the marriage betwixt the Duke of Orleans, and *Katherine de Medicis* Duchesse of Vrbin, was so commended by *Chenetz* her Vncle: who in the end of their care, at the Kings request, created foure Cardinalls: the Cardinall of Ventour, Bishop of Lieux, and chiefe Almoner to the King; and one of those three Houses, Chamber, and Giury. This done, the Pope imbarked for Rome the twentieth of November,

An entertain  
ment  
betwixt the  
Pope & King.

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A vember, and the King tooke his way to Auignon. Here the King resolved in his priue Councell vpon a petition made vnto him by *Christopher*, sonne to the Duke of Wirtemberg, both in his owne name, and his fathers, spoiled of their estates seuenteen yeares since, by the Emperour *Charles*, and *Ferdinand* his brother: as also by *Lewis* and *William* Dukes of Bauria his Vncles. The mother of *Christopher*, was daughter of a sister to *Maximilian*, Grandfather to the said Emperour, and King of Romanes, and the consummation of the marriage of *Eleanor* their sister with his Maiestie, gaue the father and the sonne hope, that the King in fauour of this alliance, interposing his autoritie for them that were spoiled, should either procure restitution of *Ferdinand* for these Dukes, or refusing Iustice, to purchase him the hatred of all Germanie, which in the end might by open force dispossesse him of the Duchie of Wirtemberg, and of the name of King of Romanes. The King did greatly desire to see these Dukes restored to their estates, and to that end would willingly haue opened his purse, to weaken the Emperours and his brothers forces, and by the same meanes, to confirme the amities which he had purchased in Germanie, and to procure new, requiting the Emperour, who fought by all meanes to take from the King his ancient alliances. But hee sought to colour the protection of these afflicted Princes in such sort, as no man might iustly challenge him to haue broken the treatie of Cambray. He therefore sent the Lord of Langey, with commission to doe for these Dukes whatsoeuer were in his power, nor directly contradicting the conventions: and to conclude, the confiscation of an hundred thousand Crownes, into the hands of the Dukes of Bauria, with a sufficient bond to his Maiestie: releruing notwithstanding this clause, That his money should not be employed to the invasion of any one, but only for the defence of the ancient customes and priuiledges of the Empire. The publike and priuate perswasions of Langey, were of such efficacie, as that ancient and great league of Suenue (which had continued threescore and ten yeares, to the benefit of the house of Austria) was disannulled. But for that the re-intigation of these Dukes, could not bee made but by armes, they covered it with this expedient: That the Duke of Wirtemberg should sell the Countie of Montbelliard (whereof he was Lord) vnto the King, for sixscore thousand Crownes, vpon condition that he might redeeme it: which money he might employ to his use, either in peace or warre, without any breach on the Kings part, to the Articles of Cambray. So the *Langraue* of Hessen, chiefe of this present league, and the dukes of Bauria and Wirtemberg, with their allies, went suddenly to field with an armie, before the Emperour or his brother could crosse their attempts, restoring them that were spoiled, to the possession of their Duchy: and soone after they repayed the Kings money, within thirty or fortie thousand crownes, for the which the dukes of Bauria were answerable: and the Countie of Montbelliard was restored vnto them. Let vs now see what Catastrophe the Popes rash censure, giuen against *Henry* King of England shall cause. *Henry* was wonderfully incensed against the Apostolick See, by reason of the iniustice (hee said) was done him; in that they had refused to send him Commissioners to take knowledge of his cause, and of the contempt done to his authority, in that they would disdainfully force him to abandon his Realme, and appeare personally at Rome. Notwithstanding, by the perswasions of *Jehan de Belley* Bishop of Paris, (whom the King had sent vnto him, presently after his interview with the Pope) he granted, that in case the Pope would surcease from the said sentence, untill he had sent Iudges to be heard, that he would likewise surcease from his intention, to withdraw himselfe wholly from the obedience of Rome. The Bishop offers himselfe to go to Rome to that end. *Henry* treats him, and assures him, that hauing obtained his demand, he will giue him authoritie presently, to confirme what hee had yielded vnto. The matter was not yet desperate, but the Consistorie of Rome gaue so short a time to haue an answer from the King of England, as the Pope came short two dayes at his returne. The terme expired, they proceeded hastily, to the confirmation of the curses and censures, notwithstanding the Bishops instance, to obtaine six dayes delay: seeing the King of England had waivered six yeares before he fell. Two dayes were scarce past, after the prescribed time, but the Pope agreed, with authoritie & declarations from England, the which did greatly appease those halty Cardinals, who afterwards could find no meanes to amend that which they had married. The matter (saith the originall) was finished, as that which could not be finished in three Consistories, was done in one. This indigence, done to the King of England, and the small respect they had to his Maiestie, caused both him and

Estate of  
England.

Fff

his

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his Realme to shake off the yoaके of the Romane obedience, declaring himselfe immediately vnder God, supreme head of the Church of England.

In the meane time, the King not able to get by lustice, a reparation of the vnworthy death of his Ambassador at Milan, he studied to haue his reuenge by armes. To this end, following the example of the Romanes, he erected in euery Prouince of his Realme, a Legion of six thousand foot, vnder the command of six Gentlemen, who for euery thousand should haue two Lieutenants, and vnder euery ensigne five hundred men, who in time of peace, should once a yeare make a generall muster, and the capitaines should know their names and surnames, with the dwellings of euery one, to haue them ready at all commands. Then he sent *William* Earle of Furstemburg, into Germany, to make a leaue of twenty ensignes of Lansquenets, and demanded passage of the Duke of Sauoy, through his country, to be reuenged of the wrong done him by the Duke of Milan. The Sauoica refused it, which caused our *Francis* to demand the portion of *Louise* of Sauoy his mother, sister to the said Duke, children to *Philip* Duke of Sauoy. *Philip* had to his first wife a daughter of Bourbon, by whom he had *Philibert* duke of Sauoy, and *Louise* the Kings mother. Then he had to his second wife, a daughter of *Pontbierre*, by whom he had *Charles*, who is now in question, and the Earle of Geneva, afterwards duke of Nemours. *Philibert* was dead without children, and therefore the King challenged a good portion in the succession of Sauoy, his mother comming of the first marriage, and sole heire to the said *Philibert*. But the Kings deputies not able to draw any reason from *Charles*, vncle to his Ma. iestie, he must seeke that by force, which he could not get by a friendly and gentle compulsion.

The Kings first stratagem, was to bring a part of *Renée de Ceres* company into Geneva, to succour them against *Charles*, who besieged it. The second was to stirre vpon the Bernois, allies and neighbours to Geneva, who taking the towne into their protection, went to field with ten or twelue thousand men, made the Duke retire, spoiled him of a good part of the lands that were vnder his obedience, chased away the Bishop of *Lansana*, and ioyning it to their iurisdiction, they remaine still in possession thereof. The Emperor returned then from his victory of Tunis against *Barbarossa*, and seeming desirous to make a more stricte league with the King, hee offered him a pension of a hundred thousand crowns a yeare, out of the Duchie of Milan, for any one of his children, whom he should name: he treated the mariages of the Daulphin with the Infante of Portugall, daughter to *Queene Elonor*; and of the duke of Angoulême, with such a one as the King should will like of (it seemed that he meant the Infante of Spaine) to the end that by these new bonds of coniunction, cying their friendships more firmly, they might ioynly participate (said he) in the honour and profit of the mighty conquests, they should make vpon Greece.

All this was but cunning. The Emperor was tired, & his forces were wasted by the toiles of warre, and the great heat they had endured. And the King being ready with a fresh and mighty army, threatened the Duchies of Sauoy & Milan: he must therefore busie him with some bait, and at the least stay the exploits of his forces. The death of *Francis Sforza*, presents a new occasion. By this death the Emperor pretends to be freed of that bond, & that he might dispose of this Duchy at his pleasure. The capitaines promise to hold their places of the Emperor. The Emperor giues hope, not onely to dispose of the said Duchy to the Kings liking, but also to conclude of a generall warre against the Turke, in the which he offered to impart with the King, the good or euill that should grow thereby, & of the faith and reunion of the Church, namely for the reducing of Germany and England, to the generall belief of Christians, and of a generall peace in Christendome. In the meane time he prepared for warre, hee caused *Cont Nassau* to make a great leaue in Germany, and called backe *Ferdinand Gonzaga* into Italy, with his Spaniards which remained in Sicillia.

Thus all the negotiations and practices of these two great Princes, gave their new signes of open warre: there waited nothing but a full occasion for either of them to blame his companion, and to lay vpon him the causes of the first inuasion. The Emperor required moreover, that for the quiet of Italy, the King should denie him the action of Geneva. That excluding the Duke of Orleans, from the estate and Duchy of Milan, (the which the King demanded for his second sonne) according to the treaty made with the Pope at *Marcellis*, the duke of Angoulême, for that he was farthest from the crowne, should be inuected.

That

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A That the King should send him the Duke of Orleans, to assist him at the conquest of Alger which hee pretended. The King desired greatly to maintaine true friendship with him, and to vnitie it by as strong alliances as the Emperour offered, that the greatest of the one might not breed any ialousie in the other. As for the action of Genoua, hee was content to surrende that controuersie, vntill it might be decided by good and lawfull means, to renounce for eyer his pretensions to Naples, and to cause the Duke of Orleans to yeeld vp his quarrell to Florence and Vrbin, with such securitie as the Emperour should require: so as his second sonne might be inuected in Milan. Hee promised the Pope (which was *Alexander Farnese*, vnder the name of *Paul* the third, successor of *Clement* the seuenth) summoning all Princes to that end, to imploy his forces, to make Germanie and England obey the sentence and decree of the Church, and to imploy himselfe in fauour of the said Emperour, to the States and Princes of the Empire, that they should ioynly receiue his brother *Ferdinand*, for the true and lawfull King of Romanes. Hee offered to succour the Emperour in his holy warre with a certaine number of gallies, and men entertained, promising to accompanie him the yeere following, in the voyage of Constantinople, with all his forces.

But to exclude the Duke of Orleans from the inheritance of his Ancestors, which his eldest brother did willingly yeeld vnto him, in fauour of his marriage, to inshall his youngest sonne, was it not to sow dissention, and cause warre, betwixt them whom he desired to breed vp in peace and brotherly loue? And to what end did the Emperour demand the Duke of Orleans, but rather to hold him in manner of an hostage, then to make any shew of loue or trust? On the other side, to giue hope, that hee would compound with the King touching Milan, and to vrge this clause vehemently, that all should be managed without the Popes priuie, who no doubt would seeke all means to crosse it (said the Emperour) if hee should vnderstand they had treated without imparting it vnto him, and notwithstanding to giue intelligence to the Court of Rome, by *Andrew Doria*, and to assure him, that although he gaue care to the Kings Ministers, yet would he not conclude any thing without the aduice and consent of his Holinesse: was not this a corrupt proceeding, seeking to breed a ialousie and distrust betwixt the Pope and his Maiestie?

D The King (wearied with these long dissimulations and delayes, without effect) sent the Lord of Beauuais vnto Venice, to make a new league with the Senate, and the King of England sent the Bishop of Winchester to the same effect. The Emperour had some intelligence thereof, and to crosse the Kings designs, hee lent *Du Prat*, a Gentleman of his house, to make a new leaue of Lansquenets, and *Andrew Doria* to Genoua, to prepare his armie by sea, but vnder colour of his enterprize of Alger. Who would not then iudge, but in stead of a confirmation of peace and loue, all things tended to open warre? Nothing could detame these inuincible warriors, but that the Emperour, after so great a disposition of his forces, could not so suddenly repaire his armie, and the King making a scruple to be the first assaillant, would not incur the blame, to haue broken the treatie of Cambray. But without breach thereof, many motiues of discontent, had long incensed him against the Duke of Sauoy. The Jewels which the Duke had engaged, to borrow money for the Duke of Bourbon, and to fauour his rebellion against the King, the Letters of congratulation he had written for his taking at Pavia, his pursuit to withdraw the Suisses from the alliance of France, the purchase of the county of Ast, his refusal to lend Nice for the enteruiew of Pope *Clement* and his Maiestie, and to giue him passage against *Sforza*, the detention of his Mothers inheritance, which the King could not by any gentle means draw his vncle to restore.

F This must be tryed by the sword. The King therefore sent *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Saint Paul, who before the Duke could appoyne his forces, conquered all Sauoy, except Montmelian, where *Francis* of Châtamont a Neapolitane commanded, who waiting victuals, and without hope of succours, in the end yeelded vp the place, to depart with baggage, and afterwards condemned by the Duke, hee followed the victors fortune, and in the end did good seruice to the Crowne. Then the Emperour granted (by the Lord of Cannes and Grasse) the Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Orleans. But when the securitie and conditions of his inshaltment came to be demanded, they made answer to the Ambassador of *Felty*, that it was sufficient for that time to haue granted the principall, the

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rest

New motiues  
of warre in  
Sauoy.The Emperours  
dissimulation.The death of  
*Francis Sforza*.Causes of the  
Kings dislike  
with the Duke  
of Sauoy.Conquest of  
Sauoy.

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rest should be treated of with *Philip Chabot* Earle of Busançois, Admirall of France, who should presently arise (they supposed hee should first make a voyage without any forces) and that they must keepe this conclusion secret from the knowledge of his Holinesse, all this discovered plainly, that it was a trick of their ordinarie craft and dissembling, to lull the King asleepe in the beginning of his course.

The Emperor  
practices, vnder  
hand.

At the same instant, the King hath newes, sufficient to giue him a certaine impression of the Emperours designs, that the Pope had beene duely aduertised by the Emperours ministers, of all these practices, which he would haue secretly managed: that the Venetians, at the vrgent request of the Emperour, were entered into a defensiu league for the Duchy of Milan, in fauour of any one he should inuest: that he offered great matters to the King of England, to draw him to his deuotion: that *Du Prat* passing by Milan, had deliuered speeches quite contrarie to the hopes and promises which the Emperour had giuen: and that in Flanders he had made great preparation for warre. That the Emperour tooke vpon him the protection of the Duke of Sauoy. And for the sixth point, the preparations made by *Andrew Doria*. It was therefore resolved, to proceed in Sauoy and farther, without breaking off (on his part) this negotiation with the Emperour.

The Kings  
armies.

To this end, the King sent (for his Lieutenant generally) the Earle of Busançois Admirall of France, with 300 Launces: whereof the severall Captaines were *James Galias*, Master of the horse, and master of the Ordnance of France: *Robert Steward* Marshall of France, *Rene* of Montican, *Francis*, Marquis of Salusses, *Claude* of Annebault, *Anthony C* Lord of Montpelier, *John Estouteville* Lord of Villebon, *Prouost* of Paris, *Gabriel d'Allegre*, *Charles Tiercelin* Lord of Roche du Maine, and *John Paul de Cere*. A thousand light-horse, vnder the command of the Lords of Esife, Terme Aulfin and Verets of Sauoy, Twelve thousand of his Legionary men, that is, 2000 Picards, commanded by *Nichol* of Brabant Lord of Cany, and *Anthony* of Mailly Lord of Auchy. Two thousand Normans, vnder the Caprains *La Sale*, and *Saint Aubin* the Hermit. Two thousand Champinois, lead by *John d'Anglure*, Lord of Join, and by the Lord of Quinoy. A thousand of Languedoc, vnder their Knight *d'Ambrès*. Four thousand out of Dauphiné, vnder the Lord of Bresteu, and others. And a thousand vnder the Lord of Forges, the Kings ordinarie Cup-bearer, of all which bands *Rene* of Montican was Colonel: six thousand Lanquenets, led by *William* Earle of Furstenberg: two thousand French, nor Legionaries led by their Caprains *Lartigue*, *Dieu*, *Blanche*, *Anguer* and *Warris* a Navarrois. Two thousand Italians, vnder the command of *Marc Anthony* of Cusan, a Gentleman Milanois, and a thousand vnder Captaine *Christopher Guais*, eight hundred Pioners, six hundred and fourescore horse for Artillery, and the charge thereof appointed to be vnder the government of *Claude* of Concis Lord of Bury.

Beginning  
of the warres  
in Piedmont

Count *Philip Torneil*, & *John Iagues* of *Medicis* Marquis of Marignan, marched before, to stop the passage of Suze, but *Annebault* aduancing with the troopes of Dauphiné, prevented them with speed, chased them before him, from lodging to lodging, and at the first summons, puts into the Kings hands the townes of Turin and Chiua. *Don Laurence T* *mannel*, *John Iagues* de *Medicis*, and *Tah* *Baptista Castaldo*, camped vpon the River of Doaire. The French and Lanquenets, impatient to attend the making of a bridge, wade through the water euen vnto the breasts, repulse the Imperials, and make them retire towards Vercell. A gallant Legionary (to whom the Historie ought his name) swimming through the River, brought away a boat in despite of the enemies shot, for the building of a bridge. The Admirall, to encourage the rest, according to the Kings command, caused a gold-ring to be giuen him, in view of the whole armie.

The Emperour was vpon termes of his departure from Naples, to make his entry into Rome, when as these happy beginnings made him to rene the treaties of an accord: but with such flow proceeding, as a man might easily iudge, that his onely intent was, to lull the King in his course, labouring to entertaine him with doubts, hopes, and delays. In the meane time, he sollicites the Pope, to declare himselfe on his partie, he assured the Duke of Sauoy, to cause all he had lost to be soone restored to him againe, hee hastened the recovery of his Lanquenets, causeth his horsemen to aduance, drawes Artillery and Munition out of Imperiall townes, makes them to march towards Italy, protests againe to the Pope, that hee would neuer yeeld Milan to the King, nor suffer him to possesse one foot of land in Italy: he sollicites the Court of Rome, the Senate of Venice, and all other Potentates

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A tates of Italy, to oppose against the inuesting of any stranger in the Duchy of Milan. These were vehement presumptions, to shew, that the Emperour meant not to cease, but armed, which caused the King to command his Admirall to proceed in his first course, (hee had temporized by his Maiesties commandement, attending the issue of this new parle) and to march against Vercell: and if hee encountered his enemies with equality, to fight with them. There were three thousand men to defend Vercell; and foure miles above, *Anthony de Leua* camped with about six hundred horse, and twelue thousand foot, not as Lieutenant to the Emperour, but as Captaine General for the league of Italy, cutting off the passage to Caguin, and *Hanniball Ganfagua*, *Guy* Earle of B Rangon, and some other pensioners to the King, who had brought for his seruice, five hundred light-horse, choise-men, bred vp in the former warres, and six thousand foot. The Admirall therefore, to be assured of *Anthony de Leua*, demands free passage for the fore-said pensioners. I will (answered *Leua*) giue them assurance, so as they come for the league of Italy. A sufficient answer to begin the warre, whereof the King would by no means be the first author.

During this time, the Emperour made his entrie into Rome. An entry, which by the ruine (amongst other buildings) of that ancient temple of peace, gaue the most curious, occasion to iudge that his entry was not with an intent to confirme a peace, as hee gaue hope by his speeches; but contrariwise, to deface all memorie thereof. His actions did afterwards confirme many in this opinion; for after *Charles* his first parle with the Pope, the Bishop of Maston and Velly, Ambassadors for France, the one to the Pope, the other to the Emperour, learned from the Popes owne mouth (who said hee would remaine a Neuter, as a common father to maintaine Iustice, and yet oppose against the obstinacie of him that would not yeeld to reason) that the Emperour would neuer condescend, to giue Milan to the Duke of Orleans. This was the chiefe point, and either partie growing obstinate vpon the effect of this clause, what accord could be expected? This holy father was little affected to the house of *Medicis*, and therefore would hardly haue beene pleased, to see a daughter of that house Duchesse of Milan. To conclude, the Emperour did submit his insalutal to the Popes liking: and the Pope did promise verbally, to yeeld vnto it, if the Emperour would consent, yet did hee freely shew, that the Emperour entertained this practice of purpose to abuse the King, whilst that he should fortifie himselfe with alliances, men, and money, and yet (as it were) giuing scope to both parties: I thinke (said the Pope) so the French Ambassadors, replying that this condition sayling, the King their Master would neuer come to any conclusion, that things cannot passe, without a breach, for that the Emperour neither will, nor can giue Milan, without the consent of some, who in my opinion will neuer yeeld.

The Emperours  
entry into  
Rome.

These were the Venetians, whom the Emperour did coldly intreat to like of this clause, but in effect to contradict it: and all in general, would haue no D. of Milan, who might at any time, write this goodly estate to the Crowne of France: for (said they) the duke of Angouleme being inuested in the Duchy of Milan, although he depends on the King his father: yet marrying one of the Emperours Nieces, (he offered him the widow of *Sforza*) his wife would be of the Emperours faction, and so matters should remaine in suspense, whereas the Duke of Orleans, besides many other obstacles, must bee onely at the King his fathers deuotion: and as husband to the Niece of Pope Leo, and of *Clement*, would not cease to pretend an interest in the estates of Florence and Vrbis, and consequently, by new pretended quarrels, trouble the quiet of Italy.

In the end, the Emperour in a speech made to the Pope, in the presence of all the Cardinals, and many Ambassadors, as well to shew (said he) his good meaning, and how much he desired the peace of Christendome, as to be cleared hereafter, before God and men, he offered againe three conditions to the King. The first to giue the Duchy of Milan to one of his children, so as thereby he might confirme a good and durable peace, maintaining notwithstanding that it could not be, so long as the King continued obstinate in fauour of the Duke of Orleans. The second was, to fight with the King, hand to hand, with like armes, and hostages, in an Island vpon a bridge or boate, or in any other place of safety, to avoid greater effusion of blood, being reasonable that they, by whom such great combusions did grow, should decide their quarrels in person.

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But

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A Spanish  
bragge.

But vpon condition, that the victor should give his forces to the holy father, to maintain the celebration of a Councell, to reduce them that were rebelled and sequestred from the Church, and to the suppression of Infidels; and the vanquished should assist the King with all his power. Requiring moreover, that this combate being accepted, the King should pawning the Duchie of Bourgogne, and the Emperour that of Milan, both to be adjudged to the victor. The third was, a protestation neuer to take armes, but forced, foreseeing that the warre would be so cruell, as the victory would be of small profit to the victor, and should but open a passage to the common enemy of our faith. And to conclude, he added, that what he had propounded touching a Peace, proceeded not from any feare, hauing neuer fought peace in losse, but could well giue it to them that were vanquished. But contrariwise, three good and iust reasons gaue him an assured hope of victory. That he was not the beginner of this warre. That the King had begunne it in a season of great advantage for the Emperour. That he found his Subiects, Captaines, and Souldiers so well disposed, as if the Kings were like vnto them, hee would craue mercy with his hands and feet bound. The second article of the three, and the last, being but bragges, were by the Ambassadors (as shall bee noted hereafter) concealed from the King. The Pope requested them, that without prejudice to the King, they should suppress what might inconstie his Maiestie, adding thereunto the explication, which the Emperour himselfe did afterwards make of his words, at the request of the French Ambassadors (desirous to know if the Emperour had any meaning thereby, to charge the King to haue done any thing prejudiciall to his honour, or if his intention were to challenge him) he publicly declared: that what he had spoken, was but by way of aduice and proposition, as being more fit, and of lesse incommence, then to expose the liues of so many thousands, fighting for their quarrels, to the mercy of Armes, to decide it betwixt them two, with the perill of their owne bloods: not meaning in any sort to tax the King, whom hee knew to be a great Prince both in courage and person, much lesse to defie him, and in the presence of his holinesse, without whose permission hee would not attempt such an action: So as the King answering onely to those Articles whereof hee was aduertised, failed in this.

The Emperours  
protestation.

The Emperour hauing thus published his protestation,ooke his leaue of the Pope, who displayed in shew of the neere breach of Peace, resolved to bee a Neuer, not assisting either party with counsell or fauour concerning the warre. In the meane time the Admirall (hauing expresse commandement from the King, and afterwards re-iterated by John Cardinal of Lorraine (sent by his Maiestie to the Emperour) not to attempt any thing whereby the Imperials might frame any iust complaint) had retired his armie towards Saint Germaine, with an intent to assure himselfe of the towne of Yurce, and of all the valley towards the Suisses, to receive men for the Kings seruice, if they should come to open warre, and to succour Turin when need should require.

But hauing intelligence of the Emperours care to increase his force, and that *Anthony de Lens* was resolved to passe into Aulian, to cut off his victuals behinde, he sent *Montpelat* with two hundred men at Armes, foure thousand French foot, and eight hundred Italians, to seize vpon Fossan, Vignon, Saulian, Cony, Mont-deuis and other townes thereabouts: And to provide for the fortification of Turin, he sent *Stephen Gahane* with a hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foot. From words in the end, they fall to blowes. The Emperour hitherto fed vs with good words, as he discouers himselfe, and to make an open declaration of warre, he makes three armies to assaile at one instant, the Provinces of Picardie, Prouence and Champagne. To proesse him, the King dispatcheth foureteen, or fifteene thousand of his best men which he had in Piedmont, to fortifie those places which he held beyond the Alpes, and calls backe his Admirall, to the end hee might lay all the blame of this invasion vpon the Emperour. Considering moreover, that the Admirall (hauing placed his garisons) had bene to make in field, hee sent Commissions, with great summes of money to *Charles* of Bourbons, Duke of Vendome; Gouernour of Picardie; Grandfather to the most Christian and victorious King last deceased, and to *Claude* of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, Gouernour of Champagne; Brother-in-law to the said Duke, to leauy sixteene thousand aduenturers, to diuide them into frontier townes, and to provide for the victualing and fortifications thereof. At Marills hee placed *Anthony* of Rochefaucault, Lord of Barbezient. In Dauphine, *John* Lord of Humieres. In Gonne,

The Kings  
preparation  
for the warre.

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A *canne*, *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, for his Lieutenants and Gouernours in the said Prouinces. And himselfe (resolute to oppose against the enemy some fortified places vpon the frontier, to make him to consume time, men, munition, victuals and money in the siege and battery thereof) assembled the rest of his forces neere to his owne person. The Admirall retiring out of Piedmont, left *Claude* Lord of Annebault to command within Turin, as the Kings Lieutenant, with an hundred men at armes, and three hundred light-horse, led by the Lords of Auffin, *Termes* and *Effe* foure thousand five hundred foot, vnder the Ensignes of the Lords of Auchy, Cony, Sile, Quincy, Lartigue-Dieu, Blanche & Anguar, and two thousand Italians, vnder the charge of *Marke Anthony* of Cufan, of all which footmen, *Charles* of Coucis, Lord of Bury was head and Colonell generall, and the rest of the Army *Francis* Marquis of Salusses commanded.

This was to giue the purse to keepe to the veriest thiefe, but his trechery was yet couered with a great shew of hypocritie. He had long determined to reuolt. Feare and hope moued him thereto, feare, to lose his estate; hope, to be fauoured by the Emperour, in the cause he pretended to the Marquisate of Montferrat. Moreover, he was a man curious to know what was to come, and did superstitiously beleue Soothsayers, who had foretold him, that the Emperour should this yeare dispossesse the King of his Realme. The first act of his treason appeared in this, that the enemy being neere, and strong, he said hee had neither order nor means to fortifie any place in time, or to make it tenable, but that of Turin, and that to put in more men then those that were, were to lose them wilfully. The second was, when as the Lords of Montpelat, Roche du Maine, Villebon, the Knight of Ambres, Saint Aubin, the Earle of Pontremie, and other Captaines, were resolved to attend the enemy in some place of importance, before hee came to Turin, and had concluded to put themselves into Fossan, after they had receiued commandement to hold Fossan, or Cony onely for fifteene dayes, to keepe the Imperials occupied; he discouered this designe to *Anthony de Lens*, aduising him to come thither with speed, promising to deliuer into his hands both the towne and men that were in it: and in stead of sending to Fossan the meale, a Culuerin, three Cannons, powder and bullets, which he had drawne out of Cony, he conveyed thither but one Cannon, a Culuerin, five barrels of powder, and some bullets, but of another size, he put all the rest into his house at Raul, and retired the night following.

Treacheries of  
the Marquis of  
Salusses.

A horrible treason: he had bene brought vp with the King from his infancy, well maintained during the life of the Marquis *Michael Anthony* his brother, and honoured with the Order of Saint *Michael*. And which is more, his Marquisate hauing bene adjudged vnto the King for the treason and rebellion of *John Lewis*, the eldest of the House after the decease of *Michael*, the King had not onely inuested him, but also giuen him freely out of the conquest of Sauoy, to the number of sixteene townes, the flower of Piedmont, amounting to more in reuennage then the Marquisate, amongst the which, Saulian, Cony, Fossan, Caualimont, Mont-Deuis, and others, which he pretended to be ancient appurtenances of the said Marquisate.

According to the aduice of *Francis* of Salusses, *Anthony de Lens*, leauing at Turin (which he had beleaguered) ten thousand men, to continue the siege, came and camped before Fossan the twelfth day of Iune: makes his approaches, begins his trenches, many of the assailants lose their liues, few of the besieged. The third day, the Cannon plays, but slowly. The Marquis assured them, that, shewing themselves before one gate, the besieged would goe forth at another: they goe forth indeed, but not like men that fled. The Baron of Castelles, Lieutenant to Montpelat, led the host, with the foot. The Imperial Lanquens were lodged somewhat farre from blowes, and therefore their guards were but weak. *Warri* doth charge them, and at the first gives them a great cheeke; *Castelles* issues, and re-enforceth the alarme. *Anthony de Lens* sends a good number of Spaniards to cut off outmen in their retreat, and they whom hee had appointed to guard the trenches, seeing every one runne to the alarme, would likewise haue their share in it. *Saint Pierre Corse* appointed with *Villebon* to guard the Bastion newly begun, within the towne, perceiving the trenches vnfortified, issue forth with some Champagnols, and Normans, his suite and twenty or thirty men, and put the rest to flight. *Anthony de Lens* sends the rest of his men which remained, to second them, and himselfe being eld and full of the gout, is carried forth of his lodging to see himselfe, they follow him, but those which carried

Fossan besieged

A gallant fall;

Anthony de  
Lens forced to  
flye out of his  
Campa



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caried him, set him in the corne, where the height of the cares couered him from such as A sought him.

It is a rashnesse, yea in the greatest Capitaines, to contemne an enemy. *Anthony de Leua* building vpon the hope which the Marquis had giuen them, left the besieged a gate free, thinking they would retire to Cony. But this was a refreshing vnto them, for of fewen Wels which they had in the towne, five were dried vp in two daies. *Anthony* therefore perswaded, that the besieged attended some more honest excuse and colour for their retreat, he plants foure Cannons in battery, and makes a breach for twenty men in front. Folsa had no ditches, so as the Imperials might more easily assaile, then the French could defend the wals. But *Anthony* would referre his Spaniards for some better enterprise: they were old Souldiers, and the whole hope of his army. The Italians would not march vntil they were paid: and the Germanes (who held themselves of no lesse reputation then the Spaniards) would not hazard themselves alone. So the breach continued twelue dayes in this sort, giuing them leisure to repaire it, and to make a trench within, and a rampier well flanked.

The time the King had appointed, was now expired: they had no wine nor meale, but some corne, and no mils, and the Marquis had maliciously sent away the workmen they had to make any. Moreouer, the King commanded them not to hold it so long, as very necessity should force them to accept a dishonorable composition. But it was a point of honor for the one to demand, and for the other to giue a composition. In the end, the griefe which *Anthony de Leua* conceiued, to spend the time before a paltry hens-tooth, which might haue bene better employed, and the great desire, those within the towne had to doe the King good seruice in affaires of better importance, made them to enter into capitulation: whereby at the end of the month they departed with their armes and Ensignes dispaied, leauing nothing in the towne but the artillery, munition, and their great horses, which were about fixtenc handfulls and foure fingers high, except twelue, at the choice of the Capitaines, and came to refresh and to horse themselves anew at Marcellis, honored by the King with three monthes pay, besides that which was due. But theemie had small profit by their horses, for they had filled them before with new corne, so as when they came to water them, most of them burst with drinking.

Let vs here obserue some other Spanish brags, but boldly encountered by a French liberty of speech. Eight dayes after the capitulation was signed, the Emperour came to visit *Anthony de Leua's* campe, accompanied with the Dukes of Sauoy, Alua, Bawaria and Brunsuicke, the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan, the Marquis of Guast, and many others: hee caused his army to be put in battell, and finds it goodly and pleasing to his mind: hee calls *Roche du Maine*, *la Palisse* (the onely sonne of the Marshall of Chabannes deceased) and *Asier* (the onely sonne of the master of the Kings horse) who remained for hostages of the composition: hee embraceth *la Roche* courteously, whom hee had heard reputed to be a gallant Gentleman, causeth him to couer his head, by reason of the heat of the Sunne: and sayes, That to doe him a pleasure, hee will shew him his army. *My Lord* (answered *la Roche*) *to shew me your goodly army, as you esteeme it, were contrary to all content. I should be better pleased to see it poore, and ruined: vntil the King my master and you would agree together, and not bring two such goodly armies to fight, as yours, and that which the King will shortly oppose against you, to the prejudice of all Christendome. If you were both well advised, you would agree, and hold both the Turke and all others in subiection. But to thinke to ouerthrow one another, were a meere folly. And if the first army the King shall oppose against you, should chance to be vanquished (which God forbid) hee will within fixtenc dayes raise another, yea and as need, would shew you as many Gentlemen in foote, as you haue men here of all sorts.* Whereupon the Emperour said, *I am not ignorant of the Kings forces; so are mine well knowne vnto him. As for an accord, I will neuer stop mine eares against that motion, so as it might be made as it ought.* This being spoken, hee commanded the Marquis of Guast to conduct them about the army, and to dine with the Princes of Germany: that after dinner hee would see them againe. After dinner the Emperour said, *How thinke you of mine army? I finde it very faire* (answered *la Roche*) *it is to pay you employ it not in some other designe.* The Emperour replied, *Where thinke you I will employ it?* *la Roche* answered, *Into Prouence.* The Emperour said, *The Prouencals are my subiects:* (he did commonly peruse the Mappe of Prouence, and had already deuoured this Prouince in imaginations; but hee shall finde the situation

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ation stronger then in his mappe, and men of firmer mettall then paper) *la Roche* answered: *You shall find very rebellious and disobedient subiects.* The Emperour replied, *How many dayes iourney is it from hence to Paris.* *la Roche* answered, *If you meane battels, at the least a dozen, if the invader* (meaning the Emperour) *haue not his head broken at the first.* The Emperour smiled, admiring his wit: and some one of the assistants (who knew *Tercelion* well) said, *I told you before, my Liege, hee could speake well if hee list.* Then the Emperour taking the word, gaue him assurance that he would giue eare to any proposition of peace, so as it might be worthily treated of.

And in truth hee doth reuiue it, but this was to haue speedier meanes to send newes to the Earle of Nassau, and to receiue intelligence from him, that both his army, and that which the Earle led vpon the marches of Picardy, might at one instant inuade the frontiers of the Realme. Moreouer, attending the yielding vp of Fossin, hee made at Saullian, Mont-Deuis, Cony and Tende, great provision of biscuit, and beasts of burthen to follow the Campe with this biscuit, and other victuals to supply the waste which hee did foresee. Some, and the greatest number, counselled him to pursue the recovery of the Country, which the King had wonne from the Duke of Sauoy, by means whereof he might plant a strong barre against the French forces, and first to fertile a sure peace beyond the Alpes, before hee came to make warre in France. Other men clawed him where it did itch, and by a more pleasing then wholsome counsell, perswaded him to take his way to Prouence.

The Earledome pleased him greatly, gaping wonderfully after it, for the commodity of his passage vpon the Mediterranean sea, hoping that as Italy should take breath and new courage after the ruines and desolations wherewith it hath bene continually shaken these thirty yeares, the spoiles and ruine which hee should draw after him, chasing, destroying, amazing and making desolate the people of France, Paris in the end, and the Crowne of France should be the prize and recompence of his victories. But he reckoned without his holts, *Marcellis* in stead of making his entry into the Realme, shall shamefully make him retire into Castile.

Many inticements drew him into France. We haue had (said hee) almost for these twenty yeares a continual victory against the enemy. The Duchy of Milan which we now possess, is a certain testimony of our triumphs: we haue reason to retaine the same resolution in this warre, and the same hope which Conquerors ought to haue: and leaue vnto the French, terror, and despaire, which commonly doth accompany the vanquished. We are superiors in number, men of better constitution, more practised in the art of Warre, and leauing some part of our forces on this side the mountaines, we haue sufficient remaining to encounter the enemies power. But that which will giue vs the victory, we march against one that hath broken his faith (the iudicious Reader may consider which of these two Princes had most right, whether the Emperour, taking vpon him the protection of the D. of Sauoy, or the King, seeking his right by force of armes, which hee could not obtaine by reason from his Vncle.) Doubt not but we haue God for vs, he is a iust Iudge, and a rigorous reuenger of the breach of faith. Moreouer, let vs not feare that the French King can fortifie himselfe on this side the Alpes: hee will prepare all his forces against this army, but I haue another ready to inuade Picardy: and besides, the Emperour prepares one in my Kingdomes of Spaine, which shall come by Languedoc to ioyne with me. I leaue another to assaile Champaigne and Bourgonie in the hottest of these warres, the which shall performe as much for my seruice as the rest. Having so great preparatiues, and in so many places, and the King so surpris'd as hee cannot in time assemble sufficient forces to encounter so many armies, it is impossible but on some one side, wee should make a passage by force, euen into the heart of his Realme. We haue good intelligences, and manage great practices. This spake the Emperour. But, *Doest thou know the decrees of Heauen?* (saith the Eternal, reprehending man) *And wilt thou dispose of the government thereof vpon earth?* What were these great practices and secret intelligences, which the Emperour wanted to haue in France? A politike Commander doth commonly vse this kind of speech, to giue courage to his men, and breed ielousie and distrust in his enemy against his subiects. Hee had some secret practices vpon the towne of Langres (but the inhabitants were too faithful to their King, and since in these latter dayes haue giuen sufficient testimony of their obedience to the Crowne) some held that the Marquis of Salusses had partakers of his treachery,

The Emperours  
conceit of his  
passage into  
France.

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The death of  
Francis the  
Dauphin  
poisoned.

chery, and *William Duke of Bavaria* said openly, that many in France, holding the same A party, would discover themselves at need.

But whatsoever it were, that which gave a more lively impression : *Francis* Dauphin of Viennois, the Kings eldest sonne, whom his Maiefty (going from Lions to see his army, which he meant to oppose against the Emperor) had left sick at Tournon, dies the fourth day of his sicknesse, being about twenty years old, bred up by his father in singular expectation of all the world, to prove in time a great and most excellent Prince. And *Sebastian* Earle of Monte-cucullo, found guilty of poyson, and for that cause was drawne in pieces with four horses within Lions, had by his confession declared, that the Emperor had once enquired, if he knew the order and manner of the Kings eating and drinking. An attempt so wicked, as it is scarce credible, that so wretched and damnable a treason should enter into the heart of so generous a Prince. Notwithstanding, when *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua presented the laid *Sebastian* to the Emperor, saying, that he was ready to execute that which he had promised vnto him, and to *Anthony de Lena* : if the designe extended vpon any places of the French obedience, why did hee informe himselfe of the Kings eating and drinking ? Besides, during these practices, why did *Don Lopes* of Sora, Ambassador for the Emperour at Venice, enquire who should reigne in France, and against whom the Emperour should pursue these warres, in case the King and his children should die : if hee had not beene acquainted with some fatal practice against the sayd Princes.

Thus the Emperor, resolute to passe against the opinion of the clearest sighted (as hee afterwards confessed vnto the King with his owne mouth : who hauing till then seemed to follow counsell, did now rashly follow his owne head) and now by diuers and many expeditions, of diuision of places, offices, Captainships, governments, gifts of townes and castles, decouring (by presumption) the goods of the Kings subiects and seruants, he leste ten thousand men to continue the siege of Turin, and for the affaires of Piedmont he diuided his army into three troops, for the greater commoditie of the passage, and appointed their rendezvous at Nice, and thereabouts. In the first, were the men at armes, with the Lanquenets of the Lord of Thamiis, conducting the artillery and the baggage, who tooke their way by the riuer of Genoua. In the second, *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua, D General of the light-horse, and with them some Neapolitane men at armes, the Lords of Iellstheim, Dietric, Spech, Wolfe, *Dietric* of Kuttringhem, Colonels of the Reistres : then the Marquis of Guast, with the Spaniards and Emperours household : and at their tayle *Anthony de Lena*, with the Lanquenets of *Marc Ebenstheim* : after whom marched the Emperor in the midst of a troop of Spaniards, followed by the Lanquenets of *Gasser* of Fronsberg, taking the direct way from Fossan to Nice. In the third, were the Italians, which tooke their way by Cony.

The Kings order  
against the  
Emperour.

On the other side, the King made his necessary provisions at Lions, and providing for all parts where the enemy might enter, he sent *Claude* of Saouy Earle, of Tende, and the Lord of Bonneuil, his Lieutenants generall in that army, to ioyne with *William* Earle of E Furstemberg Colonell of his Lanquenets, and other Capitaines placed towards Cisteron, vpon the passages of Roque-paruier, Terreneue, and other approaches, to spoile the corne, either standing, or in the barnes : to draw all that might be into strong places : to beat downe all ouens and mills which might any way helpe the enemy, to burne the horsemen, to heat out the heads of their wine-vessels, if they did not speedily retire them, and to cast corne into their wells, to corrupt the waters. All the people, both great and small, were so wonderfully affected to the publike good, as euery man forgot the griefe of his priuate losse.

The Lords of Mus, Caldes, Carles, and many others, pricke them forward by their example, themselves setting fire on their corne, barnes, and mills, and causing good fellows to drinke their wine. And for that the King had not yett all his forces vntured, to present himselfe with honor and reason in person before the Imperials, his Maiefty appointed the Lord of Montmorency, at that time Lord Steward and Marshall of France, his Lieutenant Generall as well on this side as beyond the Alpes, to seize vpon Auignon. But for that the King would consult with him more at large of these great affaires, he sent *Robert Steward* Lord of Aubigny Marshall of France, to that end, with eight thousand Swisses, who kept the enemy from the sayd towne.

Mont-

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Air abandoned

A *Montmorency* hauing in Auignon imparted to the Marshall D' Aubigny and other commanders, the means which seemed most conuenient for the managing of this warre, he came to Aix, viewed the situation of the place, and finding it hard to fortifie, by reason of certain little hills neere at hand, which looking into the towne, might serue as a Cauallier or Mount for the enemy to plant his Ordnance on, hee caused all that might be, to be transported, razed the portals, and such defence as it had, and abandoned it, leauing it empty and vnprofitable for the enemy.

The Emperor was now in the plaine of Cannes, and the next day *Don Fernand Gonzagua*, who led the fore-ward, should aduance with eightene hundred horse and six thousand Lanquenets (whereof the master of the campe marched sometimes three or foure leagues before the whole army) *Montian*, a hardy and aduenturous Knight, seeking opportunity in the beginning of this warre to doe the King some notable seruice, resolved to see if he could surpriseth this master of the Camp. *Boisy* no lesse couetous of glory, would be his companion in this enterprife, they part with about eight score horse, and three hundred foot, and encounter *Don Ferdinand* with his horse-men, who came to take lodging for the fore-ward in the towne of Luc, on this side the riuer of Argence, and gaue him an alarme : but vnable to fight with so great a troop, they found the retreat, and all tired come about the shutting of the euening to Brignoles.

*Don Ferdinand*, aduertised by them that went and came, of the small number of our men, takes a troop of choicest men, marcheth speedily after them, and causeth all the rest of his forces to follow : he passeth on the one side of Brignoles, and layes a great ambush where our men should passe the next day, and doth compasseth them in betwixt his troop and the ambush : at the breake of day hee chargeth into the village, and seekes to force some barricados which the Capitaines had made to stay them, whilst they arme and goe to horse-backe, they kill some at the first, and lose about forty. *Montian* and *Boisy* take the field, they place Capitaine *Warris* with his footmen on the wings of their horse-men, marching close couered with their shot to get to Aix; maintaining still the shocke of the enemy, they kill and hurt many in the narrow wayes, whereas the enemy could not stretch forth his troops. But thrust into the open champaign, assisted by their whole force, charged by the ambush vpon one of their flanks, the Lanquenets approaching, this present supply giues courage to the enemy, and the perill without hope of succour, makes the French to faint : they all giue way, all are ouerthrowne, and of all this troop but three men at armes escaped, but were slaine or taken. *Montian*, *Boisy*, the other Capitaines, and many Gentlemen which had followed them (desirous to make proofe of their persons) are taken prisoners. There were slaine of the enemies (besides the wounded) six score men, and two hundred horse : but the number prevailed about valour.

The defeat and  
taking of  
Montian and  
Boisy.

The Emperor hearing of this victory, did not forget to make a triumph, publishing it throughout all the world, as if he had defeated all the Kings fore-ward. Without doubt this lightness allowed by *Montmorency*, at the importunate request of the vnderaker, purchased to the enemy, those which were doubtfull and vncertaine, what party they should take, confirmed his adherents, and stucke fast into them that were contrary. This first encounter might giue courage to the Imperials to seeke the Constable in Auignon, yet he sees no reason to hazard a battell in open field, before he had sufficient forces to encounter so great a power. To put himselfe into Auignon, were to hazard himselfe in a Towne not defensible, and hardly to bee fortified so speedily as necessity required.

Marfeilles was the onely frontier towne, sufficiently furnished with all things necessary to endure an Imperiall siege : but to leave all the rest of the way open to the enemy, had bene to giue him means to fortifie on either side of the Riuer of Roine at his pleasure, and to draw vpon him (without resistance) a flourishing and glorious army. It was therefore better to let the Emperour know, that for an vnfortunate encounter they had neither lost courage nor hope : with this designe *Montmorency* lodgeth his men in field, and chooseth the place for his campe, betwixt the Riuer of Roine and Durance, the one did furnish his army with victuals and other commodities : the other serued a Rampier and barre against the enemies approach. And to cut off all means and liberty to runne to forage, to learne newes of the French Campe, and to found the passage of the Riuer at his pleasure, without contradiction, he placed garisons in all townes and places, to bee held on

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on the other side of the water. The King on the other side was at Valence, where like the Master of a ship commanding from the helme to the prow, he sent daily new forces to the Constable, fortified the towne, and assembled such a power, as if any mischance had ruined this first army, the Emperor had had the King presently ready to giue him a second battell.

Lets vs now change our climate, and make an escape into Picardy. Henry Earle of Nassau, and Adrian of Croy, Earle of Reux, Lord Steward of the Emperours house, being entered into Picardy, did at the same instant, spoile all places in their passage which were of weak resistance, but besides the taking of Bray vpon Somme, they did no great exploits, for being repulled from before Saint Riquier, they lost some of their Artillery, and a great number of their men for a sleight enterprise. Charles Duke of Vendosme, with three hundred men at armes, and six thousand foot, hauing forced them to re-passe the water, reuenged the wrong they had done vpon the frontier, hee tooke and spoiled some small townes, castles and villages vpon the marches. But seeing the enemy fortified with two thousand men, to which he hoped to surpris at Marolles, an open towne, hee re-passe the water, not to hazard his forces rashly, attending the coming of Claude D. of Guise his brother in law. Amongst other places vpon the frontier not defensible, he had appointed to abandon Guise.

The Earle of Nassau in Picardy.

The Earle aduertised by his spies, of the haste they made to cary away their moueables and victuals, to drine away their cattell, and that the garison of the castle, carefull to free the towne, and to beat downe the defences which might any way accomodate the enemy, did negligently guard the approaches, hee marcheth thither with speed, surpriseth them in disorder, and kills some before they could recouer any place of safety, hee summons the Castle: some preferring life before honor, cast themselves ouer the wals into the ditch: the rest amazed, yeeld the place at the enemies discretion. A basenesse vnworthy of Nobility, so as those which were found to bee Gentlemen, were degraded, and both they and their posterity declared Peasants, and subiect to taxes.

Guise being sackt, and all the Country about burnt, the Earle carying away a booty of men, cattell and goods, marched against Saint Quintin. But being aduertised of the good order the Duke had set for the guard and defence of the towne, he turned suddenly, and tooke the way of Peronne. It is strong by nature and situation, but at that time not well fortified, nor sufficiently manned to withstand so great a power. He therefore passeth the river of Somme about Aplincourt, abandoned as not defensible, and spoiling, burning, and making the whole Country desolate, hee comes before Peronne about the middell of August. The Lord of Serai, Colonel of the Legion of Picardy, puts himselfe into it with a thousand men, and the Marshall of La Marke with a hundred men at armes. Misfortune is good for something. The darkness of the smoake which the fire of the forges and villages burnt by the enemy, had caused, couered the passage of our men, in view of the Imperials. In the meane time the Dukes of Vendosme and Guise, leauing new bands in Picardy and Champagne, to ioyne with the Lanquenets which Nicholas of Rustich did bring. Lets vs leaue Count Nassau assailing, and the defendants valiantly encountering his attempts, vntill that the Emperor after his first disgrace received before Marcellis, shall bee blemished with a second at Peronne, in the persons of the Earles of Nassau and Reux, and let vs see what hapned in Piedmont after the yeelding of Fossan.

Warre in Piedmont.

The troops which Guy Earle of Rangon, Caesar Fregese his brother in law, Cagnin Gonzaga, and other Italian Captaines, Pensioners to the King, had leaued, were broken, by reason of the last hope and practice of peace, cunningly giuen out by the Emperor. Now they renew them by a new Commission from the King, so to crosse the Imperials in Italy, as he might thereby diuert the great forces they had in France. Rangon Lieutenant for the King in this army, leaued two thousand men, Cagnin as many, Caesar Fregese the like number, and two hundred light-horse: the Lords of Paluolin a Vicount of Milan, Peter Stroff a Florentine, Balisazar called the Cheuallier d'Azala a Ferrarois, either of them a thousand men. Beringer of Caldore, a Neapolitane, Earle of Monte de Rife, and John of Turin, a Florentine, euery one five hundred; Auerol of Bressan foure hundred; Bandin of Tuscan, foure hundred, and two hundred light-horse, and the Lord of Tais (a Frenchman borne, but sent into Italy, to recieue the Earle of Miranda into his Maisties service) two hundred light-horse. An armie of great hope, whose exploits wee shall soone see.

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A Annebault and Bary, being straitly besieged in Turin, performed the parts of good and vigilant Capitaines, and well practised in matters of war, preventing both the enemy and the citizens newly reduced to the Kings obedience, from daring to attempt any thing against them; and by their daily sallies, bringing prisoners, and store of cattell, returned victors within the circuit of their wals. Maramas had gathered together within Curia all the vorne and virtuous hee could get thereabouts, Annebault aduertised thereof by his espials, sent Esle with seventy horse, and Anchy and Cay leading either of them five hundred foot: who passing towards the evening, came to the wals side before they were discouraged, they plant their ladders, surpris the town, put all to the sword that made resistance, load their beards of burthen with victuals and booty, and retire to Turin without any encounter. This happy victory brought vnto the besieged the conquests of Rinolles, Veilane and Saint Ambrois. The garison thus reueued, aspires to greater enterprises. The Emperor had left in Saullian fixtene pieces of artillery, with all their prouision of bullets, powder, and other necessaries, and a good supply of armes. The garison which hee had placed there, foraging without their feare in the villages about, gaue them hope to defeat them; and to surpris the towne. Marc Anthony of Cusan, Capitaine of two thousand Italians, commanded the execution of this stratagem, with his troops: they giue him for Companion Chambray Lieutenant of Annebaults company, with three score choice horse. But they lose an ox, to take an egge: vpon the way they are aduertised by their scouts, that certaine free-booters of the enemies, laden with a great spoile, were presently retired into a castle adioyning.

A braue and happy exploit.

Enterprise vpon Saullian.

They turne head, and take the castle by assault, and sack it, it may bee more greedily then wisely. For whilst they are busie at the spoile, the alarme is giuen in the country, and some troops enter speedily into Saullian, draw the bridges, rampier vp the gates, and man the wals and the defences. The towne being furnished, the suburbs remaine in spoile, they beat in pieces two great Cannons, they cary away all the armes, and make booty of all they find good. In the meane time James of Scalenghe approached with about foure thousand men, as well of his owne troops, as of peasants gathered together. Our men making a vertue of necessity, troop together, and goe closely to field, charge the enemy running hastily to surpris them, being dispersed in the streets, and buile at the spoile: they make them turne their backs, kill about three hundred, hurt many more: and of nine Ensignes winne seuen, the horsemen flying pulled away the other two from them that caried them, seeking to save them. In the end, Iohn Iagues of Medicis, Marquis of Marignan, came to succour them with two thousand Lanquenets, being called by Scalenghe, our men hauing their bodies tyred with trauell, and their armes with striking, resolute to retire, and send to Annebault for succours. Alegre, an aduenturous and wise Capitaine, brings them two hundred horse, who arising when as our men were in danger to be defeated, entering amongst the enemies, killing and chasing, gaue their companies (halfe tired) leisure to take breath: and through the fauour of twelve hundred foot, which followed Alegres troope, retire with their booty and baggage safely into Turin. A shot which Cusan receiued in the head, caused him to remaine at Pignerol, where soone after he died: leauing a happy memory of his valour, and a great griefe to his friends for the losse of his person.

The Imperials defeated.

The Emperor approached now to Aix, hauing receiued some losse by the way, not so great as troublefome, in regard of the quality of the persons. The peasants and mountaineers, lying in ambush in the straights and narrow passages along the Alpes, and issuing forth suddenly, sometimes vpon the scouts, sometimes vpon the reere-ward, stayed them euery two hundred paces, to defend themselves: hauing no meanes to offend this swarme of men, who being charged, vanished by crooked and unknowne wayes. Fiftie men of the Country, resolute for all euents, had shut themselves in a fort, called our Ladies Tower, with an intent to shoot at the Emperor in the passage, and all of them at one instant to discharge their harguebuzes. But they take Mariha for Mary: they kill a Nobleman with a rich coat of armes, and followed by a troop of men which did him great honour. The Emperour brings the Cannon, batters the Tower, and forceth them to yeeld at his pleasure: and to purge the offence they had made, sends them all to be hanged.

Moreover, being aduertised that a great number of peasants, women, children, and cattell,

cartell, were hidden in a piece of ground enuironed with wood on the side of a mountain. A he caused the wood to be fired in many places, so as all were miserably burnt or flaine. A stratagem which did so incense the people against the Emperor, as neuer any one of his men fell into their hands, but he made trial of a most tragick and cruell death. These first fruits might induce the Emperor to draw a consequence from the lesse to the greater, in comparison of these people vnacquainted with armes, with those whom nature and exercise had instructed, and to make him know, that it was no small enterprife to assaile a King of France at his doore. But this troubled his mind: He thought in the beginning of this war to haue so disgraced the King with the Germans and Swissers, as he should draw no men from them. Notwithstanding, aduertised that besides the eight thousand Swissers leauied by Lewis of Anguerland, Lord of Boiffigault, Stephen d'Aigne Lord of Beaumais, and William Lord of Velay, Gentlemen of the Kings house, had made a leauy of the like number, all which had in a manner ioyned with the Marshall of Montmorancy, who had now about thirty thousand men in his campe: he is now much grieved in his heart, what hauing in the former warres wonne so many happy victories, vnder the command of his Captaines, how marching in person with so strong and mighty an army, after that hee had proclaimed his triumphs throughour the world, hee should performe no honourable exploit of warre. Therefore the fiftenth of August hee makes choice of three thousand Spaniards, foure thousand Italians, and fise thousand Lanquenets, and takes in his company the Duke of Alua a Spaniard, *Alphonse d'Auolos*, the Marquis of Guast, and *Dn Fernand Gonsague* Italians, and the Count *Horne* a Germane, followed with all the flower of his horsemen, and aduanceth neere to Marseilles: hee goes himselfe in person to view the towne, being covered with the ruines of a house lately beaten downe, and puts forth the Marquis to make a conuenient place for the planting of his Artillery against the weakest part of the towne. This resolution had bene good, when as the Kings forces were not yet vnited, and his subiects terrified by the sudden and vnexpected enuy off so mighty an enemy. The Centinell vpon the rampiers discovered the Marquis: they send forth men to compass him in behind, if there were no more then those which appeared with him. He retires towards the place from whence hee parted, and by his retreat they discover a greater number of men, behind that ruined house. They set vpon them that issued forth, and some Cannon shot scatter the stones, kill some and hurt others.

This first amazement carried the Emperor to his Campe, after that he had appointed the Duke of Alua and the Count *Horne*, to stay about Marseilles: and the Marquis of Guast with twelve hundred horse, and six Ensignes of foot to goe and view Arles: that if they found it not able to be taken by assault, he would come thither with all his forces. In the meane time, lest the first that sallied forth should fall into some ambush, they send other fresh men in fregats and boats armed, who going along the shore, get about the place where they had seene the glistering of their armes: who landing take a compasses among the myrtles and other bushes which grow in that Country. The Duke discovers them, and to busie them, sends certaine horses to draw the whole troop which followed vpon them. Our men had the like designe, and when as the enemies whole strength appears, they seeme amazed, retire without order, and draw them that pursued towards an open plaine, commanded by the Cannon, then turning their backs they saue them: selues among the bushes. The Cannon playes, and passing through the Imperials, makes heads, legges, and armes, to flye into the ayre so pitifully mangled, as the cries of them that died, the terror of them that fled, and the amazement of them that were found, turnes them all into a hasty flight, and the souldiers hidden in the bushes, make a furious fall vpon them that fled: the Duke gathereth againe his men farre from the shore into a valley covered with Rocks and Hills, and hauing viewed them, he found his number greatly diminished, amongst others, those of the Count *Horne*, and of another Germane Captaine his neere kinsman. The Marquis of Guast had already discovered, that they had taken downe a little hill which did ouer-look the towne of Arles, vpon the which a few pieces of artillery being planted, would haue held the towne in great subiection. Arles is seated vpon Rofne, at the point where it parts in two, and runnes with two mouthes into the sea: making an Iland, which they call Camarola. *Iohn Carraciola* a Neapolitane, Prince of Melphe commanded there, as the Kings Lieutenant with a thousand foot Gasccons, of the troops of *Iohn de Foix*, Batle of Carmaine: a thousand Champanois vnder

Marseilles surprised by the Emperor in imagination.

A the command of *Iohn de Foix* Lord of Lour, two thousand others vnder the Ensignes of the Lords of Mailerof, Dauphiné, *la Garde*, a Bourbonnois, *du Palais* of the County of Foix, and the Baron of Rixou of Languedoc, to the very one hundred; and *Bidenak* about an hundred and thirty men at armes. As the Marquis lying in ambush behind certaine wind-mills, viewed the weakest parts of the towne, being discovered, *Arles* of Ancienaille Lord of Willers, Commisary of the artillery, plants two pieces of artillery directly against these mills, so as if the Marquis, seeing them give fire, had not slipped aside, he had there ended his dayes. So the Marquis (frustrate of his hope) either to surprize or to force the towne of Arles) took his way to Marseilles.

B Marseilles was besieged by the D. of Alua, more in shew then with any hope to force it, and onely with an expectation to draw the besieged to some rash fall, or to haue the Kings army to come and succour them, and then to fight with them with an aduantage. With this designe, the Emperor lay so neere, as at the first dislodging of the French campe he might easily preuent them, and ioine with his forces. But those within the towne had good and wise Commanders, who suffered not their men to flie forth, but to good purpose, and alwayes to the enemies losse. As for removing of the campe, *the morning* would not hazard the estate, nor the forces of the King his master. he hopes by the exit of his enemies armie to preserve his owne: and according to the aduertisements hee had of the Imperials designs, he restrained or gave liberty for the execution of his Countels and commandements. The surpris of Brignoles had made him more wary: yet not so daunt the courage of his men, he continually studied of reuenge, vexing the Imperials with daily alarms, incounters, and charges, and all without any losse or preiudice.

The King being aduertised of the approaches which the Emperor had made to Marseilles, *Henry* the new Dauphin and Duke of Britany desirous to make proofe of his person in so iust and honourable a warre, and against so worthy an enemy, obtains (by his instant sue, and the intercession of such as might preuaile much with his Maiesty) leave to goe to the Campe. Not so command presently (said the King) but to learne to command hereafter, and vnder the Lord Steward (as another *Elanor* vnder a *Henrie*) to passe his apprenticeship in the art of warre. His coming made the youth to cry for battell; whensoever they went to consult, whether it were more expedient to approach neere their enemy, or to prolong the warre by temporizing and delays: and many which till now had followed the last opinion, were caried away to the contrary. Many considerations moued them, the Kings forces able to encounter the Emperors, the presence of a young Prince, burning with desire to try himselfe in the warre, the dishonor (as they said) in suffering the towne of Marseilles to be besieged, the meanes they had to defeat their enemies, before the Emperor could bring all his forces to succour them, who for want of victuals were constrained to lye dispersed.

But the Lord Steward, and the wisest heads, found it fatter more safe to win the victory without striking stroke, cutting off the enemies victuals as they had done before. Marseilles was well fortified, furnished with all necessary munition, manned with valiant Captaines, and men of resolution. Contrariwise, famine and pestilence, which did much afflict and daily increase in the Emperors Campe, would soone ruine his forces. It was now neere at hand: The Peasants had lately cryed away, flaine and hurt all the beasts which carried the basket that was made at Toulon, and continuing to molest them by these affronts, they brought the Imperiall army into wonderfull wants and necessity. Moreover, the daily checkes which the French men at armes gaue vnto the enemy, made the Emperor thinke of his retreat. It was therefore a wise constancy and resolution of the Lord Steward, not to subiect the importance of this war to the discretion of a doubtfull hazard. There is no lesse honour to vanquish an enemy by counsell and gouernment, then by battell; and F to hazard himselfe to the chance of armes without necessity; it is an abusing of the blood and liues of men.

Hereupon newes comes to the King, that his army beyond the Alpes had brought most part of Piedmont vnder his obedience; and all the Marquisate of Salusses, except some castles. His Maiesty (vying his rights) might haue annexed this Marquisate vnto Dauphiné, whereon it depends as confiscate, by the rebellion and treachery of the Marquis *Francis*. But let vs heare an act of his natural clemency and bounty. *Iohn Lewis*, brother to the said *Francis*, was prisoner at Paris for the like rebellion. The King set him at liberty, he did

The Dauphin comes to the Campe.

Exploits in Piedmont.

The Emperours  
recreat.

inuest him in the Marquise, receiues his oath of fealty to him, and against all other men: *A* he caused money to be given him, to furnish him and his train, and then sends him to take possession. *Francis* within few weekes after came to Carniagnole: *John Lewis* receiues him into the Castle, and suffer himselfe to bee so carried away with sweet words, as he sweares by nothing; but by the confidence he had in his brother. *Francis*: *Francis* was farre more malicious and cunning: *John Lewis*, against the aduise of *Saint Julian* (a Gentleman Gascon bred up in the house of Salustis, whom the King had sent with *John Lewis* to observe the actions, and the going and coming of his new Marquis: being a simple and dull man) he suffers himselfe to be drawne out of Carniagnole, and to be led to the Castle of Valfemiere, where *Francis* detained him prisoner, and then seeks to recover the places of the Marquise. *Saint Julian* foreseeing the issue of this subtil stratagem, practised *Salvador d'Acuerres* by his persuasions, and receiued of him in the Kings name the strong Castle of Vrezeul, a beame in *Francis* his eye, which kept him frō being absolute Marquis. *Andrew Doria* coming then from Spaine, brought victuals and money to the Emperour, vpon whose arrival he made a Proclamation throughout the campe: That all men bearing armes, should be ready to muster (without doubt the great decay of his armie; the which from fifty thousand men that he had parting from Nice, he found decreased to fiftie and twenty at the most, did touch him to the quick) to receiue money, and prepare to depart vpon the day assigned, euery man to be furnished with eight or ten dayes victuals. This proclamation made the King suspect, that hee meant to come and assault his Campe, or to march after the D. of Alua to the siege of Marseilles. And seeing the Emperour was there in person, the King did hope to haue means in the midst of these great armies, to effect the contents of the challenge he had before sent to the Emperour by an Herald, as we haue heard. But his Maiestie was not sooner come from Valence to his campe neere Anignon, as he was giving order to prepare to receiue or giue battell, newes comes vnto him, that the Emperour with all his Campe, is dislodged from Aix, leaving behinde him (besides the dead bodies which were infinite, the ayre being corrupted round about) a great multitude of sicke men, which could not follow the armie, neither on horsebacke nor on foot: and taking the rout of Spaine, hee left the towne of Aix spoiled with all the desolations which warre could bring forth, except fire, from which the Emperour did refuse it. Onely the Palace, and especially the Chamber of accompts, were abandoned to the fire, at the instance of the Duke of Sauoy, who would assist in person at the burning thereof, hoping (it may be) to abolish the memorie of the scildes, whereby it appeares, that Piedmont belongs to the Earledome of Prouence. But the Lord Steward had foreseeen this inconuenience, sending them to a strong place of his named *Baux*. The King gaue money to repaire the losses. Amongst his chiefe champions, the Emperour lost *Anthony de Leua*, *Mark Buxheim*, another Captaine of Lanquequiers his kinsman, the Count *Horne*, *Baptista Castaldi*, and many other men of accompt. But vs apply here that holy Oracle, speaking of *Senacherib* King of the Assyrians: *Thy bragging hath come vnto mine cares; I will put my ring into thy nostrils, and my bit into thy mouth, and will make thee returne the way thou camst.* And, *Thus said the Eternal touching the King of the Assyrians: hee shall not enter into his Citie, neither shall hee shoot an arrow therein, hee shall not possess himselfe before it with a shield, nor cast, &c.* Behold the Earle of Prouence in imagination, who had lately threatened the Prouinces of this Realme with fire and sword, and swallowed vpon the Crowne thereof by presumption, assurance and confounded in his retreat, hauing lost halfe of his troopes, turmoiled by the peasants, who turning the armes of his field men, and of those that were dead, seize vpon the passages and streights, beat downe the bridges vpon the riuers, which were then very violent, charge them in front, in flanke, and behinde, and the light-horse-men led by the Earle of Tende, *Romuald*, *Langey*, and *John Paul de Cere* follow them so close, as they had no meanes to forrage, leaving the waies from Aix to Freius, couered with dead carcases, and men languishing, harnesse, lances, pikes, harguebuzes, and all other armes pell-trel on a biheap.

The King refused to march after them; and wherefoerer hee should ouertake them to giue them battaille, and so passe into Italy; where at that instant he had a mighty enemy in field. But he is diuerted from his designe by Letters from the Marshall of La-marke. Hee had no more meanes to hold Peronne long, the wals were beaten downe in many places, famine pressed the besieged, they wanted harguebuzers and powder. So the King could

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A some part of his men at armes to march speedily, and ten thousand French foot, recourse to follow after by great marches, to raise the siege, or to recover the towne before the enemy should fortifie; and furnish with victuals. God would preferre him from this toyle, and giue him leisure to take breath. The Imperials being alwayes repulled, with losse from many and sundry assaults, the myne wherein they had long laboured, prouing fruitlesse, (besides the death of *Philip* of Boulinuilliers, Earle of Dammartin, ouerwhelmed in the ruines thereof, in a countermyne he made to blow vpon the enemies myne, whose death was reuenged with the slaughter of three hundred Lanquequiers, and twenty of their men at armes, at the last assault giuen by the Tower that was vndermined) and the towne being relieved with five hundred foot, euery one carying tenne pounds of powder, entering by meanes of a generall alarme giuen by the Duke of Guise with two hundred horse, and all the Trumpets he could recouer, they dislodged in the night, about the middest of September, continuing their burning as they had begun.

France (by the grace of God) is now free from enemies. But nothing is perfectly happy. There are croffe newes which trouble the Court. The English Ambassadors that were neere the King, ill affected to his Maiestie and without doubt, no faithful seruants to their master, giue him intelligence, That the Emperour seeing that he could neither by spoile, or any other meanes, prouoke the King to battell, made shew of a retreat, to draw him to pursue him, and so to fight, or else retire to take a greater leape, and to invade Prouence. Suddenly, when as the French forces should be farthest off: That the Emperour himselfe (the better to colour his departure) gaue out that famine and mortality had diminished his forces of one third part, and the rest had runne the like danger, if he had not retired: yet notwithstanding he had no such want of victuals as was supposed, and since his coming out of Italy, had not lost about two thousand men: That since the taking of Montecian and Boisy, no man durst giue any alarme to the Emperours campe, nor yet follow it at their dislodging. These impostures & false impressions had wrought such effects with the King of England, as *Phemary* being sent from the King to three ends: To satisfie him of the truth touching the enterprise of Prouence: To procure his liking of the mariage of *Magdalena* a daughter of France, with the King of Scots: and to learne the King of Englands intention vpon the mission before made touching the mariage of the Duke of Orleans with *Mary* of England, daughter to the said King: he had much adoe to alter him in any thing from the opinion he had conceived. But the mariage of Scotland did so incense the King of England, as hauing laid open vnto *Phemary* his griefes and the causes of his discontent vpon this Article, he sent him backe without any conclusion, being loath to haue his neighbour so highly aliied. There comes another matter of great importance: the Country of Tarentaise in Sauoy had lately shaken off the French yoke. To reduce it to his obedience, the King sent the Earle of Saint Paul, Duke of Estouteville by his wife, with some French troops of horse and foot, and the Earle of Furstemberg with his companie of Lanquequiers, to whom, for the purging of their offence, the Country was abandoned to the spoile, with the Towne of Conflans. Being thus punished, they afterwards performed the dute of subjects, and the Duke returned into France with much honour. Le-venow discharge our promise, and conclude the yeare with the exploits of the Assembly made at Mirandole by the Italian Captaines, Pensioners to the King. Their first designe was vpon Geneva: and to that effect they came speedily and closely, hoping either to surpris it, or by the payment of a *brake*, to become masters of the towne: but the Duke of the troops of Count *de Vintimille* in the night, had discovered the enterprise to the Citizens. So the Earle turning his Campe halfe a league from Geneva, between two mountains, he suddenly caused many ladders to be made, which prouing too short, made the successe fruitlesse. These Capitaines had no Cannon to make any battell: moreouer, Turin being besieged required their presence.

They therefore turne head. The Imperials advertised of the Earles approach, abandon the siege, and leaue the field at the deuotion of this new army. The Lord of Annapolis seeing the Campe dislodged, sallies out after them, and in passing takes the tower vpon the bridge of Pau by composition (the taking whereof the Emperour had so highly commended) and the Lord of Bury took *Gouillon* the corne and wine that was found there, served to refresh Turin. The towne of Quers was taxed by the Imperials at five and twenty thousand crownes; but whilest the soldiers were busied to force the inhabitants to

The cause of  
warre betwixt  
England and  
France.



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pay this summe, *Annebaule* sent certaine Capitaines, who surpris'd the towne from foure hundred souldiers, which kept it in the Emperors name. *Montcalier* sent presently to offer obedience: and the Cattle of Carignan yielding, did furnish Turin with about thre thousand sackes of meale, packt vpready to send to the Campe. *Salusse*, *Quieraz*, and many other places of the Marquise of Piedmont did homage vnto the victors. The King sent to refresh *Annebaule* and his troops both with horse and foot: he drew them out of Turin, sending two thousand French foot vnder the command of Capitaine *René*, and *la Codiniere*: and two thousand others vnder the Cheualier *Biraque*: and for Gouernor he sent *Bury*, to whom he gaue the company of men at armes, which *Francis* of *Salusse* being reuolted, did command. But behold an act as remarkable as it is rare, proceeding from a singular affection: and what will not a braue Knight doe for his mistresse? Vpon the first newes of the Emperors descent into Prouence, the King of Scotland did arme sixteen thousand men, to come and succour the King without his request or priuie, (sayes the Originall) and nothing stayed him from coming in time vpon the generall hope of a battell, but a contrary wind, which had put him backe twice. The King had assured himselfe of his new conquests, and hauing giuen order to the frontiers of his Realme, returned into France.

Unexpected  
succors from  
Scotland.

The King of Scotland came to meet him at la Chapelle, betwixt Tarare and S. Saphorin in Lionois: and there he demanded one of his daughters in marriage. The ancient alliance of the Realme of France & Scotland was considerable. The father of this King had bene slaine in battell against the English, for the party of King *Lewis* the twelfth, and should his kind affection be denied? So the marriage betwixt him and *Magdalene* of France was concluded in Blois, and solemnized the first day of the yeare followinge. Great prosperities are oftentimes accompanied with some crosses, else the vanity of our senses would easily transport vs: and we would attribute that to our owne valour, which belongs to the great Iudge and Moderator of battels: behold pitifull first spijrs, in the gouernment of the Lord of Bury at Turin. Oftentimes he is taken that thinks to take. The Emperour had adiudged Montferrat to the Marquis of Mantoua, against the Duke of Savoy, and *Francis* of *Salusse* who pretended it: and those of Castil would not accept of him. *Bury* during these garboilles, practiseth *Damian* *Cariola* Capitaine in the garison at Castil for the Emperour. *Damian* promisseth to deliuer him a gate. *Bury* leads thither *Christopher* *Gough*, with twelue hundred Italians, whereof he was Colonel, and some number of horse vnder the Lord of Tais: and at the first becomes master of the towne.

But the mattockes, shouels, and other instruments for Pyoners, which *William* Earle of Biendras should haue provided with the money, he had receiued to that end, to make a trench suddenly betwixt the towne and the Cattle, whilst that Count *Guy* should come to succour them, with the artillery to batter the Cattle, were yet to buy. Whilst they seeke for others to make trenches, the Marquis of Guast had leisure to assemble his forces with in a ft, and to enter into the castle by the field-gate, and so into the towne. Twelue hundred men were not able to withstand the fury of this unexpected storm. He maintains the shoocke, and enters fight: but in the end being forced by the enemy, hee is taken prisoner. *Tau*, *Gust*, and all the rest were slaine or taken. *Biendras*, *Damian*, and other Merchants save themselves. We find the fault when it is done. It is good to oblige it to make vs wile. Hee should haue imparted this enterprise to Count *Guy*, who should haue drawne his army neere vnto Ast. The Marquis failing to lose the one, and not to lose the other, had contained himselfe within his walles. *Guy* *Gustrey* Lord of Bouquiers was appointed Gouernor by the King in *Burys* place.

Pursuit against  
the Emperour  
in Italye.

The snowe, ice, and slipperiness of the winter stayed the course of the *Gastons* in Picardie. And whilst the season kept them from doing any memorable exploits, the King lay ing open in his Court of Parliament at Paris in the presence of the Peeres of France, and Princes of the blood, forty or fifty Bishops, many officers of the Crowne, and other great personages of all estates, the lawfull armes of a Lord against his vassall that hath committed a trespass: hee sent to summon the Emperour, vpon the frontiers by a Herald, to come and plead what he should thinke good, against the demands of his Maiesties Advocate and Proctor generall: concluding, that in regard of the rebellions and outracheries of the said Emperour against the King his naturall Prince and Soueraigne Lord by reason of the Earledomes of Flanders, Arthois, Charolois, and other places, hol.

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A holding of the Crowne of France, they should be adiudged confiscate and vnto the Crowne. And no man appearing for the Emperour, the demand of the Kings Councell was registred according to the forme vsuall in those cases.

For the execution of this sentence, the Lords of *Annebaule*, *Tais*, *Terries*, *Auflin*, *Frenchmen*: *Mare* of *Nouate*, *Francis* *Bernardin* of *Vimercat*, *Italians*: *George* *Capus*, *ment*, and *Thibault* *Alans*, *Albanois*, either of them commanding two hundred light-horse: *Bien* *Sanelhall*, and *Gouernour* of *Boullen*, and *Cregui* *Gouernour* of *Montfret*, *Captaines* of fifty men at armes: hauing victualled *Therouenne* in view of the Earle of *Rieux*, who issued forth of *Saint Omer* with sixe hundred horse to prevent this stratagem, the King parting from *Amiens*, (whereas *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme* then dyed, much lamented of the King and Realme, a braue Prince, and well deserring of this Crowne, for his many and notable seruices) the King in the end of March, sends *William* Earle of *Furtemberg* to field with eight thousand *Languenets*, the Lords of *Sercu* and *Auchi*, (who were slaine at the first approaches at *Hedin*) *Heilly*, *S. Seaul*, *Picards*: *Bacqueille*, *la Salle*, and *S. Aubin*, *Normands*: *Quincy* a *Champanois*, *Haracourt* a *Lorraine*, either of them leading a thousand men: and many other bands of *Germanes* and *French*, amounting all to fixe and twenty thousand men, whereof *Montmorency* (Lord Steward) was Lieutenant General for his Maiesty.

*Hedin* is of consequence to the King, for the preservation of his other places in *Picardy*: and being in his power did wonderfully annoy the enemy. The towne abandoned by the *Garillon*, they retire into the Cattle, the which was taken without resistance, but the Earle of *Rieux* had well furnished the Cattle for the defence of a place of importance. Captain *Samson* an old Knight of *Namurs*, a great souldier, commanded there with 1500 men, vnder the Ensignes of *Baubers* and *Vandeuille*. They make their approaches, and many Captaines perswaded that the thickeesse of the wall, maintained with a great rampier, would neuer admit any breach, they come to vndermine. The Prince of *Melphe*, the Lords of *Barbefieux*, *Bury*, *Villiers*, *Cornelies*, vnderake the worke, and cast downe halfe a tower passing from the Towne to the Cattle, but that part which ioyned to the Cattle standing firme, the place was not much weakened. The King then resolves to attempt it by battery, and hee himselfe shewes the place where to plant the Cannon. At the approaches *Lusarches* and *Pont-brian*, well experienced Commisaries of the artillerie, with many Cannoniers and others lose their liues. The Cannon planted vpon the brinke of the trench, playes two dayes together, and the third they make a breach of thirty fadomes. The Kings presence being the rewarder of vertue, sets many yong Gentlemen on fire, being desirous of reputation, and before that order bee giuen for the assault, carries them to the top of the breach. But they finde the like valour in receiving them: some are slaine vpon the place, others returne fore wounded. *Charles* of *Bueil* among others, Earle of *Sincerre*, a yong Nobleman who followed the steps of his Ancestors vertue, *Amigny* Lieutenant to *Sercu*, and *Damiete* Ensigne-bearer of the said Company, testified by their deaths the hope of their youth, if the chance of armes had lent them a longer life. *Haracourt* a *Lorraine*, and his brother his Lieutenant, sonnes to the Lord of *Paroy*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Guise*, in the gouernment of *Champagne* and of his company of men at Armes, *Fleuernes* sonne to *Atardieque*, and many others returned backe lame. Yet this attempt amazed the besieged, and helped the Generall.

For when as they see the order the King had giuen to assaile them in the morning, a great number of men at armes on foot, with fixe or fix hundred light-horsemen, all the rest on horsebacks, the whole armie ready to be put in battaile if the enemy approached, some appointed to march first, others to second them, and some to relieue them that went to the assault, the resolution and courage of the night past, made them enter into composition, whereby they departed with their baggage, leaving the artillerie, munition, and victuals. The King committed it to the guard of *Sercu*, giuing him a company of fifty men at armes, and a thousand foot. *Saint Paul* neere vnto *Hedin* might much annoy him, and reduced to the Kings obedience, crosse the garisons of *Benne*, *Aras*, *Lillers*, and other places thereabouts. *Annebaule* did this exploit, and *Anthony* of *Castell*, an Italian Engineer vnderooke the fortification of the towne and Cattle. *Lillers* abandoned by *Licuin* Capitaine of the towne, was by the Lord Steward and Duke of *Guise*, visiting the Country, added to the former Conquests, and left vnder the command of

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of *Martin du Bellay* Capitaine of two hundred light-horse, joyning vnto him *la Lande* A with a thousand foot, to keepe them of Saint *Paul* and Marville, from annoying the foragers and victuallers of the French armie. The Bourguignons had fortified an Island, at Saint *Paul*, vpon the Riuer of Lis. The Lord Steward vnder takes to force it, and takes with him the Earle of Furstemberg, with eight thousand French and Germanes. At the first the besieged repulse the Lanquenets, kill some, and wound many. And now the day began to faile, when as *Charles Maris* Lord of Bacqueville, and *La Lande* discouering one part of the trench worse manned then the rest, they crosse it with their Normans and Picards, and come to handy-blowes; they lose some men, and kill many of the enemies, force the trench, the rampart and the bastion, they compell them to abandon B and leaue their defences, and make way for the rest of their companies and troopes to enter, who chasing the enemies, make a great slaughter of men, to reuenge the death of their companions. They presently let vpon the second fort, the bridge whereof was croft with great long pieces of wood, ioyned one to another, and betwixt, manned with good shot, defended with a mill of stone well pierced, and furnished with harguebules of Crock, and other shot. But nothing is difficult to a resolute minde, and the first flying to the second fort, stricke terror into them: they force them, and put them all to the sword: The number of the dead was esteemed twelue or fiftene hundred on both sides, the place spoiled, the bootie caried away, and the houses burnt.

There passed no day without an enterprize of one side or other, courses and recourses, C prizes, and reprises, of men, victuals, and places ill guarded, or not guardable. The King seeing the Emperor had no armie ready, able to crosse his new conquest, content for that year to haue taken Hedin, and fortified Saint *Paul*, he caused Lilliers to be burnt, (referring the Abbey of Nunnes and the Churches) and the walls to be beat downe, that the enemy lodging there, should not annoy Therouenne and S. *Paul*: he gaue the gouernment of Saint *Paul* to *John d'Esfontenille* Lord of Villebon, Prouost of Paris, with his company of men at armes: that of Moyencourt named de Hangest, to *Martin du Bellay*, with his two hundred light-horse, and two thousand foot, commanded by the Captaines *la Sale* and Saint *Aubin* Normans, *Blerecourt* and *Taille* Picards, euery one 500., and in the castle 1000. men, vnder the charge of *René* of Palliere. Hee left the Earle of Furstemberg D in garison at Doullans, with his Lanquenets, and an hundred men at armes, vnder the guidance of the Lords of Estreç, and la Roche du Maine. But these bands were so ill complete, as they made not halfe their numbers: Then hauing in like sort provided for other places, he brake vp his campe, and dismissed his troopes, to giue order for the affaires of Piedmont, where the enemy grew strong.

The King thus disarming, the Earle of Bures armes foure and twenty thousand Lanquenets, six thousand Wallons, and eight thousand horse, and resolves to charge the Lanquenets, lodged neere to Doullans, to make the siege of Saint *Paul* more easie, which he meant to attempt. By the surprize of some Letters, he learned that the fortifications of the place required yet twenty dayes time, to make it able to repulse the enemy. Hee chaunged E his opinion, and turning head to Saint *Paul*, makes his approaches the tenth of Iune, notwithstanding the many sallies and skirmishes of the besieged: he recouers (by means of a great hollow way, which the sodaine arriual of the Imperials would not suffer them to make) the point of a great Bulwarke vpon the way to Mouchie: they vndermine day and night, shoot fixtene or eightene hundred Cannon shot, make a breach of three or foure hundred paces, and by the fury of seuen or eight pieces of artillerie, force *Martin du Bellay*, *Blerecourt* and *Taille* to abandon the breach which looks towards Doullans, their chiefe and almost onely defence: he giues an assault with five or six hundred men, onely to view the breach: and by the thunder of their Cannons which battered all along the breach, and into the towne, they kill, or at the least hurt, about a third part of the defendants: those which were set to defend the breach, being forced to lye flat vpon their bellies. They discouer the breach, draw seuen or eight engines more into the ditch, which diuided the great bastion from the towne, they had no leisure but to make two Courtins of pipes full of earth, to defend the way which went from the bottom of the trench into the towne: they set fire to the props which supported the point of the bastion that was vndermined: it sinks downe, and presently ouerthrowes all them that defended this point into their trenches: they giue the assault by that place, and are valiantly

Saint Paul  
besieged by the  
Imperials.

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A valiantly received by *la Sale*, and Saint *Aubin*. But during the assault, those which the enemy thrust into the trench, winne the Courtin made of pipes, for cause and ventrie or thirte shot that kept it, and enter the towne pell-mell with them: they come behind them, (who performing as much as valor and sagacity could doe) defended the bastion and cut in pieces all they encounter.

Those which defended the breach, ignorant what passed on the other side, had already endured a furious assault, when as beheld, those which were entered by the port of the great bastion, come and charge them behind, and the greatest number surmounting the left, at the first charge they kill *Moyencourt*, and his brother *d'Arc*, they massacre in the B fury of the fight, seuen score of the company of *du Bellay*, and the most part of that of *villebon*: *villebon* and *Taille* were taken prisoners by *Tonnaire* a Spanish Capitaine, du *Bel* *lay* and *Blerecourt* were saued by *Pose* a Germane Capitaine: *La Palliere* forced in the Castle by the bulwarke which was not yet in defence remained prisoner: but the contention of some (euery one maintaining that he had giuen his faith vnto him) was the cause of his death. Finally, sparing neither men nor children, wives nor maids, religious men nor Nunnes, about foure thousand five hundred persons tryed the pitiless chance of a horrible and cruell victorie, whereunto they are commonly subiect, who against the lawes of armes vnder take the defence of a place not defensible, or that is not ready to withstand the violent attempts of a mighty armie.

C Saint *Paul* being burnt, the Castle and all the defences razed to the ground, the Imperials come before Montreuil. Montreuil was ill furnished: *Canaples* Gouernor of the towne, entered but three or foure dayes before, with a thousand foot, and some two hundred horse of the bands of Normandie: but the towne not being re-trenched, it required at the least six thousand foot, and three hundred men at armes. So the Earle of Bures lodgeth a part of his campe at the port of Hedin, one part at the Celestins vpon the way of Therouenne, and a part at the gate of the great market towards Abbeuille: hee plants his Artillerie in three places: makes a breach along a great Courtin from the gate towards Hedin to the Port of the great market; and then prepares for the assault. The breach was reasonable, but the trenches full of water made the access difficult. On the D other side, the defendants were troubled with many disadvantages: Two batteries of the enemies kept them from coming to the breach: and being at their defence, they lay open vpon both the flanks, and had no meanes to cover themselves: besides, their number was not sufficient to keepe the one halfe of the base towne, so as the enemy coming to the assault, had the rest of the towne at his discretion, the which is of a great circuit.

These considerations made *Canaples* demand Composition; and the Earle intending the conquest of Therouenne, to prevent the next victualling, which hee did foresee, hee graunts the men of warre to depart in armes with bagge and baggage, and to the inhabitants to carry what goods they could about them. This done, the want of men E and powder which hee knows to bee in Therouenne, inuies him to this enterprize. *Francis* of Montmorency Lord of Rochfort, then Lieutenant General for the King in Picardie, knowing the importance of *Therouenne*, and the enemies designe, besides three score men at armes, an hundred foot, and some hundred dead payes which kept it, hee sent the Lord of Cany, Lieutenant of the Company of the young Duke of Vendosme (whom we shall see King of Nauarre, and father to our most Christian King lately murdered): *Foudras* Lieutenant to Cany, the sonne of *Dampierre* guidon to the Dauphin, leading foure score men at armes, and Saint *Brice* foure hundred foot. Hee comes before it, makes his approaches, plants his Cannon in batterie, forceth our men to abandon the Castle which had but two towers (the English *Talbot* having taken the towne in F the year 1513) had razed the Castle and makes a breach in the towne wall, about two hundred paces long, but hardly to bee forced: our French men retreating, had made a trench behind them, and made the rampart in such sort, as the enemy winning it, should fall into a trench well flanked.

When as the Imperiall armie began to march against Saint *Paul*, the King sought to raise his armie, hoping (according to the promises of the fortificators) it would hold out vntill that succours should come. Now the Dauphin accompanied with *Montmorency* Lord Steward, Commander of the armie vnder the Dauphin, giues the tendezvous towards

Montreuil taken by composition.

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wards Abbeville, to the Earle of Furkemberg, and to *Nicholas de Ruffice*, newly arrived A with foure thousand Low Germanes, warlike men, and in good order.

Whilest the Dauphin attends the rest of his troopes, the besieged give him notice that they had great need of shot and powder: for the furnishing whereof, they choose *Annebaul* General of the light-horse. With this designe, *Annebaul* followed with an hundred men at armes, and fixtene hundred light-horse, made choice of foure hundred harquebuziers, vnder the charge of *Bienbras*, every one carrying a sacke of leather bound about him full of powder: many voluntarie Gentlemen desirous of honour, (a braue ambition if we could temper the heat of youth) augment this troope, resolute to bee either taken or defeated, rather then to faile of their enterprise. The Imperials hauing intelligence of this designe, goe to horse to prevent the execution: and the French light-horsemen, prickt forward by these yong Noblemen, desirous to trie their valour, give them an alarme. Mischance is good for something. It was night, and the darknes hindring their enemies fore-ward from knowing their battaile, which came from another side to ioyne with them, they charge, and kill one another, whilest that our shot enter into Therouenne without discouerie: being entred, they make a signe, whereby *Annebaul* should make his retreat, and might haue done it without danger. Nowwithstanding, aduertised that his light-horse were in skirmish, he sought to retire them. The enemy prevents him, and cuts off his way at the passage of a bridge. Here begins the combat, and so violent, as the greatest cheeke falls vpon the Imperials. But in the end of all the horsemen atchieue, C *Annebaul* is ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, and nere vnto him the Earle of Villars, the Lords of Piennes, d'O, and Sanfac, Captaine *George Capusment*, *Francis Bernardin*, and almost all, but some which had before passed the bridge. Those (amongst the which was *Aussun*) retire to Hedin, change their horses, post to the place of combat: finde the Imperials in disorder, dreame no more of any enemy: they charge them, defeat them, take a great number, and recouer many of their companions that were prisoners: and so cut off a great part of the glory which they did challenge for such a victory. In the meane time, the Dauphine and the Lord Steward had gathered together about fixtene hundred men at armes, two thousand light-horse, ten thousand Germanes, and twelue thousand French, with the which they proceeded to succour the besieged, or to force the D Imperials to fight with disadvantage: when as the treatie which *Mary* Queene of Hungary, sister to the Emperour, had made by the means of the Duke of Ascor, for the procuring of a Peace or truce, caused a suspension of armes for three moneths betwixt the King and the Emperours countries of the Netherlands, vntill that matters being pacified, there might bee a generall peace concluded betwixt these two great Princes and their allies: Let this truce now cary vs beyond the Alpes, to see the estate of the forces in Italy.

*Annebaul*  
defeated.

A truce for  
three moneths.

The ordinarie jealousies, diuisions, and partialities of Capitaines, which thinke themselves equall in authoritie and reputation, and of like vse for seruice, is commonly of dangerous consequence. The composition which *Caguin* of Gonsagua made with the Imperials at Carignan, without the priuite of *Gay* Earle of Rangon, Lieutenant General for the King on that side the Alpes, had discontented the Earle, and on the other side, *Caguin* complained, that they had cashiered some of his footmen, and in case if Count *Gay* should die, or leaue the place, the King had substituted *Cesar* *Fregefe* his brother-in-law, without any respect of the ancient seruice of his house, and his breeding in the Kings seruice, from whom he had not false as the Earle had done, although he had bene fought vnto with many profitable conditions.

These quarrels did so increase, as after many complaints and reproaches vpon the point of Honour, *Gay* and *Cesar* banded ioyntly against *Caguin*, framed a challenge vpon some writings published to the disgrace of the said *Cesar*, vnder the name of *Astin*, whereof they held *Caguin* to be the chiefe author. *William* of Bellay, Lord of Langey, sent by the King to heare of the griefes of either partie, hauing giuen Count *Gay*, and *Cesar* *Fregefe*, to vnderstand what preiudice their quarrell with *Caguin* would be vnto his Majesties seruice; and that by the Articles of the Kings Order, the Knights may not without the leave of their superiour (which is the King) send nor accept of any challenge one against another, *Caguin* offered not to wrong the Kings seruice, and to deferre the challenge, vntill the seruice were ended, so as after the answer he had made vnto the challenge, E

*Cesar*

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A *Cesar* had not written or said any thing that should come vnto his knowledge; whereunto he should be bound in honour to answer: and vnder colour to goe to the bathe for his health, he obtained a passport to raise himselfe to his house, with promise that if it pleased the King to giue him an honorable charge, he would returne with a troope fit to doe him seruice: and that howsoeuer, he would neuer want a credit.

During these contentions the Imperiall armie increased dayly, and the Kings decreed, as the Lord of Humieres sent by the King for the affaires of Piedmont, could not be at the field, without a bodie of foure or five thousand Lanquenets or Suisses, and some supply of men at armes: To this end the King caused his light-horse-men to march into Piedmont, after the conquests of Hedin and Saint Paul, and sent to *Christophor* Duke of Wirtemberg, who brought ten thousand Lanquenets to passe the Alpes, and to ioyne with *Hapieris*. But vpon the coming of the Imperials before Saint Paul, the King being forced (as we haue scene) to countermand his light-horse, hee sent the Baron of *Contra*, *La Fayette*, *Christie*, and others, leading three or foure hundred men at armes, and one hundred light-horse, *Lafagey*, and *Allegre*, either of them commanding a thousand foot.

The Marquis of Guast had at that time deliuered into the Marquis *Francis* hands, all the Marquise of Saluses, except the Castles of Verculo and Carnagnole. Two hundred Italians held it for Count *Gay*: the Marquis of Guast doth summon it; and vpon their refusal approacheth the artillerie. *Francis* Marquis of Saluses (knowing the place) brings two Cannons on the right hand going from the Towne to the Castle, breakes downe two houses to couer himselfe in stead of Gabions: himselfe plays the gunner, and strikes two wayleys. A souldier of the Castle discouers him (but knowes him not) and shoots him through the bodie starke dead with a Musket. The Marquis of Guast cautieth him to be recovered with a cloake, and then againe sends to summon the besieged, promising them an honorable composition: they depart with baggage and baggage, and the Marquis seeing them passe, commended their good endeours. But when hee came to demand what hee was that had shot so well from one of the windowes of the Port, the souldier both ignorant of the Marquis intention, and of the effect of his shot, presents himselfe vnto the Marquis, who against the Capulation caused him to be hanged at the same window.

*Francis* Marquis  
of Saluses  
killed.

The King hauing afterwards reduced the Marquise to his obedience, did inuest *Gabriel* Bishop of Aire in Gasconie, who married the daughter of the Admirall *Annebaul*; but dying without heires, hee left the said Marquise to the Crowne. The coming of *Humieres* and the Lanquenets had first the Marquis of Guast with his troopes into Ast and Vercel, who by his retreat left Pignerol, Chiass, Montcallier, and other places abandoned to these new Conquerors. But at the first want of the chiefe sinewes of warre, makes the Italian bands to murine, whereby our men lost ten or twelue dayes, during the which the Marquis had leisure to hasten his Lanquenets, leauied by the elder brother *William* Duke of Furkemberg.

E beie.

*Humieres* had no sooner pacified the Italians with a portion of their pay, but he frames an enterprise vpon Ast, where the Marquis had left his brother-in-law, *Don Anthony* of Atragon, Lieutenant for the Emperour, with two thousand foot, and two hundred horse. The Lanquenets require the charge to make the approaches, and take it from *John Paul de Cere*, who had a meaning to discharge it well. About midnight *Humieres* comes speedily to see their lodgings & finds nothing done. Some exclaiming first, would haue made their cause good; others storme (their pay being now out) and protest, that if it be not satisfied, they will wrap vp their ensignes, and found a retreat. They had reason, it is an ordinarie course, when as the chiefe force of an armie consists in a mercinarie Nation.

*Humieres* searcheth all the purses in the Campe, makes for every company five hundred Crownes, and with this bone did somewhat satisfie their greedinesse. But in the meane time the besieged, giuing the alarme to the Campe, they bring in seven companies of foot, & three hundred horse to their succours. Thus the small likelihood to force the towne, and lesse to famish it, seeing that for want of pay, the strangers were no men of resolution, *Humieres* leaues the towne of Ast, to surprize that of Alba. About eight hundred Spaniards, were parted from Alexandria to enter into it: *John Paul de Cere* meets them, chargeth and defeateth them, so as at the arrival of the French, the Citizens of Alba vnfurnished



Piedmontois at Montdeuis (he had surprized, and kept the place from the Imperials, A when they were the strongest in field) Lodowike of Bitague, at Vorlin, and Nicholas of Rusticis at Carmagnole: he dismissed his Swisses, and taking his way to France, he sent the Cardinall of Lorraine from Lions, with Montmorency the Lord Seward, to Locate, where the Emperours Deputies should meet, concerning a peace betwixt their Maesties. The confusions had beene great, and their spleene not easily to be pacified; which made them to prolong the truce for fixe moneths more. After all these toyles, and painefull endeauours, the loyall seruice of the most worthy, deserved reward; which made the King, being at Molins, to aduance Anne of Montmorency to be Comptable of France, the place being voyde by the reuolt of the Duke of Bourbon: hee gave this place B of Marshall of Montlun, and that of the Marshall la Marke deceased, to Claude of Annebault. It was now time to suppress the infernall furies, which had so long troubled the quiet of Christendome with such fatal combustions; and that the Pope (doing the office of a common father) should therein imploy his authority. Hee procures an C interuiew of these two great Princes at Nice, and himselfe assists, being about threecore and fifteene yeeres of age, in the beginning of Iune. Their mutuall hatreds had taken too deepe rooting in their hearts, and that fatal bloody checke, which his brother Ferdinand King of Hungary had lately received from the Turke, had nothing mollified the Emperour. Time doth pacifie discontents. Ten yeeres were sufficient, or neuer, to dispose both the one and the other to a generall peace. The Pope therefore seeing D that by the full deciding of their quarrels, hee could not confirme a final peace, hee propounded a truce for ten yeeres, the which they concluded betwixt their Countries, and subiects; and then every one returned home. But Charles was borne to be a perpetual scourge to this Realme; and many yeeres shall not passe before hee put vs in alarm with an vnworthy and base motiue of new confusions.

An interuiew  
at Nice.

The Emperours  
policy.

Leevs now see how he worketh like a Foxe, to produce effects for his owne benefit. The Gantois being oppressed with many extraordinary tributes, had spoiled the Emperours officers: who growing desperate, and seeking to fortifie themselves against the reuenging wrath of Charles, they secretly offer obedience to the King as to their Soueraigne Lord. The King performing the dutie of a good brother, and faithfull friend, gives the Emperour intelligence thereof. The Emperour deuised by some notable examples, to suppress the Gantois insolencies. But the passages thither were not very certaine. By Germany, the Protestants might some what hinder him. By sea, a storme might as well cast him vpon the coast of England; as vpon Flanders: the diuisions hee had with the King of England by reason of the diuorce of Queene Catherine his Aunty, would not suffer him to take any assurance from him: France was very commodious for him: to this end, he demands the Kings word for his safety; and among other soyes, hee promisseth, in case hee giues him an assured passage, to waite him, at one of his vnbaiten, in the Duchy of Milan. But (honorable policy) hee desires not to be prest to signeth these promises, To the end (saith he) it may not be spoken, that I haue done them by compulsion, in ordine a passage; and requires the King to give him his word for assured. This was to build a castle vpon a quick sand.

The Emperours  
passage through  
France.

Notwithstanding the King iudgeth another mans heart and intentions by his owne, hee grants his brother in law such assurance as hee demands. Being like, he parts from Compelgne, to goe to meet with him; sending his two soomes to Bayonne: to receive him, and to accompany him to the place where the King and he might meet (which was at Chastelleraud) gives him authority to make enties, and to deliuer prisoners, in many towncs of the realme, as if he had been in his owne country: he casts him in all places, causeth him to be conducted by his children vnto Valentignies, the first place of his owne territories where he is moued to confesse that which he had promised before his departure from Spaine; but it was to no effect. The Emperour desires the conduct, will he had conferred with his Councell of the Lords and commons, whom hee would haue kept his promise, if hee had found the Gantois so desperately affected, as hee hath since discovered the aide of France, to force them to obedience. Perceiving themselves abandoned by the King, they sought and found refuge vpon certaine conditions which hee presented them. And the Comptable, who (saying vpon the word of such a Prince as the Emperour) had given the King assurance, was for this cause in disgrace with his Maistie, and

A and retired himselfe from Court to his house: from whence we shall see him called and restored to his dignities.

Let vs obserue the craft and subtiltie of the Spaniard, to bring the King into dislike with his friends and allies. The Venetians were ill satisfied of the league they had made with the Emperour against the great Turke: their treasure was wasted, and their estates (after that great and famous victorie in Hungary) were in danger. They were (for their owne safety) ready to enter into a treatie of peace, or of a long truce with the Turke. To breake this, the Emperour sollicitates the King to enter into this common league, and the King perswaded therunto, sends (by his instigation) the Marshall of B Annebault (Lieutenant General for his Maistie in Piedmont, by the death of Montcaison, lately deceased) to goe in company with the Marquis of Guast to Venice, and the Lord of Gié to the Pope, as solempne Ambassadors, and to giue them hope, that the King of France ioyning his forces to theirs, all ioyntly together, would make an armie both by sea and land, to extirpate the race of the Ottomans out of Europe. The Emperour strucke three stroakes with one stone, hee dissuaded the Venetians from all accord with the Turke. He bred a hatred and dislike betwixt the King and the Turke. And put the King of England in ialousie: who could not well like of this great alliance and fraternitie, which the Emperour did cunningly make shew to haue with the King. So as the English being perswaded, that the King had with-drawne his loue, he grew strange, C and began to assure himselfe of the Emperour. And which is more, all the Kings other confederates, seeing that honourable and respectiue entertainment giuen to the Emperour, and the Ambassadors of both their Maesties, ioyntly sent into Italy, they conceived many causes of distrust, blaming the King in leasing them at need to the Emperours mercie, from whom they could not expect (if he did vanquish them in warre) any better vantage then that of the Gantois.

This yeere William Budens Master of Requests, died at Paris, a man of singular learning and godlinesse, to whom all men that loue learning are much bound, hauing by his learned and laborious writings, eased them of much paine: whose credit with the King, and the Cardinall Du Bellay, caused honest pensions, according to that age, to be giuen to those D whom we call the Kings readers, and professors, a fountaine from whence are sprung so many great Riuer, that in the end they are spread ouer all Europe. The extreme heat, and great droughts, did likewise make this season the more memorable, by the name which it carries yet, of the yeare of Roasted Vines. The Emperour hauing by his dissembling disappointed the King of his hopes, it was now needfull to satisfie his friends and allies, touching the truth of things past: for (to incense all the Potentates of Christendome against our King) the Emperour had vnder-hand giuen them to vnderstand, that the King treated with him of matters to their prejudice. To this end he sent Caesar Fregosi to the Senate of Venice, and Anthony Rencana Gentleman of his chamber to the great Turke. The Marquis of Guast hath some notice thereof, and to surprize these Ambassadors with their instructions and Letters of credit (which notwithstanding were not found about them, the Lord of Langey, who could not disswade them from the passage of Po, had so preiuailed with them, as they sent their instructions vnto him, to convey them vnto Venice another way: ) he sets watches vpon all the passages, especially vpon the Po, knowing well that Rincon, a bigge fat man, would rather passe by water then by land, and causeth them to be murdered in their barke, passing at Cantalone, three miles about the mouth of Tefin, putting all the Watermen into the dungeon of the Castle of Paugia, as well those which carried the Spaniards, that were the murderers, as the French: they were souldiers of the garison of Milan, and of the said castle. An odious and reproachfull act. Some packets coming from Venice to the King, and from the King to Venice, were surprized, and the F Carriers wounded by men attired after the Marquisses deuiue.

The Kings Ambassadors surprised and murdered.

But see the notable policy of Langey, to discouer the truth of a fact which the Marquis thought to haue managed so secretly, as it should neuer haue come to light. Gifts (sayes an Ancient) pacifie both gods and men. Langey findes a meanes, by money, to fyle a sunder the grates of the prison towards the Castle ditch, with secret Files: draws forth the Mariners, winnes some of the faction to the Kings seruice; learns from them the number, the names, and the nation of the murderers, the order, the manner, and the houre of the murder, and all other auailable circumstances to encounter the dissembling of the Marquis,

Ferdinands armie defeated by the Turke.



1541

The Emperour  
goes to *Alger*  
without suc-  
cess.

Marquis, who making a good shew of a bad cause, seemed to enquire carefully of the crime, by the Captain of the Iustice at Milan. The Emperour was then at the Diet at Ratisbone, where he granted an *interim* to the Protestants, that is to say, until a Councell were held to determine all controversies of religion, every one should peaceably enjoy the beliefs and ceremonies whereof he then made profession: and in doing this, the restoring of the Duke of Savoy to all his estates, was granted at the Germans charge.

Soon after, William of Roquendolle, Lieutenant General for Ferdinand King of Hungary, was defeated before *Buda*, with the losse of twenty thousand Germans. It was a great shame for the Emperour, being neere to so mournfull and fatal a checke, if hee should not employ his forces in his brothers favour. He undertakes againe the voyage of *Alger* in Africke, with an intent that if passing through Italy, hee should finde the Kings affaires disordered, and his forces disperfed, to attempt something against him, making account that the King would not faile to be revenged of the violence and wrong done vnto him, in the persons of his Ambassadors. But the good prouision which the King had made in Prouence, and in Piedmont, by *Langy* his Lieutenant generall, caused him to passe on without any further attempt. Being at Luques, he had conference with the Pope, and the King sent his Ambassador vnto them, to demand satisfaction for the crime: but he was put off with shifts. The enterprise of *Alger* was vnfortunate, the violence of the winds, the continuall raine, the stormes and haile, with all the injuries of the ayre, had conspired against him: breaking some of his ships, he was beaten backe with great danger of his person, and losse of his men.

Hitherto the Marquis had as covertly as he could, disguised the matter: but finding now that all men had discovered his deuites, that notwithstanding the death of the Ambassadors, he could not decypher the Kings designe, that the King demanded as well from the Emperour, as from the Estates of the Empire, satisfaction for this foule fact: Now to make his cause seeme good, he writes to the Estates which were assembled againe at Ratisbone, for their common defence against the Turke, whereby hee maintaines, that hee committed no act that might touch him for breach of the truce, and in shew to iustifie himselfe of the crime wherewith he was charged: *I there are* (saith he neither denying nor aduowing the fact) *two wayes of iustification, the one ciuill, the other knightly. I offer to D* maintaine ciuilly, that there is no breach of truce *graued by me, and to deliver into our holy fathers hands (the protector of the truce) both my selfe, and all those the King shall thinke culpable of this act, to the end the truth might be knowne: and if any Knight my equall will charge me with any such fact, and proue his saying by armes, I will maintaine that he hath spoken falsly, and as often as he shall charge me with the like, so often shall he speake falsely. We do often shadow a lie with such good words, as it giues it a colour of truth. But did hee thinke by this brauadoe, to proue his innocency? the retreat of those murderers to him, bringing them all prisoners that were left aliue within the boats, to the end there should bee no meanes to discouer this infamous murder: the detention hee made of the Warer-men, whom he afterwards transported into other prisons vnder his command: the penall E* didd hee publish in places where the fact might bee knowne, against them that should be found discouraging of this action: the ill vilage of them that had spoken of it: the fauours, honours, and aduancements giuen to them that had bene the actors: the depositions of prisoners freed by *Langy*, were not all these sufficient witnessles, to cry vengeance against the Marquis? *Langy* answering to the pretended iustifications of the Marquis, was the Knight to make tryall thereof, by the one or the other way. But the Marquis had no such meaning.

We haue heard how the King demanded of the Emperour (being in conference with the Pope at Luques) satisfaction of the murder, audaciously and against all diuine, naturall, and humane lawes, committed vpon the persons of two of his especial seruants, men of estate, and of reputation by their births, hauing by their merits deserued, the one an honorable degree amongst his chiefe Gentlemen: the other an especial place amongst the greatest Noblemen. They would haue satisfied him with frivolous reasons and excuses, perswading him to leaue the abolition of their blood, to the forgetfulness of time, which might haue bene an imputation to his Maiestie, either of want of wit and iudgement, or of valour & courage. Profit vnto the King, honor prickt him forward, and necessity constrained him, to vfe those meanes which the law of Nations did allow

to

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The reasons  
that moued the  
King to warre.

A to him which doth acknowledge no other superiour: and three chiefe reasons did vrg: him therunto. Vnder this colour of peace, the Emperour had a thousand practises vpon the frontiers of his Realme: and the King had no sooner cut off one of this *Hydras* heads, but presently there trise vp an other or many more. Moreover, this truce allowed the traffike and conference of eithers subiects, by meanes whereof for many treasons were practised. Neither could he draw his subiects from the commerce of the Low-countries, belonging to the Emperour, without expresse prohibitions, the which by consequence would argue hostilitie. But that which did most moue a noble and generous spirit: hee had good and certaine intelligence, that the Emperour (seeing warre proclaimed, in B case he did not within a certain time make satisfaction for the above-named murders) made his account, that vnder colour of zeale to the common-weale of Christendome (filling the eares of the whole world with a goodly and great enterprise, against the enemies of the faith) he would raise great forces, and prouide great preparation, at the cost and charge of his most credulous subiects, lying most open and neere vnto the Turkes inuasion, and consiure the most Christian King to assist him either with men or money.

If then the fumes of an African or Turkish voyage, had bene proclaimed through the world, before that warre were denounced betwixt these two Princes, those which were not acquainted with the deuices of the one, would haue imputed the flay of fo holy an enterprise to the other. Let vs adde, that howsoeuer, he must entertaine men, both in Italy, C and vpon the frontiers of Languedoc and Prouence, for that both a truce, and warre were of equal charge vnto him. There were two meanes to begin the warre: the one profitable and lesse honest. Many thrust him on, some with discontent, others with reuenge, some with couetousnesse, some with desire of inuouation, or some other priuate passions, offering to seize vpon diuers places for his Maiestie, the conquest whereof, might bee a worthy reward for a long and doubtfull warre. The other was more honest, but of lesse profit, iust, and not couetous. The Duchy of Luxembour, and the county of Roussillon were worthy motives in generall, besides the priuate interest of inuasion, which the King had against his enemy. The Emperour did possesse them both, without any lawful title. Luxembour, by the succession of *Charles & Philip* dukes of Bourgogne, his great grand- D father, and his father, who had by force dispossessed the true and lawful Lords of the said house, who had substituted *our Francis*, by a new grant into their rights and actions, besides the ancient rights, which the Kings of France haue euer pretended thereunto, and especially, since the purchase which *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, brother to King *Charles* the sixth made. Besides that the Lords of la Marke had of late transported their pretensions vnto him, of the said Duchy. Roussillon, by the too scrupulous restitution of *Charles* the eighth, being abused and deceived (saith the original) by *Frier Oliuer Maillard*, his confessor, a man in shew holy, but in effect an Hypocrite, and corrupted with money by the King of Arragon, to sell and deceiue his master. King *Charles* hauing no power to make this alienation, in preiudice of the Crowne, neither the King of Arragon, nor his successors, accomplishing E the conditions annexed to the contract, *Charles* now Emperour, was but an vsurper, and a violent possessor.

The situation of Luxembour was commodious to receive the Germanes that came vnto the King: but more, by this approach, to fauour the duke of Cleues, whom the Emperour did threaten to make the poorest man in Christendome. So the King sent *Charles* duke of Orleans, his yongest sonne, accompanied with six hundred men at armes, six thousand French, and ten thousand Lanquenets, and *Claude* duke of Guise commanding the army vnder him: *Francis* of Bourbon duke of Anguene, brother to *Anthony* D. of Vendosme, the Earle of Aumale, eldest sonne to the duke of Guise, the Lords of Sedan, Iametz, Rochefort, Maine, la Guiche and many others, men of resolution, valour, and experience. And F for the enterprise of *Roussillon*, *Henry* his eldest sonne Daulphin of Viennois, assisted by the Marshal Annebault, for the chiefe conduct of the warre: and for an assistant in those military toiles, the Lord of Montpesat, Lieutenant for his Maiestie in Languedoc. *Paris* is the chiefe citie of this countrey: the onely barre and bulwarke of Spaine towards the South, the conquest whereof drew after it not onely the losse of that which the Emperour possessed on this side the mountaines, but layed open all the Prouince beyond it: and the King conceiued, that assailing it (being vnurnished of many necessities, for the maintaining of a great siege) either honour, or feare of losse, would draw the Em-

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perout

The Marquis of  
Guast iustifies  
himselfe.

Warre declared  
in Luxembour.  
  
Warre in Roussillon.

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Exploit in  
Luxembourg

perour to fight, and with this hope, he prepared the rest of his forces to march in person. A But this was but a great shew without any effects.

The Duke of Orleans having assembled his troops betwixt Verdun and Dun-le-Chasteau, he besieged, battered, and took Danuiller, a place of Luxembourg: where there came to joyne with him the Baron of Hedeq sometimes Lieutenant to the Earle of Furberberg, the Earles of Mansfield and Piguelin, and the Colonel *Reichere*, with their regiments of Lanquenets, making about ten thousand men. Then came Count *Ringerque* to the Kings service, a young Nobleman and resolute, who promised in his person many good parts; as we shall hereafter see. Danuiller being burnt as not defensible, had opened the way to Luxembourg: but newes comes, that a part of the wall was false at Yury, the Duke turns the head of his armie thither, makes his approaches, plants three Canions and a halfe vpon the brinke of the ditch, but vnderfreely, without gabions, without trenches (this was to contemne the enemy too much) and without any couering for them that guarded the artillerie. The garison sallies forth in the open day, in view of the artie, and tie ropes vnto the Ordinance, but the weight of them was the let they could not draw them into the ditch, wherevpon they burnt their carriages and dismount them. They make trenches, and batter it towards Ardenes: they make a reasonable breach, but it was not assailed. In the midst of the breach the besieged had a Casemate in the bottome of their trench, the which could not be taken from them without great slaughter of them that should attempt it. They draw from Sedan, Mouzon and other neere townes a supply of artillerie and munition, and make a new batterie: the besieged (being amazed) demand a parle. The bastard of *Sambret*, the Lord of Noyelles, *Hannuyer*, captain *Famas*, *Gyles de Leuant*, and others, vnto the number of two thousand men, defended the place, the which could not be assaulted without hazard and losse of men. So it was concluded, they should depart with their baggage, and to cary with them six fauons with munition to discharge them six times a piece.

Then *William* Duke of Cleues fortified the Kings armie with ten thousand Lanquenets and sixteene hundred horse, led by *Martin de Bessan* Marshall of Gueldres, *William* had lately espoused (but without any consummation of marriage, by reason of the Infants base age) *Joan* daughter to *Henry* of Albrert, and of *Marguerite* the Kings sister, whom D hereafter we may see, by the nullitie of this contract, to marry with *Anthony* of Bourbon, Duke of Vendosme, and of their marriage was borne *Henry* the fourth, the French King and of Nauarre, lately mustered.

Ituy (which men held the strongest place in the country, and best furnished with men, artillerie, and munition) by their yeelding, caused *Arles* to open her gates at the first summons. Luxembourg seemed of a harder issue. It was kept by three thousand foot, and four hundred horse. But the trenches, the approaches, and a breach made, although not reasonable to giue an assault (considering the trench was very deepe cut off the Rocks) did so amaze the besieged, as they yeelded to depart with their baggage. The Earles of Mansfield and Piguelin promised to defend it against all men: but wee shall shortly see how they will discharge their duties.

Montmedy a small place situate vpon a Mountaine, so as they could not approach but on the one side, moued with this happy successe, yeelded at the first view of the Cannon. To conclude, such was the successe in this expedition, as onely Tionuille remained in the Emperours hands of all the Duchies of Luxembourg. But the great desire the Duke of Orleans had to beat the battell, which, in shew, was to be giuen before Pargignan, drew him to Montpelier, where the King remained attending the progresse of the said siege of Pargignan, to be ready to receiue the Emperour, if he came to succour it.

The Duke had no sooner dismissed his armie, and turned his backe to Luxembourg, leaving the Duke of Guise as Lieutenant General for the King, but the Imperials presented themselves before the towne, and receiued it very easily of the Earles of Mansfield and Piguelin: and by the recouerie of Montmedy did wonderfully endamage all the French troops at Senay, and along the Meuse, if the Duke (assembling what he could of those companies, he had dismissed) had not chased them from Montmedy, before they had any time to bethinke themselves. A stratagem which did pacifie the Kings wrath, for the dismissing of so gallant and brave an armie, in the heart of their most notable and happy successe. As is commonly said. That youth can doe what age can know but

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A but cannot doe. What did this youthfull escape of the Duke of Orleans benefit, preferring a desire of vncertaine glory, before the fruits of an assured conquest? No escape of his reputations small assistance vnto the Kings troops, (the had beene vpon the point of battell, and a great prejudice to his Maiesties affaires: for this voyage of Rouillon, being wonderfull sumptuous, and of no profit, he might with great honor haue continued his victories the which he had so happily begunne.)

Let vs now obserue the successe of this enterprise. *Amadeus* having brought vnto the Dauphin, being at Auiignon, eight thousand Swisses, six thousand French foot, of the old bands, whereof *Charles* of Cossy Lord of Brillac was Colliell: six thousand Italians, four hundred men at armes, and sixteene hundred light horse, whereof the Lord of Tarnes was General: and *Montpessier* having ioyned with him at Narbonne, with his Legion of Languedoc, and part of that of Guienne, six thousand Lanquenets, and a great number of Swisses, newly leauied, who being ioyned with their country-men, made about foure-score thousand, so as the whole army was esteemed forty thousand men of all Nations, two thousand men at armes, and two thousand light horse. The rough enterainment the Imperials gaue them at the castle of Swisses, with their Cannon and Culuerins, made them to coniecture, that the intelligences which *Montpessier* (the first fire-brand of this attempt) pretended to haue, were vncertaine.

And what successe could Pargignan promise them, finding it very well fortified with C platformes, well manned, and well furnished with artillery and munition? what assurance could the assaillants haue in a plaine field, behind gabions which they could not fill but with sand? The long time which was spent in assembling so many sundry Nations, and the fruitlesse stay of *Amadeus*, six or seuen weekes in Piedmont, had giuen the defendants time to prepare their enemies designs. Moreover, winter approached, and the Emperour might well keep the place without hazarding of his person or trying the chance of battell, whereunto the King fought by all meanes to draw him. This was the meanes to take cold, and to consume himselfe in vaine. Vpon the first raine there had beene no question to retire this army, by reason of the floods which runne on all sides from the mountaines, the which the necessity of the sea makes to ouer-flow the champaign country that lies neere D in it, as being shut vp betwixt two seas, and the mountaine, the enemy would easily haue persuaded. The King foreseeing these dangers, retired the Dauphin and his armie, knowing but too late, that he had beene ill serued. These flourishing troops, fresh and resolute, might haue beene most profitably employed in the Estate of Milan. But the assurance they gaue the King, to take Pargignan at the first, of two parties made him chooseth the worst: Moreover, in an army there is alwayes some one of those that are of the Council (being ielous, and enuying that any other should doe better) loue rather to trouble and frustrate designs, then to advance them.

In the meane time, *Anthony* Duke of Vendosme, Gouvernor and Lieutenant for the King in Picardy, suffered not his armes to rust: the enemy lurk in diuers places, which did E greatly annoy Ardes, and the country about Bologne: namely Montoire and Tournie, the first being strong of situation, vpon a little hill, at the entry of the county of Oye, discovering all that come out of Ardes. The other vpon the edge of the county of Bologne, going from Ardes to Saint Omers, belonging to the Count of Bures, one of the strongest places of the country. The taking and razing of these two, was the destruction of many others which held for them, and yet the enemy being the stronger in men, made somewhat to try his forces.

But on the other side, the country of Piedmont, was left in prey to the enemy, by reason that *Amadeus* had carried away the troops for the enterprise of Pargignan. The Marquis embracing this occasion, assembled his forces at the bridge of Esture, a sixtie leue the riuers as a commandement, and wherefoeuer he pleased, on this or the other side of Po, to assaile Piedmont. *Langes* Lieutenant for the King in Piedmont, to cross the Marquis, draws a company of foot out of euery towne, makes an enterprize vpon *Coblenz* and *Alba*, being ill furnished with souldiers. The vnder-takers for *Coblenz* and *Alba*, wander in the night, and the day approaching, made their voyage fruitlesse. *Just* the Gouvernor of Savilian, and *Cental* of Riez, appointed for *Quiers*, planned their Leaders, nor withstanding the day breaking had giuen the alarme in the towne, they forced it and the Castle being but on one side, and two flocks of meale in it, yeelded after they had

Attempt of  
Rouillon  
frustrated.

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fasted six and thirty houres. *Cental* being made *Gouverneur*, manned it with two thousand *A* souldiers which he leaued, as well vpon his owne lands as elsewhere.

The Marquis posted to succour them, but the distance of the places required three daies journey. He tooke his reuenge vpon *Villeneufue* of *Ast*, *Poiring* and *Cambian*, small places not fortified, resolute to passe the *Po*, and to campe at *Marignan*, to take from the French all the plaine country, and to furnish *Turin* and *Pignerol*, with the other places which they held on this side, and to take from them all commodity of the Marquise of *Salufes*. Five thousand foot, with some few men at armes, and light-horsemen, which *Langey* might oppose against the Marquis, who led fiftene thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were not sufficient to stop his passage. But the industry of a well aduised Commander, doth often that which force cannot effect.

He comes first to lodge at *Carignan*, fortifies himselfe speedily, and with continual skirmishes, keeps the Marquis from forcing of the passage. The waters were low (it was in the moneth of Iuly) they might easily wade through both aboue and beneath *Carignan*, these two armies had already camped fiftene dayes one against another, and the weakest in number was almost tired. *Langey* himselfe with his exceeding toile, was growne lame, yet hauing his tongue and his spirits free, hee winnes from the Imperiall army six thousand Italians: so as weakening his enemy, he fortifies himselfe. The Marquis amazed, and fearing lest these should suborne the rest of his troops, retires to *Villedeslon* and *Quiers*.

It was a goodly thing to pursue them, and the *Swisses* had accepted of this proposition: but in stead of passing the *Po*, being muiued by the perswasions of some, they turne their Ensignes directly to *Pignerol*, and *Boutieres* with them. *Langey* seeing himselfe abandoned, diuides his last come Italians into *Cafelles* and *Siria*, betwixt *Turin* and *Vulpian*; leaues about fifty souldiers in the Castle of *Carignan*, and causeth himselfe to be caried to *Turin*.

The Marquis hearing of this sudden departure, sends to summon the place, and threatens the souldiers with death, if they attend the Cannon. They yeeld at the summons: It was likely the Marquis would finish the fort which *Langey* had begunne. He therefore sends his brother *Martin du Bellay*, *Gouverneur* of *Turin* thither. *Du Bellay* sends before him *Captaine Marville*, and the Earle *Maxime*, *Anthony de Sesse*, his two Lieutenants, with about fifty horse, to obserue the enemies countenance. The Earle leaves his companion in guard, and by a Trumpet demands to speake with the Captaine of *Carignan*. This Captaine goes forth vnder his assurance (the Earle knew him well: he had sometimes serued him:) the Earle tels him they are sent to inuest him, attending the troops and the Artillery, and assures him, that if he makes any delay, it will not be in his power to saue his life. So the Captaine terrified by this stratagem, delivers the Castle to the *Gouverneur* of *Turin*, who tooke order the like inconuenience should not happen.

Then the Marquis, after two assaults, given in vaine to *Chiusas*, and repulled by *Ierolim* of *Birague*, he stayed at *Casal*, and *Casir* of *Naples*, to open the way from *Vulpian* to *Turin*, hoping to recouer againe the Italians, lately fallen from him, came to assaile *Cazelles*. *Langey* discouering this designe, appointed the Cheualier *Villegagnon* to command them, who sent backe his enemy with the losse of about foure-score men, leauing his ladders in the trenches, for a pawning of his vaine enterprife. *Barges* stoppe the passage from *Pignerol* to *Rauel*, and did then greatly annoy the places which obeyed the French, being in the midst of them. The Marquis retired from *Casal* could not succour it in many dayes. And therefore not to suffer the *Swisses* to grow dull for want of exercise, *Boutieres* by the commandement of *Langey*, parts from *Pignerol* with six Cannons, finds a Conuent fortified, ioyning to the Castle, without the taking whereof, the Castle might not be attempted: he makes a breach, takes it by assault in foure and twenty houes, and puts three hundred Spaniards which had the guard thereof, to the sword. Then hee approacheth the Castle, makes a breach, and compounds with the besieged, that if within six dayes the Marquis or some for him, came not strong enough to raise the siege, they should depart, with their liues.

The Marquis aduertised of this composition, postes to succour them, and *Boutieres* being too weak to attend so great a power, retires to *Pignerol*. In recompence whereof *Langey* takes from him the Castle of *Montault* and some other places in *Monterrat*, being

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A hard to be recovered in winter. And to pull so troublefome a thorne out of his foot, hee causeth *Vassé*, *Gouverneur* of *Pignerol*, to practise *Paul Menus* Captaine of *Barges*: and then with some bands newly come from France, hee marcheth with speed to the said place, plants foure Cannons in battery, and by meanes of a hole which hee made in the Tower, although not reasonable for a breach, hee receiues both the place and *Capeade* into the Kings seruice. The time fitted well for the warre, and the King being loath to lose the opportunity, and to employ some part of the forces that were retired from *Rapignan*, sent the Lord of *Annebaul*, with the Regiment of *Reishnes*, into *Piedmont*, with the old Italian bands, and the French, all the light-horse, and foure hundred men at armes.

This new army, might in shew (whilest the Marquis of *Goult* was at *Carmagnole*, doubtfull whither they would make their first attempt) haue surprised *Casal*, and other places where *Langey* had intelligence. With this designe, he secretly kept boats vpon the River of *Po*: within foure and twenty houres they might goe downe by water, and the Marquis could not come to succour them in lesse then foure dayes march. Moreover, a friend, (whom he entertained neere vnto the Marquis) assured him that the French three thousand *Langsquenets*, and a thousand Spaniards, the which hee himselfe should leaue and cause them to be surprised at a passage neere to *Villedeslon*, where they had no meanes to escape: so as passing the *Po* by night, they had sent some foure hundred horse, betwixt *Carmagnole* and *Villedeslon*, and opposed the army betwixt *Villedeslon* and *Quiers*. Without doubt *Langey* being lame of his limbs, employed all his wits to discouer the Imperials purposes, and still to get from the enemy. But Enuy hath alwayes sworne the ruine of Vertue. Some enuious persons brake off these two designs and disswaded *Annebaul* from these great enterprises.

*Langey* seeing his proiect crost by his enemies, he parted from *Turin* with the Kings good leaue, to acquaint him with many things touching his Maiesties seruice, which hee could not commit to any mans report: but death preuented him at *Saint Saphorin*, vpon the Mountaine of *Tarare*. The Marquis dislodging from *Carmagnole*, had left so few men in *Cony*, as a sudden assault had caried it at the first. To this end *Annebaul* parts with foure Cannons, and caused *Riuples* to come with the Regiment of *Reishnes*. The bridges of *Carignan* and *Montcallier* were broken, so as the *Langsquenets* must passe at *Turin*. *Du Bellay* *Gouverneur* of the towne, and Lieutenant for the King on this side *Po*, prepares their lodging, to employ them as they passe. The Tower of *Saint Bony*, *Chastillon*, *Saint Raphael*, and other small places, vpon the Mountaine of *Monterrat*, did wonderfully annoy *Turin*: They could not goe to the places of *Monterrat*, whence the victuals (especially Wine) came in great abundance, without being disordered.

He mounts foure Cannons, departs with some troops of horse, three Ensignes of Frenchmen of his garison, and the said Germanes, plants his artillery before *Saint Bony*, makes a hole, the *Langsquenets* giue the assault, force it, and put all they find armed to the sword, except the Captaine, who was hanged by the Law of Armes, for that he had endured the Cannon in so weak a place. *Chastillon* could not be battered but from another mountaine opposite, and the horses could not draw vp the Artillery. The *Langsquenets*, fliest with the prey of *Saint Bony*, force it vp by maine strength, and the besieged, being foure hundred good men of warre, terrified with the visage of *Saint Bony*, yeeld to depart with their baggage. Those of *Saint Raphael*, and some other places, send to demand a composition and retreat. Onely *Chastillon* was defensible and commodious for the guard of the passage all the rest were razed.

The *Langsquenets* hauing ioyned with *Annebaul*, hee bessegeth *Cony*, overthrowes a piece of the wall, and giues an assault, but it was the place that was best fortified: a great rampier behind the breach staves our men, the which after an houres fight they are forced to abandon, with the losse of many men of seruice: and the night following, two hundred horse, and eight hundred foot being entred, made the Admirall to sound a retreat; eight Cannons diuided into two batteries, had so troubled the defendants, as not able to answer the diuers assaults, the towne in shew had become wonne. But errors are knowne after they are committed. Vpon the retreat, the Earle *Maxime*, *Anthony Marville*, and *Theode Beuaine* an *Albanois*, encounter two hundred Imperiall horses, neere to *Bra*: they charge them, defeat, and take the most part of them, and the enemy hauing abandoned many

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A new French army at this time.

A gallant stratagem of Langey.

Barges taken.

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small places, the Admirall reduceth to the Kings obedience Villeneuve of Arr, Poring, A Cambian, and Riue de Quiers.

Winter did cut off all meanes of more happy successe. So dismissing his army, and sending the Laniquenets of Colonne *Reichers* into France, he took his way to Mont-Cenis. Mont-Cenis is subiect to tempests, as well as the sea. The way is straight, restrained by two mountaines: when any storme ariseth, the gulfs of wind doe gather together bales of snow, vpon the tops of the hills, which growing great as they roule downe, ouerthrow all they meet, and they to whom the straight is not knowne (for oftentimes the guides are lost), run many times into caues full of snow. *Annebaull* was in this danger, most part of them that did accompany him, found their graues vnder the snow: some lost their eyes, others die with cold, some returned benumbed of their feet, others of their armes and hands, and few of this whole troop enioyed his perfect health: himselfe was neere vnto a fatall end, if some men attending the end of the storme, in little caues, had not preferred him from the injury thereof.

At that time the King determined a reuenge against the inhabitants of Rochel, and the neighbouring Islands which were mutined against the Kings officers, for the custome of salt. Being arriued at Rochel, they assembled all in the garden where his Maiesty did lie, confessed their rebellion publicly, and most humbly craued pardon for their offence. *The fury of a King* (saith the Wiseman) *is the messenger of death: but a wise man will pacifie it.* And the cheerefull countenance of a King is life, his fauour is like vnto a cloud, bringing raine in due season. The King moued with the pitifull noyse of this people, crying for mercy with their hands lift vp, kneeling on the ground, and teares in their eyes: did graciously remit their offence, freed the prisoners, deliuered their armes, and the keys of the towne, commanded the Garisons both of foot and horse, to retire: receiued them into grace, and restored their liberties and priuiledges: without doubt, *A King maintains his Throne by clemency.* In the meane time, many practices and enterprises are made against Turin.

The Marquis of Guast did at sundry times send vnto the Iudge of Turin, being borne at Quiers, a number of carts laden with wine: and within the vessels which were as long as the carts, many armes, harguebuzes, pertusians and corselets, to arme fourescore men, the which he should receiue into his house, disguised like country-men, bringing viuals to the market: who at the first tumult they should heare at the towne-gate, should issue forth armed, and seize vpon the Court of guard in the market place, whilst that other souldiers armed with lackes and shirts of Maile, morians, swords, daggers, and targets, brought in five carts of hay, six in euery one (the hay being so cunningly layd, as cutting a cord within, the bundels would fall downe) should fight with the Guard at the Pon, and fauour the entry of eight hundred horse, and five thousand foot, which should be ready at the alarme. But the enterprife being discovered, made the Iudge to lose his head.

The enemy notwithstanding, lets not to proceed to the execution of his carts of hay, in the absence of *Bellay*, whom his priuate affaires had called into France, after the death of his brother: and the twelfth of February, *Bontiers* Lieutenant for the King at Turin, was well aduertised of some carts which were preparing at Ligni (an Imperiall towne neere vnto Vulpian) but not of the manner of the former enterprife. They hazard their hay. *Raymonet* commanding at the gate, causeth *Perrichon* his Lieutenant to thrust a pike through the first cart, he drawes it out all bloody, the souldiers leape forth, and the first thrusts *Raymonet* through the body with his sword. *Raymonet* takes him by the throat, and stabs him, his companions likewise come forth, force the Guard, seize vpon the armes that hang vp, and become masters of the port. Valiantly without doubt, but somewhat too soone for them, their succours were a mile or more from the first bridge.

Captaine *Saluadeur de Aguerre*, (who deserves to be regretted, having a great share in the preferation of the towne) heauing then the guard of the place, hearing the alarme at the gate, and crying *Sauoy*, turnes head with his troop, repulseth the five that were slip out of the first cart, & goes directly to the gate. A well aduised Smith, who dwelt neere the gate, goes vp, and with a great hammer breakes the chaine, and lets downe the Portcullis, so as the Imperials could not enter. *Bontiers* and *Montains* arise, they shut the gates, kill some of the souldiers that were betwixt the gate and the Portcullis, the rest creepe vnder the Portcullis, being too stout, and *Casir* of Naples (who not many dayes before, had left

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A three of his souldiers hanged at Turin, being executed for another conspiracy against the towne) seeing his enterprife made frustrate, retired without the losse of any, but of his Lieutenant, who was slaine with the Cannon.

On the other side, the Duke of Clenes made warre in Brabant, and had wonne some places from the Emperour. So as the Bourguignons turning all their forces against him, giveth the Duke of Vendosme leane to victuall Therouenne, to take Lilliers by composition, being a strong place, betwixt Aire and Beuue, at the entry of the Marish: to burne the towne, beat downe the gates, and to take it and many other places about Therouenne, Saint Omer, Aire, Betune, altogether vnprofitable for the enemy. And to the Earle of Aumale eldest sonne to the Duke of Guise, accompanied with the Lords of Laual, Saint Andre, Escars, Dampiere, Chastaigneray, Eguilly, and a great number of other young Gentlemen, occasion to quicken the enemy with continuall skirmishes and assaults, most commonly carrying away the aduantage.

The happy successe, and the favourable season, invited the King, in the beginning of Iune, to goe to field with all his forces, with an intent to assaile Auennes, being vnfirmly held of them: To this end he sends the Admirall of Breton, newly aduanced to that office, by the death of the Admirall of Breton, that attending his comming, he should inuest the towne, and sent to the Duke of Vendosme to come to him to Chalieu-Cambresis, which was the rendezvous for all the Army. So the King had the Admirals army, as a foreward on his right hand; that of the Duke on his left, and his Maiesty in the midst.

*Longueval* and *Languey*, with their companies of men at armes, and *la Lande* with a thousand foot, goe before, by the Admirals commandements, they take the Fort by assault, which the enemies had built vpon the bridge of the Riuer of Estruel: and before the towne had any knowledge thereof, they put to the sword three hundred men that had the guard thereof. In this amazement, if they had suddenly assailed the towne, in few it had bene forceable. Nor without long Landrecy, the Castle of Emery, and some other places taken and fortified, gave entry into the country of Hainault. Landrecy is situate vpon Semibre, a small river, but deepe and strong vpon the banks, which issuing out of Oise, in the Duchy of Guise, runnes by Chastillon, Landrecy, Marolles, Emery, and Malbeuge: then it runnes into the Meuse neere Namur. Beyond Sambre, is the Forest of Mornaur.

*Languey* foreseeing that the garison might vs the same stratagem they had done in the yeere 1524, had placed an hundred horse betwixt the forest and the towne, that being forced by the Admirals comming, they might cut off the retreat to them that were assailed. But as we haue said elsewhere, Envy doth alwayes crosse braue designs. The Admirall in stead of fauouring the enterprife, calls them backe that were on the other side of the river, being ready to performe a worthy exploit. And the enemy seeing the way open, retires into the forest, and at their dislodging consumes the towne to ashes: and not able to saue any thing but the Church, they burne their victuals and munition, which was sufficient to feed the garison of the towne a whole yeare. To repaire and make it defensible,

the King gaue the gouernment thereof to *La Lande*, who by a counter trench, couered it from a mountain on the forest side, which looks into the towne, hee made three great bulwarks, and filled the Castle with earth to make a platforme, seruing as a flank to the bulwarks.

Let vs make another fault no lesse remarkable. The Duke of Vendosme marching by the high country of Artois to the Rendezvous, had suddenly reduced Bapaume to his obedience. *Antoine*, with the souldiers and citizens of all sexes, being retired into the Castle, had by one Well, which being drawne in two dayes would haue brought them to the Dukes mercy, when hee receiues a second charge from the King, that vpon paine of disobedience, and to incur his disgrace, he should continue the same day to him.

The Duke of Clenes left the besieged at liberty, and returned with his army. The King inuading his forces vnited, he found the number to be about eighteen hundred men at armes; whereof the Commanders were, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Orleans, Vendosme and Guise, the Earles of Saint Paul, Aumale and Brienne, the Marquis of Brie, the Admirall *Dampiere*, *Languey*, *Longueval*, *Bontiers*, and many others; the number whereof should be about eight hundred light horse vnder *Brissac*, their Colonells being about a Legionaries, Picards, Normans, and Champenois, and twelue thousand footmen. The Castle of Emery might be fortified, and sent to Landrecy.

Exploits in Picardie.

Landrecy and other places taken by the French.

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The Castle of  
Emery taken.

Landrecy. To that end the King sent the Dauphin with part of the army, and some artillery. The Lord of the place was at the warres in Gueldres, and they which kept it, yielded vpon the first approaches. *Langcy* with his company of men at armes, and an Ensigne of the Legion of Picardy was left for the defence & fortification of the place. The taking of Barlemont, another Caste vpon the same river, opened the passage vnto Bains, and to the gates of Monts in Hainault. Maubeuge was the enemies store-house, when as hee made any attempt against this Realme, and the towne being vnfortified with men, able to attend the Cannon, the inhabitants yielded to the Dauphin, who (leaving *Heyley* Capitaine of a thousand men of the legion of Picardy, and *Saint Tne* with five hundred) he retired to the army.

The army camped tenne leagues from Bains, and Bains was the ordinary retreat of the Imperials returning from the warre in Guelderland, who for the distance of the French campe, did lodge securely in the suburbs and villages about: considering that there were no horsemen at Maubeuge, *Langcy* gives intelligence to *Maugeron*, that they had means to doe a braue exploit with honor and profit. Hee comes with his company of men at armes, and fourescore of the Admirals, and parting by night, they take (in their passage) Capitaine *Saint Tne*, with fifty Harguebuziers on horsebacke, of the garison of Maubeuge, they lay an ambush halfe a league on this side Bains, within a wood, and send *La Mot Gondrin* Lieutenant to *Maugeron*, who remained sicke at Maubeuge, to enter the suburbs of Mons, and by the firing of some houfes, to take from them of the towne the knowledge of the enterprize of Bains: and then to retire themselves into the ambush, in case they were charged: and they send *Marville*, Lieutenant to *Langcy*, (who commanded the ambush) the Vidame of Chartres, *la Rochequien*, and the Harguebuziers on horsebacke, to surpris the Imperials in their suburbs, at the breake of day. Every thing was executed accordingly. About sixscore horse, ariving the night before, slept at their ease: they awake them somewhat rudely, and carry them away prisoners, spoile the villages about, returne to divide their rich booty at Maubeuge. At the same time the Earle of Aumale, tormented the garisons of Auenness with continuall skirmishes: but still with the decrease of their men, and no losse of his.

The Imperials  
surprised at  
Bains.

The prisoners of Bains had assured the King, that the towne was vnfortified with men of defence. He therefore sends the Dauphin and the Admirall to subdue it to his obedience. But at the first approach they found themselves abused. The Imperials had the next day after the alarme put fifteen hundred Lanquenets into the towne. Moreover, for want of well viewing the fort, they had indiscreetly planted the Cannon against the strongest part: the battery did small harme, many died there, and many returned wounded. *Alere* amongst others, a young man, who for his age had made good proofe of his person, lost his life. *Capar* of Coligny Lord of Chastillon (he shall hereafter play many parts vpon the Theater of this History) for one of the first exploits of *Alsaines*, had a shot in the throat. So the great number of Germanes which entred into Bains, the want of munition and victuals (the Dauphin having brought but for two dayes) the enemies which assailed at Monts, and at *Quefnoy le Comte*, the danger the King did foresee in keeping his troops divided, the feare that going in person to ioyne with his sonne (with whom were his chiefe forces, he should be constrained to leave the fortifications of Landrecy imperfect: his Malthe draws the Dauphin vnto him, he causeth him to beat downe the defences of Maubeuge in his passage: and (for that the Emperours was wont to assemble his forces there that came out of Germany and the Low Countries) to fire the towne. Trelon and Glayon, places betwixt Auenness and Simay, did greatly annoy the frontiers of Tiersse and Champagne. *Bonnenal*, and *Stenay*, Lieutenants to the Duke of Anguien (who was in Pronounce, as we shall shortly see) had commission to prevent it. Being come to Trelon with two thousand French, and four thousand Lanquenets, there within at the first sight of the Cannon yielded to have their liues saved. Glayon afterwards submitted with the like facility. Both being burnt, but their fortifications not ruined, shall serve againe to lodge the Imperials.

Emery remained still whole, but it might not be made fit to endure the attempts of a mighty army in twelve dayes. Moreover, it must be furnished with victuals of two rivers not to be waded through, betwixt Landrecy and Emery, made the victualling difficult. *Auenness* did cut it off, and the Commissaries of the victuals reported, that to put victuals into

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A into Emery, were insurmountable to the army, and to take away the means to victual Landrecy for the want of carriage, which was greatly hindered by a continuall raining three weekes together. And that which did most importune, comes to the King, that the Emperours armies, and approached neere the countries of the Duke of Cleues, whom he might not abandon to the pawes of a roaring Lion, who had long time vowed his ruine, he the towers of the dungeon of Emery, and the portall of the wals flying into the ayre, by mines, and other means, serued to fill vp the trenches.

Hitherto we haue made warre with small resistance, hereafter we shall haue a stronger party, and by consequence more glory to crosse the Emperours attempts, whilst that mine and the winter drives him from before Landrecy. In the end of Iuly, Landrecy was in such estate, as without any support of an army, the fortifications might well be continued, leaving some troops at Guise, and the Duke of Cleues (against whom the Emperour banded all his power) appealed to the King for succours. The King therefore, to aduert the Emperours forces, to draw him to battell, and to try if he were accompanied with the like happinesse, leading his forces in person, as he had bene by his Deputies, or at the least by the taking of Luxemburg, to make the way easie to succour his allies, he sent the Duke of Vendosme to encounter the enemies attempts vpon the frontiers of his Picardie, and to fauour the necessary victualling of Landrecy: and for the execution of his enterprise, he appointed the Duke of Orleans, vader the conduct of the Admirall of Ansbault. The Prince of Melphes, whom the King had left in Guise with three hundred men at armes, and *Brissac*, Colonell of fifteen hundred light horse, to goe and ioyne with him about Rheims: And the Earles of Reux and Roquendols, with the forces of the Low countries, came from a skirmish at Landrecy, which they did hope to surpris, being vnfortified with victuals.

As they trooped together with a designe to attempt the Caste of Bohain, newes comes that *La Hunauday* and *Theaude Bedaigne* an Albanois, (either of them being Capitaine of two hundred horse) were lodged neere vnto the Caste of Bouhourie, making account to dislodge so easely, as they might come in time to part with the Generall. To surpris them the Lord of Liques, Lieutenant to the Duke of Alencors company, draws eight hundred choice Bourguignon horses out of the Imperiall troops, two hundred Englishmen, (the King of England being then fauoured by the Emperour, pretended to intade vs, as we shall hereafter see) and foure ensignes of foot-men. But lest he should come too late, hee leaves them behind him, and marcheth before with his horsemen.

At the first they charge *Bedaigne* lodging, who whilst the enemy was breaking open the gate, had leisure to put on his Cuirasse: he goes to horse-backe with his lance in his hand, forceth furiously through them, ouerthrowes them: he meets, and ioynes his troop with *La Hunauday*, who was likewise on horse-back. *Aché* and *Bertrand* of Foissy, Lord of Crené, Capitaine of 200 harguebuziers on horse-back, being lodged at the same Abbey, poste to their succours: they force the bridge which the Imperials kept, and ioyntly with the light-horsemen repulse the enemy. The alarme is giuen at Guise. *Theaude Manes* arives with his 200 light-horse to second his companions: and *Brissac* borrowing about threescore horse of the Prince of Melphes (his troops had already taken the way to Marle) goes to their aid: he is aduertified by *Bedaigne*, that the enemy (fearing to haue the whole army vpon them) beganne to wauer: all the troops ioyne and charge them suddenly: they ouerthrow their horsemen vpon their foot, which advanced and put them to rout: they pursue them speedily, leave three hundred dead vpon the place, carry away six hundred prisoners, and win foure ensignes and two Cornets. The rest of the Imperiall army going to assaile Bohain, hearing of this defeat, and doubting they should be forced to fight with the whole army, great amazed, and retired to *Quefnoy le Comte*. The Duke of Orleans having already by the taking of Saint Mary (for Montmedy and Yvooy were vnder the Kings obedience, since the first conquest made by the said Duke) Danuilliers, Vireton, Arlon, and other places made his approaches to Luxemburg: he prest it with two batteries at a corner of the high towne towards France, the one crossing the other: the one was committed to the Duke of Aumale, the other to *Peter Storff*, a Florentine, kinsman to Pope Clement deceased, who, (being lately come out of Italy) had brought three hundred Tuscan Soldiers, all men of note and commandement: two parts armed with Pikes, the third with Harguebuzers all with gilt corselets. The towne was defended by four hundred horse well appointed,



pointed, and three thousand five hundred foot well armed, under the command of *Gilles of Lannoy*, a man well esteemed by the Imperials, and *Jehan de Heu* one of the Lords of Metz: yet at the fifth or sixth volley of the Cannon, having demanded composition, they departed with their baggage.

*Zwingli* entered as Gouverneur with his company of men at armes, *Anglure* with a thousand of the Legion of Champagne: *Hardouin* a Lorraine, and the Vicount of Riuier, commanding either of them five hundred men: and *Thom Marin* a Boulenois, six score *Polians*. The King having passed the Feast of Saint Michael there, and performed the ceremonies of the Order, he disposed of the fortifications of the towne: then he prepared himselfe to succour Landrecy, which the Imperials besieged, leaving the Legionaries of B Champagne and Normandy vnder the Count *Burienne*, to favour the victualling of his new conquest, the which he had committed to the Prince of Melphe, being assisted with the companies of men at armes of the Lords of Sedan, Iametz, Brienne, Langcy, Estauges, La Maille, and two thousand Lanquenets led by *Fresnay*, and ten thousand Legionaries.

The munition was prepared at Stenay and Mouzon: and for want of carriages which they had purposely stayed on all sides, the campe was so oppressed with famine, as the Capitaines themselves had no bread to eat. So the souldiers being impatient and ill affected: disdaining moreover to see themselves disappointed of the sacke and spoile of Luxembourg, whereof they were in hope, they mutine and returned home to their houses: so as of vntwelve thousand, about three hundred remained vnder their ensignes: and Capitaine *Thierrier* (whom the Duke of Orleans had left in Arlon) having spoiled the towne, took the same way with his company. Without doubt these poore townsmen newly conquered, shewed themselves more faithfull then this wretch, who was appointed to defend them. They giue notice, that they had shut their gates against the Imperials that were come to seize on their towne: and that having taken their oath of fidelity vnto the King, they were resolute to keepe their faith, so as they might be releued. Ten or twelue thousand Lanquenets were assembled vpon Moezel to hinder this victualling. Notwithstanding, through the helpe of the men at armes, and the Lanquenets of *Fresnay*, Luxembourg was victualled for three moneths, in despite of the enemy, and Arlon supplied with six hundred men, and such a quantity of munition as the time would permit. The taking of D Luxembourg had giuen the King means to send the Admirall with foure hundred men at armes, and ten thousand foot, to succour the Duke of Cleues, in whose fauour this war was chiefly attempted. But the Duke after the taking of the towne of Dure, having no means to auoid the storme which threatened him with apparant ruine, nor long to withstand to great a power, made his peace with the Emperor, yeelded vnto him the Duchy of Gueldres, the County of Zutphen, and the forts of Heusberg and Sittart, to dispose thereof at his pleasure. At the same time *Don Fernand* of Gonsagua, Lieutenant general for the Emperor, besieged Guise: but being aduertised of the Kings arriuall at Couchy, who marched with great speed to encounter the Emperor, he resolved to make his retreat to Landrecy, *Brissac* with a number of men at armes, and harguebuziers on horse backe, lies in ambush in a wood to surprize them in their dislodging, and sends *Theau de Bedaigne* his band to enter skirmish with the Imperiall light-horse men, and to draw them (if it were possible) into the ambush. But *Bedaigne* not able by skirmish to make them abandon the body of their army which marched towards Landrecy, *Brissac* puts forth five hundred horse, to giue a furious charge, and he follows with his whole troop to second them. Ovt men making a gallant charge, ouerthrow all they encounter: they kill and take prisoners, amongst others, *Don Francis* of Este, brother to the Duke of Ferrara, Capitaine general of all the Imperiall horsemen: and they presse the rest so hotly, as *Gonsagua* gathering together all his battalions, is forced to turne head to save the rest. So *Brissac* suffered him to goe on his pretended way, to ioyne with the Earle of Reux, who had long time before possessed the fort of Landrecy.

Now are all the Imperiall forces before Landrecy, eightene thousand Germanes, ten thousand Spaniards of the old band, six thousand Wallons, ten thousand English, thirteen thousand horse, of the ordinary band of the Low-countries, Cleues and high Germanes. The Campe being lodged, and the Artillery planted, the Emperour makes three batteries of five and forty peeces against the bulwarke of Orleans, against the Caste, and against the bulwarke of Vendosme: and to keepe the defendants from making of any rampier,

The Duke  
sends him-  
selfe to the  
Emperour.

Landrecy vi.  
Guallid.

A pier, or coming to the defences, the bulwarke and curtaines being not yet halfe finished, they plant a long Culuerin vpon a little hill towards the Forest of Mormail. This peece did wonderfully annoy them, and they had no means to charge, the Lanquenets which did guard it but on the one side. The river that passed by the trench of the bafe towne, which they had abandoned, ranne betwixt them. *Ricarnille* with forty horse, and *Saint Simon* with thirty foot, and some pioneers, undertake to seize vpon this peece. They passe the water, surprize the Lanquenets, put them to rout, draw the Culuerin by maine strength to the bulwarke of Orleans, turne the mouth of it against the enemy, and from the rampier kill many Bourguignons with their small fort, being come to the trench to rescue it. The King advanced, but the Emperour (to doe some notable exploit before his arriuall) ouerthrow a great part of the wall, making it very easie to assaile: and to take from the besieged all means to defend this breach, he put them into a portall of the bafe towne which was abandoned: and about it he plants certaine field-peece, which commanded the breach. The souldiers were now brought to halfe a loafe of prouant-bread aday, and to drinke faire water. So whilst they were well affected, and had some courage (for men ill fed and tired with continuall labour faint soone) they must take this lodging from the Imperials. Three hundred men appointed by *La Lande* and *Esse*, assaile them one morning at the breake of day, and before they could come from the campe to succour them, they dislodge them. The breach inuities them to the assault: but the Emperour considering the valour of the defendants, foreseeing that he should hardly take it by force, without the losse of many of his men, he makes his accompt that famine, and the continuall toils of warre would in the end vanquish them.

The want of victuals, the weaknesse of the place, and the insupportable trauell which they must necessarily endure day and night, made the besieged to hazard *Tuelle* a Norman Capitaine of five hundred men in Landrecy, to aduertise the King, that extreme necessity would soone constrain them to yeeld, but no force, whilst they had a man liuing. The King assembles his Campe at La Fere vpon Oise: and knowing the resolution of these braue men, he went to lodge at Chateau-Cambrésis, holding it more honourable to turn head to the enemy, then by delays to make them think he would not fight: he gave charge to *Langcy* to gather together all the fat cattell, all the meale, and all the horses of labour he could, that whilst the King should feed the Emperour with the hope of a battell, they might refresh the besieged.

On the 25 of October he had drawne into Capelle twelue hundred sheepe, nine-score cattell, six hundred sackes of meale, with so many horses and men, euery one carrying a sacke vpon his horse. The enemy scoured the country with a thousand or twelue hundred horse. Notwithstanding, *Langcy* having ioynd with *Sansfaict* troope, being resolute to passe on, or to sell their liues dearly, he causeth his peasants to march in battell like to men of warre, to the end the enemy discovering them as farre off, should hold them to be men of another quality. Thus they brought their victuals safely to Landrecy, and then retiring E a contrary way to that where the Imperials attend them, they returned safely to la Capelle. Our men are now victualled for fifteene dayes, but they haue need of rest, and the place to be refreshed with men.

The Emperour finding the King to approach, retired on this side the water, gathering together all his forces, which were before diuided: and his Maiesty embracing this occasion, sends the Earle of Saint Paul and the Admirall of Annebault, to retire them out of Landrecy, who had suffered much for his seruice, and to supply the place with fresh souldiers. They left the Lord of Veruain for the Kings Lieutenant, commanding a thousand men of the Legion of Picardy, and *Rochbatain* five hundred. *La Lande*, and *La Chapelle Rainsouin*, in recompence of their good seruises, were made Stewards of the Kings house, and *Esse* a Gentleman of his Chamber. The Dukes of Neuers and Aumale, and two brothers of *Rochfoucault*, the Lords of Andelot, Brezé, Cizeaux, *Bonnieres* his brother, *Saint Lawrence* of Britany, *Atenay*, *Saint Phille*, and many other young Gentlemen, who (to winne honour by some worthy exploits) had voluntarily entred into it) were rewarded according to their qualities. The souldiers were made Gentlemen during their liues, and such as had offended the law, pardoned. The King had now put in execution one of his chiefe designs, in view of a great Emperour. Winter was coming, the continuall raine had made frustrate all their attempts of warre: and the long abode

A braue fallie.

Landrecy vi.  
Guallid.

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A brazen  
trout made by  
the French.

of the two armies, had broken the wayes six leagues about. The Emperour camped high with advantage, having a valley and a small brooke not easie to be passed, betwixt both the armies. There was no reason to passe the water, and mounting to fight with the enemy. The Emperour likewise would not passe to give the first charge. So his Majesty giving the enemy hope by fires and great noise, that he would fight, made his retreat towards Guife. The Emperour advertised in the morning that the army was dislodged, hee commanded *Fernand* of *Gonfagua* to follow, who (the better to discover them) intended to put some men into a wood where they must passe, but it was too late: the wood was full of French *Hargue* buizers, who received these adventurers so gallantly, as few escaped to carry news unto their companions of the manner of their retreat.

The Emperour followed with the rest of his forces, whilst the skirmish was maintained in the wood. *Gonfagua* seeing himselfe seconded by his chiefe commander, drew forth a thousand or twelue hundred horse, with a good number of shot, and English light-horsemen, on the right hand towards *Bohain*. But all in vaine, the Cannon and baggage (having passed the wood) followed the King in safety who marched before, and the Dauphin holding the middle, with eight hundred men at armes, and fourtene thousand *Suiffes*, having left *Brissac* with his light horse-men, and foure hundred men at armes to second him: moreover, the *Suiffes* were behind in the battell, and himselfe on the wing to support them, with an intent to fight with the Emperour if he passed the wood: but he forced the enemy to retire, not daring any more to appeare: many of his men were slaine, many taken, and few of ours.

The season was not fit to campe: so the King, to refresh his army, sent the Marshall of *Biez* to *Saint Quentin* with foure hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foot, to oppose against the Emperours designs upon that frontier: the *Languenets* to *Crecy vnder Cere*, the *Suiffes* to *Ailly*, and he lodged the rest of his army along the river of *Oise*. And the Emperour seeing that he had lost his labour before *Landrecy*: and that hee had with losse and dishonour followed the French army, retired to *Cambray*, winning much more with the Foxes skinne, then he had done with the Lions: for by means of their Bishop, who was of the House of *Croy*, perswading the light-beleaving Citizens, that the King meant to seize upon their towne, so spoile them of that ancient right of neutrality, and to incorporate them to the crowne, he made them yeeld to the building of a citadell, by the which of free-men they are now become slaves, and this citadell shall hereafter serve as a buckler against *Landrecy*. We have here omitted to describe the exploits of the Duke of *Anguien* in *Prouence*. The King had sent him to receive the army by sea, which *Barberousse* brought to his succour. Being at *Marfeilles*, *Grignan* Gouvernor of the towne, did acquaint him with an intelligence which he had with three souldiers of the garisons of the castle of *Nice*, who promised to deliver him the said castle. The Duke well informed of the Kings pleasure, being loth to commit himselfe rashly to the discretion of traytors, who might as well sell the stranger as their owne Country, armed foure Gallies, and sent them before vnder the command of Captaine *Magdelen*, brother to the Baron of *S. Blaise*, himselfe with eleven other Gallies, tooke the sea, and the advantage of the wind, either to second his men, or to retire at need. When as *Magdelen* approached to *Nice*, six Gallies issue forth to inuest him, and fifteene more led by *Iacotin Doris*, chase him vnto the port of *Antibo*. *Magdelen* hurt with a Cannon shot, died soone after: the Gallies being abandoned were a prey for *Iacotin*, and the Duke discovering by Moore light, that *Iacotin* came to surprize him, retired speedily to *Toulon* without any losse.

Hereupon *Barberousse* arises at *Marfeilles* with an hundred and ten Gallies. The King pretends *Nice* to be his, and heretofore engaged by the Earles of *Prouence*, to the Duke of *Sauoy* for a summe of money. They assaile it, and within few dayes bring it to composition. But without the castle, this victory was fruitlesse: the castle seated upon a high and steepe rock is hard to batter, and more vnesie to undermine. So *Barberousse* seeing the time spent in vaine, and winter approaching, retired his Gallies to *Toulon*: and the Duke upon hope of a battell, came to the King to *Cambresie*.

The taking of *Nice* drew the Marquis of *Gust* to succour the Castle: but advertised of their liberty, he employed his forces elsewhere. *Montdeus* was the first place of the kings obedience in *Piedmont*, which made head in his return: and *Boutieres* having few French foot to man in, he was forced to put it *Suiffes*. The *Suiffes* are more fit for the field, yet are they

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The Kings  
army in Pied-  
mont broken.

A they commended to have done their duties. But after, many assaults and toiles, want of victuals, and despair of succours, made them enter into capitulation: the which was ill observed by the Spaniards: for they were stript, and many put to the sword. A wound which shall prove bloody to the Spaniards at the battell of *Serifolles*. This victory caused the Marquis to passe the *Po*, and to take from our men the commoditie of all the plaine of *Piedmont* on this side the water (for that which they held on the other side, as *Saullan*, *Beine*, *Roque de Bau*, and *Cental*, were without hope of succour) he turned head towards *Carignan*, whither the Lord of *Austun*, and *Francis Barnardin* of *Vimarcat* (having no forces to make head against eightene thousand men, and to take from the enemy all B means to make vse thereof) they razed the fortifications which were made the yeere before by *Languey*. But they had no means to finish their enterprize, nor leisure to recover *Montcallier*, for the enemy meeting them at the passe of a river, slue many, and tooke the greatest part of them prisoners.

This losse was ready to be seconded by that of *Luxemburg* which the Earle of *Furstemberg* (a man variable in his parties) besieged in the Emperours name, with twelue thousand *Languenets*, & a good number of horse. The besieged wanted victuals, and the winter had not bene so violent in twenty yeares. They did the prouant-wine with hatches, and it was sold by weight, and then the souldiers caried it away in baskets. The King being loth to lose any part of his conquests, sent the Prince of *Melpe*, with about foure hundred men at armes, *Brissac* Colonell of the light-horse, and some foot. The Earle seeing that the extreme frosts did kindle the courage of the commanders and souldiers, who marched with an intent to fight with him, raised his campe, and tooke his way to *Germanica*. The Prince retired *Longueval* and his troops, having bene long kept in, to enjoy the liberty of the fields, leaving the Vicount of *Eustauges*, surnamed *Anglore*, with his companie of men at armes, and fifteene hundred foot: then he dispersed his army into Garisons in *Champagne* and *Picardy*, to make head against the enemy the rest of the winter, and to preferre the last conquests.

On the other side, his Majesty knowing that the Imperials was master of the field, hee supplied *Boutieres* his Lieutenant in *Piedmont*, with foure thousand French foot leauied by the Lord of *Tais* in *Prouence*, *Dauphine*, and thereabouts, and five thousand *Gruyers* or *Grisons* (to ioyne with the five thousand *Suiffes*, entertained in *Piedmont*) with some three hundred men at armes. With this supply he recovered the field which he had long before lost, tooke many small places betwixt *Vercell* and *Yurée*, forced *Saint Germane*, (a towne vpon the way from *Chiusas* to *Vercell*, where the counter-scarpe of the trenches is as high as the wall, so as the Cannon cannot beat at the foot thereof) to plant the *Es*signes of France, and then he marched before *Yurée*, and besieged it on all parts. But hee had small credit with the souldiers: and the King was discontent with him, for that he had so lightly suffered the Marquis to fortifie *Carignan*, and to victual it without any resistance. He therefore sends *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien* in *Boutieres* place, to be E Lieutenant General in *Piedmont*.

The Duke having taken charge of the army, he marched downe the *Po*, and at the first subdued *Palazol*, *Cressentin*, *Defanne*, and other places thereabouts, to make the way easie to *Carignan*, the which kept all the plaine of *Piedmont* in subiection, which the King desired infinitely to haue in his power. But the meanes to force it? It is a place in a plaine country, it was fortified with five goodly bastions of earth, curtains, and a great trench, defended by foure thousand the best souldiers of all the Imperiall army, so as their onely hope to recover it was to famish them. To this end he burnt the bridge they had vpon the *Po*, whereby they might daily haue refreshing from *Quiers*, *Ailly* and other places vnder their command, and to cut off the victuals they had on this side the *Po*, he wrote to camp F at *Vimeux*, some miles beneath *Carignan*. They received also many commodities from *Montcallier* vnto the river: for he built vpon the said way a quarter of a mile from *Carignan*, cuts off all, and to enjoy the title of *Po* freely, he builds a bridge of boats two miles beneath *Carignan*, with a foot at either end, manned with 4 ensignes of Italians. Then passing the water, he went to camp at *Villedeslon* betwixt *Carignan* and *Quiers*. The Marquis made haste to assemble his army to succour the besieged and came to lodge at *Cambridge*. Holding this lodging, he fought the first battle, and suffering on men to die for hunger in a country already wasted on that side the *Po*, he found the Marquis of *Saules*

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full of all commodities, wherewith he might without danger refresh Catignan. The Duke A prevents him, and lodging at Carmagnole, drives the besieged to that extremity, as within few weekes they were drawne to the Kings obedience. Carignan was the chiefe trophoe of the Marquis victories: he was loth to lose it without some blowes, and the Duke as loth to lose a prey which was ready to fall into his hands.

So the Court filled with the hope of an approaching battell, that gallant Nobility which had alwayes so willingly gone to horsebacke at the first bruce of a battell, would now have beene loth to have lost the sport. All post thither, some with leave, others without. *Gaspard* Lord of Chabillon, *Francis* of Vendome Vidame of Chartres: the Lords of Saint Andre, *Dampierre* of the House of Clermont in Dauphiné, *Jarnac*, the three brothers of *Bonnivet*, *Bourdillon*, *Esclars*, the two brethren of *Genly*, *Asnier* Master of the Ordinance, *L'Hunandey* the onely sonne of the Admirall *Annebauld*, *Rocheport*, *Lusarche*, *Warin*, *Lafigny*: to conclude, the Court was left in a manner naked: namely of those, which as the Sunne-rising, followed the Dauphin, and he was not held an honest man that would not have a share in it.

A happy aviall: they were all men of account, they had by this voyage emptied their owne or their fathers coffers, and the Dukes treasure was so wasted, as both he, his Treasurers, and all the rest of the campe had emptied their purses, and for want of money the souldiers would have beene lesse couragious in this occasion that was offered. But what would not these braue Noblemen doe for the Kings service, and the authority of so gallant a Prince that commanded? With their voluntary lendings, the Duke contents his troops, attending forty thousand crownes which *Langey* brought. This was the fourth part of that which was owing to the strangers: but they must seeke it elsewhere. The Emperour leaued a mighty army in Germany to invade the frontiers: moreover, a great storme threatened vs from beyond the Seas, which soone after fell vpon Boulon and Montreuil.

They had no meanes to content the souldiers, if they had not presently found out the want of their numbers: they therefore resolve on Easter Eue the seventh of April, to make a private muster of euery company apart, and giue them hope to receive money the next day. But they did foresee, that Easter day would not passe (the Armies being so neere) D without some blowes, & by consequence the enemies presence, and the necessity of fighting would easily make them defer the souldiers pay. And so it proved. The Marquis set forward with an intent to passe on this side the river of Po, to keepe our men on that side the water, without victuals and without money, and to recover the Marquisate of Salufes: being assured to find corne and meale there to victuall his campe, and the towne besieged, forcing the French army in the end to seeke their retreat. Without doubt this had beene their ruine, for the souldiers being vnpaid, what meanes was there to keepe the field? and retiring into towns, the Marquis would have spoiled Piedmont, burnt the country, driuen away their cattell, and ruined the country-man. This was his designe, and to receive ten thousand men at Yurec, which the Earle of Challan brought, and with this supply to passe by the valley of Aoult, into Saouy and Bresse, whilst the Emperour should make some great attempt vpon the frontiers of Champagne.

But he reckoned without his host. The Duke takes counsell, and resolves to fight with him on the way, before he should recover a country of strength; and to that end giues the foreward to *Boutieres*, (who vpon the newes of this battell was returned from his house) takes the battell to himselfe, and commits the reereward to *Dampierre*.

On Easter day euery man is vnder his Ensigne, they discouer the Imperials marching from Serifolles to Sommeuue: and the Duke to diuert them, sends forth *Ausson* with his troop and some shot, vnto a high ground of aduantage, who placing his Harguebuziers in a little groue, seeks to draw the enemy by skirmishes into the ambuscade. But the Marquis F dares not charge home, he fears some disorder before hee had discovered his adversary. The Duke marcheth with about 300 horse, and the rest of his shot, and going to the hill, puts all his horse in battell vpon the side, and in the midst plants three mynions, which shooting against a battalion of the enemies standing in the valley, kills some men, and giues a shew of battell. So the Marquis fearing to be fought withall as hee lodged, retired to Serifolles from whence he parted. Night approached, and the Duke seeing the Marquis returne to Serifolles, retired to Carmagnole, leauing two hundred horse to observe the

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A the enemies countenance in the night, then an houre after midnight he goes to field.

The Marquis seeing this retreat, perfwaded himselfe, the French would passe on the other side of Po, and leave him the passage: so as changing his designe, he parts an houre before day, to ouertake him before he should passe the River. To returne to the fort which they had left, had beene (by some signe of flight) to daunt our men, and to giue courage to the enemy, necessitie therefore presteth both the one and the other to fight. The Imperials had ten thousand men more, and the aduantage of the place: they had recovered that high ground from whence our men were parted the night before: they should have kept it, seeing their meaning was to returne. On the right hand of our men marched the

The forme of two armies.

B Prince of Salerne with ten thousand Italians, seconded by eight hundred horse sent by the Duke of Ferrara, to succour the Imperials. In the middlest *Ailspand* of Madruce with many other German Colonels and Captaines, who commanded ten thousand Lansquenets all in white armour: and on the left, (right against our Gruyens) *Don Raimond* of Cardone with a battalion of six thousand men old souldiers, halfe Spaniards, the rest Germanes: betwixt these two nations the Marquis of Guast with the like number of horse: on the other side of the Spaniards the Prince of Sulmona, sonne to the deceased *Don Charles de Launoy* Viceroy of Naples, Colonell of all the horse, with the like number of horse: ten pieces of Cannon by the Germanes, and as many by the Spaniards, placed with such aduantage, as our French could not march against them, but they shot into the

C midst of their battalions. Thus they marched in forme of three great battalions of foot, either hauing a wing of horsemen. Their order being viewed, the Duke brings his armie into the like forme: on the right hand a battalion of the old French bands, being about 3000 besides the shot, led by the Lord *Tais* their Generall, hauing on the right hand the light horse-men vnder the Lord of Termes: on the left hand *Boutieres* with fourescore men at armes: then on his left hand a battalion of Suisses, of about three thousand men, supported on their left hand by the Duke of Anguene with a great troope of horse: and on the Dukes left hand 2000 Italians, and Gruyens, hauing on their left *Dampierre*, with all the Guidons and archers of the men at armes. The troopes thus disposed and ordered, he sent forth before the battalies about 200 shot, for a shew of hope, led by Captaine D *Montlac*: eight pieces of artillerie before the battalion of the Suisses, and the like number before the Gruyens.

At the Sun-rising the two armies stand one against another: the skirmish begins, and whilst that either army seeks to get the flanke of the enemy, they continue vntill eleuen of the clocke. In the end, the enemy finding himselfe too strong by a third part, he comes to the charge. *Tais* aduanceth to fight with the Prince of Salerne, but he was commanded by the Marquis, not to stirre before he gaue him charge. So *Tais* seeing the Prince make no shew to march, and that our Suisses being weake in number could not withstand the shoocke of the Imperiall Lansquenets, which came to charge them: he turnes the head of his battalions, and comes neere to the Suisses, *Boutieres* being betwixt both. The Imperials E likewise change their designe, and of their great squadron make two: one against the Suisses, the other against the French.

The battell of Serifolles.

At the same instant the horsemen of Ferrara approached to charge the French battalions in flanke when as the armies should ioyne. *Termes* with his light horse-men being loth to attend this hazard, chargeth them furiously, breaks and ouerthrowes them vpon the Prince of Salerne: and thinking to be well followed, chargeth into the midst of the Princes battalions: but his horse was slain, and himselfe taken. A happy charge, for without it, it was likely the Prince of Salerne had marched vpon the flanks of the French battalions, and whilst that he was couerred with the Ferrarois that were driuen vpon him, the French and Suisses had leisure to deale with their Lansquenets: Who falling vpon the F Suisses and French, fought long with the like armes and a doubtfull euent, till that by the aide of the French-men at armes led by *Boutieres*, all the Imperiall Germanes were broken. The Marquis seeing his Germanes in rout, vpon whom hee had anchored his chiefe hope, retires apart without striking stroke, and by this meanes makes the victory eadie for *Dampierre* vpon the enemies horse-men, who supported the Spaniards. But this old battalion of Spaniards and Germanes incounter our Italians and Gruyens with great aduantage at the first charge they are surprisid with feare, and all but the Captaines, which fought in the foremost ranks, &c.

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Without doubt it was wisely advised of the Duke to leave the Suisses whom he promised to assist, to second their poore amazed souldiers, for without him not one had escaped. He suddenly chargeth the old souldiers, and taking one corner of their battalion, forth through them, and leaves not any ensigne of the whole battalion standing: yet not without great slaughter of his men. The Lord of Affier, the Baron of Oyn, Lieutenant to the Earle of Monttrauel, *Montfaisais* Ensigne to the Baron of Cursoll, *de Glaine* Gouverneur of Cahors, *Cornille* and the Dukes two Squieres ended their dayes there. *S. Amand* (otherwise called *Rochechouart*) and *Fernaques* were found among the dead carcases languishing of their wounds, yet they were afterwards cured: many others were slain or hurt, whereof fourteene or fifteene were Captaines or men of account; but he that feared his leaues, must not goe into the wood.

But this is not all, for the front of the Spaniards (who by the voluntary rout of our men that ranne away, had no foot-men to encounter them) come furiously and charge the Duke, who having no foot-men to second him, loseth more at this second charge than at the first: and to increase the danger (which had been sufficient to daunt a minde inclining to feare) he had no newes of his Frenchmen nor Suisses: a little hill kept them from the knowledge one of another: but hee had rather die then retire. Hee chargeth and rechargeth, and still a number of the enemies shot pel-mel at him, and a battalion of their pikes follow him without breaking their ranks, and his troope being greatly wasted, was not now about an hundred horse: a vnequall force to fight with foure thousand men. We may truly say, he is well kept whom God keeps. The Duke was ready to bee swallowed vp, when as retiring on the right hand, to free himselfe from the Imperials host, which compassed him in on all sides: the Spaniards had newes of the defeat of the rest of their men. They see at the same instant some troopes rally themselves vnder the Cornet of their enemies Generall. So their first heat grew some what cold, and they begin their retreat, but they had no time to finish it. The Duke appoints *Aussun*, with about fifty horse to charge them vpon the flanke, and himselfe with those that came vnto him, followed them in the rayle. All this way, all this, every man seeks to free himselfe, some in the wood, some in cottages: they beat downe and kill, all are taken or slaine; few escape.

He wins the battaile.

The French pursuing the victorie a mile, and especially the Suisses, incensed with the foule warre the Imperials had made at Montdeuis; and crying in reuenge of that day, Montdeuis, Montdeuis, put all they encountered to the sword without mercie. In the meane time the Prince of Salerne, seeing the whole defeat of the Germans, and of their horsemen, made his retreat without any great losse. And the Marquis of Guast posted away to Aft: but at his departure he had said vnto the Citizens: *That if he returned, not a Conqueror, they should shut their gates against him.* They take him now at his word. Without the cowardize of the Gruyens, the battalion of Spaniards had in them been defeated at the first charge: the Duke of Anguien had not received so small a checke in his troopes, the retreat of the Prince of Salerne had not bene so ealie; and pursuing the Marquis, they might haue overtaken him, before hee had recovered Milan or any place of safety. But the necessitie this braue Duke had to be succoured at need, made this happy victorie vnperfect in that respect. There were slaine of the enemies about fifteene thousand of all nations, in less then a quarter of a league.

Number of the dead &amp; prisoners.

Of Germane prisoners there were two thousand, five hundred and twenty. *Alibrand* of Madrice their Colonell, was found among the dead bodies many wayes in many parts of his bodie; of Spaniards six hundred and thirtie, amongst them *Don Raymond* of Cardone and *Alenda*, with seven, or eight, other Spanish Captaines, *Don Charles* Gonzales and many other Italians. The spoyle was great and rich, an hundred thousand Crowns in money, and plate, fifteene pieces of artilerie, all the bridges they had brought to passe the Po, much munition, meale, and other victuals: wherewith they pursued to raise Carignan about eight thousand Crowles of Milan, and neweables of diuers sorts of great value. Of the French two hundred slaine, and men of name, besides the above mentioned, the Ensigne-bearer to *Aussun* and his nephew *Charles* of Dicos, Gouverneur of Montdeuis, *Difere* of the Countie of Nice, Colonell of six Ensignes of Italiane, the Colonell of the Gruyens a Dauphinois, in the absence of their Earle; *de Valera* Dauphinois, Captain *Palsin* a Dauphinois: *Barberan* and *Montale* Galeons, and few others.

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A of the Suisses, the Baron of Saxe was hurt in the throat with a pike, and none else of account.

If the Duke of Anguens ariall had bene pleasing to the armie, farre greater was the reputation which he got by his famous victorie with all the nations of Europe, and the credit he purchased with men of warre, commending his wisdom in so young yeares, admiring his valour, and louing his courtie and bounty, vertues worthy of a great Prince and Generall of an armie. This bloody victorie had terrified the whole country, and amazed Milan. The Marquis of Guast strucke vp the drumme, and twenty dayes were spent before that any man came to his colours. Moreover, the King had made a new leauy of six thousand Grisons: the Duke of Somme, the Earles of Petillane, Mirandola, Mantengue, *Peter Straffy*, *Valerio* *Prin*, *Robert Malatesta*, and many others leauied an armie to ioyne with the Duke of Anguien.

There was some likelihood after so furious a battaile, to deprive the Emperor of the estate of Milan. But he armed vpon the Rhine, his troopes were ready to invade the frontier. The English were at sea, and the King had rather need to draw forces out of Italy, then to supply them.

The Duke therefore to draw them speedily to the Kings deuotion, sends the Lords of Tais with the French bands, two hundred men at armes, six great Cannons, with some other pieces, to force some places vnder the Emperors obedience. Saint Damian a place of Montferrat, had not planted the French but the Spanish Ensignes: notwithstanding being without hope of succours, they yielded to the yoke, vpon condition that they should haue none but a French garison. Montcallier followed, being a strong place: Vigon, Pont d'Esture, *S. Salvador*, *Fresnet* of Pau: to conclude, all Montferrat, except Casal, Trin and Alba yielded their necks to the French obedience. And the Duke going to campe at Carignan, did by many sorts so restrain the sallies of the besieged, and the entry of victuals, as extreme necessitie hauing forced them to demand composition, they departed with their armes onely, without ensignes or drums, taking an oath not to carie armes for six months against the King nor his allies. This done, the duke sent vnto the King, six thousand French souldiers of the old bands, and six thousand Italians to oppole against the Emperors inuasions.

Effects following the victory.

On the other side the Duke of Somme, with the other of the French faction, hauing leauied ten thousand foot, but few or no horse, came to ioyne with the Duke of Anguien: and the Princes of Salerne and Sulmona attended with a number of horse and foote, to fight with them at the passage of a riuier. They send to the Lord of Tais to demand a convoy of horse. Hee promisseth, but performs nothing. And they (notable to retire without shame) charge the foot which were farr from their horsemen, and put them to rout: but they consider not, that leauing a place of strength, they giue the enemy the advantage they had of them. The horsemen come and charge them in flanke, as they had broken their ranks, thinking to haue gotten the victory and put them to flight, they take many prisoners of qualitie, kill few, and no man of marke except *Valerio* *Prin*, the rest saved themselves at Quierras and Carignan. We commonly say, that a small ayde doth a great good: The foot-men being overcome, an hundred men at armes had made the victory absolute.

This checke doth not daunt them. The Duke of Somme being newly distressed from prison, (the Prince of Salerne his kinsman had freed him, fearing lest the Emperor should doe him some disgrace) and *Peter Straffy* gathering together six thousand men of this shipwreake at Marandole, meaning to ioyne with the Duke of Anguien at what price soeuer, he being vnfurnished of forces; for besides the twelue thousand men he had sent vnto the King, all his Suisses (except two thousand) had bene for want of pay dismissed; F They giue over the plaine, and passe out of Parmelian with much toyle; by the mountains of Genoa.

The Marquis aduertised of this new leauy, gathers together what forces hee could of horse and foot, draves forth his garrisons, and to stop their passage, attends them at the foot of the mountains. They aduertise the Duke: who hauing no men, but for the guard of his places, resolves notwithstanding to effect two things at once; and both to surprise Alba where they had left no men but for the guards of the gates, and to succour *Straffy*, and sending attunes to aduertise him, that he should march towards Alba, where

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of the enemy was left in doubt. The Duke comes thither on the one side, and *Strassy* on the other: he makes a hole in the gate towards the mountain, on the other side of the water, about ten foot long: prepares to give an assault, and *Strassy* the scaldado, which the besieged seeing, they grow so amazed, as they yield the place, and depart without carrying away of any thing.

Truce in Piedmont.

The Marquis makes haft to succour them, but knowing the towne to be lost, frustrate of his hope, hee retired, and the Duke having taken many places thereabout, returned to Carmagnole. Within few dayes after the Marquis procured a suspension of armes, which being confirmed by their two Maiesties, there followed a truce for three moneths. Let vs now see the enemies attempt invading the Realme. The Emperor had no sooner found the King of England discontent, (whereof the marriage of the King of Scotland had been the chief motive) but forgetting, or rather dissembling the injuries he had received, hee wins him to his devotion, although hee had assured the Pope neuer to treat any alliance with him, vntill he had repaired the offence done vnto the Sea of Rome, intiding himselfe supreme head, vnder God, of the Church of England, and punishing them which maintained the authoritie of the Pope and Church of Rome.

Warre in Picardy.

Thus two grey-hounds tearing one another in pieces, lay aside their choller to runne after the Wolfe their common enemy. And for that, during the warre of the Dukes of Wirtemberg, by the bond of the Princes of Germany with the King, the Emperours designs had become greatly croft, now perswading them (and aboute all the Protestants) that he hath done more then his duty to the French King, for the calling of a Councell, to call backe them that were strayed from the vnion of the Church, and to reforme the Pope and his Ministers (but the King onely had hindred this assembly) to giue him prouision of men and money, and ioynly to bandy with him to the destruction of this Realme. So he sends the Earle of Fursberg with an army before Luxemburg, which having maintained the siege to the extremitie for want of victuals, the Vicont of Estanges was forced to capitulate, and to depart with baggage. Commerce was the second triumph of his victories, Ligny in Barrois the third, being the way for victuals which came to him from Metz and Lorraine. The castle is commanded by two or three mountaines: and the besieged notable to stand to their defences, came to parle, when as the Imperials entred behinde, compassed them in that were come to the breach, attending the assault: and take them prisoners with small slaughter. Without doubt the place was not to withstand the force of an Emperor, being in person: neither was it so contemptible, but it deserved an honest composition. But the Earle of Brienne Lord of the place, and *Rouffy* his brother, *Eschenais* and *Gonzoller*, who commanded about an hundred men at armes, and fiftene hundred foot, won small reputation. Doubtlesse the Earle of Sancerre will win farre more honour in the defence of *Saint Disier*, a place ill flanked, ill rampared, and vnworthy to oppose against an Imperiall armie.

Saint Disier besieged.

Whilest the King assembled his forces, being ten thousand Suisses, six thousand Grisons, six thousand Lanquents (whereof the D. of Nevers was Generall) and the twelve thousand men which came out of Piedmont: he sent the Earle of Sancerre, to *Saint Disier* (whither the Emperor turned the head of his victorious armie without contradiction) with the Duke of Orleans company, of an hundred men at armes, whereof hee was Lieutenant, and some other troopes of horse: *La Lande* and the Vicont of Riuere either of them with a thousand foot. The Emperor being come before the towne, hastens his approaches and trenches, makes two batteries, and plants six great Culverins towards the castle, to beat into the towne, and to hinder their ordinary sallies. He turned the water out of the ditch, and brought them to the vie of three Wells onely, which hardly could furnish the soldiers: and by a continuall batterie makes them careful to repaire it. *La Lande* was tyred with this toyle, and retiring at night to his lodging to refresh himselfe, a Cannon shot passing by the breach through the towne, takes off his head, whose losse was much lamented being a valiant Gentleman, and a good souldier. In exchange, about the same time the Prince of Orange going to visit the Emperor in the trenches, a Culverin shot into a heape of stones, hurt him in such sort as he died, to the great griefe of the Emperor and his whole armie.

The death of the Prince of Orange.

The breach was reasonable, and they came to the assault. Eightene enignes of Spaniards got to it: and fight hand to hand with them which were besieged, for an houres space.

A space. The Emperor causeth nine or ten thousand Germans, to aduance speedily to succour them: but if the assault was fierce, the defence was no lesse valiant. Our men ouerthrew the Spaniards from the breach into the ditch by maine force. The Emperor sends aboute eight hundred men with Veluer castlocks, and bouguinets on their heads, they turne them likewise downe. Eight enignes of Germans renew the assault with many small barrels of powder and wild-fire. They are likewise repulsed with such flame and losse, as all their engines and deuices remaine in the ditches at the defendants disposal (and very happily, for they wanted powder) and seuen or eight hundred flaine in three assaults, gaue a certaine testimonie of the valour of the besieged. A Cannon shot did miraculously take away the Earles sword which hee held in his hand without hurting him, but lightly in the face.

This braue defence made the Emperor thinke, that the besieged would accept of an honorable composition. He sends a Trumpet to trie their minds, but he had no audience. So the Emperor ceaseth his batteries to come to the myne. The besieged discover it, and in the night send forth *Lisieres* a Norman Captaine, who forced the Spaniards to abandon the trenches, which they had brought to the bulwark of victory: they bring some prisoners into the towne to tell newes, and cuts the rest in pieces. Moreover, the Duke of Anjou male being at Senay vpon Meuze, did greatly annoy the Imperials campe, and cut off their victuals from Bar-le-Duke. They must therefore seek to winne by policy, what they could not get by force. The Lord of Granuelle had surpris'd a packet, wherein hee found the Alphabet of the Cypher, whereby the duke of Guise did communicate with the Earle of Sancerre. By this meanes he counterfeits a Letter in the Dukes name, and makes an vnknownie man to giue it secretly to a French drum, returning from the enemies armie for some prisoners, that he should deliuer it to the Earle. The contents were, that the King knowing in what want of victuals and powder they were ready to fall, commanded them to make so favourable a composition, as their men might be saved, having yet no meanes to succour them. They had endured six weekes siege, their victuals and munition grew short, & their powder was not sufficient to endure another assault. So they obtayne twelue dayes truce, during the which, they should understand from the King, if he had meanes to succour them: or if he would be pleased, that for want of succours within the time, the horse-men should depart with their armes and horses, their Cornes displayed, and castles on their heads: their foot-men with their armes marching in battaile, enignes displayed, and drums sounding, carrying with them all their jewels, and foure pieces of artillerie furnished, at the choice of the besieged. This treaty pleased the King, and they departed according to the capitulation. As honorable a composition as euer was read of, for men besieged by so great an Emperor, with all the forces of the western Empire, in a bad place which had no better esteeme then a Country towne.

But what was the motive of this easie accord? The Emperor was not ignorant of the small hope they had of succours, and that within few dayes famine would bring them to his subiection. But hee would take from the King of England, (who camped before Boullen and Montreuil) all colour of excuse, and let him know that the fault was not in him, if the treatie were not fulfilled, according to the which, without any stay, where they should ioyn their forces neere vnto Paris, (the which vnited together would haue made threescore and ten, or foure-score thousand foot, and eightene or twenty thousand horse) and to force the King to fight with disadvantage, or to suffer his Country and Subjects to be ruined before his face. Moreover, hee did foresee, that the Dauphin camping vpon the riuier of Marne, with the bands come out of Piedmont in good order, and well armed, would make him consume his armie, whilest the King made a bodie of forty thousand men, the which confronting him being fresh, lustie, and resolute, might cause him more losse and dishonour then he had received in Prouence.

And therefore the Emperor, to proceed in his conquests, and designs, which hee had with Henry King of England, came to lodge at Virry in Parthois. Here he learns that the King of England is not resolu'd to passe on, before hee had reduced Boullen and Montreuil to his obedience: the first dislike which shall soone draw the Emperor to Bruxelles. He considers, that the travels past at *Saint Disier*, and want, had greatly wasted his soldiers: that to proceed, were to engage both his men and his person in a Labyrinth, from whence

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Saint Disier yielded.



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whence he should not easily free himself with honour: that having in front a mightie armie, still prospering, hunger (besides the Kings power) would be sufficient to force him to make a shamefull retreat: that if the English take Boullen and Montrueil, he will impart nothing to him of his conquests: that being strong on this side the sea, hee will be more obstinate when there shall be any question to treat with him. So as he begins to talke of some proposition of peace, moved before Saint Disier by the Lord of Grauelle, and his Confessor a Spanish Monke, of the Order of Saint Dominick, and of the house of Guis.

A treatie of  
peace.

A day is appointed for the meeting of the Deputies at La Chaussee, betwixt Challons and Vitry. For the King there came the Admirall of Annebault, and *Chemans*, Keeper of the Seale of France: for the Emperour, *Fernand* of Gonzaga: and to know if the King of England would enter into it, they sent the Cardinall of Bellay, *Raymond* chiefe President of Rouan, and *Ambrosine* Secretary of the State and Treasurer.

As the Emperour camped towards the river of Marne, a league beneath Challons, and within two leagues of the French armie, a river being betwixt both, *William* Earle of Furstenberg, parted about mid-night with a guide onely, to view a foard which hee had in former times passed, when as hee came into France for the Kings service. Being come to the foard, hee leaves his guide vpon a banke: sounds it, finds it easie and passeth the River. But hee discovered not some Gentlemen of the Kings House, and part of the Admirals companie, who had the guard that night, who without giuing any alarme, put themselves betwixt the River and him, take him without resistance, led him to the Campe, know him, and send him to the Bastille at Paris: from whence hee shall not depart, untill he hath paid thirty thousand Crownes for his ranfome. In the meane time the Emperour sees his armie ready to breake for hunger: they cut off his victuals behinde and on either side. And if that goodly Captaine whom the Dauphin had sent to draw into Elpernay the victuals thereabouts, to breake the bridge vpon the river, and to spoile the corne, wine, and other provisions, which could not bee saved, had carefully executed his commission, the Emperour (disappointed of the munition and victuals which he found in Elpernay, and having no means to passe the river) had not in the end enjoyed those commodities, which hee found in Chastell Thierry, another storehouse of the French campe, whereby his troopes languishing for hunger, recovered some strength.

In the end, the Dauphin being come to the Campe at La Ferté vpon Iouarre, and having sent a good number of mento Meaux, to hinder the Emperours passage, who desiring to make his retreat by Soissons, he takes his way by Villiers-coffe-Retz, and vnder-hand requires the proposition of Peace with the King. The King knowing that a battaile could not be given in the heart of his Realme, so neere vnto his capitall Citie, without a very doubtfull and dangerous consequence, and the losse of men, and in case he should vanquish, the King of England, and the Earle of Bures would encounter him with as mightie an armie as his owne: that by the losse of one, and (perchance) two battalies, his Realme were in danger: that winning them he should get little, especially vpon England being an Iland. Moreover, the Marshall of Biez was almost forced to yield vpon Montrueil to the English, for want of victuals and succours: the sufficiency of the Lord of Veruein Gouverneur of Boullen, as we shall shortly see, was not without cause suspected: and without a conclusion with the Emperour, hardly could these two important townes be relieved.

The King therefore sent the Admirall of Annebault againe to the Emperour, being in the Abbey of Saint Iohn des Vignes in the suburbs of Soissons, where in the end was concluded: That *Charles* Duke of Orleans should within two yeares after, marry with the Emperours daughter or his neece, daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Romans, and at the consummation of the said marriage, the Emperour should inueit the said Duke of Orleans in the Duchy of Milan, or in the Earldome of Flanders, and the Low-countries, at the choice of the said Emperour. And in exchange, this done, the King promised to renounce all his rights pretended to the said Duchy, and the Kingdome of Naples, and to restore the Duke of Sauoy to the possession of his Countries, when as the Duke his sonne should enjoy the said Duchy of Milan, or the Earldome of Flanders: and all things during the tennure of two yeares, as well on this, as on the other side of the Alpes should remaine in the

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A the same estate, as they were at the truce made at Nice. So the Emperour delivered vnto the King on this side the Mountaines, *S. Disier*, *Ligny*, *Commercy*, and the King, *Yuo*, *Montmedy* and *Landre*. Senay was delivered into the duke of Lorraines hands, and the fortifications razed. On the other side the Alpes, the Emperour had nothing to yield but *Montreuil*: and the King, *Alba*, *Chierras*, *Andignan*, *S. Dami*, *Palazol*, *Crescentin*, *Veruein*, *Montcal*, *Barges*, *Pont d'Esture*, *Lans*, *Vigou*, *S. Saluador*, *S. Germain*, and many other places which he possessed.

These treaties thus concluded and proclaimed beyond the Alpes, the Duke of Angier returned into France, with as great glory and honour, as a wise and valiant Prince could desire: and the Emperour retired his armie (which the Earles of Reux and Bures led ioyntly with that of England:) he dismissed his owne, and parting from Soissons, tooke his way to Bruxelles, accompanied beyond the frontiers by the duke of Orleans, the Cardinall of Lorraine and Meudon, the Earle of Laul, *le Humanday*, and others. The Emperour is now out of the Realme: let vs also seeke to send the King of England beyond the seas. *Henry* the 8 King of England, according to the league he had with the Emperour, landing at Calais, with an armie of thirtie thousand men, fortified with ten thousand Lansquenets, and three thousand Reistres, which the Earle of Bures led, and the troopes of the Earle of Reux, chiefe of the armie of the Low-countries for the Emperour, hee found Picardy very much vnsupplied of men: the King had with-drawne his forces towards Champagne, to oppose them against the Emperour: and the duke of Vendosme being weak in men, had faine places of importancie to furnish, *Ardre*, *Boullen*, *Therouenne*, *Montrueil*, *Hedin*, all equally exposed to the inuasion of the English.

*Henry* therefore seeing no armie to withstand him, making his account to carry a legge or an arme of the body of this Realme, sent the Duke of Norfolk and the Earles of Reux and Bures to besiege Montrueil, and himselfe went and camped before Boullen. The Marshall of Biez was Gouverneur, but when he saw the enemy turne the point of his armie towards Montrueil, hee left the Lord of Veruein his sonne in law, to command in Boullen: (from which he was dissuaded by some, to whom his insufficiency was well knowne) assisted by *Philip Corse* a Captaine very well experienced in armes, the Lords of Lignon, and *Aix*, otherwise called *Renty*, young and without experience, with their regiments, and halfe the company of a hundred men at armes, of the said Marshall: and hee put himselfe into Montrueil, with the Constables company of a hundred men at armes, ledde by *la Guiche* his Lieutenant (a man of great experience in the Art of warre): *Genly*, Captaine of foure ensignes of French foot, the Earle of *Buringe* and *Francis* of Chiaramont, Neapolitans, either commanding a thousand men.

At the beginning of the siege of Montrueil, the duke of Vendosme aduerted of a convey of victuals, which came from Aire and Saint Omer to the enemies campe, guarded by eight hundred horse, and twelue hundred Lansquenets, with foure meane Culierins, to fortifie themselves, if they were charged: he sent the Lords of Villebon, *Etfree* and *Eguilly*, with their companies of men at armes, to busie the enemy, untill that he might come with his company of a hundred men at armes, *Chastaigneray*, with fifty of the Dauphins, and *Senerpont* with the like charge: who arriuing in troope, charge the enemy, breake them, put them in rout, and besides the dead, carie eight hundred prisoners to *Therouenne*, win two Culierins (the other two remaining, for that their carriages were broken) and foure ensignes of Lansquenets.

On the other side, the Kings presence before Boullen, kindled the courage of the besiegers, and daunted *Veruein*, the head of the defendants, a man of no worth. The first approach of the Cannon killed his heart: and amazed with the furious battery of the enemy, after hee had endured a cannon of an assault (but whilst that *Philip Corse* stood by him, who being slaine with a Cannon shot) he sends presently to found the intent of the King of England, and yields him the towne by composition: that the men of warre, and citizens, should depart with their baggage: and thus hee deliuered him the place, with all the artillery, munition, and victuals, whereof there was great store. The inhabitants refuse this bad composition: the Maior offers, with the towne-men, and those that were well affected, to keepe the towne. A shew of loue very commendable in this people, but in such an action hee should haue proceeded farther, and haue lodged the Captaine, where he might he yielded a good account to the King, and by the effect, haue performed what

The King of  
England besie-  
ge in Boullen  
and Montrueil

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signe of the batraille, he sees the enemy retire from the chase, and returns to their hold. In this conflict, they lose some slaues, few souldiers, and no men of account.

They must now prepare another bait. The King of England was at Portsmouth, and the Admirall (burning his country, and killing his men in his sight) imagined that the indignation of this wrong, the compassion of his subjects blood spilt, the sacke and burning of his country, would force him to send forth his ships, to succour them (being not above two Cannon shot off,) or else the subjects wrongs, being no way relieved by the presence of their Prince, would breed some sedition, and mutiny in the country. Hetherfore makes three fundry landings, to diuide the enemies forces. The one by *Strissy*, vpon a little fort, furnished with artillerie, which did beat our galleys in flanke, and manned by the countrymen, who seeing the resolution of our men, abandon their fort, and fly to a wood neere by, some behinde were slaine, and the howles about it burnt. The Lord of Tais, and the Baron of la Garde, both Generals, the first of the foot, the other of the Gallies, land in another place, they encounter some Squadrons of foot, who by couert wayes in the woods, were gathered together, to fight at their aduantage: they make head against our men, and hurt some, but the rest of the troopes marching in batraille, make them abandon the place, and flie to recouer their straights, where they could not follow but in disorder.

*Marly* and *Pierrebou* Captaines of Gallies, were hurt in their landing, at an encounter of the English, but to draw them in grosse to fight, it was not possible, and lesse meanes to charge them on their own ground. Neither Captaines nor Souldiers wanted will, but the danger was too apparant. They must slip downe a narrow channell, where but four ships could goe in front, and the like number of the enemies ships might easily defend it. They could not enter, but with the tyde and winde, and the foure first ships repulsed, did false backe vpon the rest of the fleet, and disordered them. They must of necessity fight neere vnto their land: and fauoured by their forts and Cannon, had they not meanes to hinder the approach, to the great preiudice of our fleet: and our ships boarding and grappling, the force of the current had driuen them on ground one vpon another. There was as little reason to fight at anchor, the cables might be cut, and this inconuenience avoided, the danger was not lesse, for the nature of the current is to turne the prow, so as our ships in stead of the prow or the broad-side, must haue presented their poope to the enemy. Moreover, their anchors not able to stay the ships suddenly, by reason of the violent turning of the streame, either the anchor or cable might breake, and by consequence cast the ships on ground.

The French  
could not take  
the life of  
Wight and to  
seruise it.

They therefore propound two things in councell, either to saile into Picardy, to fortifie the Kings armie, and to cut off all succours from Boullen, or to fortifie the life of Wight. Many reasons perswaded the most part to the last opinion: for hauing the life at their deuotion, they might easily become Lords of Portsmouth, one of the goodliest ports of England: and forcing the enemy to maintaine a continuall armie both by land and sea, to crosse the Conquerors designs, it would consume them in exceeding expences. Moreover, they kept the passage of Spaine and Flanders: and might in time til the Island, and make it yield victuals sufficient to maintaine men for the guard thereof.

Without doubt this was an opportunite which hath not since happened, to oppose a strong battel betwixt both the Realmes. But let vs say, that he which holds both land and sea, within the palme of his hand, would leaue this Island in the power of her ancient and lawfull Lord: But howe soeuer, the Admirall might easily haue left foure thousand men, and foure thousand Pioners, for the defence of the Island, as hee did to fortifie the Kings army before Boullen, after the ouerthrow of the Cheualier d'Aux, a Prouchall and Captaine of the gallies of Normandy, leaving his fleet well manned. As the Admirall lay at anchor before Boullen a Westerne winde arised, and makes him to seek harbour vpon the coast of England: Being at the Perrais, and there kept by force of winde, and a calme sea, the English fleet thinking to haue the aduantage, imbarke speedily being a hundred good ships, and come with full sailes against our men, hauing the winde in poope. The violence of the windes, and the greatnesse of the seas, which might haue taken from our men the vie and seruice of their gallies, gaue them hope of victory: On the other side, the Admirall feared that the tempest would driue him to shoote, or force him to weigh anchor in disorder (for that the bad weather would not suffer them to keepe together) and

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A and with great danger to passe the strait at Calais, or else to take his doubt towards Flanders, and so they might stop his passage in his returne: moreover, foule weather might stay him so long, as he should want victuals, and in the meane time, the enemy (who to attend him at the passage, would come to Boullen) would disturbe the Kings forts that hee pretended to make, the which he desired by all meanes to preuent.

And therefore following the aduice of his Captaines, hee attends at anchor the change of the tyde. The next day the winde and tyde fauours him, so as he desires to encounter the enemy. The night passeth, and at the breake of day, the English armie appeares. Hee follows them, but was so becalmed, as he could not aduance but with the tyde. Either seeke the winde, and coasting neere, salute one another with the Cannon. Some ships are sunke, and some men perish in the sea. In the end, the enemy seeing our men to haue gotten the winde, set saile, and take their course to the Isle of Wight, hauing both winde and tyde, which caried them without disorder to their Port, and the night approaching ended the combat. The enemy hauing recovered a safe Port, the Admirall took his course towards New-hauen, to refresh his armie, and to land many sicke men languishing in the ships. This was about the midst of August.

In the midst of August, the King meant to execute his enterprize vpon Guines, where of wee haue spoken. His armie was of twelue thousand French, twelue thousand Lanqueniers, six thousand Italians, and foure thousand Legionaries, a thousand or twelue hundred men at armes, and seuen or eight hundred light-horfe. But the fort before Boullen was no more defensible then eight dayes after it was begun: First not built vpon the point, as it was appointed, right against the Tower of Ordre, but against base Boullen, so as it could no way stop the entry of the ships into the haven. The Marshall of Biez excused himselfe, that they had giuen him to vnderstand he should finde no water there, and that the souldiers could not lodge, for the violence of the winds. Secondly, he relied vpon this Enginior, *Anthony Mellon* an Italian Captaine, who was held to be a man of experience, and a good souldier, who being ignorant of his treasures, made the worke fruitlesse for two moneths.

The Marshall nor withstanding assures the King, that within eight dayes, the fort would be defensible, but it was no more forward, then at the first day. And to couer this defect, he lets the Captaines vnderstand, that he is aduertised, how the enemy assembled at Calais, to come and succour Boullen by land, holding it in danger to be famished: hee was therefore resolu'd to passe the riuier, and to abandon the fort. And without imparting of any thing to the Lord of Eltreé, Marshall of the campe, who contradicted this designe, he leaues three or foure thousand men in the fort, and goes to lodge at Mont Lambert, within Cannon shot of the towne, to make head against the enemy, and to fight with him, if he came to succour the towne. But what likelyhood was there, that the English being weaker in force and numbers, would hazard a battell: and by land (seeing that one ship would carry more victuals then a thousand carts) come and diuall a towne, which daily he might refresh by sea, without danger, in sight of the enemy. But in effect, it was a great honour for the Marshall of Biez, to see so many yong Princes subiect to his command: and if Boullen had bene recovered, hee had lost the authority to command so goodly and mighty an armie. The hope of a battell made all the youth in Court post to Mont Lambert, the dukes of Angulen, Neuers, Aumale, Thours, Lord of Tremouille, the Earle of Laual, and others, who by continuall skirmishes, sometimes with gaile, sometimes with losse, did trie their valours with the besieged: and the King relying vpon the assurance hee had of the Marshall of Biez, advanced, hoping that the Bulwarke, and the Courtins of the fort, had bene in such defence, as he might haue employed his armie else where. But there are two reasons which diuert him. The one private, which was the death of the duke of Orleans his yongest sonne, who surriued with a Quetidian Fever, which they held to be pefidentiall, died the eight dayes of September in the Abbey of Forcist Moustier, betwixt Abbeville and Montuail, being three and twenty yeeres old, leaving a second grilde to the father, to haue lost two sonnes in such times as they grew capable to ease his decaying age: and without doubt the way with lesse which made this Prince melancholike and difficult, will hasten the course of his life to bring him to his grave. The other was publicke, the Prince of Melphe being killed ylar the fort, hauing considered the time of the foundation, and the terme it required to

Death of a Duke  
Duke of Orleans  
died the eight dayes  
of September

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Skirmishes be-  
fore Bouillon.

come to the perfection, reported, that winter would be well passed, before it should bee. A  
made fit for service, without the assistance of an armie.

So the King seeing his hopes lost, and the season spent, for the effecting of his designs, he retired towards Amiens, to the Abbey of Saint Fulcien. In the meane time, the great-  
ness of the Kings campe at Mont Lambert, did inuite both nations, daily to make great  
skirmishes. One day amongst the rest, the duke of Aumale, seeing our men withstand a  
charge of the enemies but faintly, and were ready to be overthrowne: making account he  
should be seconded by his troope, hee fals vpon a company of English, which went to  
charge our French vpon the flanke, and at the first approach stayes them: but being  
struck with a lance, betwixt the nose and the eye; it breakes in pieces, and left the tun-  
chion halfe a foot within his head: without doubt, we may admire the generosities of this  
young Nobleman, who for so rough a charge, lost neither stirrups, nor vnderstanding, to free  
himselfe from those which had compassed him in, and his admirable patience in enduring  
the paine, when they came to draw forth the three square head, as constantly, as if they  
had pulled but a haire from his head. Winter approached, and the King considering that  
his enterprise vpon Guines was frustrate: aduertised moreover, that the English made a  
new leaue in Germanie of ten thousand Lanquequets, and foure thousand horse, to come  
with this supply and raise the Gege at Bouillon, he fortified all the approaches in the coun-  
trie of Tierache, and about Aubenton, Veruein and Guise, to stop their passage. Hee sent  
the Marshall of Biez to invade, ruine and burne the land of Oye (for that Calais, Guines, C  
and Hames, which the English held vpon the maine land, had no other reliefe but out of  
that country) and to dispose of the affaires as occasion should serue, he marched towards  
la Beye vpon Oize.

Description  
and face of the  
land of Oye.

The land of Oye contains about foure leagues in length, and three in breadth: a ma-  
rsh very fertill in pasture, hauing on the one side the sea, and at the one end towards  
the sea Calais: at the other end Grauelin, of the county of Flanders: towards the land,  
and along the banks of the Marish, is the towne of Guines, and the castle of Hames, and  
at the end towards Arthois stands Andres. For the safety of this Countie, the English had  
made great trenches towards the firme land, the which were commonly full of water, and  
fortified with Ramparts: and to flanke them, forts and bastions well manned to defend the D  
entry into the country.

The affection which euery one bare vnto the Kings seruice, made them to passe the  
channels which flowed into the country, directly against the forts. They assaile them, force  
them, and put all to the sword they finde. Two thousand English come to their succours,  
the French men at arms charge and defeat them, and kill the most part: the rest cast them-  
selves into the trenches, where the horse men could not follow: foure score or a hundred  
of our horse, with many men at armes, testified by their deaths or wounds, the fury of this  
encounter. The English were strong, both in high and base Bouillon, and in the Tower of  
Breda (this Tower was built by Julius Caesar, the second time he passed into England, so  
haue a Lampe vpon the top of it, to direct his ships, if they should be diuided by any storm  
at sea, as in his first voyage) and the retiring of our troopes, made them to enterprise vpon  
our forts, which was made on the other side of the water, right against base Bouillon. Seven  
or eight thousand choise men, come an houre before day, and mount suddenly to the top  
of the rampart, where they might easily enter in many places without any ladders. The  
French Renegate Lord of Riou, Lieutenant for the King within the fort, finding his factors  
surrounded (says the originally) watched in the night, and rested in the day. If the enemy  
charged furiously, he repels him with no lesse assurance, kills all them that mounted, over-  
throwes them, and puts them in rout, so as by this gallant repulse, hee was afterwards  
freed from the tempest of the English.

A letter of  
the English  
made French.

We must now plant strong barres against the Lanquequets, which come to succour the F  
King of England. They were lodged at Fleurines, a great Village, in the country of Liege,  
ten leagues from Mezieres. Mezieres was of great importance; if the enemy had surpris-  
ed it. And the Emperor fearing that this great swarme of men, finding his countries vnu-  
derfied of souldiers, would doe some harme, had hindered their passage through his terri-  
toires. This refusal might haue made the Germans to haue sought a passage by force  
through the Realme. So the King to crosse them, sent Langry into Mezieres with a thou-  
sand foot, and the horsemen of Bourgongne, and part of Champagne: he sent Langry with  
his

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A his Lieutenant into Champaigne, to muster the legion of the Country, and married the  
passages where he thought the enemy would attempt. He sent the Duke of Anguien into  
Guise with three hundred men at armes, and a number of foot. In the end the Lanque-  
quets hauing stayed three weekes at Fleurines, doubtfull where they should make their pas-  
sage: the day of their pay being come, and the money yet in England, they turne their  
ensignes, and returne home the same way, leading with them the King of Englands Treas-  
urers for assurance of their entertainment. Our Francis is now freed of a great care. By  
the death of the Duke of Orleans, the chief conditions of peace made with the Emperour  
were voyd: so his Maiesty sent from Bolambay neere to Cously, the Admirall Anne-  
Bault, and the Chancellor Olier to enter into a new treaty. The Emperour was at Bruges,  
and determined to send an army against the Protestants and Communalities of Germany,  
who yielded him no such obedience as he required of his subjects, and with this designe  
he went to Antwerp, to receiue money by imposition and loane.

This voyage is a cloake to delay our Ambassadors. But in effect he meant to know the  
minds of them of Antwerp, that according to the course of affaires, he might bee more  
milde or fower in his answer. And the sayd Ambassadors discouering his ordinary de-  
lays and dissimulations, in the end tooke their leaue, returning with no other assurance,  
but if the King beganne no warre against him, he was not resolu'd to make any. A word  
serues to a man of iudgement. What might the King conceiue of this cold entertainment?  
C but that the Emperour sought an opportunity to beginne a new warre with advantage; and  
if he had forced them to obedience whom he threatened in Germany, hee would bring all  
his forces both Catholiques and Protestants, ioyntly against the frontiers of this Realme.  
To auoid a sudden surpris, he giues the gouernment of Languedoc to the Duke of An-  
guien: that of Piedmont to the Prince of Melphe, lately created Marshall of France, hee  
sent to fortifie the weak places of Picardy, he made a fort about Maubert, Fontaine, seven  
leagues from Veruein, and fure from Mezieres, at the going out of the wood: and for that  
the frontier of Champaigne lay most open to the Germans, he fortified Mezieres and  
Mouzon, built a fort vpon the Meuze on this side riner within the Realme, betwixt Stre-  
way and Dun-le-Chateau, which he called Villefranche, he fortified the Castle of Saint  
D Menchoult, Saint Desier, Chaumont in Bassigny, Coilly and Ligny: and made Bourg in  
Bresse able to make head against a mighty army. Thus the King provided for his frontiers,  
and places subiect to the enemies inuasions. But the plague had so diminished the  
number of souldiers that were in the fort right against Bouillon, as of twenty Ensignes,  
not about eight or nine hundred men escaped this mortality. The souldiers notwithstanding  
are commended for their fidelity, constancy, and patience in the regard thereof. The  
raime, snow, and other iniuries of the ayre, the moistnesse of their lodgings (being but  
holes in the ground, couered with a pentise of straw, and when a whole household was  
dead, the ruines serued to bury their carcases) had bred these diseases. But the Spring  
time hauing tempered the season, and stayed the plague, the Lords of Elbe and Riou, be-  
ing refreshed and supplied with men, returned to their ordinary skirmishes, to the ene-  
mies losse. The fort wanted victuals. Senepont Lieutenant to the Marshall of Biez, was  
appointed for this execution. Three hundred English horse come to hinder this vidual-  
ing. He meets them the day after Easter day neere to the bridge of bricke, beneath  
mount Saint Stephen: the skirmish begins on either side: the Lord of Tais, and the Conte  
Reinegrane arise either of them with six or seven score gentlemen, the alarme comes to  
Bouillon, and the English supply their men with seven hundred horse, and foure hundred  
Hargre buizers. Senepont chargeth the horsemen before they had ioyned with their shot:  
the Reinegrane is hurt at the first charge, and overthrowne; and on the other side the Mar-  
shall of Calais, being chiefe of the enterprise, is slaine, with a hundred or six score Eng-  
lish, about two hundred horse on either side, and three score and fiftene English prisoners,  
all in cassacks of velvet garnished with gold and silver.

A great plague  
in the fort be-  
fore Bouillon.

A while after the Marshall of Biez parted from his campe, for the same chiefe accom-  
panied with fifty men at armes, the Reinegrane with his Regiment of foure thousand Lan-  
quequets, and two hundred French shot, he encountered the Earle of Barry followed by six  
thousand Englishmen, with an intent to take from our men the meane to refresh the fort  
with victuals, and necessary munition. Here the combat was long and furious: in the end  
the English being overthrowne, retire to a little Fort, where they force them. Seven or  
eight

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eight hundred of their men are slain. *Survey* saues himself by flight, and leaues seuen or eight-score prisoners. Boulle was but a Church-yard for the English, and a waiting for their treasure. The King of England considering how obnoxious the King was in the recovery of his towne, that moreover the Emperour (what league soeuer they had together) had his private designs, and regarded nothing but his owne interest, he lets the King understand, that he is resolved to haue him for his friend, and to end all controuersies. So the Deputies for their Maiesties meet betwix Ardres and Guines. For the King, came the Admirall *Annebault*, and *Raymond* the first President of Rouen: for the English, *Dudley* Admirall of England, (and afterwards Duke of Northumberland) and finally after many consultations, a peace was made, with these conditions: *That the King within eight dayes should pay 800000 Crownes to the King of England; as well for the arreages of his pension, as for many other expences made by the said King in the fortification of Boulle, and of the Countrey: and in regard of the said Summe, the King of England should deliuer vnto the King, Boulle, and all the Countrey belonging vnto it, with the ancient places or newly edified by him, Mont-Lambert, the Tower of Ordre, Amblemet, Blasquency, and others, with all the artillery, victuals, and munition in the said places.*

The death of  
the Duke of  
Anguien.

This year is famous by the death of *Anguien*. In the month of February, the snow was very great, and the Court being at Roch-Guion, some young Noblemen attending the Dauphin, made a challenge, some to defend a house, others to assaile it with snow-balls: but this pastime ended soone with a pitifull and fatal spectacle. As the Duke came out of this house, a coffer full of sinners, cast out of the window, fals vpon his head, and within few houres sends him to rest in the grave with his ancestors, leauing a suspicion of some great men, being enuious and jealous of his vertue, reputation, and fauour, which he had gotten with the King, the people, and men of warre, of whom he was more then any other of his age, esteemed, beloued, and respected.

The death of  
the King of  
England.

The beginning of this year is likewise remarkable by the decease of *Henry the 8*, King of England, leauing for his successor his son *Edward*, eight yeares of age. This death bred a great alteration and change in the health of *Francis*: they were almost of one age, conformable in complexions. And our King taking this for a preface or foretelling, that his turne should soone follow after, grew then more melancholly and silent then before. He fals sicke of a feuer, for auoiding whereof, hauing passed many places fit for the pleasure of hunting, la Muette, Saint Germain in Lay, Villepreux, Dampierre neere vnto Cheneuse, Limours, and Rochefort, he came to lodge at Rambouillet, and as the pleasure hee tooke both in hunting and hawking, stayed him there some time, his Feuer increased, and grew to a Quotidian.

The death of  
Francis the  
first.

So finding his houre come, he disposed of his conscience and of his house: he greatly recommended his subiects and seruants to the Dauphin his successor: and the last day of March, in the year 1547, being fifty and three yeares old, hee changed the painfull and continuall toiles of this mortall life, with the eternall rest which the happy enioy for euer. A Prince wonderfully lamented both of his subiects and strangers, whose vertues deserue to be placed among the most famous. He was valiant, courteous, bountifull, iudicious, of a great spirit, and an excellent memory. A lover of learning, and men of merit, to whom Arts and Sciences owe the perfections they haue gotten at this day, hauing by his bringing vp of youth, founded Colledges in Paris, in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latine tongues, assembled from all parts of the world, learned men, and of good life, and by this means cleared the darkness of ignorance, wherewith the world had bene so obscured, by the malice of time and negligence of former ages. A Prince fauoured with many good, yet croft with as many bad and sinister fortunes. Happy notwithstanding, that no aduersity could euer make him degenerate from a noble and royall mind, nor from the true beleefe of a good and faithfull Christian. Happy and blessed in his end, to haue pacified all so- raine confusions, which had so long troubled his States and his subiects quiet. But without doubt, he had bene farre more happy, if hee could haue left his Realme free from those fatal diuisions, which euen in his reigne had so miserably diuided his subiects, and shall cause hereafter strange combustions: the first consideration wherof makes my haire to stand vpright, and my heart to tremble at that which is to come.

HENRY

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## HENRY the SECOND:

## The 59 French King.



*Sage*, nature, and the good education he had receiued vnder his Father in the government of the Estate, did countenance him in this succession: he which he receiued on the same day that hee was borne, and he confirmed it in Saint Germain in Lay, by the restitution of the Constable of Montmorency: by the publication of many goodly ordinances, for the reformation of apparell, ordering of the treasure, providing for the poore, suppression of new erected offices, government of the Rivers and Forests, maintenance of Iustice, and relieuing of his subiects: but above

all, that necessary law against blasphemers, as we may see in the Originall. Doubtlesse this was a commendable beginning, and worthy the homage hee did owe to the Soueraigne Lord, as an acknowledgement of the fee, whereof he tooke possession, if hee had not polluted it with the mournfull spectacle of that bloody and fatal combat betwix *Jarnac* and

*Chastaignery*, Gentlemen of Noble Families, hauing taxed one another with iniurious words, and the Lye past, to the preiudice of one of their honours, the King in stead of reconciling them by the aduice of his Councell, and to haue forced the culpable to do right to the interested, he granted them the combat, and on the sixteenth day of Iuly they came to the place appointed at Saint Germain in Lay, where in the presence of the King, Princes, Noblemen and all the Court, they entered the Lists. *Jarnac*, who was held the weaker being newly recovered from sicknesse, contemned and disgraced, ouerthrew the other (who before the combat was held a Conqueror) and wounded him in such sort, as within few dayes after he died; whereto the King was much grieved, and hereupon did forbid all combats. He beganne his reigne by a bloody tragedy, and ended in like manner, whereby we may see, that God doth punish him that thirsteth after another mans blood, with the losse of his owne.

The restoring of the Constable, disappointed the Cardinal of Tournon, and the Admirall of Annebault, touching the chiefe government of the State: and the Lords of Longueuall, Escars, Boncour, Frametzels, Antibo, Grignan, the Baron of la Garde, the General *Bayard*, and many others, accused some for theft, some for other disorders in their charges, did somewhat trouble the Court. It was an old saying: that hee which eates the Kings Goose, will cast vp the feathers a hundred yeares after: but since, they haue turned this saying into a proverbe; He that steales a hundred thousand Crownes from the King is quit if he restore ten thousand. So some prevailed by this expedient, others escaped rigorous punishments through fauour.

The Constable  
restored.

In the meane time, the ceremonies of the Kings Coronation were prepared at Rheims, and hauing receiued in the seuen and twentieth day of Iuly, by the hands of *Charles* of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, he made a voyage into Picardy, and did visit the forts which were made about Boulle: then did he prepare an army to succour Scotland, against whom the English made war, for that the Lords of the Countrey had refused to give that Princesse *Mary Stewart* in marriage to goe to young King *Edward*, hoping by this bond to vnit the two Realms of England and Scotland, to the preiudice of the French: and of the common alliance betwix France and Scotland. The Lord of *Eff* was chiefe of the army: *Peter* of the *Griff*, General of the Light Bands, and *Andres* Colonel of the French foot, the *Ribbles* chiefe of the *Langue*, marching by land against the English forces: & *Leon* *Schiff* Prior of Capua, by sea, with the English of the greatest part of their conquests: but the confirmation of the peace lately concluded betwix the deceased Kings of France and England ended this warre, and brought back our aduersaries into France.

Henry the  
second crowned  
at Rheims.

An army in  
Scotland.

France at the end of his dayes, had well foretold the issue, which should soone breed new combustions with the Emperour: *Henry* must be heire to his quartell, as well as to his crown, and knowing that the Pope had written and iust cause of indignation for the

mur.



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murder of *Peter Lewis*, Duke of Parma and Placentia, his sonne; and for the inuasion of A Placentia, by *Ferdinand Gonsagwa*, Lieutenant for the Emperour in Italy: he sent *Charles* of Lorraine, lately honored with a Cardinals Hat (this is hee that shall minister so much matter to take of him, vnder the successors of *Henry*) to draw the Pope from the Emperours party, to the Kings alliance: but death shall frustrate the Pope of his intended reuenge. Commonly men fill best in a troubled streame: and many knowing this new King to be of a mild spirit, addicted to the delights of Court, and little practised in affaires, they kindled a desire in his mind to reuenge the wrongs the Emperour had done to France, where of they vrged for a testimony the death of *Pegeberg* beheaded in Ausbourg, at his returne from the Scottish warres for the Kings seruice.

On the other side, the Emperour grew not a little ialous of the progresse the King made into Bourgongne, Bresse, Sauoy and Piedmont, as if he had caried with him an alarme bell to stirre vp the people to the following warre. And it may be it had then been kindled, but an home-bred mutiny stayed it for a time. During the Kings voyage into Sauoy and Piedmont, the extorsions of the toll-gatherers and farmers of salt, caused the Commons of Guienne, Xaintonge, and Angoumois, to rebell. In few weekes forty thousand men goe to field armed with all kind of weapons, the Islanders ioyne with them, and with a common consent fall vpon the toll gatherers. The people of Gascony doe presently follow this pernicious example. The commons of Bourdeaux rise, & finding *la Vergne*, *Esmonac*, *Marquanan*, and others (Tribunes fit for their humors) they expell the custumers, sacke many good houses, vnder colour to seeke for these exactors: the commons search throughout the towne, whence followed many massacres in diuers places, and many of the Kings officers were slaine, who abusing their charges had bene the cause of this mutiny. The Mayor, Jurats, and other Magistrates of the City of Bourdeaux, and the Court of Parliament, with the Seigneur of Moncins, who commanded there as the Kings Lieutenant, in stead of remedying these tumults in the beginning, temporized too much, namely *Moncins*, who for that he did not suppress the insolency of *la Vergne*, one of the heads of these mutines, hee made him dare to raise vp the people by the sound of a bell.

Another error of his was, that he sent forth a number of thor out of the Castle of Ha, D thinking to terrifie this iraged multitude. But this encreased their popular fury. They forced the Councillors of the Parliament to lay aside their gownes, to put on Mariners caps, to carry pikes, and to follow their Ensignes, and the masters of Saulx brethren, the one Captaine of the towne, the other of Castle Trompeté, to bee their Leaders, to assist at the sacking of many houses, and to see their friends and fellow Citizens massacred before their eyes. They spoile the Towne-house, a goodly store-house for armes: and to encrease their villanies, they murder *Moncins* most cruelly, being come amongst them, thinking with courteous words to pacifie the fury of these mutines. Hauiug wrought their wills, and being laden with booty, they disband, some one way, some another: the Parliament fortified with men of honour, and resumung their authority, punish by exemplary justice *la Vergne*, one of the chiefe Tribunes of this rebellion, and some other of the most apparant. The King was no lesse ready to reuenge this outrageous and rash rebellion, then the commons were active in the execution. The Constable had the commission for Guienne. *Francis* of Lorraine, Duke of Aumale (whom we shall afterwards see Duke of Guise, so famous vnder *Francis* the second, and *Charles* the ninth): that of Xaintonge with foure thousand Lanquenes and many French hostes. This man seeking to winne the reputation of a mild and mercifull Prince, pacified the Country without punishment of what had passed. The other marched after another manner, for ioyning both armies together, he entered into Bourdeaux, disarmed the people, rooke and burnt all the records, Registers, rights, and priuileges of the Citizens, and of all the country of Bourdelois: he caused the Court of Parliament to seate downe their bels: forced feuer score of the chiefe to goe vnto the Carraes (who had three dayes after the mutiny, in the night taken vp his poore dismembred carcase with a Gentleman of his called *Montelieu*) to fetch the body of *Moncins*, and to conduct it in mournfull fort vnto Saint Andreus Church, and by the punishment of the two *Saulx*, *Esmonac*, (another Tribune, who had seized vpon Castle Trompeté) and many others, hee purged their offence. *Talemagne* and *Galeffie*, Colonels of the commons, were afterwards broken vpon the wheele, ei-

ther

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A ther of them carrying a Crowne of burning Iron for a marke of the Soueraignty which they had vsurped.

The end of this year was more comicall. *Anthony* of Bourbon Duke of Vendosme married *Isabe* of Albret, daughter to *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, and of *Marguerite* sister to King *Francis* the first, and the Duke of Aumale, the daughter of *Hercules* of Este Duke of Ferrara, and of *Renée* of France daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth. And during these sports in Court; that extraordinary chamber, against them who they call Lutherians, was erected, who persifling constantly in the profession of their faith, suffered their bodies to be consumed to ashes. The birth of *Lewis* the Kings younger sonne, the third of February, at Saint Germaine in Lay, his baptisme the nineteenth of May, the Coronation of Queene *Katherine* at Saint Denis, the tenth of Iune; the stately entry of their Majesties at Paris the sixth of the same moneth; and the great journey at the Tournels made in fauour of the Ladies, continued the sports in Court: which finished, the King sitting in his seat of Iustice the second of Iuly, would giue sentence in his Court of Parliament at Paris, according to the ancient custome of his Predecessors. The presence of the Prince giues authority to the Magistrate, and the eye of the King (saith the Wiseman) scatters ill counsels.

At that time the Nobility of England were at iarre with the commons. During the which, the King sent *Paul* Lord of Termes, to continue the warre in Scotland begun by C *Esse*, who hauing lately defeated the English before Hedington, and taken the life of *Hofes*, resigned his charge to his successor. After much sport at the Queenes Coronation, the King caused a general procession to be made in Iuly, where he assisted, with the Queen, the Princes of the blood, Cardinals, and all the Orders and Estates of Paris; and at his returne from the Bishops lodging, where he had dined, hee would see certaine Christians burnt detecting the errors and abuses maintained by the Church of Rome. Among the which there was a Taylor, who some few dayes before had made answer of his beliefe before the King and many Courtiers, and spoken boldly to the Duchesse of Valentinois, telling her that she should rest fastid to haue infected France, and not seeketo pollute to holy and sacred a thing as the true Religion, and the truth of the Sonne of God with her filthinesse; and that it was to be feared that God for this cause would send some great plague both vpon the King and Realme. But the King being incensed and not amended (being caried away by the allurements of her that did betwix him) hauing commanded that his processe should be dispatcht, he would be a spectator of this Taylors execution, standing in the Lord of Rochports lodging in Saint Anthonies street right against the scaffold, whereas the Taylor shewed a wonderfull constancy and patience.

Hauing discouered the King, he began to behold him so constantly, as nothing could diuert him, yea the fire being kindled, he had always his eyes so fixt vpon that object, as the King was forced to retire himselfe, yea he was so troubled, as he confest that he thought this mans shadow did still follow him, and that for many nights this spectacle did present E it selfe vnto him, whereupon he protested that hee would neuer see nor heare any such people: but forgetting his protestation, ten years after he heard things which hee should haue giuen attentive care vnto, and pretending to see a great personage burnt, whose words did merit credit, he lost both sight and life.

In the moneth of Iune past, *James* of Coucy Lord of Veruein was beheaded at Paris, and *Ondard* of Biez Marshall of France degraded, after a long imprisonment: the one for that he had inconsiderately committed the guard of Bouillon to his son-in-law, the other for that hee had so lightly yeelded vpon a strong and well fortified place vnto the enemy. There were witnesses and Commissioners found out for the purpose by them that were in credit: so as soone after it appeared that the innocency of these Noblemen had bene F suspectt by the enuy of Courtiers, which possit the King, who acknowledged the error he had committed, but he could not helpe it; but this processe lay dead with Versins, vntill the year of our Lord 1575, that his sonne and heyre by an expresse declaration of King *Henry* the third, caused the memory of his Father and Grand-father by the mothers side to be restored to their former honor and fame, one of the Heralds being commanded to assist at the Funerals of these two Noblemen, the which were solemnly made at Bo-loigne in the year 1577.

This year was preaded in the Parliament at Paris the cause of Merindol; since the year

Section for  
the custumers.

*La Vergne*  
downe with  
soure bodies.

Troubler in  
England.

Execution of  
some of the  
Religion.

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year 1540, the Parliament of Prouence, had for matter of religion condemned seuentene persons of Merindol to be burnt, the village to be razed, and the trees to bee cut downe within two hundred paces. The Clergy pursued it: but some gentlemen and others lesse bloody, stayed the execution of this decree, and King *Francis* six months after sent a pardon to these Vaudois of Merindol, and other places, vpon condition that within three months they should abjure their errors. They appeare in Court, and protest that they haue not maintained nor published any erroneous thing, offering to yeeld, if by the word of God they can shew them any fonder doctrine: they giue a confession of their faith in writing, with an answer to the reproaches wherewith they were taxed, and require to be allowed, or iudicially heard in their defences.

Four years passe away, during the which, being onely threatened with words, they subsist. But the President *Chassané* being dead, *Iohn Menier* his successor, a violent man, became a mortall enemy to those of Cabrières and Merindol, amongst whom there dwelt certain subjects of his of Oppede, whose lands he possessed to ioyne them to his owne. Through the perswasions of *Menier*, the Cardinall of Tournon, obtaines Letters Patents from King *Francis*, to the Court of Parliament, for the execution of the first sentence, according to the which, *Menier* terming himselfe Lieutenant of the Lord of Grignan, Gouvernor of Prouence, accompanied with the Baron of la Garde, and a great troop of others, in the moneth of April 1545, fired many villages neere vnto Merindol, put many of the Countenmen into the gallies, spoiled, razed, and burnt Merindol being vnpeopled, took Cabrières by composition, and against his faith, in cold blood, hee cut in peeces fife and twenty or thirty men, chosen at his pleasure, rauished wiues, and young virgins, burnt about forty in a barne, whereof the most part were with child: put about eight hundred to the sword, and caried away many prisoners to Marfeilles, Aix and Auignon.

This did too farre exceed a decree giuen against seuentene persons, abusing the Kings authority, with too great violence: who in his latter age, toucht with a remorse of conscience, by reason of this horrible proceeding against his subjects, whom he had too lightly abandoned to these butchers, grieved that he could not before his death punish the authors of these murders exemplarily: lying in the bed of death, he commanded *Henry* his sonne expressly, not to make his memory hateful vnto strangers, nor subiect to the wrath of God, in not punishing of this guilt. Euen so, that great King *David*, amongst other dispositions of his last will: *Thou knowest* (said he to him that should sit on the throne after him) *what Iobab the sonne of Tserua hath done vnto mee, and what he hath done to the two Commanders of the armies of Israel, Abner the sonne of Ner, and Amasa the sonne of Iether, whom he hath slaine, hauing shed blood in time of peace: Thou shalt not suffer his white hayres to descend with peace into his grave. But Salomon* performed his fathers will more religiously. The King granted an euocation of the cause to the Court of Parliament at Paris, where it was solemnly pleaded about fifty times in the great Chamber. There was great expectation of seuerer punishments for those horrible murders: but these great mountaines proued mole-hills, and in the end it did euaporate into smoake. Yet one at the least must suffer for many: the chancefell vpon one that was least guilty, named *Guerin*, an Adjuocate by profession, who was hanged at Paris. The Cardinall of Tournon, *Grignan*, and *la Garde*, were in some trouble, but more feared then hurt. *Menier* escaped, but hee died after, being tragically possessed with a fury, & a secret fire which consumed his bowels. The year ended with the death of two famous personages: Pope *Paul*, the ninth of November, to whom succeeded Cardinall *Iohn Maria* Bishop of Mantoua: and the vertuous Princeesse *Marguerite* of Valois, sister to King *Francis* deceased, and wife to *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, the fourteenth of December. They say commonly, that for offences there needs but one satisfaction. Seeing then, that by the punishment of the chiefe authors of the sedition in Guienne, the King had pardoned the commons, hee was not so inexorable, but for a small satisfaction they were easily admitted to fauour: so as in October past, they of Bourdeaux had obtained a remission, binding themselves perpetually to his Majesty: *To entertaine as sea for euer (as well they as their descendants) two ships furnished for the warre: so victuall the Castle Trompet and du Ha, and to renew the victuall every year.* By this meanes their Parliament was restored in January, and all things setled in their former estate. By their example the three estates of Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoulmois, Perigot, Lymouin, and la Marche, in the beginning of this year, obtained abolition of the

King Francis  
wounded in  
conscience.

Gods iudge-  
ment vpon  
murder.

1549

A the custome vpon salt in Guienne, paying foure hundred and fifty thousand frankes, and fife and twenty thousand for the satisfaction of the Kings officers of the said custome, Then sprung there many and sundry fire-brands of warre.

At the same time three Presidents of Paris, not pleasing to the House of Guise (who were then in credit) were dismist from their charges. Soone after *S. André* and *Minard* hauing promised to be good seruants, were restored: *Lisier* was made Abbot of Saint Victor to giue place to one that was not so cunning as himselfe. In this solitary kind of life, hee would be dealing with Diuinity, wherein he was no apt Scholler: for of a good practitioner he became an ignorant Sophister, and was scorned, so as he died for griefe. Hee had shewed himselfe a sworne enemy to them of the Religion, thinking to advance himselfe by his cruell inuentions: but hee was ouerthrowne in his course, to serue as an example for them that are more sufficient then he, not to attempt against him who surpriseth the most cunning in their deuices, and against whose wisdom humane force is but foolery and vanity. And this year, for that the coynes were found for the most part clipt, the King commanded by his Edict, that all clipt money should be new minted, whereupon many Masters of this art, and counterfeite coyners were punished with death.

But before we quarrell with the Emperor, the English must yeeld vs Boullen. The fort which the Lord of Chastillon had built in the year 1548, annoyed them much, and the recovery of the forts of Selaque, Blacconet, and Bonlamberg, and so many men defeated by the surpris of them, gaue the Duke of Somerset and the Earle of Warwick to vnderstand that there was nothing but blowes to be gotten in maintaining the warres of Boullen: moreover, the diuisions of England, and the warre of Scotland, called home their troops, So as for the summe before specified, payable at two termes, a peace was againe concluded with the English, and Boullen restored to the King, into the which his Majesty made his entry the fifth of May, and did his homage, whereunto the Kings of France are bound by the institution of *Lewis* the eleuenth, as we haue elsewhere obserued. Hereafter those small sparkles, which began to appeare, after the murder of *Peter Lewis*, sonne to Pope *Paul Farnese* deceased, slaine by his household seruants, by the perswasion of *Andreu Doria*, and *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, with the priuity and consent of the Emperor, to seize vpon the City of Placentia, with the more facility, haue kindled to great fires, as wee shall see

D France, Germany, and Italy in combustion. *Paul* had giuen Parma to *Ottauio Farnese* son to the said *Peter Lewis*, whereof he had institution of *Isidore* his successor. This *Peter Lewis* was inclined much to the French party. He had giuen aid to *Peter Sterffy*, when as he came into the country of Placentia, with some forces for the seruice of the most Christian King, and that which more incensed the Imperials, he was suspected to haue assisted the Count of Fiesque in an enterprise made vpon Genoua for the Kings seruice, the year 1547, in the which *Iacquin Doria* was slaine, and *Andreu Doria* expelled. This caused the death of *Peter Lewis Farnese*. *Ottauio* his sonne had married the Emperors bastard daughter. But they say that charity begins by it selfe. The Emperor did labour him much: hee would

E gladly ioyne Parma to Placentia, and that by lawfull meanes, letting the Pope vnderstand, that Parma being of the patrimony of the Church, the which was in his protection, hee ought to be preferred before *Farnese*, seeing that *Farnese* could not keepe it but with the men and money of his Holinesse. The Pope being of a base mettall, and fearing the touch, tempted with the Emperors practices, sends to Duke *Ottauio*, that he could no more furnish the extraordinary charges, wherewith he had promised to assist him: and *Farnese* finding that the Emperor laid this plot to dispossesse him of his inheritance, hee seeks a strong support in France against his father-in-lawes practices. The King who had renouneed the ancient pretensions of the House of Orleans to the Duchy of Milan, declares himselfe (but with the Popes good liking) Protector of the patrimony of the Church

F and of the *Farneses*. The Emperor is in a rage, who with his violent exclamations foreshadowes the Pope, as he abandons his vassall *Ottauio*. The Pope on the other side (nothing well affected to the French) grew bitter against the King: he commanded him to renounce this protection, and for not obeying, threatened to curse both him and his realme. Thus *Iulius* the second was able to satisfie his greedy desire with the keyes of Saint Peter: he vniuersally the sword of Saint Paul, striking by his madnesse these deadly diuisions throughout all Christendome, as if the Bishop were the spirituall sword in his hand to draw it for vnlawfull things at the first impression of his

Presidents at  
Paris displaced.

Edict against  
disorders in  
money.

Peace with the  
English.

1551

fantasie. To crosse the Pope, the King forbids expressly to cary or send any gold or silver to Rome for any dispatches, Bulls, Annars, Dispensations, or any other thing, commanding the Metropolitans of the Realme to provide according to the ancient priviledges and liberties of the French Church. And for that *Gonzaga* besieged Parma (to give both the Emperour and the Court of Rome a blow) he commanded *Charles* of Cossé, Lord of Brissac, and Marshall of France, his Lieutenant General in Piedmont by the death of the Prince of Melphé, to fortifie and furnish Mirandola. *Brissac* sends some souldiers : *Gonzaga* surpriseth them, and puts them secretly to death, and suddenly doth beleaguer Mirandola. Warre is now begunne on all sides, and for light occasions, he that seeks a quarrell, wants no apparant shewes to colour it. Both these Princes expected some worthy occasion : but let vs raise up our thoughts, and say, That GOD had now poured out all his iudgements against Christendome, being full of excess, and worthy of sharpe punishment.

The King sends new forces into Piedmont, and commands the Marshall to succour Parma and Mirandola. He effects it, and by the taking of Quicrs, Saint *Damian*, and other places, he forceth *Gonzaga* to abandon the Countrey of Parmesan, to succour Montferat, and to defend the estate of Milan. On the other side, *Mary* Queene of Hungary, and Gouvernesse of the Low-Countries for the Emperour, armed in favour of her brother, both by sea and land. And understanding that for a greater confirmation of love, the Marshall *Saint Andre*, carried in the Kings name the Order of France to young *Edward* King of England : the caused certaine ships to lye betwixt Calais and Dover, to seize on him in his passage. But to prevent her policy, the Marshall caused some Flemish ships to stayd, which lay at anchor in the roade of Deepe, untill they were assured of his arrival in England. And *Mary* likewise arrested all the French ships that were within her government. Thus heart-burning grew on all sides, which burst out into open warre : every one calls home his Ambassadors, and assures the places nearest to the enemy : the King, especially *Lorraine*, having some jealousy of *Christienne* the Dowager, and neere allied to the Emperour : who to free her selfe from that imputation, did put her selfe with her sonne *Charles* into the Kings protection : who caused him to be brought up with the Dauphin *François*, and afterwards he married one of his Maiesties daughters.

Before we proceed to open acts of hostility, the King excused himselfe vnto the Pope by the Lord of Termes, for that which he did in favour of *Ottavian Farnese*, and by the Abbot of Bellafame, he protested against the decrees of the Assembly which was held at Trent : the which (considering the Popes and the Emperors spleene against France) hee could not hold to be a lawfull and holy generall Councell : *Not that I pretend (said he) to withdraw my selfe from the obedience of the Church : but onely to avoid the surpris of such, as under colour of reformation, seek to disgrace both my person and Realme.*

After this protestation, the King published an Edict made the yeare before, touching Benefices, and against the frauds and abuses of the Court of Rome : and also vpon the ancient Edicts and Decrees against Annars, and the abuse of Refutations and exactions invented by Popes : forbidding all his subjects to goe any more to Rome for Annars, nor for any other occasion concerning Benefices : commanding the Ordinaries to dispose thereof, publishing to all men the wrong which *Julio* did to him and to *Ottavio* Duke of Parma, who was deprived of that whereof he had bene solemnly inuested. The Cardinals and other the Popes creatures in France, fearing that this Edict (vpon the which *Charles* of Moulins, a famous Lawyer, did write a learned Commentary, wherein he discovered many terrible practices of Rome) should shake the Popes authority. They did very carefully procure the King to publish very fewe Edicts against them of the Religion, to the end that *Julio* and the Cardinals at Rome should assure themselves of his friendship, whensoever they would adhere vnto him. These Edicts were followed by cruell executions in diuers parts of the Realme against many of the Religion, who were burnt alive, for that they had constantly maintained the truth of the Gospell, and rejected the Traditions of men established in the place of Gods divine service. Those that were at Trent did write vnto the King to induce him to receive the decrees of their Councell, and to the first the Bishops of his Realme thither : moreover, to entreat him to be a witness that the Spaniards should send thither : but the warre being now begunne in all places, and the Emperour having called the Spaniards which were in Germany, to come into

A into Italy to the warre of Parma, the pursuit of them of Trent was suspended.

The warre being kindled, the King refused to assure himselfe towards *Lorraine*, having some distrust of the Duchesse Dowager, whereupon he caused some troops to march towards the frontiers, and the Emperour did also man all his places, the one looking vpon the other with diuers designs whereof the effects did soone after appeare. While that the King persecuted them of the Religion in France, he treated secretly with the Protestant Princes of Germany, and generally with all the Electors and free Cities of the Empire, who saw their liberties and freedoms in a manner ruined, if they did not oppose some mighty adversary against the Emperour who by maine force might stay the course of his vaine glorious covetousnesse. The Emperour (contrary to his oath) detained *John* Duke of Saxony, and *Philip* Landgrave of Hesse in miserable captivity. He had vanquished most of the other Princes in war, and fearing lest the French should in the end demand the right vsurped in old time by the Saxons vpon the heyres of *Charlemagne*, when the Empire was hereditary : he pretended to transport the Imperial Crowne into his House for ever, and now he thought to have a fit opportunity. He had suppressed his enemies in Germany : he had a Pope at his devotion, and he was armed. The most part of the Cardinals who assisted at the Councell, were either naturall Spaniards, or of the Spanish faction : and by consequence, might easily by a decree of this Councell, give authority to what he intended. With this designe he had caused his sonne Prince *Philip* to come out of Spaine, (who died King of Spaine in the yeare 1598) to have him declared his successors, or at least his associate in the Empire : oppressing the people of Germany by insolent and tyrannical exactions. The Electors not accustomed to servitude, and lesse to the slavery of Spaine, not able with their owne forces to shake off the yoke which they saw ready to be laid vpon them : they repaire vnto the King, and shew him the wrongs and outrages done vnto them : that they pretended the overthrow of the whole Empire, and the abolishment of the rights and priviledges of the Electors, Commonalties, and Lords of the same : they beseech him that in regard of the ancient league betwixt the Empire and the Crowne of France, he would take their iust cause in hand, and maintain the common liberty of Germany. The King resolves to enter into league with them, according

D to the which in the beginning of the yeare he sent the Bishop of Baione for his Ambassador vnto the Princes Electors, with Letters full of protestations and offers of friendship, and an ample declaration of the wrongs done by the Emperour vnto the Princes and Cities of Germany : adding, that he was resolved to employ both his person and forces for the defence of the rights and liberties of all Germany, without respecting any other recompence then the honor to have done his duty, and to have bound so mighty a Nation vnto him : Giving moreover assurance by oath of this his affection and intention, taking God vnto witness, and swearing by the faith of a Prince, that his designe was to free all the Estates of Germany from the oppression of the Emperour and his Ministers. The which he also pretended to do particularly in favour of his most deare and well-beloved Cousins *John* Duke of Saxony, and *Philip* Landgrave of Hesse, detained in miserable captivity by the Emperour, notwithstanding he had promised and sworn the contrary. In the end of his Letter he added these words : we promise you also by the Almighty God, before a the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Christendome, that we will not suffer with our priuaty any wrong or injury to be done to you all in general, nor to any one in particular, of what estate or condition soever he bee : and much lesse will we (who carry the Title of most Christian) endure that any harme should be done vnto the goods or persons of your most Reuerend Prelates, Abbots, and other Clergy-men, as hath bene wrongfully giuen out by our adversaries : Nay rather we are resolved to take you into our protection, so as you may declare your selves for vs and our allies, and give vs sufficient assurance of your wils : hoping the re-viue of the Church, the which is respected by the recovery of the publike liberty : for the which (with the helpe of GOD) we will employ all our forces. The which wee have thought good (most Reuerend Prelates, most famous Princes, and other the Estates of the sacred Empire) to let you understand, to the end you may not be ignorant of the true cause of this warre, by the which wee pretend to pursue the Emperour with all violence, and (to our griefe) cut him off as a putrified member from the body of the Common-wealth : or at the least force and constrain him to cease from oppressing you, and to give you such satisfaction as you shall require.

Letters from the King to the Protestant Princes.

1552

Edict against the abuses of the Court of Rome.

1552

The King  
makes a league  
with the Prin-  
ces of Germa-  
ny against the  
Emperor.

The Kings  
army.

Hereupon they give him this honourable title, *Defender of the Germanes, protector of the Nation, and of the holy Empire*. He armes thirty thousand men, and desirous to countenance his forces with his owne presence, he appoints *Queene Katherine* his wife Regent in France: he makes many goodly Edicts for the government of the State, for the ordering of his men at armes, and for the obseruation of military discipline: hee reformes the abuses of Commanders, suppresseth the insolency of souldiers (a commendable institution in comparison of that which hath beene scene in the reignes of his children) and gives the rendezvous for his army at Vitry. He was accompanied with *Anthony Duke of Vendosme*, (whom we shall shortly see King of Navarre, by the decaise of *Henry of Albret* his father-in-law) *Iohn Duke of Anguien*, *Lewis Prince of Conde*, all brethren: *Lewis D. B* of Montpensier, *Charles Prince of Roch-sur-yon*, all of the Royall Family of Bourbon: the Dukes of Nevers, Nemours, Guise, Aumale, Elbeuf: the Lords of Rohan, Rochefoucault, Chastillon, d'Andelot, and others in great numbers, in very good order.

The Constable of Montmorency was made General of the army (a House which shall hereafter be made a Duchy, and a Peere of France) *Claude of Lorraine Duke of Aumale*, a younger brother of the House of Guise, was General of the horse, consisting of fifteen hundred men at armes, every one having two archers: two thousand light-horse, as many Arquebustiers, besides an infinit number of voluntary French Nobility, marching vnder the fauour of their Prince, and desirous to make their valour apparent by good and faithfull seruices. *Gaspard Lord of Chastillon*, afterwards Admirall, was Colonel of the foot, consisting (besides the new and the ordinary companies, which were twenty Ensignes of the old bands of *Piedmont*, and five and thirty ensignes of Gascons and Prouencals (they note the two companies of the Lord of Duras to be compounded for the most part of Gentlemen and old souldiers, worthy of command) of ten thousand Lanquenets in two Regiments, commanded by the Reingraue and *Reichsue*. To these bands the Protestant Princes ioyned a battalion of horse, vnder the command of Colonel *Charrel*. But lets now see their exploits.

The City of Thoul at the first abord, puts it selfe into the Kings protection, but this was not the chiefe point of his designe. The Emperor passing into France, had the passage of Metz at his deuotion, and had victuals and other necessaries out of that Country. The King now requires the like from them: they offer victuals for money, and consent to admit his Maiesty into their City, with the Constable, followed with some Princes and Noblemen: but as for any passage of the army, they excuse themselves, and pretend neutrality. The Constable departs, and protests that he will haue free passage, free entry, and free issue at his discretion, without any limitation, & partly by promises, partly by threats, he wins the inhabitants. The Citizens had not foreseene this storme, and lesse provided any remedy to auoid it. This being forced to bid their liberty adieu, they agree with the Lord of Bourdillon, afterwards Marshall of France: That the Constable accompanied with some Princes and Noblemen should enter with two companies of foot: the companies were six hundred men strong: they increased them with halfe as many more, all chosen men of account, the which being entered, repelled the people, become masters, and draw after them so long a traine, as the Metzins had no means to resist.

This was the tenth of April on Palm-Sunday: nine dayes after, the King made his entry in armes, being followed with all his forces put in battell: he received the oath of the Citizens, and sware solemnly to them in the porch of Saint Stephens Church, as hee had done to them of Thoul: which was to defend them against all men, and to maintain them in their freedoms, rights, priuiledges, and liberties: moreover, to provide for the fortification of the place, which he pretended to make one of the bulwarkes of France. He left *Gunner* brother to the Marshall of Brisac for Gouverneur, and with him the company of the Earle of Nantueil, two hundred light-horse, two hundred Harguebuziers on horsebacke, and twelue Ensignes of foot. Thus the famous City of Metz was brought vnder the obedience of this Crown: a portion of the ancient patrimony of the Kings of France, and in former times vsurped by the Emperors.

The Constable would gladly haue vied the like stratagem to Strassbourg: but he found more assurance and resolution then at Metz. They put a strong garison into their Citie, and prepared for defence against any that should seek to make them subiect: so as seeing that neither reproaches, threats, nor bitter words, could draw any thing from the inhabitants,

1552

Deputies from  
the Princes of  
Germany to  
the King.

A bitants, but victuals and necessaries for the campe, the army tooke the way of Haguenau and Wisbourg. Thither came deputies from the Count Palatine, the Archbishops of Mentz and Treues, and from the Dukes of Cleues and Wirtemberg, who were then assembled at Wormes for the good of the Common-wealth. They make petition vnto the King that he would not spoile the Champion Country, but take pittie of the poore Commons: and seeing that hee had protested to make this warre for the liberty of Germany, that he would stay his army: for if he advanced, it would be very preiudiciall to the Empire. They also besought him that hee would hearken vnto a peace, whereof they had spoken vnto the Emperor, and were in good hope thereof. As touching any particular B alliance, they desired him not to presse them, but to haue regard vnto their honors, and to the faith which they ought vnto the Empire. At the same time, being the eleventh of May, Duke *Maurice* Elektor of Saxony, sent Letters vnto the King, containing all that had bin done at Lintz, where the confederate Princes of Germany had treated of a peace with King *Ferdinand*, who negotiated the same for the Emperor, in whose name he promised a speedy resolution to the good and quiet of Germany. He also desired the King (in case he would be comprehended in the Treatie) to declare with what conditions he meant to compound with the Emperor. Having receiued the Letters contrary to his expectation, and hearing that the Queene of Hungary had taken Strenay vpon Meuse, and spoiled the Country being without defence, he resolved vpon his returne: but before his departure he made answer to the Princes Deputies: That he was well satisfied that the captive Princes should soone be deliuered, and that Germany should be in quiet: That if at any time it should haue need of his assistance, he would employ all his means to succour it.

As touching a peace with the Emperor, he referred himselfe vnto them, hauing by his trauell, charge, and valour, freed Germany from those miseries which did oppresse it, whereof they must now be careful, and not basely lose that libertie, which he so honorably had recovered for them. Notwithstanding, to entertaine his Confederates, and to haue one wayes in Germany, which might aduertise him truly how matters passed betwixt the Confederates and the Imperials, and the better to be informed of the Emperors D designs, he left *Du Fresno* Bishop of Baionne his Ambassador with Duke *Maurice*, who in an Assembly held at Passau, to aduise what was to be done for the restoring of Germanie to her beaury and ancient liberty, in the presence of the Emperors Ambassador, and of the Elektors and many Princes of the Empire, he made a long and eloquent speech the third of Iune, propounding the ancient coniunction of Germany and France. The great affection which the King bare vnto the Empire, being very ill gouerned by Spaniards and their adherents: he also held it fit that the Protestant Princes should make an accord with the Emperor, so as the prisoners might be releas'd, & the ancient alliances of France with the Empire, and the last league made with the Princes ratified for euer: That the Emperor should doe him right for his pretensions: That hee desired to satisfie them all, and especially Duke *Maurice*. The Princes answer consisted chiefly of thanks and declarations, so deliuered, as neither the Emperor nor the King could pretend any cause of dislike. As touching the renewing of the ancient alliances, they sayd that a matter of so great weight required a greater Assembly. In the meane time they desired, that the amity so long continued betwixt these two Nations, might remaine firme, and that the differences which the King had against the Emperor, might be pacified, promising therein to employ all their means: In the meane time they intreated the King to declare what wrongs hee pretended to haue beene done him by the Emperor, to whom they would write, to aduance the businesse to some good peace.

In the meane time, the King leauing Germany, brought backe his army into France: as he advanced, the Marshall of Cleues, who led the Queene of Hungaries forces retired, and his troops disbanded: which made the Kings Councill resolve to vndertake the conquest of the Duchy of Luxemburg. They first attempted a strong Castle called Reck-de-Mars, the which was presently taken and spoiled: the like was done to Mount Saint-Iohn, Soliere and other places, the which were ruined whilst the Kings and Emperours forces skirmished before Thionuille. The army hauing passed nere it, they approached to Danuilliers, the which being battered, yielded to the Kings discretion, the Captiues were detained prisoners, and the souldiers sent away with white wands. Yuoy being battered,

Lij

yielded

The Kings an-  
swer to the  
Princes De-  
puties.

Assembly at  
Passau.

Answer of the  
Princes.

1552

yielded in like manner, and the Gouvernor was sent to Paris. All the goods were given to the Constable, who distributed the greatest part vnto his company, and to that of his eldest sonne, whereto the old bands did murine, and beganne to disband: Mommedy followed Yuoy. During these prizes, the Marshall of La Marke obtained some troops of the King, with the which he recovered the towne and castle of Bouillon, with all the other places depending vpon that Duchy. After which, the Castles of Treton, Glaiou and others were ruined. To content the old bands, they gaue them the facke of Cinay, a towne and castle belonging to the Duke of Arloot. The besieged retiring into the castle, and offering to parlee, they were forced by the portall and other places, by the fury of the assailants, being greedy of spoile. They ranne thither with such violence, as a match falling into certaine powder, there were about 120 of the forwardest burnt and flaine. The fury of the warre consumed Townes and Castles to ashes. But for as much as the armie beganne to decrease, some disbanding being laden with spoiles, but the most part sick and diseased, in the end of Iuly they put the rest into garisons, to see what the Emperour would doe, who hauing to doe with the Protestant Princes and the King, he resolved to make an accord with the Princes, that he might be assisted with their means against the King. The last of Iuly he granted a peace to Germany, that he might make violent warres in France. The King was much discontented with this accord: notwithstanding, he sent backe the hostages to Duke Maurice, who also released his, which were the Earles of Nantueil and of Lamers.

Peace in  
Germany.

Emperors de-  
signe against  
Metz.

Difficulty of  
the siege of  
Metz.

Metz besieged  
by the Empe-  
rour.

The Duke of Au-  
male defeated.

After this accord with the Germanes, the Emperour preuailed so, as the Princes and townes granted by little and little to furnish him with men, money, and artillery, to chase the King out of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, Imperiall townes. Thereupon hee leaues an army of 50000 foot, and 20000 horse, with much artillery. Whilest he prepares, Albert Marquis of Brandenburg, who had in the Kings name made cruell warres against some Townes and Bishops of Germany, now seeks vnder-hand to bee reconciled vnto the Emperour as well as the rest, but he will insinuate himselfe by some notable seruice: being followed by 2000 horse, and 8000 foot, and drawing after him some artillery, he approached the frontiers of Luxembourg and Lorrain, where for a long time he entertained the King with hope to cary arms for him, during the which he did wonderfully spoile the champion Country. In the end, the Marquis retired himselfe from the French army, and hauing cut off the victuals from them of Metz, he went and caried armes for the Emperour. Winter approaching, many thought the Emperour would not hazard so mighty an army, to encounter (without any profit) the cold, frosts, and discommodities of the season. But the hope he had to take Metz, in the which there were many Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen, made him reiect all other apprehensions, so as his forces began to aduance towards Lorraine, and comes to Sarbruechen leues leagues, from whence he sends the Duke of Alua his Lieutenant General, and the Marquis of Marignan with fourteene thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and six field pieces, to view the City, and to chooseth a convenient place to lodge his army, attending his coming with the rest of his forces. The Duke of Guise, Lieutenant general for the King, sends forth some troops to skirmish, where hee losest *Marigni* a Gentleman of Picardy, two Captaines, and five souldiers; and the enemy about an hundred and fifty men. But the Marquis of Brandenburg reuengeth this disgrace vpon the Duke of Aunale, and by a second stratagem, hee giues the King an assured testimony of his defection; and to the Emperour, the effects of the seruice which hee had vowed vnto him. The Duke costed the Marquis his retreat, and cuts the heauiest of his troops of pieces, when as the Marquis (turning head) overthrowes a great troop of seruants mustred together to make a shew: and chargeth a squadron of light-horse: who making but a weak resistance, leaue the place. So all fall vpon the men at armes, who were ill furnished to withstand the shooke of the Reistres pistols. The Duke seeing his men at armes broken, and seeking to saue themselves, rallies a small troop, and returns to the charge. The multitude inuirones him, and doth oppress his best men: some are wounded, and others taken: two hundred Gentlemen, by their death, and the taking of many others, made the Marquis valour famous. The Duke being overthrowne, remained as a pawne of an assured victory, and shall not bee deliuered vntill the King hath payed fifty thousand Crownes for him. This chanced in the end of October. But we shall see this losse recompenced with a happy successe against the Emperours attempts.

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The Earle of Reux entred Picardy at the same time, with the desolation thereof, and the burning of Noyon, Nelfe, Chauny, Roys, Folembray, and about eight hundred villages: a testimonie of the Emperours spleene. Then hauing besieged Heildin, and filled vp the trench with the ruines of a wall which they had vnder-mined: the towne was very lightly yielded by the Lord of Rasse, who was in danger to haue bene made a publicke spectacle vpon a scaffold, if the Constables fauour had not protected him. The reason was, for that he had not endured any force, nor made any resistance, and had a little before sent the King word, that there was no feare of the Castle.

The second losse made them to apprehend a third. The Emperour incamped before Metz: and the King desirous to vnderstand in what estate the besieged were, as the Duke of Guise, John and Lewis of Bourbon (the one was Duke of Anguien, the last was Prince of Conde) brethren to the Duke of Vendosme, Charles of Bourbon, Prince of Roch-sur-yon, Francis and René of Lorraine, (the first Grand Prior of France, the last Marquis of Elbeuf) brethren to the Duke of Guise: the Lords of Rochefoucault, and Randan brethren: Peter Stroff, la Brosse, Brion, Gonnor, Parroy, with an infinit number of others, who had voluntarily thrust themselves within the wals, to eternize the memory of so generous a preferuation of their new conquest against the Imperiall forces: they all with one consent and resolution, free the King of this suspence, and the effects second their promises. They toyle the enemy with continuall sallies both of horse and foot: they come vp to the Cannon, overthrow their tents, force their quarters, put the whole campe in alarme, and performe more then hath bene heard of in any former siege. The place did well deserue it, and their vertue was the more admirable, for that the time was so vnseasonable both for the one and the other, being in the cold of winter: But the constancy of the besieged, and the obstinacie of the besiegers, encountered the rigour of raine, snow, cold, and ice.

The 26 of Nouember they batter the wall with forty Cannons, without any intermission, but to coole them: and the besieged both Princes, Noblemen, and souldiers, carie earth indifferently to rampar vp the breach, making the Imperials admire their diligence and valour. The King resting assured, leaues the Duke of Neuers to command his armie in Lorraine, and gaue commission to the Lord of Chastillon, then Admiral of France (Annebauld being lately dead at la Fere) to goe into Picardy, as Lieutenant to the duke of Vendosme.

The Duke of Neuers employes all his cares to cut off the Emperours victuals: and the Admirals approach chafeth the Earle of Reux from Hedin, leauing his sonne with a strong garison in the Castle. Hauing spent foure thousand and threecore Cannon shot, he makes a breach the 16 of December, but yet not reasonable: notwithstanding the besieged being amazed, yeeld it; to haue their liues and goods saued: And the Duke of Neuers did still molest the Emperours army, and at one time cut off a great conuoy of all sorts of victuals and munition by Mon: de Many, without the losse of any one Frenchman wherein he got great honour, hauing aduanced himselfe farr and retired discretely from among many of the enemies troops, leauing not any one engaged behind him. This blow troubled the Emperour: the injuries of the ayre molested his men before Metz: extreme hunger made them weak, the continuall sallies of the besieged diminished them, his treasure grew short, his reputation decayed, his mynes were blowne vp, and all his attempts were made fruitlesse: to conclude, all went against the haire. So the Emperour giuing charge to the Duke of Alua, to order the retreat, he left the Empire deprived of the Country of Metz, and the Crowne of France assured of this new conquest, by the Constables industry, and happily preferred by the valour of the besieged.

But there followed rough encounters. Hedin and Therouenne had till now bene the instruments of warre. It is better (saith the Proverbe) to stumble once, then to stagger alwayes. The Emperour to be reuenged for some part of his losses, sends the Lord of Binecourt with a mighty army to besiege Therouenne. The Lord of Esse, and Francis of Montmorency defended it. The place is furiously battered, the besieged sustaine a most violent assault of three charges, and many die on either side. The chiefe among the French, were the Lords of Esse, of Vienna, of Beaudine, of Roch-poly, of Blandy, Captain Ferrières, with many Gentlemen and souldiers. They vndermine, they mine, and with the ruines of the wall fill vp the trenches, which caused the besieged to demand a composition. But

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whilest they are busie in parle, (an error which often chancing, should make a Commander wise) the Germanes and Bourguignons enter at diuers places, and kill all they encounter. The Spaniards louing money at that time more then blood, saved many. The Seigneur of Ouart, to save the life of *Montmorency* his Generall, was sore wounded, whereof hee dyed soon after. And the Emperor causing the towne to be razed and spoiled, shall save many foules which should be lost in the defence and winning thereof.

Hedin assailed, battered, and vndermined more then a Foxes burrow, had like successe vnder *Emanuel Philibert*, sonne to the Duke of Sauoy, and Lieutenant General for the Emperor, his vnkle by the mothers side. The Duke of Bouillon and *Horatio Farnes* newly married to *Diana* the Emperours bastard-daughter, had taken the guard thereof, and had prepared great store of wild-fire at the breach to defend the assault. A Priest, either through malice or negligence sets it on fire, and consumes many souldiers ready for the defence. The Imperials on the other side, blow vp their mynes, and bury a great number of men in the ruines thereof: they enter pell-mell, and so become masters of the place. *Farnes*, the Vicount of Martigues, the Seneshall of Castres, with many other Gentlemen, were slain there. The Duke of Bouillon with many others, had a long and hard imprisonment.

The Duke of  
Ariscot taken.

Let vs take our reuenge. The French armie assembled about Amiens and Piquigny: the Prince of Conde led the light-horse, who in the midst of August incountred with some troopes, led by the duke of Ariscot: he charged them, defeated them, and followed them about a league: he slue seven or eight hundred men, tooke about 560 prisoners, and amongst the rest, the Duke himselfe with seven Ensignes. The Kings armie consisted of about seven thousand horsemen, fise and twenty thousand foot, with an hundred pieces of artillery, great and small, desiring nothing more, then to make his valour admirable, by the issue of some happy battaile. Being and abiding in the enemies Country, the Constable went to Bapaume two leagues from Mary-mont, a place well fortified, and also strong by nature, with fise thousand French horse, and as many foot: In the which *Haulismont* (a Knight much esteemed among the Burgonians) was Gouverneur, having twelue companies of foot, and three or four hundred horse, who at their first approach spared not his Cannon, and entertained them with a hote skirmish, the which continued foure houres: during the which, the Admirall with a small troope viewed the towne, and found it pregnable, the Rampar being made of a crumbling sand, but the difficulty was to haue water, whereof they could find no lasting springs, which made them change their resolution for the siege. At their departure they burnt all Villages and places belonging to the enemy euen to the gates of Bapaume. The Imperiall armie coasted them in their retreat, keeping still a riuer betwixt them. The King finding that the enemy sought nothing but to temporize, vntill that winter came on, whereby his army might be weakened by cold and diseases, and then to fight with him vpon aduantage.

The King resolved with his Councell to draw him to battaile, if it were possible, or to take the first place he should attempt, and so ruine the whole country in view of the Emperour, and so to returne in triumph, as hauing braued him in his owne dominions. Hee therefore meanes to great Cambray, both for that the taking thereof would be an example to other great townes, as also thinking the Imperiall armie would rather hazard a battell then lose such a place, where the inhabitants would willingly shake off the yoke, which not long before had been laid vpon them, yet being a neutrall towne.

Cambray is  
summoned by  
the French  
King.

The French were incamped two little leagues from Cambray: by the breake of day the King caused his armie to be put in battaile, and sent an Herald to summon the towne, letting them vnderstand, that he was not come to oppress them, but to restore them to their ancient Liberties, whereof they were deprived by the Emperour: if they were desirous to shake off their bondage, they could haue no better meanes then by his comming, being there in person ready to fight for their Liberties: but if they did otherwise, they would be the cause of their own ruines, in losing the priuiledge of Neuter-townes, which affect neithers quarrell, and whereby they had libertie to traffike in both their countries. Besides, their country should be freed from the miseries of warre, and from all manner of exactions and spoiles. But they demanded eight and forty houres respite of the King, to aduise thereon, and to yeeld him an answer: whereupon the King caused his armie to retire a league backe, making a Proclamation, vpon corporall punishment, that no man should take

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A take any thing within the territory of Cambray without paying for the same. In the meane time the Emperor is aduertised of this summons, being then at Brussels, who sent them diuers instructions. Among others, that they depended of the Empire, and that hee was Emperour to protect them, not the French King, who sought nothing but their ruine: so hauing first before their eyes the example of Metz, he promised if they were besieged, to succour them by all means whatsoever: and then he gaue order to the Prince of Piedmont (who was gone with his armie towards Valenciennes) to yeeld them what succours they should demand, appointing the Earles of Bessu and Brabant for gouernours. The time limited being expired, the King sent to know their resolution: who answered, that if it pleased his Maiestie they would remaine his humble neighbours and friends, offering to furnish the armie with victuals, but it was not in their power to dispose any further of themselves, the Emperor hauing put a great garison into their towne.

Answer of them  
of Cambray.

Vpon this answer the towne was adiuaged for enemy, and the same day being the 8 of September, the Constable with two Regiments of men at Armes, and three or foure hundred light-horse, being followed by the Admirall with ten ensignes on foot, went to view the towne, where the Cannon played on them from all parts, and the souldiers sallied forth gallantly to skirmish, the which the French continued six dayes together, making a shew as if they would besiege the town: but the weather growing very rainy, they dislodged to the Castle of Cambresy, from whence they marcht within two leagues of Valenciennes, whereas the Imperiall armie was lodged in a fort which they had made about a Culuerin shot from Valenciennes vpon the riuer of Elcau.

And on the 17 of September, the French hauing left their baggage in their lodging with a good guard, the rest of the armie advanced to seeke out the Imperials, and to present them battell. The Auant-curses going before, found many of their horsemen in battell, vpon a little hill, ready to fight: and hard by they tooke one on horsebacke, in habit of a merchant, as a spy, who gaue intelligence, that the Imperiall fore-ward had passed the riuer to come to fight with them, so being brought vnto the Constable, and sent by him vnto the King, he was the cause that the armie advanced with all speed that might be, and was put in battaile: in the meane time the skirmish grew hote, many of the Imperiall armie fell forth, which did greatly annoy the forlorne hopes.

French seeke the  
Imperiall army.

During this skirmish the Imperiall armie was put in battaile within their fort. The Kings armie being likewise in battaile, and the skirmish growing still hote on either side, the Imperiall horsemen stood still vpon a little hill about three houres, as it seemed, expecting some aduantage: which the Constable fore-seeing, hee commanded the light-horse-men to charge them, which they did with such resolution, as they forced them to retire vnto their trenches; which done, the French armie seeing they could not draw the Imperials out of their fort, retired backe againe vnto their lodging from whence they came, and from thence it marched within two leagues of Saint Quentin, where it was dissolved the 20 of September: which done, the King sent the Marshall of S. Andrew to E spoile the County of S. Pol: then in the end of October, hee puts part of his forces into garison, the rest hee dissimuleth and sendeth away. Now our armes are laid aside vntill the next spring.

At the Spring the King diuided his forces into three armies. The first was commanded by the Prince of La Roche-sur-yon in Vermandois, being compounded of ten thousand foot, three hundred men at armes, and fise or six hundred Argoletiers. The Constable had the charge of the second towards Crecy, containing fise and twenty Ensignes of French, as many Swisses, two Regiments of Lanquenets, two thousand horse, some of the light-horse, and some Argoletiers, with some English and Scottish horsemen. The third led by the Duke of Neuers had twenty Ensignes of English and Scots, two Regiments of Lanquenets, three hundred men at armes, eight hundred light-horse, and fise or six hundred Reisters, Pistollers: and all three breathed nothing but reuenge, and desire to receive those confusions in Picardy.

The Prince enters into Arthois: he spoiles, burnes, and defeats two Cornets of horse, hee kills two hundred vpon the place, and sends their colours to the King. The Constable takes Marimbou, fortifies Rerocoy, ruines the forts of Trelon, Glauin, Sinsy, and others built within two years. The Duke battens and takes the Castles of Orcimoor and Beaunin by composition, ruines and burnes a great number of villages: then hauing

Next explain.

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the taking of some strong places seated vpon the Meuz) opened the passage of the riuer, he A enters Liege and takes Agimont and Bouvines by assault, putting almost all the inhabitants to death, either by the sword, or by the hand of iustice, for that they presumed to stand against an armie Royall, and for their outrageous speeches: and to increase their punishment he burnt the towne: he assured himselfe of Caletthierry and Valuin being abandoned, he rooke and spoiled Dinan, but hee preferred the female sexe from the violence of the Germanes, being fled into a Church. *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, by the death of his father *Charles* lately deceased, assembled his army with an intent (said hee) to fight with the French, if they advanced. We must try this braue resolution.

The King passeth the riuer of Sambre the 25 of Iuly, being followed by the D. of Ne- B uers: he enters the country of Hainalt, spoiling, burning, and making all desolate, seeking to draw the enemy to fight. Some troopes charge euen vnto the suburbs of Niuelle, the first towne of Brabant: and for a note of their passage, they fire the said suburbs and villages thereabouts, so as many pleasant dwellings were consumed vnto ashes. The Duke of Sauoy flies the lists: and the armie marching towards Bains, (one of the chiefe townes of Hainalt) left nothing behinde it but teares, sighs, desolation, fire, smoake, and ashes: and to conclude, a mournfull scaffold whereon two great Princes played a horrible Tragedy, being cruelly incensed one against another. The castles and pleasant dwellings of the Gentlemen of the country, yea Bains it selfe, and Mary-mont that stately house, and others belonging to *Mary* Queene of Hungary, sister to the Emperor, Tragny that goodly and proud castle, Reux, Bauets, with an infinit number of others, were (in reuenge of that goodly place of Folembray) reduced to that estate, as they might well say, Here was Bains, here was Mary-Mont, here was Tragny, Reux, and Bauets.

In the end the French (having spoiled the whole country) drew the Prince of Pied- mont to fight: the two armies incounter about the midst of August neere vnto Renty, where there was a sharpe incounter: the Imperiall foreward chargeth the D. of Guise his troopes, but to their confusion: he defeats them with the helpe of those succours that came speedily vnto him, he kills eight or nine hundred men, and strikes such a terror into the rest of the Imperiall armie, as they retire hastily into their campe, as hauing no more desire to fight. So the winter approaching, and want of forrage troubling the men at armes, the King dismissed the Swisses and his Nobility: then leauing the D. of Vendosme General of the rest of the armie, he rooke from the enemy all meanes to endamage the Realme, but by sacking and burning of the country about Hesdin. The thirteenth day of March Pope *Iulius* the third died, *Marcel Cersin* borne in Tuscanie succeeded him: but soone after his election, death buried both his name and memory. *John Peter Caraffe* a Neapolitan, called Cardinall *Theatin*, the chiefe author of the Iesuits sect, held the Romanes see, and called himselfe *Paul* the fourth. We shall this yeare quench the fires of the yeare past, but it shall kindle new combustions, both on this side, and beyond the Alpes. So as no affection to the publike good, but the onely indisposition of the ayre, hath made vs till now surcease our armes.

*Philip* sonne to the Emperor *Charles* had the yeare past married with *Mary* Queene of England by the decease of *Edward* the sixth, and whilst that England did flame on all sides, by reason of the burning fires against such as had shaken off the yoke of the Romish obedience, they did solicit our two warriors to pacifie their mutual hatred by some firme and durable peace. Cardinall *Paule* an Englishman was employed therein, but without effect: for the fore was not yet ripe. The courtiers of the Imperials made the French to attempt vpon cattle Cambreis, the which was taken by scalado, and faire warres made vnto the Spaniards, and to victuall Mariembourg at diuers times, by *Bourdillon* Lieutenant to the Duke of Neuers, while on the other side *Francois* de Cleues Duke of Neuers, with the Admirall of Chastillon, Gouverneur in the absence of the D. of Vendosme (who was gone to take possession of his new estates, false to him in right of his wife, by the death of *Henry* of Albrer, and shall hereafter bee King of Navarre, and Soueraigne of Bearne) gaue order for the defence of the frontier.

But behold one of the trickes of our ordinarie confidence. Fifteene hundred of the Arrierrban, and foure hundred foot with some garisons of Picardy, returned home laden with spoile, *without order*, (saith the Originall) *without order, without fauor of the enemy, and without courage*. *Blansimens* Gouverneur of Bapaume, being more vigilant, incou-

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A ters them betwix a wood, a village, and a riuer: chargeth them, and in a moment takes from them both their bootie and their liues at his discretion. The Hannuyers and Artesians made a ielt, that they had taken the Nobles of France without weight. The Imperials seeing Mariembourg victuall'd, opposed a Fort called Giuers, whence foraging all the neighbour country, they did starue Mariembourg. Twenty thousand foot, some enignes of the old Spanish bands, and five or six thousand Reistres, vnder the command of Count *Barlemont*, camped about this fort, to hinder another victualling, conducted by the duke of Neuers, the Admirall, *Sanfasc*, *Bourdillon*, and others, with eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light-horse, and some eight thousand foot.

B The 26 of Iuly, the French horse charge the Reistres, and driue them into their fort: then seeing the Imperials loth to make any farther aduenture, the time being very rainie and vnseasonable, want of forrage, cold, hunger, and many other discommodities caused them to found a retreat, and to leaue the third victualling of Mariembourg, to *Sanfasc* and *Bourdillon*: after the which the rigour of the season, and the iniuries of the aire, forced both parties to liue in rest. The King hauing then gotten from *Iohn* of Brosse Duke of E. stampes the rights which hee pretended to the Duchy of Britanie in the right of the house of Blois, he gaue him in exchange the Earledome of Ponthieure. Whilst they remaine quiet vpon the frontier, let vs visit them beyond the mountaines. The Marshall of Brissac had the winter past, seized vpon Yurec and Bielle: the Spring hee had fortified S. *War beyond the Alpes*

C *laco*, taken Crepacuore, surprized (by the industry of Capitaine *Saluafon* Gouverneur of Veruue) *Cazal*, the store-house of victuall and munition, prepared by the Imperials for the recouerie of Piedmont, ruined Poman, Saint *Saluador*, and other small places not to be held, and vnseasonably fortified in any short time. About the end of Iuly, the Duke of Alua, succesor to *Gonzagua* in the government of Lombardie, went to field with twenty thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and forty Cannons, who at the first beseged Saint *Iaco*: but he found good resistance, *Birague* and *Vimercat* commanding in the place, forced him to retire, and to fortifie at the bridge of Sure, hoping to vanquish those by famine, who had repulsed his attempts by force. The Marshall being fortified from the King, with foure thousand horse, and fourteene thousand foot, led by the duke of Anguien, Prince of Conde, the Dukes of Aumale and Nemours, the Vidame of Chartres, *Aubigni*, *Gonnor*, *Yantador*, & *Vrfe*, *la Chastrie* and *Lude*, with a great number of voluntarie Gentlemen, beseged Vulpian, defeated the succours which the Duke of Alua sent, took the high and the low towne by force, and the castle by composition. Montcaluo both town and castle (after the dismantling of Vulpian) followed the Conquerors fortune: the French made these conquests in September and October: some dayes after, the Dukes troopes had by meanes of an Ambush layed neere vnto Incise (where some French were slaine and others taken) a small reuenge for their losses at Vulpian and Montcaluo: the remainder of the yeare was more quiet. But before wee proceed, let vs speake something of the warres of Siena, which beginning long before, were ended this

E yeare. The insupportable behaviour of *Don Diego* of Mendosa, Gouverneur of Siena for the Emperor, had driuen the Citizens to put themselves into the Kings protection, and to bring into their citie foure thousand men, vnder the command of the Earle of Pettillano, who being entered, forced the Spaniards, kill some, and expell the rest by composition. These men chased from Siena, seized vpon Orbitello and fortified it. After the siege of Metz, the Emperor sent *Don Garfio* of Toledo Viceroy of Naples, with fifteene hundred horse, and twelue thousand foot, to spoile the Country of Siena: and the King to crosse him, sends the Lord of Termes with twelue thousand foot, besides the Inhabitants of the country, all hauing vowed to forer the government of the Spaniards. *Termes* being F entered, he provided for the fortification of the citie, and assured himselfe of Montelice, Montelle, and Montakin against the threats of the Viceroy, and of *Ascanius de la Colone*, attending the arrival of *Proper Strozzy* who came with the title of Lieutenant General for the King, with a good troope of men at armes.

*Strozzy* being arrived, he makes new leauies in Italy: *Ossimo* Duke of Florence gives intelligence to the Pope and Emperor, and all ioyne together to send home the French, giving the charge of their common army to *James de Medici* Marquis of Marignan. The Marquis besegeth Siena, and at his first approach had almost surpris'd it by night, the for-

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tifications being not yet finished. The Sienois withstand him, give him the repulse, and kill many of his men. He then incamps before the towne, spoiles the country, and had already reduced them to want, while that *Stroffy* was busied to provide for the other places within the estate of Siena. *Stroffy* comes into the towne, and goes presently to field againe with six hundred men; he surpriseth *Salp Bailon* and *Ascanius de la Corne*, who had an enterprife vpon Chituffi: he defeats their troopes, kills *Bailon*, and sends *Ascanius* prisoner to the King.

The King relieved him with new supplies in Tuscane, and likewise in the Ile of Corsica, where the Lord of Termes had taken from the Genouois (partisans to the Emperor) the Townes of Saint *Florent*, and Saint *Beniface* a port of the sea. These last succours consisted of five thousand Swisses and Gascons, with some light horse. And whilest they take breath in Siena, *Stroffy* makes a second sallie, with five hundred good horse, and a thousand choice foot, takes Montcalin and Montcarlo from the Duke of Florence, and by this stratagem hee forceth the Marquis to leave Siena for to succour the Florentin: then seeing the Marquis fortified with new troopes, hee returns with his men to Siena. Moreover, *Leo* brother to *Peter Stroffy* ranne along the coast of Tuscane, and spoiled the ports belonging to the duke of Florence. But as he approached too neere to Scarlin, to discover the place, he was slaine with a shot. *Stroffy* to reuenge his death, comes to continue the siege, attending the succours which the Lord of Montluc brought. *Montluc* being ariued, *Stroffy* makes an armie compounded of six hundred Italians, two thousand Gascons, two thousand Swisses, two thousand five hundred Lanqueneters, and about a thousand horse, with which troopes he resolved to fight with the enemy, if he presented himselfe: having left the guard of Siena to *Montluc*, hee went to batter Ciuitelle in the territorie of Florence.

The Marquis goes to succour it, and at his arriual chargeth *Stroffy*, who makes head against him, and both the one and the other bathe the field with a great effusion of blood. *Stroffy* leaves Ciuitelle, to set vpon Foian, a strong and rich place: hee batters it, and the first day takes it by assault, cutting *Charlot Vrsin* in pieces with all those that kept it, spoiles it, and abandons all to fire and sword. But see a troublesome Catastrophe. The Marquis approacheth better furnished with artillery, and *Stroffy* marcheth towards Montpucian, fauouring the retreat of his men, with many and rough skirmishes: then the Italians, being the chiefe strength of his army, slip from him, and leaue him much inferiour to the Marquis: who following with speed, overtook him betwixt Martian, Lucignan and Foyan, and giues him battail. *Stroffy* entertaines it, and with a bloody fight giues testimony of his valour. But *Bighet* an Italian, being ensigne Colonell of the army, turns his backe cowardly: and the French sauing their liues after him by the nimbleness of their legges, leaue the horse, the Gascons and the Swisses to endure the charge, who had rather dye with their armes in their hands, then turne their backs. *Bighet* and the Earle of Alte were afterwards beheaded, the first as being the principall cause of this defeat: the other for that he had cowardly yielded Lufignan, a place impregnable. They reckon two thousand five hundred slaine (some say foure thousand) besides a great number wounded to the death, and five or six hundred prisoners. *Stroffy* saued himselfe in Montcalin, and the Marquis reouerred Foyan, Martian, Lucignan, and some other places, which euen then began to force the Sienois to obey the Conquerors command, who camped before their towne with all his forces. *Montluc* comforts them, and confirms their resolutions: but the coming of *Stroffy* with two ensignes of foot, and two companies of men at armes, saued in this shipwracke, reuiued them more: the which hee did hazard in fauour of the besieged vpon a report of the death of *Montluc*. *Montluc* foreseeing, that bread would sooner faile the besieged, then courage, had already set an order for euery mans diet. The Marquis repulld by the losse of six hundred men, at a scalado giuen in the night to the Citadell, and the fort of Camollia: and finding that by skirmishes, batteries, assaults, intelligences, or other stratagems, hee should neuer be master of Siena: hee resolves vpon the longer, but the more easie expedient: so as the watches, the toyles, the disceases, and worst of all, famine and despaire of succour, forced *Montluc* the twenty one of April this yeare, to saue the rest of his men by an honorable composition, which is read at large, in the history of the warres of Italy. Siena fell afterwards into the hands of the Duke of Florence, and the Marquis, for that hee had prolonged the warre of Siena,

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A Siena, contrary to the Emperors liking, and wasted a mighty armie before it, dyed in disgrace, in the end of the same yeare.

Now the Emperour (whose humour we haue sufficiently learned by the discourse of the History) shanking vnder the burthen of the affaires of this world, wearied with the toyles of warre, rought with some remorse for the blood spilt in those long and mournfull warres of Christendome, being perswaded, that his discord with our King, had made the Turke to preuaile much in diuers parts of Europe, his coming of late in fauour of the French, to the Ile of Corfe, to assist them at the siege of Caluis, and Saint *Beniface*: to aide them to conquer the Islands; then in their retreat to spoile the coast of Tuscane, to besiege Plombin, and the Ile of Elbe, of the territorie of Florence: to afflict the estates of Naples, Sicilia and Calabria, with infinit miseries, and being laden with great spoiles, to cary away with controll, and to sell infinit numbers of Christian soules at Constantinople and other places.

These considerations caused him to call *Philip* his sonne from England to Bruxelles, where by autentike letters, of the five and twentieth day of October, hee resigned all his Realmes vnto him: commanding all his estates and subiects, to acknowledge him as their true and lawfull King, he aduised him particularly, amongst other exhortations, to make a peace, and entertaine loue with the French King, vnting their common forces, rather for the defence, then oppression of Christendome. King *Philip* following his fathers aduice, and being solicited by *Mary* Queene of England his wife, was inclined to a Peace: for the effecting whereof, after many voyages, a truce was concluded for five yeares. The Earle of Lalaine came to Blois to see the King sweare the truce, and the Admirall of Chastillon went to Bruxelles to the Emperour and King *Philip*, but this truce was as soone broken as made.

During the continuance of this truce, one called *Villegagnon* a Knight of Malta armed certaine ships, and made a voyage to America, promising to doe wonders for the King in this new world. But his vnstedfast spirit, and his vnstedfast dealing expelled him, so as hee performed nothing of worth. If this enterprife had incountered a discreet Commander, there had bene a port open for the execution of great matters, but the gouernour of the world had otherwise disposed.

*Paul* the fourth was enemy to the Spaniards: and the *Colonnes* suspecting him to be of the French faction (as in truth the house of *Caraffe* had of old time fauoured the title of our Kings, to the realme of Naples) sought to assure their estates and persons. To this end they held some secret assemblies within Rome, in the houses of *Marie Anthony Colonne*, and the Cardinal of Saint Fiore, enemies to the house of France. The Pope to crosse them, imprisons this Cardinal in the Castle of S. Angelo, with *Camillo Colonne*, *Iulian Cesarin*, and the Abbot of Breguec: he summons *Marc Anthony*, and plants guards and Sentinels throughout all the Citie. The *Colonnes* and their adherents, fly to the Castilian. He commands the D. of Alua to succour them. The Duke marcheth with that designe, and takes E from the Pope about Rome Anagnio, Pilaftine, Segne, Tiouli, and by the siege and taking of Ostia, cuts off the viuals from Rome, and the *Colonnes* fortifying themselves about Rome, kept the Pope mewed vp within compasse of his walls.

The Pope appeales to the King for aide, and sends him by his Nephew the Cardinal *Caraffe*, a triumphant hat with a stately fowr. Our two Kings did not greatly loue: their ancient hatred and discontents were yet fresh, and their household flatterers (to whom common confusions did serue as a ladder to aduance their estates and to enrich their houses, whereas peace sends the most of them home to liue privately) were glad that Rome kindled the coales of new quartels betwixt their masters. So the French (meaning to crosse the Castilian, in fauour of the Pope) sent *Stroffy* (Marshall of France in the place of the Lord of Sedan, lately deceased after his returne from prison out of the Low Countries) to oppose against the Spaniards, attending the succours led by the Duke of Guise. The Duke of Guise ariued at Turin, with about fiftene thousand foot, eight hundred men at armes, and twelue hundred light horse, being assured of supplies as soon as the warres should begin: hauing ioyned his forces with those of the Marshall of Brisac, he marcheth directly to Valencia, making this his colour, that the garison had shot at the French going to succour the Pope: and for that it was secretly giuen out that the French had taken *Paulia*, he apazeth *Spoluerin*, who kept the towne with two

The Emperour  
resignes his  
Kingdome to  
his sonne.

A truce for  
five yeares.

Duke of Guise  
comes into  
Picamont.

Valencia taken.

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thousand men: summons him to yeeld, threatening him to put all to fire and sword, if hee enter by force. Thus *Spolnerin* being terrified, departs with baggage and baggage, and lea-  
feth his head at *Papia* for a reward of his bafe cowardise.

The duke of Guise being come to Thurin in January 1557, the chiefe towne in Pied-  
mont, the Spaniards fortified Milan, and refreshed the garisons of all places of importance  
in Italy: The duke of Florence armed, and lodged troopes vpon the frontiers of Ferrara,  
manning Florence and other townes of his obedience, especially towards Bologna. The  
D. of Alua fortified the townes in the Realme of Naples, and along the sea coast in Cala-  
bria. So as all Italy was in alarm, and stood vpon their guards. On the other side, *Stroffo*,  
*Montmar* and others which were in Rome, issue forth with 600 horse, and five thou-  
sand foot, recover Ostia by composition, and expell the Spaniards from Velitres, Tuscu-  
lum, Marini, Grotteferate, Palestrin, Saint Angela, Saint Paul, Vico, Valerio, and other  
small places in the territories of Rome. The duke of Aluaes retreat had opened the way  
to Rome for the duke of Guise, presuming vpon the conuention lately made betwixt the  
King, the Pope, and the duke of Ferrara: whereby the Pope should furnish twenty thou-  
sand foot, a thousand horse, and the charge of the army: the King the like number of  
foot, and 2000 horse: the Duke six thousand foot, two hundred men at armes, five  
hundred light-horse, and twenty pieces of battery. But Popes haue commonly advanced  
their affaires at their costs that haue beleueed them, and then haue abandoned them very  
lightly that haue assisted them at their need. The duke of Guise comming to Bologna,  
findes no men in field, neither were the Popes coffers open, and it may be, if they had not  
toucht this string, the expedition had been more successfull.

In the meane time the French armie decreased for want of pay, the Spaniards inter-  
sed, and the Ferrarois in stead of assisting, craued aide of the duke of Guise his sonne-in-  
law. What could our men doe, but study of their returne into France? but the Pope had  
not yet firmly settled his affaires: and if he had long remained alone betwixt two stooles,  
without doubt the Spaniard would haue ouer-ruled him. And therefore, to stay the duke  
of Guise, he swears, *Not to treat any accord without the Kings consent, and that for assurance  
thereof he would send his sonne the Duke of Palluigne for hostage into France.* But it was rather  
to attend the successe of the affaires of Picardy, where they prepared a Theater to play a  
bloody Tragedie, then with any intent to discharge his oath. The Admirall hauing,  
by the taking and spoile of Lens in Artois: where the waite in Picardie, the Prince of  
Piedmont accompanied with *Ernest* and *Henry*, Dukes of Brunswicke, the Duke of  
Arscot (newly come out of prison): the Earles of Mansfield, Aiguemont, Meigie  
and Bulement, leading fortie thousand foote, and fiftene thousand horse: ten  
thousand English foot and fiftene hundred horse, came soone after that to his succour.  
The Prince of Piedmont, hauing newly proclaimed warre against the King, came and  
threatened Guise, but in effect it was to besiege Saint Quentin being vnfortified of men.

The Admirall refused to enter it, and parted from Pierrepont the second of August,  
with four companies of men at armes and three of light-horse. Being at Han, he was  
forced (by reason of the halt of his voyage) to content himselfe with two companies of  
foormen: the third part whereof entred with him into Saint Quentin, the rest remained  
behinde, and were forced to retire, for that the towne was in a manner all intucked.  
The Constable being aduertised what past within the towne, he sent the Prince of Conde ge-  
nerall of the light-horse, the Marshall of Saint Andrew with four hundred men at armes,  
and the Lord of Andelot with ten companies on foot, to put themselves into Han, as well  
to annoy the enemy, as to refresh Saint Quentin if they could: *Andelot* offered to enter  
with two hundred men, whilest that a generall alarm should be giuen vnto the enemy,  
but the enterprise being discouered by some prisoners, he could not effect it, but with a  
small number.

In the meane time the Spanish army was fortified with ten thousand English foot, and  
about fiftene hundred horse. The Constable desirous to save them that were within  
Saint Quentin, caused his armie to passe the riuier beneath La Fere, and on the tenth day  
of August being Saint Lawrence day, marched towards Saint Quentin, where they arrived  
about nine of the clocke in the morning, and put themselves in battaille: at the suburbs  
of P'f'le, which the Spaniards had won, whom they chased away. In the meane time the  
artillerie played vpon the Prince of Piedmonts campe, and caused great disorder, during  
the

The Admirall  
pursueth his  
into Saint  
Quentin.

Constable leads  
his army to  
St. Quentin.

A the which the Constable put what succours he could into the towne. The Spanish army  
refused suddenly to ioyne with the Constable, and to force him to fight: whereupon the  
prince of Piedmont and the Earle of Egmont ioyned.

The Constable making his retreat, without any intent to fight, hee ioyned with the  
Prince of Conde, who made a stand with the light-horse-men nere vnto a Wind-mill,  
and they two together without losse, ioyned with the body of the army. The enemy fol-  
lowed them close with eight great battalions of horse: the Earle of Egmont (who that  
day did great seruice vnto his master) was the first which charged the French on the one  
side with 2000 horse: *Ernest*, and *Henry*, dukes of Brunswic, seconded by the Earle of  
Borne, with 2000 Reistres and one thousand men at armes, fell vpon the other side: The  
Earle of Mansfield with other Commanders, forced the midst with such violence, as the  
French were ouerthrowne: for though the party were very vnequall, yet they did fight,  
whereas the Constable was wounded and taken prisoner, with the Dukes of Montpen-  
sier, and Longueville, the Prince of Mantoua, the Marshall of S. Andrew, with many other  
Noblemen, and Gentlemen of marke. The chiefe of them that were slaine, were *Iohn* of  
Bourbon duke of Anguieu, the Vicount of Turenne (the Constables sonne-in-law) the el-  
der brother of *Roche du Maine*, the Lords of Chandenier, Pontdormy, with very many  
others, and in a manner all the foot Capitaines, who seeing the horsemen put themselves  
into a square battalion, but they were presently broken: part of them were cut in pieces,  
and the rest taken prisoners. This bloody battaille lasted foure or five houres, the victors  
purified them within a league of La Fere, and it hath been since held strange how so great  
a number escaped, seeing their amazement. The Prince of Conde, the duke of Nevers,  
the Earle of Sancerre, and the Lords of Bourdillon, Grammont, Creuaceur, Piennes, Def-  
cars and others escaped. *Montmarancy* the Constables eldest sonne tooke another way.  
There was a great amazement at Paris by reason of this defeat, where they had lost a  
number of men, whereof writers speake diuersly, some say five thousand, others report  
eight thousand, slaine vpon the place. The King retired from Compiegne to Paris, affir-  
med his capital city, and drew from them a Subside of 30000 pounds sterling to supply  
his vrgent affaires: whilest that King Philip receiving the engines taken from the French,  
and seeing the prisoners led before his lodging as it were in triumph, he contented him-  
selfe with his victory, not entering any farther into France, the which many townes did  
apprehend.

As for the besieged in Saint Quentin, King Philip comming to the campe, the battery  
was furious, and the besieged could not be relieved, but with three hundred men, where-  
of two third parts were slaine seeking to enter. Their towers and defences were  
beaten downe with the Cannon, and the Spaniards were become masters of the ditch,  
on the seventh day of August, the besieged (who were not above eight hundred men  
(distributed into eleuen breaches) endured a generall assault, and could not be forced:  
But the towne was taken by a Tower which no man guarded. The French soldiers were  
E in a manner all slaine. The Admirall, his brother (who escaped soone after) *Larnac*, Saint  
*Remy*, *Humes* with many other Gentlemen of marke were taken prisoners: The sonne of  
the Lord of Fayette, with the Capitaines *Saluerr*, *Ogier*, *Viquez*, *La Barre*, *Elsang* and  
*Gourdes* were slaine.

After the taking of Saint Quentin, the Earle of Aremberg with twelve hundred horse,  
and three Regiments of Lanqueniers, besieged Castelle and made a furious battery. The  
Baron of Solignac commanding there, seeing himselfe destitute of succours that were  
promised, that the place was not to be defended against an assault, hauing not three hun-  
dred men, and those not very resolute, he yielded vpon the place without fighting, for the  
which he was caried captiue to Paris, and had lost his life if he had not escaped out of pri-  
son, for that hee had promised (as they said) not to leaue the place without an assault.  
After which the Spaniards taking Han, Chauny, and all other places that might annoy  
them in Picardy, made their victory absolute. Thus the Spanish forces had a happy season,  
and the Pope refused to leane to the stronger. These losses make him easily forget the  
speedy succours he had found in France: so as at the first approach of the Duke of Alua,  
he sends him a blank, by the Cardinall *Caraffe*, and renouncing in September following  
the league made with the King, he made frustrate all his defenses against Italy. Double-  
the counsell of the Constable, the Admirall, and many others, adding to maintaine  
the

Constable  
charged in his  
retreat.

Saint Quentin  
taken by assault.

The Pope's  
counselle him  
to leane to the  
stronger.

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1557

A great inundation at Rome

the truce, was farre more expedient, then this light and painfull enterprife in fauour of a Pope, who was content to haue imbarcked vs in a new Labyrinth of confusions, whereof we shall not be freed, without a mournfull and exemplary spectacle. To teach Princes: that an accord confirmed by a reciprocall oath; ought to be holy and ineluable. So this reconciliation was made famous by a strange wonder. The same day, and the day after this peace was concluded, almost a third part of the buildings of Rome, and a great number of Christians perished, by a sudden and violent inundation of Tiber.

The King being at Paris during these tempests, as he went to heare masse, a yong man named *Caboche*, borne at Meaux, who had long followed the Court and seruiced the Secretaries of State, by reason of his faire writing, whether that he were distract of his wits, or thrust on for some other consideration; came and presented himselfe before the King, with a naked sword in his hand, and cried out aloud, *Stay King, God hath commanded me to kill thee*. Whereupon the Suisses of the Kings guard apprehended him presently, whom the King caused to be deliuered into the hands of iustice to determine of his offence: whereupon the Court of Parliament caused *Caboche* to be hanged for this attempt.

There was some likelihood, that *Philip* after his victory at Saint Quentin would haue entered further into the realme with his armie: but vnderstanding that the King expected a supply of fourteene thousand Suisses, and prepared his campe at Laon, he was content to fortifie his last conquests: and so gaue the King meanes to stay the troopes, which the dukes of Guise and Aumale brought out of Italy to chase the Baron of Poisseuille from Bourg in Bresse, the which he besieged in the duke of Savoie name, with twelue hundred horse, and twelue thousand foot. The duke of Guise being come with his army out of Italy to the King being at Saint Germaine in Lay, he was by reason of the Constables imprisonment declared his Lieutenant generall. Should the King then suffer the courage of these forces newly arrived to quail, with idleness, when as he might profitably employ them? The English had held Calais from vs two hundred and ten years: the Constables imprisonment had hindered the execution of a designe which he and the Admiral his Nephew had vpon this towne, by the meanes of *Senarport* Governour of Bouillon. But now they winne that by force, which they could neuer get by policy or industry. His Maiesty declares the duke of Guise his Lieutenant General, in all his countries: he issues two armies, the one he giues to the Duke of Guise: the other, to the Duke of Neiers. The first advanceth vnder colour to hinder the victualing of Saint Quentin. The other turning towards Luxembourg, drawes the Spaniards and Wallons to the defence thereof: then so daingly he sends his forces to the duke of Guise, who marcheth with all speed against Calais. In this armie, among many others, were the Princes of Conde and Roche-sur-yon, the duke of Aumale, and Marquis of Elbeuf breithren, the Marshall *Stroffs*, *Montmorency*, eldest sonne to the Constable, the Lords of Andelot, Termes, Grandmont, Creueccœur, Piennes, Randan, Allegre, Sanlac, Taunais, Senarport, *Esfree* master of the Ordnance, and *Gourdan*, who lost a legge in this action.

Calais taken

The French army appeared the first day of January, and at the first arrival takes the fort of Niculay: and the next day, that of Risban. Thus the way to the towne being opened, and the besieged suddenly surprized, without hope of speedy succours, first the castle, and then the towne returned to the obedience of this crowne, as gladly, as wee haue seene her ancient Burgesse bid their poore and desolate country mournfully farewell, in the year 1547. The country of Oye, and all the forts the English held there, returned likewise to the subiection of their first and lawfull Lord. Guines, and other places dismantled, spare the cost which should be consumed in the defence thereof. The same moneth the King called a generall Parliament at Paris, where he had a grant of three millions of gold for the warre, and then he went to visit Calais, and gaue the gouernment to *M. de Termes*. On the other side the duke of Neuers did take for the King, the castle of Herbemont: the Forts of Iarnioigne, Chigny, Rosignol and Villeneufue. Thus their sorrow was turned into ioy, their hearts panting yet with that bloody battaile of Saint Laurence. The Court was partaker of this ioy, celebrating the 25 day of April, in the midst of these prosperities, the marriage of *Francis* Dauphin of Viennois, with *Mary Steward* Queene of Scotland, daughter to *James* the 5. and *Mary* of Lorraine, daughter of *Claude* D. of Guise, and widow before to the duke of Longueuille.

During these happy victories, and continuations of alliances: the Duchesse Dowager of

The Dauphin married to Mary Queen of Scotland

1558

A of Lorraine, laboured to increase these solempne and publike ioyes, by the conclusion of a peace betwixt the two Kings. The Cardinal brother to the Duke of Guise, met with her at Peronne to that intent: but this parle without effect; hastened the execution of an enterprife vpon Theouille, the which being battered from the fifth, to the 21 day of Iune with five and thirty Cannons, and the mynes ready to play, receiued an honourable composition. The price of this prize is giuen to the Duke of Neuers, the glory of the execution, to the duke of Guise: and the duke of Nemours, the Marshall of Stroffs (who was laine there, with a shot vnder his left pap, the duke of Guise leaning on his shoulder, as they caused a plat-forme to be vndermined) the Lords of Montluc, Vielueille, and *Bourdillon*, had the honour to haue giuen good testimonies of their valours in this prize. Chigny taken afterwards from the Wallons, was fortified: *Arlon*, *Villemont*, and *Rosignol*, burnt and made vnprofitable for the warre.

The English in the meane time, spoiled the coasts of Normandie and Picardy: and the King to stop their courses, prepares two small armies, one at la Fere, vnder the Duke of Aumale: the other at Calais, vnder the Marshall of Termes, who succeeded *Stroffs*. The Marshall attempts Berghes (they feared not the French there, and the townes which the Spaniards held vpon that coast were ill furnished) he takes it, sacks it, and by that meanes opens the way to Dunkerke. Dunkerke being taken and spoiled in four dayes, enriched both the fouldiers, and boyes of the armie.

But the Flemmings force them to make restitution: the Marshall camped before Graue-line: and the Cont *Aiguemont* Lieutenant for the King of Spaine in the Low-countries, hauing speedily assembled out of the neighbour garisons, and of other forces, about sixteen thousand foot, a thousand and twelue hundred Reistres and two thousand horse, cuts off his way vpon the Riuier of A, which comes from Saint Omer, and forceth him to fight.

At the first charge, the French armie ouerthrowes some squadrons of horse: but at the second shocke, the Marshall is hurt and taken, with *Villobon*, *Senarport*, *Montuilliers* and *Charny*, a great number of captaines and souldiers are laine vpon the place, and all the troops lo discomfited, as of all the companies of men at armes, of three coronets of light horse Scottishmen, fourteene ensignes of French foot, and eightene of Lanquenets, few escaped death or imprisonment: a wound which retained the scarre of Saint Laurence, and did frustrate the Duke of Guise his enterprife vpon Luxembourg: but it was partly recompenced by the Lord of Kerfimon, vpon six or seven thousand English and Flemmings which landed at the haven of Conquer, spoiling, and burning the weakest parts of the coast of Britany. This was in the end of Iuly. The duke of Guise sayling of Luxembourg, came to lodge at Pierrepont in Tirasche, and there fortified with seven corners of Reistres, brought by *William*, yonger sonne to *Iohn Fredericke* Elektor of Saxony, and a new regiment of Lanquenets, led by *Isaac* of Ausbourg, made the French armie as strong, as the year before: About all others, were most apparant the companies of the Duke of Guise, Lieutenant General, of the Dukes of Montpensier, Neuers, Aumale, Bouillon, Nemours, Saxony, Lunembourg, of the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, of the Prince of Salerne, of the Cont *Charny*, the Marshall *S. Andre*, the Marquis of Elbeuf, and of the Lords of Roche-foucault, Randan, Curtan, *Montmorency* (the Constables eldest sonne) *Eschenetz*, *Roche-du-Maine*, *Jenlis*, *La Vaugnon*, *Bourdillon*, *Tauanais* and *Beauuais*. The light horse of the Earles of Eu and Roissy, of the Lords of Valette, Bueil, Laigny, Rotigorty, Lombay and others, whereof the duke of Nemours was General, and so great a number of Germanes, Suisses, and Frenchmen, as this flourishing armie (lodging neere to A-miens, along the riuier of Somme) preuailed much for the treaty of peace, which followed soone after.

*Philip* had his armie likewise vpon the riuier of Anthy, both intrenched and fortified with artillery, as if they meant to continue there, and in time to tire one another. Some moneths passe without any other exploit then in roads and light skirmishes. In the end, the eternal God of armes, who from his heavenly throne beheld the seat of these two mighty armies, changed the bitterness of former warre into a pleasing peace, confirmed by alliances the year following. The Abbey of Cercamp vpon the confines of Arthois and Picardy, gaue the first entry. And as the Constable (being freed from prison) the Marshall of Saint Andrew, the Cardinal of Lorraine, *Antuilliers* Bishop of Orleans, and

The Marshall of Termes defeated.

M m m 3

Aubespine



*Aubespine* Secretarie of State, assembled for the King, treated with the Duke of Alva, the A Prince of Orange, *Regimes de Silves*, Cup-bearer to King *Philip*, *Grandvill* Bishop of Arras, and *Frige* of Zuichem, President of the Councell of State for the Low-countries: behold the death of *Charles* the fifth Emperour, chancing in September, and that of *Mary* *Queene* of England, in the midst of November, changed both the place, and the time of this conclusion.

Castle-Cambresis had the honour to finish it at the second conference, the which was confirmed by the marriages of *Philip* with *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to King *Henry*: of *Philibert Emanuel* duke of Sauoy, with *Marguerite* the Kings onely sister: and of *Charles* duke of Lorraine, with *Claude* a younger daughter of France. The King yielded to the Castilian all that he had taken from him, as well on this side, as beyond the mountains. To the Sauoyard, he restored Bresse, Sauoy and Piedmont: to the Genouois, the Isle of Corse, and about four hundred places more conquered, during these fatall and pernicious warres, which had made so many Prouinces desolate, ruined so many castles, villages and townes, dranke so much Christian blood, and flaine so many millions of men of all qualities, retaining nothing but the territories of Boulton and Calais. Thus the wind doth suddenly drink up, all the toyle, all the travels, all the sweat of many ages. And the Lord saith vnto man: *Thou fool, this night will I take thy soule from thee, and who shall haue the things which thou hast prepared?* And, *All men are vaine, doubtlesse man labours for a shadow, bee troubleth himselfe for nothing.*

The King being at peace with his foraine enemies, with whom every man thought there should be eternal alliances, he was counselled to continue his seuerer proceedings against his subiects of the religion, the which had increased much during the troubles, for the redressing whereof there needed no violent, but spirituall remedies: many ill aduised Councillors to this Prince (who of himselfe was of a milde and temperate disposition) made him conceiue a wonderfull hatred against them of the said religion, filling his eares with vnworthy reports. The Lord of Andelot was the first that smarted, being sent prisoner to Melun for his religion. This caused many discontents and ielousies amongst great houses, which was the cause of great mischief after the death of *Henry*.

The prisons were full of such as they called Lutherans, and even then many noble families were toucht with that cause. Moreover, many officers of the Parliament, under a milder proceeding against those prisoners. This diuersitie caused an assembly, which they called *Mercuriale*, to heare the opinion of presidents and counsellors vpon this controuerfie, the which the King was required to countenance with his presence. *Anne du Bourg* vsed a great libertie of speech: some others did second his opinion. This freedome transported the King into choller: hee commands the Constable to put them in prison, and vowes to see them burnt within few dayes, if they persist. But oh Prince: *The yeares of thy account are come, and thou entrést into a path from which thou shalt no more returne.* The Constable deliueis them to the Count *Montgomery*, captaine of his Maiesties guards, who leades *Bourg* to the Bastile, and the rest to diuers other prisons. Let vs not iudge here by, but admire howsoever, the iudgements of God: in that we shall see these three personages, every one in his ranke, die an extraordinarie and tragicall death.

In the meane time the Courtiers made all the inuentions that might bee for sports and delights, to solemnize the marriage of the Kings daughters and sister, the which in outward appearance seemed to bring a great happinesse to France: But the sighs of prisoners for matter of religion, the horrible punishments and executions of others, the earnest prayers of infinit families threatned, who found by experience that this peace was concluded betwixt the French and the Spamiard, to make an irreconciliable warre against them, were the windes which drew from aboue these wonderfull alterations, which the wise prouidence of God did let them see soone after. *Elizabeth* of France, hauing bene conducted by the King her father, to our Ladies Church at Paris, was there married with great state and triumph, by the Duke of Alua, who had procuracion from the King of Spaine his master, the ceremony was done by the Cardinall of Bourbon, where there assisted many Princes, Noblemen, Cardinals, and Prelates, from all the parts of the realme, with an infinite number of the Kings officers and household seruants: there also assisted the Duke of Sauoy, the Prince of Orange, the Earle of Egmont, and a great number of other Noblemen of the Low-countries: after all their sumptuous banquets, sports, masks

Councillors of  
the Parliament  
imprisoned.

A masks and dauncing, followed the last act which changed all these pleasing Comedies and sports, into a bloodie and mournfull Tragedy, whereof the King was the lamentable prologue, for hauing published a solemne running at the Tilt, the King (contrary to the aduice of many who besought him to leaue that exercise to others who would giue him content) would needs be one of the challengers, being seconded by the Dukes of Guise and Ferrara: but the second day of this Tourniey, after that he had runne well, being intreated by the *Queene* to retire, wherein the Duke of Sauoy laboyred also, hee sent her word by the Marshall of Montmorency, that he would runne but once, and that for her sake, he sent a Lance to the Earle of Montgomery. The Earle excuseth himselfe to runne against his Maiestie: the day before hee could not hit any one, and it may bee now he feared a second shame. But hauing a second charge from the King to enter the Listes, hee runnes, and breaks his lance vpon the Kings Quiraffe, and with a splinter thereof (his Beauer being somewhat open) strikes him so deepe into the eye, as the reach of Iuly his soule left his body, in the house of Tournelles, the foure and fortieth yeare of his age.

The death of  
King Henry.

The day before his death he would haue the marriage of the Duke of Sauoy and of the Lady *Marguerite* his sister celebrated in his chamber, and that whatsoeuer had bene accorded vnto the Duke by the Treaty of peace, should be fully performed. His heart was interred in the Celestines Church in the Dukes of Orleance Chappell. His royall Obsequy was celebrated on the thirteenth day of August, and his body was layd at Saint Denis in the common tombe of the French Kings: during this Princes reigne, there were two great finnes crept into France, Atheisme and Magicke, whereunto was ioyned the corruption of all good learning: for the knowledge thereof, being brought in by King *Francis* the first, was in many curious and malicious spirits an occasion of all wickednesse, especially in that multitude of French Poets, who by their impure rimes, full of blasphemies querterd a number of soules.

He had by *Katherine de Medicis* his wife, sixe sonnes and sixe daughters. *Francis* his successor, of the age of fixteene or seuentee yeares, *Zenis* Duke of Orleance, who liued few moneths: *Charles Maximilian*, *Edward Alexander*, afterwards named *Henry* the third, and *Hercules*, afterwards called *Francis*. *Elizabeth* married to *Philip* King of Spaine, *Claude* to *Charles* Duke of Lorraine, *Marguerite* to *Henry* of Bourbon, then King of Navarre, *Jane* and *Vidua* twinnes, who died soone after their birth. Hee was a religious Prince, goodly, of a mild disposition, peaceable, affable, not greatly subject to passions, generous, loving his seruants and men of merit: but voluptuous, and not able to discouer in due time the ambition and couetousnesse of such as possessing him, made sale of lawes, iustices, offices, and spirituall liuings, emptied the subiects purses, and nourished the warres which wee haue before obserued, namely, since the breach of the truce: finding such sweetnesse, profit, and honour, in the managing of the treasure, and commanding of the Kings armies in the voyage of Italy, and especially in this last Lieutenantcy in Picardy, as hereafter we shall see a young Prince reigne like a shadow, and they being seized of the government of his person and of his Realme, shall dispossesse the chiefe Officers of the Crowne, keepe backe the Princes of the blood, the true and lawfull Governors of the State, the King being in his minority: and plot the meanes to raise their Race to the Royall Throne.

FRANCIS

## FRANCIS the SECOND,

## The 60 French King.



HIS Reigne is short, but very memorable. We see a Theater, whereon is acted a horrible Tragedy, a King young of years, and of iudgement, governed by his mother and his wives vices, and a new forme of Court. The Princes of the blood haue now no more credit: and seeme to neglect both the publike and private interest. The Countiers stand at a gaze, and for the most part sloop to the stronger. The Clergy shield themselves vnder those that kindle these fires in France. The Nobility wearied with former toyles, doe not yet wipe off the dust and sweat from their armes.

Two factions  
in Court.

Alterations  
in Court.

The Duchesse  
of Valentinois  
is disgraced.

The people diuided for matter of Religion, and oppressed with the burthen of former warres, desires to breathe. The Constable holds his place: yet is he not so surely seated, but they will displace him. There are two factions in Court: the Constable holdeth the one, those of Guise the other. The first was firme and sincere; the last, cunning and pliable. The Queene Mother ioynes with the last. The King of Nauarre might crosse them, and therefore to be the better informed of his designs, shee entertaines seruants and pensioners about him. The Princes of the blood, the Constable, the Marshalls, the Admirall, and many other Noblemen, prepared for the funerals of the deceased King, when as the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, leading the King, his brethren, and the Queenes to the Louvre, begin a strange alteration, a true partietie of the inconfinancie, of this world. The Duchesse of Valentinois had quietly governed the deceased King, and by her practices had caused Francis Oliver, a man of a singular reputation, and Chancellor of France, to be dismissed. At the fifth entry, shee is spoiled of her precious Jewels, which witnessed the Kings loue vnto her, to adorne the Queene that reigned: and by her disgrace, leaves the place to Katherine, to rule hereafter without companion.

The Queene Mother (who hated her extremely) was glad to see her thus disgraced, for that she would not lose the fauour of the House of Guise, who although they had been aduanced by the Duchesse, yet seeing her to be a weak support, they abandoned her, and ioynd with the other, who assisted them no lesse then the first. They took the scales from Cardinal Bertrand, and sent him to Rome: and from Auanson the Superintendence of the Treasurie, yet he remained still in Court, for that it was not yet necessary to force him to seeke a new party.

The Marshall of Saint Andrew aduanced by the fauours of the deceased King, and made fat by the confiscations of them of the Religion, and by borrowing, which he neuer payd againe, hauing made offer of all that he had vnto them of Guise, he is receiued into their band, and Oliver restored to his Chancellorship.

The Constable seeing the King had made a declaration, that his meaning was they should address themselves for all matters concerning the estate of the Crowne and of his House, vnto his two Vncles, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall of Lorraine: and by consequence, his mortall enemy seated in his place, and executing that which belonged to his office of Constable and Lord Steward of France, yea in the presence of Spaniards and strangers who before had so much respected him: within few dayes after the death of Henry, he goes to the new King, and deliueres vp the Signet (which his deceased master had committed vnto him) who told him that the charge of the Treasurie and of the affaires of State was giuen vnto the Cardinall, and the commandement of all that concerned the warre vnto the Duke: telling him withall, that he would retaine him still of his Council, and that he should be welcome when he came to Court. He thanked the King for giuing him leaue to retire himselfe, beseeching him to excuse him for not coming to Council, for two reasons: The one, for that he could not serue them whom he had alwayes commanded: The other, that being held an old dotard, his council was not necessary. Then offering his life and goods vnto the King, he went to visit the Queene mother, who entreated him roughly, reproaching him that he had told the deceased King

The Constable  
sent home to  
his house.

## The 60 French King.

A leading wife, that he had not any child like him but his base daughter, who was married to the Marshall of Montmorency. She added withall, that for the loss of the deceased King, she would forget her private injury: and that without this respect she had means to excuse his head. In the end she persuaded him not wholly to abandon the Court, but to come sometime. He maintained that he was falsely accused with that speech of the Kings children, intreating her to remember the seruices which he had done to her, and the Realme, and not beleue the reports of his enemies, who should not doe him so much harme as they pretended. So hauing taken his leaue, and concluded his matter to his going, he retired to his house.

B The two brethren to play their parts absolutely without controule, send the Prince of Conde into Flanders, vnder colour to confirme the peace, and him of Rothe to carry the Order of France to the King of Spaine: then at his returne they depose him with the Cardinall of Bourbon, to conduct Elizabeth to Philip her husband.

In the meane time, the Guisians call the Cardinall of Tournon from Rome: a man for their humours, an inextinguishable enemy to the Constable and to them of the Religion. They displace part of the ancient officers of the Kings house, and place new at their deuotion: they furnish Provinces and frontiertownes with Gouernors of their owne choice: they obtaine a Declaration from the King, sitting in Parliament, whereby hee made it knowne, that touching all affaires which concerned the estate of his Crowne and house, his pleasure was, they should hereafter repaire to his two Vncles.

The first Edicts were against the carrying of Pistols and Harquebuzes, and then against long cloakes, and great hobs. It was a common saying, that the Cardinall (as fearful a man as euer was) hauing vnderstood from a Magician at Rome, that through enuy, and when he was in his greatest dignity, his enemies should cause him to beaine with a peece, had procured these defences, being wonderfully disquieted, even then when as all yielded vnto him: they doe and vndoe, place and displace, in Parliament and Priuy Council, like to a King of absolute power. And the Queene Mother challengeth the gift of money growing out of the confirmation of offices and priuiledges of townes and commonalties, the which by right cannot be excited, but when the Realme falls into a collateral line.

D Now they are settled in this vsurped government: they haue officers at their pleasure, but there is yet a moat in their eye. Those of the Religion, who were then called reformed, (let vs hereafter call them Protestants) for their common cause (with the Protestants of Germany) multiplied infinitely. Some Princes, and many Noblemen did countenance them, and were ready to take their protection. To weaken them, nay rather to ruine them quite, the Kings Letters Patents are granted the 14 of Iuly, with a Commission, to certain Iudges, for the trial of Anne du Bourg, and foure of his companions prisoners. It was to be feared, that their proceeding against these fine Councillors, would prejudice the whole party. They beseech the Queen by their Letters (who had made shew to encline to their doctrine, when as she was barren) to vfe her authority in the restraint of their rigorous pursuits. She passeth her word to the Prince of Conde and Admirall, so as they will lue secretly and without any scandall.

E She had beene importuned by Letters from one named Villemadon, who knew much of her secrets, and put her in mind of her affection to Pietie, at such times as she was barren, exhorted her not to reiect the Princes of the blood from the managing of the affaires of State, to aduance them of Guise, and to make them petty Kings. These Letters were written the 26 of August, and wrought this effect, that the Queene seemed to be inclined for some dayes to ease them of the Religion.

F In the meane time they of Guise, to make their Government more pleasing vnto the people, and not to lose any thing, published in the Kings name Letters of renouation of all alienations made, as well for life as for yeares in recompence of any ferocities, except titles, whereof the money had bene employed for the Kings great and vrgent affaires, the portions of the daughters of France, and the dowry of the deceased Queene Eleanor, which the Infants of Portugall did enioy the rest to be re-united to the Kings demesnes and ordinary receipts. This renouation was a foreblow to some Princes and great personages, who were disappointed of the fruits of their seruice and of the deceased Kings bounty. On the other side, the fauorites of the House of Guise obtained other Letters of exemption, and so they strip some, whilst that others remained in possession, or got some

Alienations  
made by the  
deceased Kings  
reunited.

1552

some new purchase. The Constable seeing *Henries* death approach, had staid to solicit the King of Nauarre, to come with all speed to Court, and to seize vpon the Governement before any other. This Prince was not desirous to manage the affaires, and was somewhat jealous of the Constable, which made him to sit still, giving them of Guise time to seize vpon his place.

Some Princes and Noblemen hauing prest him, he gaue care, and imparted this businesse to his four chief Councillors, which were *Larnac*, the Bishop of Maude President of his Council, *Desfars*, his Chamberlaine, and *Burghart* his Councillor, who were of opinion that he should goe presently to Court.

They of Guise are aduertised hereof, who promise wonders to *Maude* and *Desfars*, if they can frustrate this resolution, who did worse: for suffering their Master to goe to *Paris*, being far aduanced, they begin to put water in his wine, and to forge inevitable dangers if he stood too directly vpon his ranke: that he must proceed mildly in this businesse, and entertaine all men pollicly.

Being come to *Poitiers*, whereas many Princes and Noblemen met him, hee shewed much resolution, and gaue good hope to the Ministers of the Churches assembled, especially at *Paris*, *Orlean* and *Tours*, entreating them to beare a little in that which concerns the open profession of Religion. Being come to Court, which was at *Saint Germaine in Lay*, what entertainment doe they giue, this first Prince of the blood of France? His Harbingers find no lodging for him within the castle. *It shall cost me my life, and tenne shoules more with me* (saide the Duke of Guise to his Harbinger) *before hee take from mee the place and lodging which the King hath giuen me vnto his person.* No man goes to meet him: those of Guise looke that he should goe to salute them: and which is worse, the next day he hath no place in Council.

After some dayes, the King sayes vnto him, that his Vncles hauing the charge of affaires, he desired them that would haue his fauour, to obey them in all things. So hauing obtained confirmation of his offices and pensions, he approved by his silence, the usurpation of the House of Guise, who lead the King to Rheims, where hee was triumphantly anointed the eighteenth of September, by the Cardinal of Lorraine, Archbishop of that place.

Some after the Coronation, the Queen mother gets a resignation from the Constable, of the office of Lord Steward, in fauour of the Duke of Guise, and in recompence made him sonne Marshall of France. The Admirall foreseeing that they would dispossesse him of the government of Picardy: he first gaue the King to vnderstand that it belonged to the Prince of Conde, for that his predecessors had long enjoyed it. His resignation was willingly accepted, but not the condition. It was better to purchase a good seruant and partisan, which was the Marshall of Brissac. Thus the Princes and chief Officers of the Crowne were disgraced, but those that were least passionate amongst the people, were not mured. They had a good share in the priuate discontent of these great personages, foreseeing the disorders that might ensue, and require a Parliament, as the foueraigne cure for such diseases, whereby the Queene mother might be excluded from the Regency, and those of Guise put from the Kings person.

To please the King, they perswade him, that they sought to bridle him, and to make him a ward: that he should hold them enemies to his authority, and guilty of high treason that talke of a Parliament. The King of Spaine crosseth them, and by letters written to the King his brother-in-law (the which were read in Councell in the presence of the King of Nauarre) he declares himselfe (saith he for the good affection he did beare) *Protector* of him, his Realme and his affaires, against those that would change the government of the Estate, as if the King were not capable of the government. Pleasant people, which reiect so much the word of lawfull ruelage, and yet they vsurpe it against the lawes and orders of the Realme, holding it onely by tyranny. This other affront sent the King of Nauarre home into Beauge whence he came.

They continued their pursuits against the Councillor *du Bourg*, which moued them of the Religion at *Paris* to send a supplication to the Queene Mother, exhorting her to her duty, and denouncing the vengeance of God, and the danger of future troubles, by reason of these great rigours: But she gaue them no pleasant answer: besides *du Bourg*, towards the end of this yeare, there were many imprisoned at *Paris* for Religion, and their

The Princes  
and chief officers of  
the Crowne disgraced.

Supplications  
to the Queene,  
and what followed.

1559

A their houses sackt, as in a towne taken by assault: there were witnesses suborned to depose that in a certaine Assembly made on Thursday before Easter day, in an Advocates house, at the place *Mailbert*, a great number of *Lutherans*, Men, Women, and Maydens, after the Preaching, hauing receiued the Communion, and eaten a Pigge, in stead of the Paschall Lamb, the candles being put out, they went and lay together: The Cardinal modelled the whole Court with these informations: but the Queene Mother hauing vpon this occasion spoken against some of her maids that were of the Religion, they wrought so as the two chief witnesses were heard in her presence, being two young boyes, who had maintained that then and at many other times, they had carnally knowne the daughters of this Advocate, they then began to wauer, and couetly to deny it. Notwithstanding the accusation and soot continued: and for that in the apprehension of prisoners there was some resistance made in the suburbs of *Saint Germaine*, they sent vnto all their houses to take away their armes, yet their knives, the which was brought vnto the Hostel of Guise, The Advocate thus slanderously charged, did constitute himselfe prisoner, with his wife and daughters, where the maidens were found virgins, and yet the false witnesses nor their suborners were not punished, notwithstanding their complaints, they by vertue of an Edict, which set all prisoners at liberty for matter of Religion, were in a manner forced to goe out of prison.

All this did but increase the hatred both of great and small against the Guisians. Many Treaties are published, written, and printed, and all tend to proue, that it belongs to the Estates, to prouide Governours for Kings in their minorities: that these two brethren are incapable of the gouernment, being both strangers: the one a Priest, the other presuming to stay in the life of the dejected King, that the Realme belonged to the House of Lorraine, as issued from *Charlemagne*, from whom *Hugh Capet* had vsurped it. A proposition which they haue presumed to publish in these latter times: but so often confuted, as it needs no further discourse. They had made open pretensions to some members of the Crowne, as to the Countie of Prouence and the Duchy of Anjou: they propounded the lamentable effects of their ambition, in the breach of the truce, and the last voyage into Italy, the cause of the losse of the battell of *Saint Laurence*, and the danger of the whole Realme; to prevent the which they were forced to yeeld vp all the conquests which *Francis the first*, and *Henry* had made.

They did not forget their exactions, the managing of the treasure, and the Kings great debts: The King began to grow, and euen now hee complained, that they kept him from hearing of his subjects complaints, hee was so sickly as there was no hope of long life. To get sure footing in the government of Estate, they resolute to purchase many seruants in the Courts of Parliament, to winne the affections of Courtiers and men of warre, and by a burning zeale, to the rooting out of Protestants, to purchase the loue of the Clergy and people.

They publish sundry Edicts against them, they promise great recompences to them that discover their Assemblies: many townes fill their prisons: they employ aye, fire and water to ruine them, and yet it seemes that the more they kill, the more they increase. The eight and twentieth of December, *Anthony Minard* President of the Parliament at *Paris*, was slaine with a Pistoll in the evening coming from the Palace to his house, and yet it could neuer be knowne whence it came, no more then the death of *Italian Ferme*, agent for the House of Guise, slaine neere vnto *Chambourg*, where the King was, and stript of certaine instructions of importance, against the life of some great personage. Some were imprisoned and in great danger for *Minard*: amongst others, *Steward* a Scottish man (who although hee were allied to the Queene reigning) was cruelly tormented, yet could they draw nothing from him that might prejudice himselfe or any other. About this time the Elector *Palatine*, hauing sent his Ambassadors to the King, to demand *du Bourg* whose seruice he would vse at *Heidelberg*, the Cardinal, being incensed for the death of *Minard*, wrote vnto the Parliament, that they should execute the sentence given against *Anne du Bourg*, who (persisting in the confession of his faith vpon the points of Religion in controuersie) was on the twentieth of December hanged at the Greue, and his body then burnt to ashes. The Councillors: *La Porte*, *Foix*, *Faux*, and *Fumel* imprisoned for the same cause, escaped with some sharpe admonitions.

Many could not beare this oppression. The Princes were kept backe: the greatest of the Realme

Slanders and  
false witnesses  
against them of  
the Religion.

*Anne du Bourg*  
executed.

*Minard* a President  
slaine.

1559

Realme out of credit, threatened, and secretly pursued to the death: the conuocation of the Estates refused: the Parliaments corrupted, the Iudges for the most part at the Guis, ans deuotion: and the publike Trésure, Offices, and Benefices giuen to whom they pleased.

Virgations of  
the House of  
Guise intent  
the French.

Their violent government, and against the lawes and orders of the Realme, purchased wonderfull hatred against the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall of Lorraine, and caused many which could no longer endure these oppressions, to consult vpon some iust defence, to the end they might restore the ancient and lawfull government of the Realme. They demanded aduice, touching law and conscience, of many learned Lawyers and Diuines, who resolved that they might lawfully oppose themselves against the government which the House of Guise had virpured, and at need take armes to repulse their violence, so as the Princes who in that case are borne Magistrates, or some one of them would undertake it, being required thereunto by the Estates of the Realme, or by the sounder part of them. They which first thought of this act of consequence, had seuerall considerations. Some moued with a true zeale to serue God, the King and Realme, thought they could not doe a worke of greater piety, then to abolish Tyranny, and to restore the State; and withall to find some meanes to ease them of the Religion.

There were others desirous of change: and some were thrust on with hatred, for the wrongs which the House of Guise had done them, their kinsmen and friends: to conclude, all had one designe to suppress this vlawfull government. But for that in this generall, lawfull, and commendable designe, there were priuate considerations which were wonderfull defectiue, it is no wonder if there were confusion in the pursuit, and that the euent was to fall vnto the vnder-takers: namely, for those which did mixe their priuate passions with the consideration of the publicke. As for the rest, who had no other end but to free France from the yoke of strangers, although that most of them be dead, in the pursuit, as well then as since vnder the reines of the two succeeding Kings: yet are they departed this world with this singular content, to haue courageously sacrificed their liues for their countries liberty.

In these consultations it was held necessary to seize vpon the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall his brother, being aduowed by some one of the chiefe members of the State, and then to require an Assembly of the three Estates, to the end they might yeeld an account of their government, and to provide for the King and Realme. Some haue rashly thought and written, that all this proceeding (which afterward was called *The tumult of Amboise*) was an enterprize of rash seditious men, enemies to God and the State, thrust on by despair and fury: in like manner there were others which ill affected to the House and memory of the Prince of Conde, (who was prest to undertake this charge) haue presumed to charge him, that he was thrust on by priuate passions in these intelligences, and that he sought to end a quarrell against the House of Guise by this meanes, and afterwards to cause greater troubles. But the truth of his intent is well knowne to some yet liuing, and future ages will rectifie their testimonies and writings, as full of passion, and repugnant to truth: and will aduow that the Prince did herein shew himselfe a true Frenchman, and well affected to the King and Realme. The Prince of Conde then being instantly required to accept of this charge, he examines the consequence of the fact, and hauing imparted it to some persons louing the good of the Realme, hee giues commission to informe secretly of the crimes where with the House of Guise was charged, to provide for the same, as conscience and the common good should require. They find by informations, and certaine personages well qualified, being priuy to their secret designs, did witness that their intention was (the King being vnable, by the iudgement of the Physicians, to liue long, nor to haue any issue) first to root out all Lutherans in France, then to murder all the Princes of the blood, and to seize vpon the Realme. Moreover, they were charged with many thefts, robberies, and extortions, and by consequence were in many things found guilty of high treason.

The difficultie was how to seize vpon these two persons. *Godfrey of Barri*, Lord of Renaudie, a Baron of Perigort, accepts the managing of this action, and the Prince promiseth to assist him with his authority, *So as nothing be said or done against God, the King, his brethren, the Princes, nor the Estate*: protesting to oppose himselfe first against any one that should attempt the contrary. All that were in the action, bind themselves to the same oath,

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A oath, yea to aduertise the King, if any thing were pretended against his Maiesty: they appoint the tenth of March, hoping to find the Court still at Blois. Five hundred French Gentlemen with other troops vnder the command of the Baron of Castellan, should accompany *Renaudie*, followed by a thousand others, besides their troops on foot. But it is almost impossible to keepe secret an enterprize imparted to so many diuers humours, but some one will discouer it. *Renaudie* lodged at Paris in the Suburbs of Saint Germaine, in an Advoquates house called *Auxelles*, a Protestant by profession, who hauing discovered somewhat of this enterprize, vnder colour to employ himselfe for the aduantage thereof, hee kept all that passed. But hoping of some notable recompence, he suddenly went and discovered it to *Alamand*, Master of Requests, a fauourite to the Cardinall, and to *Miller* Secretary to the Duke of Guise. And *Lignieres* one of the Captaines of the enterprize, did afterwards bewray the names of the Commanders, the Rendezvous for their troops, with other circumstances, to the Queene Mother, to saue (said he) the honour and life of the Prince of Conde, whom they accused of high treason.

To assure their persons, they transport the King to Amboise, they send letters from the King and his Mother, to call the Admirall and his brethren to Court, they dispatch many Letters Patents to Bayliffes and Seneschall, against all such as should be found carrying of armes vpon the way to Amboise. The Admirall being arriued, makes great complaints to the Queene Mother, in presence of the Chancelor, of the extreme violence and persequits made against the Protestants: and the Chancelor hauing freely propounded the Admiralls aduice in Councell, there followed an Edict for the abolishing of that was past for matters of Religion. But this pardon excluded all Ministers, and such as should be found to haue conspired against the King, his mother, his wife, or the Princeesse, his chiefe Officers, or the Estate; and all other culpable of the crimes.

Notwithstanding this Edict, *Renaudie* proceeds, and the Prince goes to Court to present these informations to the King against the House of Guise, when as they should be seized on. The execution was put off to the sixteenth, by reason of the change of the place. In the meane time the Guisens had assembled men from all parts, so as the troops arising one after one to the appointed places, were presently surprised. The Baron of Castellan, and the chiefe of the faction, were at the Caste of Noisy: the Guisens aduertised thereof, perswade the King that there are rebels assembled to further him. The King sends the Duke of Nemours with a troop, who at the first surpriseth Capitaine *Maerens* and *Rannay*, walking without the Caste, and then hauing set strong guards about it, he carried those two to Amboise, returning after dinner with five or six hundred horse. The Baron had sent to *Renaudie* that he would come speedily to engage him, being loth to abandon the place, where there was armes, powder and munition: but seeing himselfe intercepted, and the Duke returned, he entred into parlee, vpon the instance that was made vnto him: and hauing related at large the causes of this enterprize, the Duke entreated him often to lay downe armes, and to goe and speake with the King, binding himselfe by the faith of a Prince, that not any harme should be done vnto him, nor to any of his companions, but should all be set at liberty. The Baron relying vpon the word of a Prince, obeyed; with the rest that were with him: but being come to Amboise, they spake not with any man but with Commissioners that were sent for their trial by them of Guise.

*Renaudie* caused his troops to aduance covertly through the woods: but they had walked vpon the gate, by the which they should enter, and the horsemen sent by the Guisens compassing them in, many were led away and presently hanged, and afterwards drawne to the ruer. And as he laboured to rally his dispersed troop, the Lord of Pardillan encounters him in the forest of Chasteau-Regnard, and passing by, discharged his pistoll, the which not taking fire, *Renaudie* had his sword first drawn, as he was about to kill him. One of *Pardillans* seruants overthrew him with a Harguebuz shot: being slaine, his bodie was straight-way caried and hanged on the bridge at Amboise, with this inscription: *Renaudie, called la Forest, chiefe of the Rebels*. Among other prisoners, was *La Bièvre*, who had serued *Renaudie* as a Secretary and was found seized of a paper in cypher: to saue his life he decyphers this paper, which contained nothing else but what had been concluded by all the associates, and their expresse protestation not to attempt any thing against the Kings Maiesty: nor against the Princes of his blood, or the estate of the Realme: And the Articles tended to no other end, but to take the government of the Realme from them

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of

Baron of Castellan taken.

Renaudie  
Right Secretary  
to Renaudie.

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of Guise, and to cause the ancient orders of France to be observed by a lawfull Assembly of the Estates. He was also found seized of an admonition vnto the King from them of the Religion, whereas the Cardinals must proceedings against the Parliament of Paris, and against the Bourgs, among other things, were discovered. At this first they of Guise would not have had one prisoner escaped; but afterwards, considering that the multitude would make them more odious, they let the Souldiers goe, to euery of which they gave sighte, peace to beate their charges.

Captaine La Motte, Gacquetille, and some others did not yett stirre, but gaue a hot alarme to the Conuersers at Amboise, and without some expectation of intelligence, which caused them to retire without loss of any one horseman, the enterprise (yes after the death of Renauldie) had bene executed. But this did but incense the fury of them of Guise, who caused all the foot-men they could get at this time, to bee hanged. It was then very dangerous for any man whatsoeuer, to be found alone about Amboise, the least harme that could happen vnto him, was to be stripped into his shirt, and then did the Souldiers of the Kings guard commit strange thefts and exortions. Those of Guise being assured of their enemies, and their troop dispersed, they gave commandment to the Prince of Conde, in the Kings name, not to depart without leave. They beganne to cut off heads, to hang and to drowne their prisoners, tyed to long poles, six, eight, tenne, twelue, and fifteene in a company: and although there were herein more question of Estate then Religion, yet they gave out, that the Lutherans would maintain themselves by the sword, and as such men they would many to be executed, who by their examinations and pertinent answers touching matters of conscience, did witness that they were yett far from any other doctrine, then that of their fathers.

This alarme had put the young King in feare: but more the impression of his vncles perswading him that they sought his person. *And what haue I done? (said he often) what haue I done, that my subjects should attempt thus against me? I will heare their complaints, and doe them right.* And sometimes to those of Guise: *I know not what it is that troubles them, it is only that they feare: I would gladly you would absent your selves for a time, so that if they would attempt against you or me, amongst all the prisoners, foure are especially noted, Castellan, Pilemongie, Champagnie, and Le Picard, for that with an admirable constancy and resolution, they had blamed the Chancellor, who against his conscience, had signed the sentence of their deaths:* which he terrified him, as he suddenly fell sicke of griefe, and melancholy, and soone after left this world, murmuring, sighing, and sorrowing for the Councillor du Bourg, and crying out some houres before his death, the Cardinal of Lorraine comming to visit him, *O Cardinal! thou hast damned us all.* Michael, Hospitall, then Chancellor to the Duchesse of Saupoy, was called from Nice, and substituted in his place.

The Prince of Conde was at Amboise during these horrible combustions, who carried himselfe like a man without feare, that had an innocent soule. They of Guise incensed the King against him, and suborned men to obserue his words and actions, whereof the Cardinal held a Register, especially of some words which the Prince vied, being much grieved to see some prisoners, (looking out at a window of the Castle) executed: which were that the King was ill counselled; to put Noblemen and Gentlemen to death, which were honest men, and so well borne, considering the great seruice they had done vnto the deceased King and Realme. That being thus deprived of them, it was to be feared that strangers during these great troubles would make some enterprise: and that if they were supported by any Prince, they would easily make a prey of the Realme. Soone after they called de laux, Gentleman of his horsey, to be apprehended; and the King sent for the Prince into his chamber, to tell him that he had vnderstood by informations that he was charged to be the chiefe of the conspiracy, adding withall some threats. The Prince in his answer beforesent the King to assemble all the Princes, Knights of the Order, and priuie Councill which were then at Amboise, to the end that he might heare his answer in that honorable Assembly. The company was presently called into the Kings presence, whereas the Prince recited the Kings speech, and what had followed: adding, that the Kings person accepted, with his brethren and the Queenes, they which had reported vnto the King that he was the head and conductor of certaine seditious men, who (they said) had conspired against the King and State, had falsely and trayterously lied: That to proue his innocency, he would (for this regard only) quite abandon his ranke and dignity of Prince

Prince of Conde  
deputed his  
innocency to  
against all men.

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A of the blood, and make them confesse with his sword or lance, that they were villaines, and that they themselves sought the ruine of the State, name, and blood Royall: for the preservation whereof, he would employ both life and goods, as he had alwayes giuen good prooffe, and also for his owne interest to the Crowne and House of France, the maintenance whereof he should procure with a better title then his accusers: pressing the company, that if there were any one that had made this report, or that would maintaine it, he should presently declare himselfe. But no man presenting himselfe, he besought the King to hold him for an honest man, and not to giue care to such slanderers and abusers, but rectified them as enemies to his person, and to the publicke quiet. Hauing spoken this, he went out of the Councill, to leaue them to their consultation. But the Cardinal making a certaine signe, the King brake off the Assembly, without demanding their aduice, whereas there might haue bene somewhat concluded to the preiudice of the House of Guise.

The Queene Mother was much troubled during these broiles, yet leaning still to the stronger (according to the world) shee sent the Admirall into Normandy, to learne the cause of these troubles, intreating him earnestly to aduertise her without dissembling, promising to requite him, and to hold his aduertisements secret. He performed his commission speedily and exactly, and soone after, without feare of any, sent a Gentleman vnto the Queene, signifying that they of Guise were the true cause of the troubles happened within the Realme, by reason of their violent and vnlawfull government. He gaue prooffes thereof, adding, that the faithfull seruants of the Crowne held it for certaine, that these calamities would not cease so long as strangers gouerned the King and State. Whereupon he exhorted her to take the affaires in hand, and to giue some rest to them of the Religion, causing the Edicts made to that end to be obserued.

These aduertisements produced Letters to all the Parliaments and other Iudges, to release all prisoners detained for matter of Religion, the execution whereof notwithstanding was somewhat long and difficult. There was another thing which helpe it forward: some prisoners of Blois and Tours, for the enterprise of Amboise, hauing found meanes to escape out of prison, wrote a pleasing Letter vnto the Cardinal, full of threats, that they would come and see him with the rest that he held not, and that they were resolved

D to spoile him. This man being timorous, grew more calme, whereof followed the enlargement of many prisoners throughout the Realme. Finally, they of Guise seeing themselves assailed from diuers parts by writings (which were the forerunners of a new charge) the last of March they caused the Kings Letters to be dispatched to all Parliaments, and other inferior Iudges, and to all forraigne Princes, intimating, that all they of the enterprise of Amboise, especially the heads, were accused of high treason, wherein they of the Religion and the Ministers were disgraced with all manner of reproaches: and withall they promised to make goodly reformatiions both of the State and Church. An ample answer was made vnto these Letters, and directed to the Parliaments, the which painted out them of Guise in all their colours, & required that in a lawfull Assembly of the Estates they should yeeld an account of their government. The Parliament of Paris sent this answer vnto the Cardinal by a Vicer, But that of Roane thinking to do more, the Deputies which were sent to the King, were forced to retire with all speed, and did not any thing.

The ninth of April there were Letters written in the Kings name, of the same tenour: moreover, he was entreated to seize vpon certaine men which were about him, being accused to be of the enterprise of Amboise. There was also a relation of the charge imposed vpon the Prince of Conde, and how he had iustified himselfe. The Prince on the other side sent a Secretary of his vnto his brother, to aduertise what had past, to aske his aduice, and to vnderstand his mind. This was discovered to them of Guise, who wrote a Letter to the Prince, full of exults, to the end they might kill him asleepe, the which he sent also vnto his brother, who made any er in general termes, for that he would not be discouraged. The Protestants during these combustions, which concerned both the State & Religion, entered in multitude, and in many places they could not containe nor content themselves with secret Assemblies. An yndiscreet zeale transported them of Valence, Montauban, and Rouen, to extirpate their Religion in ordinary Churches at noon day. The Lord of Clairmont, Lieutenant for the Duke of Guise in Dauphine, was of no small an humour: and more violent. The Duke gives him commission to sup-

The Admirall  
threw him  
selfe a faithfull  
seruant to the  
King & Realme

Letters to the  
King of Naples.

some  
advised  
himselfe

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Cause of the troubles.

preffeth them; and to vie his authority in the Parliament of Grenoble. *Maugiron* enters Valence with sixteen Companies of the old bands of Piedmont, and some other troops of men at armes: he makes the freets flow with blood, sackes the houses, and entreates the inhabitants as in a towne which is taken by assault. *Montlaur* also followed the like fortune.

Moreover, the President *Truchon*, and some Councillors of Grenoble, imprison three score of the chiefe of Romance: they hang two, whip one, and then send them to the galleies: and at Valence they beheaded two Ministers, and hang three of the chiefe men in the towne, the rest escaped, some by abjuring, some by whipping, some by banishment, and some by a fine. At the same time *Paulon* of Richiend Lord of Meuvans, one of the chiefe of the enterprise of Amboise, having failed to surprize Aix, over-ranne Provence with two thousand men armed at their owne charge, and a great number of Gentlemen, and other voluntaries. But their armes were no otherwise employed, but to convert the images, reliques, and ornaments of the Church into gold and silver, the which with some respect to warlike discipline, and more commendably then in the following age, they left in the Magistrats hands of the place. This was to summon the neighbour Prouinces to the like reuolts: but the Earle of Tande having stayed the fury of this flying army, they sheathe their Swords, and withheate their pennies, only by supplications to the Kings Maiesty and to his Mother, protesting of their sincerity, they discovered the ground of their griefes against the Guisens, and propounded remedies to auoid ciuill warres. Their admonitions contained three chiefe heads: *That order might be taken for the government of the Realme, offering the King a Councell, according to the ancient constitutions of France. That to pacifie controversies touching Religion, a free and holy Councell should be held. That those of the Religion in the meane time might quietly, and with liberty of their consciences line in their houses, following that which is contained in the confession of their Churches.* The two brethren seeing themselves directly charged by the Protestants, thunder out against them: they write to the King of Spaine, and to the Catholicke Princes: that the Lutherans and Calvinists are the onely authors of the troubles of France, and of the tumult of Amboise. And to the Protestants; that such as were executed in diuers parts of the Realme, are onely certain Sacramentaries, enemies to the confession of Ausbourg. A bare shift and weake remedy to quenche the fire which beganne to consume a part of the world. Hereupon *Philip* aduiseeth them, to bring the Inquisition of Spaine into France. The priuy Councell yeelds to it; and the Parliaments allow thereof: but the Chancellor *Hospital* was too wise a politician: he would not see France disguised after the Spanish manner. *Katherine* was much troubled, not knowing how to saile amidst so many stormes: The Conuocation of the Estates might eclipse her authority; the restoring of the Princes of France, incompatible with a Florentin humour: the restitution of the Constable, whom she hated to the death, accusing him to haue said to King *Henry*, *That no one of his children did resemble him; but his bastard, whom his saine Montmorency had married.* These things did wonderfully afflict her. Yet would the gouerne and rule, foreseeing that she could not better maintaine her greatnesse, then by the discord of the two Houses of Bourbon and Lorraine. She relies vpon the last, and turning them with her authority, she puts the King her sonne, and her selfe, into the protection of the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. This makes them swell both in heart and speech: but there must be a meanes found to pacifie this quarrell which concerned the Estate, that vnder the cloake of Religion, (a goodly and ordinary pretext for great personages) the people might forget the vnlawfull usurpation wherewith they were charged: They protest therefore to employ all their medicines and their friends to suppress those that sought any alteration in Religion: hoping that wherthey had cut this stem from the Princes of the blood, they should be more easily yeelded both of them and of the Constables faction. As for them of the Religion, some gentlemen which made open profession, although they had no part in the enterprise of Amboise, were accused & sent for, to come and iustifie themselves before the King. They fearing that their ruine was intended, assemblable together, and comfide some to go to the Prince to encourage him. Others throughout all the Churches, to let them vnderstand that their ruine approached, if they did not provide for their safetye within propounded in Councell, to seize vpon the Prince of Conde, and so draw him in question for his life: the Cardinal was wholly of this opinion, but the Duke of Guise

Resolution of some of the Nobility.

A Guise did oppose, and by a long speech shew that it was not fit, and that it should bee against his consent. Some at the first were amazed to see these two heads in one hood thus disfigure: but finding afterwards that they omitted no meanes to take the Prince, they saw that this contrariety was but counterfeit, to draw a consent from the whole Councell, to the end they might fortifie themselves against all euents. This resolution was available to the Prince, who with great dexterity escaped their snares, and got into Bearne to the King of Nauarre his brother. They who were accustomed (as they say) to make bread of bones, and to turne all things to their owne aduantage, began to assure the King and Queene, that without doubt the Princes retreat did argue that he was guilty: wherupon new Commissions were giuen forth to leauy men, to make warre in Gascony, whither the Marshall of Saint Andrew (vnder colour to goe visit his brethren) was sent to discover, which made these two Princes to stand vpon their guard.

They had yet another taske in hand, to see if the Constable were engaged in the Princes Councels, whom they thought they had already entrap. To this end they procured the Queene Mother to send secretly for *Lewis Regnier*, Seigneur of La Planch, one of the Marshall of Montmorencies Councell, who being brought into her cabinet, (the Cardinal being hidden behind the hangings) she prest him to declare what he thought of the causes and remedies of the present troubles, wherof he made an ample discourse, shewing that they of Guise being strangers, should not haue the government of the State, vlesse they gaue them naturall French-men, for a counterpeaze and bridle. He also answered at large to the accusation made against the Prince of Conde, shewing, that it was a meere abuse, to thinke that the enterprise of Amboise was attempted against the Kings person, or to trouble the State. He then decyphered the beginning of the House of Guise, and caried himselfe so politickly in all his answers, as he escaped from the Court, and there was no hold to be taken of the Constable nor of his house.

They of the Religion apprehending by the aduice of many of the Nobility, that their ruine approached, if they did not provide speedily for their affaires, after they had recommended themselves humbly vnto God, they resolved to cast themselves into the armes of the Princes of the blood, as fathers, tutors, and defenders of the innocency of the poore afflicted, being called by the lawes of the Country to those charges, during the minority of Kings. For this effect certaine speciall men were deputed, to goe to the King of Nauarre, and Prince of Conde being at Nérac, to whom they represented (with all their meanes) an ample declaration of all the wrongs done by the House of Guise to the King and Realme, beseeching the said Princes, to take some lawfull course to deliuer the King, and to maintaine the State. Being hereby much confirmed in their resolution, to acquit themselves of their duties for the reliefe of France, they began to set hand to worke. Among other agents, the Prince of Conde sent a Basque called *Sagne*, to many Noblemen, to entreat them not to faile him at need. He receiued answer from the Constable and the Vidame of Chartres, and came to Court, where he deliuered some Letters. Attending his dispatch, he betrayed his charge vnto one Capitaine *Bonual*, who hauing discovered him to them of Guise, pursued him, and brought him backe prisoner to Fontainebleau, where the Vidames letters being read, whereby he promised the Prince to maintaine his iust quarrell against all men, except the King, his brethren and the Queenes, whom they sent to apprehend at Paris, and committed him to the Bastile, where he continued with great rigours vntill his death. They found no great matter against the Constable, or at the least they made no shew of it, fearing to haue too many irons in the fire at once. *Sagne* payed for his prating, and they drew from him all that he knew, and more too. His confession vpon the racke made them of Guise to hasten their designs: who provided for the frontiers of Lorraine, and caused the old bands to come out of Piedmont and Dauphiné, to march downe the riuer of Loire, writing to all them of their faction.

The Queene Mother who feared much to be supplanted in her authority: by the aduice of the Chancellor and Admirall (whom she seemed to heare willingly) refused to propound vnto the Councell, that it was necessary the King should call an Assembly of all the Princes, Noblemen, Knights of the Order and men of authority of his Realme, to provide some meanes to pacifie the troubles which they did hold to grow: especially by reason of the persecution for Religion. They of Guise were well pleased with this resolution, thinking they had found a snare to entrap the King of Nauarre and his brother: and

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Prince of Conde escapes from Amboise.

La Planch dit, covert them of Guise.

They of the Religion put themselves vnder the protection of the Princes.

The Princes counsellors discovered.

Propositions not generally assented.

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hoping also (for that most of them which should be of this Assembly were of their faction) there should be nothing concluded to their prejudice : and finally, that this expedient should breake off the Convocation of the Estates, and settle their affaires. They begun to write Letters in the Kings name, entreating them all to make their appearance at Fontainebleau the fifteenth of August, to that effect. They of Guise did also write their Letters full of good hopes and promises. The King did write particularly to the King of Navarre, entreating him to assist, with his brother, and those Noblemen that were about him. But under hand they of Guise by the means of some secret servants, stayed the King of Navarres journey, contrary to the advice of the Constable, and many Noblemen, who said, that there was then good means offered to expell them of Guise, and to restore the lawfull government of the Realme.

The Constable better resolved, thinking the Princes would assist, arises with eight hundred horse, and by this troop makes the Lorraines to shew him a good countenance. At the opening of the Assembly, the Admirall presents a petition to the King for the Protestants, who required to have Temples granted them, and free exercise of Religion throughout the whole Realme. Thereupon Charles of Marillac, Archbishop of Vienna, stayed with so great liberty of speech, the necessity to assemble a nationall Councell to remedy these controuersies growne for Religion : and a Parliament to order the government of France, as he furnished but few dayes after his Oration. The Admirall touched the cause of Religion and State more vehemently, taxing by inuectiues such, as giuing the King guards vpon guards, entertained him in distrust of his subiects, and his subiects in hatred of their King.

As they had made shew to like of this Assembly, so they seemed to allow of a Parliament. They appoint it first at Meaux, and afterward at Orleans the tenth of December, and the Synod for the Clergy at Paris the twentieth of Ianuary following, to determine of what should be expedient to be treated of in a generall Councell, whereof they gaue them hope. But as they had vnder hand with-drawne the Princes from comming to this Assembly, so must they make them vawilling to be present at the Parliament. To this intent those of Guise in the Kings name, command the companies of ordinary souldiers, to be ready the twentieth of September : they lodge them in such sort as those whom they suspected, had them in front, in flank, and behind them, and spies likewise to discouer them : and they giue charge to the Commanders to cut all them in pieces they should find marching to ioyne with the Princes. If their forces were not sufficient to diuert the Prince of Conde, whom they knew to be more active, and to endure lesse : they doe also procure Letters from the King to the King of Navarre, whereby hee doth charge the Prince to haue attempted against the Estate of France, and to haue sought to seize vpon some of the good townes of the Realme. Hee desires him therefore to send him his brother with a good and sure guard : if not, he himselfe will fetch him well accompanied.

The answer made by the King of Navarre and his brother, encountering the Lorraines with their owne armes, holding them guilty of the same crimes wherewith they charged them, made them to change their note. They send a second commandement, whereby the King giues his word to the Princes to come in safely, he promisseth to heare all mens admonitions and iustifications willingly : to receive them according to their Estates and dignities : not to disturbe any Prince in his Religion, whereof he now made open profession : and that they should returne when they pleased, free from injury or violence.

In the beginning, the King of Navarre shewed much courage : but hearing that the affaires of Liconois and Daulphiné, had not succeeded so well as they expected, he beganne to grow cold, and yet the Deputies of the Prouinces did offer to send their troops for his preferment, before the men at armes of France should seize vpon the passages : or if that were not held expedient, they promised to rise in all parts to forsifie him, at the Assembly of the Estates. He had about him a Chancellor called Amaury Bocherat, who was Master of Requests to the King. This man in the beginning had solicited him much to giue care to the admonitions and complaints which were made vnto him from diuers parts of the Realme; but hearing that the enterprise made vpon Lyons, by young Montgoy had not bene successfull, hee wrote secretly vnto the King, beseeching him to call the Prince of Conde away from the King of Navarre his brother, for that hee did idly importune him to attempt many things against his Maiesties Ministers, & to trouble the

Policy to abuse  
the Princes.

King of Navarre  
served by his  
Chancellor.

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A the Realme at the instigation of Turbetans, and Preachers came from Geneva, who vnto he added, that as yet his master had not given answer, and then a helmes to be feared that by long importunite he might be worse swayed, which he would not be able to aduise the King, being his natural, subiect, and a humble, quiet, and one of his ministers of Iustice. Hee did also write vnto the Cardinal, promising to tell him one day many things of great consequence, which might not be written. Finally, hee promised to giue him means to arraigne the Princes, and the greatest Noblemen of the Realme. Some thought that Iarnac who had quite forsaken the Princes, with his little for his brother, before Lieutenant of the Prince of Condes company of men at armes, had practised Bocherat to write thus much.

B And to draw the King of Navarre his brother on the Cardinall of Bourbon, a Prince not well able to discouer the cunning practices of the enemies of his house, is expressly sent vnto them. They march, and are no sooner come to Limoges, but eight or eight hundred Gentlemen well appointed, doe visit them : The Deputies of Prouinces offer them six thousand foot, Gascons and Poiteuins : four thousand horse and four out of Languedoc : as many or more out of Normandy, and the other Prouinces promise to rise on all sides, to forsifie them at his assembly of States, so as it will please the King of Navarre to declare himselfe Protector of the King and Realme, against them of Guise. But the Cardinall of Armagnac, Elcars, Iarnac, and some other Councellers of the same mold, had servants to their master, propounded so many dangers, so many inconveniences vpon their comming to Court with force, (and why should they not resist their enemies force) as he sent backe all his company, and countermanded such as came, promising notwithstanding to employ himselfe courageously in the Parliament for the good of all France.

C Having thereupon made them great Declarations, and intreated him that at least the Prince of Conde might remaine behinde, to hold their enemies in suspense, but they answered their innocencie should suffice, and that it was no easie matter to put Princes of the blood to death : which if they did they would take it in good part : that God had many other means to deliuer France, and not to make them the occasion of the ruine of so many good men, which desired to ioyne with them. The Noblemen and Gentlemen which did accompany the Princes, being ready to retire, protested that being thus abandoned of their heads, they hoped that God would raise them vp others, to free them from the oppression of tyrants : these words were spoken in the presence of some secret servants, who aduertised them of Guise. In the meane time, hearing that the Princes were vpon the way, they sent the Lord of Monpelat, one of their confident servants, to forbid the Princes in the Kings name, that comming to the Court, they should not enter into any walled towne belonging to the King, vpon paine of rebellious, and to be held guilty of high treason. They were now compass in by their enemies forces, led vnder the command of the Marshall of Termes, The Cardinall of Armagnac, Deputies, and such other bad servants, made the King of Navarre beleeeue, that this verball defence of Monpelat, was but a brauado of them of Guise, the which the King and his mother would disauow.

The Princes having past Chastelleraut, they were more certaine of the future danger, and perswaded to keepe the high wayes for feare of ambushes which were laid to kill them. They had all means offered them to recouer Angiers, and then Normandy, where they should want nothing : yet they continued constant in their self resolution, marching by small iourneys, and it seemed that one of the brethren was a Prouost to lead the other prisoner.

F They aduertise the King, that the Lutherans of Orleans practised to subuert his estate, as they had of late attempted at Lyons. To assure themselves of the towne, and to punish some which were noted in the booke of death, whose confiscation was good, the Guisens first send Sipiere, Lieutenant to the Prince of Rochefort, vpon governor of Orleans, to disarme the people, and to fill the houses suspected, with men of warre, they call together the Nobilitie and men at armes of France : then they comend the King thither, to make his entry with the Queene, the 17 of October. The Princes armed by their innocencie arise on All-Saints Eve, and passe from the Parterre to the Kings lodging vpon the Estappe, betwixt two ranks of armed men. The Cardinall of Bourbon

Policy to abuse  
the Princes.

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and the Prince of Roch-sur-yon receive them. Not a Courtier nor a Bourgeois meets them : and for their first affront, when as they sought to enter on horse-backe, according to the vsuall custome, they were answered with a brauado : *The great gates doe not open.* The King attended them: hauing done their duties to his Maieslie, and no man aduancing to bid them welcome, I am (said he to the Prince of Conde) *aduersified from diuers places, that you haue made many enterprises against me, and the Estate of my Realme, and therefore I haue sent for you, to know the truth from your owne mouth.*

Lewis iustifies himselfe so plainly, and doth charge his enemies so directly, as the King himselfe could not impute these accusations, but to the wilfulness of his Vnclen against his owne bloud. But he was possessed by them, and suffered himselfe to bee easily abused. So he commands *Chaigny*, Capitaine of his Guard (sent by them of Guise) to seize vpon the Prince. *Chaigny* shuts him vp in a house hard by, before the which they make a fort of Bricke, flanked with canons, and furnished with field-pieces to defend the approaches. The King of Nauarre desired to haue the keeping of his brother, and that he would answer for him life for life, the which was refused, and withall they tooke his Guard from him, and set watches ouer him continually. The Lady of Roy his mother-in-law, was likewise caried from Anici, a house of hers in Picardy, prisoner to Saint Germaine in Lay, by *Renouart* and *Carrauges*. *Iersme Grest* Bayliffe of Orleans, (vnder colour that his father had bene Chancellor to the deceased King of Nauarre, and hee an affectionate seruant to the Princes, accused also to bee the protector of the Lutherans in Orleans) was likewise imprisoned two dayes after the Princes arrivall. *La Haye* Councillor in the Court of Parliament at Paris, who did solicit the Princes affaires, was also in trouble. *Amaury Banchart*, Master of Requests vnto the King, and Chancellor to the Nauarrois, was sent prisoner to Melun, with others brought from Lions, to haue proofes against the Prince, whose tryall they did hasten with all speed. But they meant no harme to *Banchart*, he had already retired himselfe, and blabbed by his Letters to the Cardinal of Lorraine, to the preiudice of his master.

Neither the informations taken at Lions by the Marshall Saint Andre, nor the prisoners at Melun, were sufficient to make the Prince a spectacle vpon a scaffold. They send for the President of Thou, *Barthelemy Fay*, and *James Viole*, Councillors of the Parliament at Paris, to examine the Prince vpon the point of high Treason : and if this piece of battery were not of force, then to touch him vpon the point of religion, and to condemne him for heresie : the Prince propounds diuers causes of recufation, and appeales from them to the King. The priuy Councill reiects his appeale, and decrees, that vpon paine of high treason, the Prince should answer before these Commissioners: he answers, purgeth himselfe clearly of all crime, and aduowes his religion freely.

By this confession, iudgement was given against him, and he condemned to die : a day appointed the tenth of December, to countenance the beginning of the Parliament. They onely note the Earle of Sancerre, the Chancellor, and the Councillor *Martier*, which did not pollute their soules with the approbation of this vnjust sentence. This sentence should in the end cause the ruine of all that were accused or suspected, as well for matter of State, as Religion. And for the execution of this designe, the forces of the Realme diuided into foure, marched already into diuers Prouinces vnder the command of the Duke of Aumale, and the Marshals of Saint Andre, of Brissac, and of Termes. And with the same fury the King of Nauarre should bee confined into the Castle of Loches : the Constable and his children to the great tower at Bourges : the Admirall and some principals, into one at Orleans, the which was afterwards called the *Admirale*, neare to that of Saint Aignan.

But behold, there are two more violent and more brutish Councillors, *Brissac* and Saint Andre, they hold opinion, that to auoid all trouble in giuing the King of Nauarre any guards, they should put him to death. They seeke to poison him at a banquet : then they resolute to kill him coming from the King : but neither succeeding, they perfwade the King to stab him, and to spill his owne blood, the which God would not permit : for the King hauing a dagger vnder his gowne, and growing into bitter tearmes against the King of Nauarre, he answered so discreetly in the presence of them of Guise, as hee escaped. There was another designe to kill him going a hunting. The Constable had not yete falne into their snares, yet they had sent out Commissioners to seize vpon the Lord of Danuille

A Danuille his second sonne. As for the Admirall and his two brethren, their Declaration to be of the Religion, was sufficient to condemne them : for the effectuall accomplishing whereof, the King commanded a general assembly of his order, to be held (all excused for apart) vpon Christmas day following. During the which, there was a confession of the faith set downe by the Doctors of Sorbonne, which no man that had any feeling of religion would haue signed.

The day being come, this confession should be presented by the King himselfe, who should signe it first, requiring euery one to doe the like, with an oath to obserue all the Articles inuolubly, and to oppose themselves against all them that should contradict them without any exception. And whosoever should refuse, hee should be presently degraded from his Order, and from all his estates, dignities, and honors, and should be burnt the next day.

The like should be done among the Cardinals by a general assembly the same day, to entrap the Cardinal of Chastillon. After which all the Princes and Noblemen of the Realme should signe this confession, and then all the Gentlemen and Officers of the Kings house. The Chancellor had commandement to doe the like to all the Masters of Requests, Secretaries, and other Officers following the Court. The Queene-mother vnderooke to cause all her Ladies and Waiting-women to signe it. After which they should send to all the Parliaments, and other iurisdiccions to require the like confession of faith, and if any one did refuse, to be burnt without any other proceeding. The 10 of December approached, and the Deputies for the Estates came by degrees. They presently forbid them in the Kings name, vpon paine of death, not to moue any thing concerning Religion, his Maieslie hauing referred his controversie to the Councill : which the Pope (being then Pius the 4. successor to *T heatin* lately deceased) appointed to begin at Trent, at Easter following. Those of Languedoc amongst the rest, came furnished with ample instructions both for the State and Religion : but they found means to stop their mouths, seizing both on their persons and instructions.

The ninth day of the month, they gae commandement to the King of Nauarre, to be ready to goe to horse-backe : their meaning was to carie him to Loches, whilst they should present the Prince his brother vpon a mountaine full of scaffold, to the people of Orleans. But O God ! we haue heard with our eares, and our Fathers haue declared, the works which then haue done in their time, and in the old time before them. Behold the King is taken during Euen-song with a great fainting, continued with a paine in his head at the left ear, accompanied with a Fever. The Councill notwithstanding, sent forth many commissions to leauiy men, and commaund the Marshall of Termes to ioyne with the Spaniard, who took the way of Bayonne to spoile the country of Beame, and then to assaile all those whom he should finde to haue fauoured the King of Nauarre, and the enterprize of Amboise.

It may be they would haue sold their liues dearely. Seven or eight hundred Gentle-men goe speedily to horse, followed with five or six thousand foot, resolute, when the Marshall should passe Linoges, to hem him in betwixt two riuers: He hath some intelligence thereof, and retires to Doniers. This designe being made frustrate, the Kings illness increasing, those of Guise meane to proceed with violence, and to murder the King of Nauarre. God raised vp the Cardinal of Tournon, who (thinking to doe a greater work) preaches it. Hee is called to attend the Constables coming, with his children and Nephewes to the end (said he) the killing one we haue left the rest, who afterwards may doe more harme then the Princes. The discourse of the Kings death, made them of Guise to set a good countenance on a bad cause. And the Queene-mother *Katherine* sold her authority by supporting them of Guise, and the King of Nauarre into her closet : as he was entering, a Lady of the Court said to him in his eare : *My Lord, deny the King, and what nothing, that he shall demand, if you will.* So hee signed what they desired. A signe of the night which hee might extend to the government of the King and regency of the Realme, and his reconciliation with them of Guise. Vpon this signum, they promise to make him the Kings Lieutenant in France, both for peace of warre, and nothing should passe but by his advice, and if the other Princes, who should be respected according to the degrees they held in France, in such things, should not be equalled with him, and so on.

In the same time death preieth the King, and those of the House of Guise stand vpon in their

The Prince of Conde imprisoned.

Commissioners to arraigne the Prince.

The Prince condemned.

A miraculous deliuerie.

1560

The death of  
Francis the  
second.

their lodging, and having possession of three or fourescore thousand franks which remained yet of the treasure, came not forth in two dayes, untill they were assured of the King of Nauarre, who having embraced one another, all quarrels seemed to be laid vnder foot. In the end this Catarre with a Feuer brought the King to his graue, the 14. of December, having given no time, by reason of his yong age, & the shortnesse of his raigne, to discouer any thing in him, but only some shewes of courtesie, continency and modestie: vertues which his Vncles had easily corrupted by the taste of cruelty, which began to take an impresion in his soule, as they did in his successors: little lamented for his person, but of such as possessing him in his noage, grounded the greauesse of their vlsurped estates vpon his life, to ouerthrow the fundamentall lawes of the Realme, whatsoever some wretched Writers doe babble, whose soules haue bene as vendible, as the Guisens armies were then new in our France.

This death gaue life to the Prince of Conde, opened the prisons for such as had bene committed for this cause, reuiued an infinite number, whom the Princes condemnation had drawne into danger, countermanded the troopes of Spaine, which advanced towards Bearne, disappointed Montluc of the Earldome of Armagnac: the which he had deuoured in hope, by the promises of the house of Guise, and brought many of their most secret seruants to the King of Nauarres deuotion.

## CHARLES the NINTH,

## The 61 French King.



**N**Ow we fall from a Feuer into a Frenchie. Wee shall see vnder another pupill King, of eleven yeates of age, reigning in the wrath of God, the heavens to powre vpon this Realme, all the curses sedicinely promised against a Nation, whose iniquities he will punish in his displeasure. A raigne cursed in the clergy, and cursed in the field, cursed in the beginning, and cursed in the ending. Mortalitie, sword and famine haue followed it euen vnto the end. The heavens about are of brasse, and the earth vnder it of iron: the carcases are a prey to the birds of the aire, and to the beasts of the field, and no man troubles them. They suffer nothing but wronges and robberies, and no man relieves them. Men marry wiues but others sleepe with them. They fow and plant, but the nations whom they haue not knowne deuoure the fruit. To conclude, there is nothing but cursing, terror, and desolation.

A Parliament  
held at Orlés.  
1560.

The 23 of December the Parliament began, and that which the Queene-mother most desired, the confirmation of her Regency, allowed by the Chancellor, and afterward by those that were the speakers. *Iohn Quintin* of Auzon a Doctor of the Canon-law at Paris, for the Clergie; the Lord of Rochefort, *Vicomte de Commercy*, for the Nobility: *Angelo* then Advocate of the Parliament at Bourdeaux, and afterwards Councillor there, for the people. The Chancellor propounded many Articles touching the means to pacifie the troubles, and the remedies for that which concerned the estate and Religion, and to discharge the Kings debts.

*Quintin* would haue the Ministers of the Church enforced to discharge their duties, not altering any thing in the reformation thereof, the which cannot erre: nor to suffer any other then the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion. Against such as demanded Temples, and against the deliuerer of their Religion (meaning the Admirall) (said here) they should declare him an Hereticke, and proceed according to the Canon and ciuill constitutions, for the prohibiting of such bookes: were not allowed by the Doctors of Sorbonne, and for the rooting out of Luthereans and Calvinists. *Quintin* did speake against the iurisdiccions vsurped by the Clergie, against the disorders growne among the Nobles, against the wrong done to the true Nobilitie, against the confusion growne by con-

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Quintin exas-  
perates him-  
selfe to the  
Admirall.

A confiscations for matter of Religion, against seditions, of the means to order the Clergy, and to containe them in their vocation: for the reliefe of the people, especially in matters of Iustice, the which should be reduced to a certaine number of Officers. *Angelo* insisted much vpon the ignorance, counselllesse, and dissolution of the Clergy, whence proceeded the greatest part of these present scandals.

The next day, vpon the Admiralls complaint to the Queene-mother, *Quintin* excused himselfe vpon the interuallations which were giuen him in writing, and in his second speech he did moderate his plea to the Admiralls content. The Estates continued their conferences, and made the beginning of this yere famous, by some prouision for matters of religion, which by it was forbidden vpon paine of death, not to reproach religion one to another, and a commandement giuen to all Iudges and Officers, to set at liberty all such as had bene imprisoned for the said religion. Many other good and necessary lawes were published, but with more consultation then profit. And in truth, a number of lawes ill obserued, peruerse iudges, and giues the people occasion not to regard them. But when they come seriously to handle the discharge of the Kings debts, and that the Nauarrois submits himselfe to restitution, if it be found that he hath receiued any extraordinary gifts: those of Guise and others, which could not make the like offer, found means to frustrate this proposition, by the referring of the Estates to Pontoise, hoping hereafter to finde some device to prevent their yielding vp of any account. And in truth at these assemblies vanished away like smoke, without any other resolution, then to lay the paiement of the Kings debts vpon the Clergy. The King of Nauarre, the other Princes of the blood, and the Constable, seeing themselves held to no end in Court, and that for matters of State, they had but the leauings of them of Guise, it made them truste vp their baggage to retire, with an intent to crosse the regency of the Queene-mother, and the Guisens authority. To frustrate this designe, she makes a new accord with the Nauarrois, she doth associate him in the government of the Realme, and concludes with him, that leauing the title of Regent, he should be called Lieutenant generally to his Maiestie, in all his Countries and Dominions. But this was but a government in paper: these strong factions of two parties, shall briefly slay one another, causing great wounds within this Realme, from whence we haue seene the blood flow euen to these latter dayes.

Soone after, the Prince of Conde being called to Court, he came from La Fere in Picardie to Fontainebleau, and the day after his arrival, being the 13 of March, he came into the Councell, where the King in the presence of them all declared, that he had done him right for his innocency, suffering him to pursue a second declaration to the same effect, in the Court of Parliament at Paris, whither the Prince went within few dayes.

This treaty did preiudice them of Guise, and in the end, peace must needs send them from Court, to lue at home like private men. They had in their conceits, the argument of a new Tragedy, the which we shall shortly see played vpon this Theater. The Protestants multiplied, and the King of Nauarre supported them openly. The Prince of Conde (who pursued the sentence of his iustification in the Parliament and the Admirall) had preaching in their chambers. This string is strained too high. They publish generally, that these preachings will be the ouerthrow of the ancient Religion within this realme: and particularly among the duke of Guises partisans. That vnder colour of rendring accounts, and of extraordinary gifts, they would displace them, hauing managed the most important affaires of the realme, for the space of forty yeares. The Constable holding for a Maxime, That the change of Religion brings an alteration in the State, begins to applaud them: the Duke of Montpensier, and the Prince of Rochefort-yon, Princes of the blood of Bourbon, vpon this nice point of new religion, ioyne willingly with them. The people conforme themselves commonly after the patterne of great men. Great personages frowne one at another, so doe the people: one beares the name of *Huguenot* impatiently: another cannot endure that of Papist: in truth, turbulent and factious names. From hence spring diuers murinies, at Beauvais, Amiens, Pontoise, and else where, where the weaker were forced to yield to the stronger.

These new broyles caused an Edict to be made at Fontainebleau (where the Court remained, attending the reniuing of the Estates intermitted) prohibiting these mutual reproches of Papist and Huguenot: to search no man in his house, nor to detain any one in prison for his religion. From thence the King made his voyage to Reims, and was solemnly





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and in the suburbs of Saint Marceau: they ring the alarm bell at S. Medard, they wound, A kill, take and hang many. *Gabaston* amongst others, Knight of the watch, to appease the people, lost his head. To make some Edict for the pacifying of these broiles, the Queene-mother assembles the chiefe of the Parliament, with the Princes of the blood, Noblemen, Councillors of the Priuy Councell, Masters of Requests, and other men of authority, and to giue some contentment to those that with vehemency required places and Temples for their assemblies with liberty.

The chiefe Catholikes, especially those of Guise, disallow of this course, they accuse the Queenes facilitie, and murmure openly against the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Conde, the Admirall and his brethren. These crosse them with an enterprife, made to carie B the duke of Orleans (the Kings yonger brother) into Lorraine, so as they retire from Court: the duke of Nemours, who had played the principall part in this tragedy, saues himselfe, and returns not before the ciuill warres haue fired all France. This new change seemes to draw the Regent to the Protestants party, she desires to know their forces, and their meanes. They giue her a List of two thousand an hundred & fifty Protestant Churches, the Deputies whereof offered their goods and persons to the King to withstand the forces of them of Guise, who called the Spaniard into France.

Edict of January.

The Guisens absence made easie the grant of that famous Edict, which beares vnto this day the name of January: the which disannulling that of Iuly, gaue liberty to the Protestants the seuenteenth of the said moneth, to assemble without the townes, and provided C that all men might liue in peace one with another. But alas in stead of peace it shall breed horrible confusions. The difficultie was in the execution. The Parliaments publish it as slowly as may be, and that of Dijon, neuer. Those of Guise and the Constable ioyned with them, and diuerted them by their authority. But they had another string to their bow, which preuailed according to their desires. They employ the Ambassador of Spaine, the Cardinal of Tournon, *Escars*, and some other household flatterers to the King of Nauarre, to perswade him, that carrying himselfe a Neuter, and causing the Prince his sonne to goe once to the Masse, the King of Spaine would giue him the Realme of Sardenia, in recompence of that of Nauarre. The Pope likewise confirms him in his hope. This was properly to conceiue a mountaine, and bring forth a Mouffe, and to take from him all D meanes to recover his Realme of Nauarre, when he should attempt it. So as being drawne by those Spanish and Lorraine practices, hee estrangeth himselfe by little and little from the Protestants, solicits the Queene his wife to returne into the bosome of the Romish Church, and so to instruct her children. Vpon her refusal, there growes a breach betwixt them, and he falls in loue with one of the Queene-mothers maids. In the meane time, shee entertained the Prince of Conde and the Admirall, whom shee knew to be yet strong within the Realme, maintained the Protestants for their peaceable exercise, and for that end commanded euery gouernour to retire to his gouernment. Shee would haue sent the Prince of Conde into Guienne (whose presence without doubt had stayed that horrible and cruell shedding of blood) whereby *Monluc* vpon his refusal opened the veins of E a body wonderfully afflicted. But so passeth the world, euery one would gouerne the King in his turne, and the Regent by little and little did vndermine the foundation of the Edict, to ouerthrow the whole body. Moreover, those of Guise were desirous to returne to their places, neither had they retired but to get better footing. They are now strong enough, hauing drawne the King of Nauarre from the Protestant part. They march towards Paris, and passing from Iainville to Vassy, they dispersed about twelve hundred persons, which were assembled for their exercise: murder two and forty, wound many to the death, lead away prisoners, and sacke the towne.

The massacre at Vassy.

This was the first fire-brand of the ciuill warres which were now abreding. This act puts the protestants in alarm, and makes them to leaue the trowell and the hammer, F which they employed in many places, to build their Temples, euery one scowres his harnesse, euery one provides him armes and horses. Their Churches and Nobility complain, and demand iustice of the King. The Regent giues them good words: and the King of Nauarre rebukes them, and chargeth them to be the first moouies of this trouble. *They haue* (saith hee) *cast stones against my brother the D. of Guise, hee could not retaine the fury of his followers. And whosoever shall touch the end of my brothers finger, shall touch my whole body.* The arrivall of the Duke of Guise, the Constable, the Marshall of Brisac, Mont-

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A Montmorency. Termes, and afterwards of the K. of Nauarre to Paris, drawes the Prince of Conde and the three brethren of *Coligni* likewise thither. But the stronger caries it. They were too weak to encounter the counsels which were held daily at the Constables house. To vnderstand what forces the Prince had within the city, they make a proclamation: *That all men of what quality so euer, should depart within foure and twenty houres.* So the Prince retires to Meaux, and eals together such as might by their armes force his enemies to some agreement. The Queene-mother (seeing the Guisens fortified within Paris, and seized vpon the Kings person, whom they caused to come from Fontainebleau to Paris, writes vnto the Prince, and recommends vnto him, both the mother and the children.

Orleanse taken by the Protestants.

B The Princes intention was to come to Court, when as newes is brought him, that they possesse the King, and bring him to Paris. He therefore leaues Meaux to goe & seize vpon Orleans: and at the same instant, either faction assures it selfe by diuers surpris of places, exposed to their wils: the Constable causeth the houses of Ierusalem vpon Saint Iames his ditch, and of Pepincourt without S. Anthonies gate, to bee beaten downe, where the Protestants did assemble for their exercise, and in all other places, the people transported with the like humour, vfe extreme violence. The Protestants grow bitter, and in all places where they had might, reuenge themselves on the Churches, images, priests, and religious houses. To conclude, euery towne thus diuided, prepares a wretched Theater, to act a mournfull and bloody Tragedy. Yet euery one iustifies his cause. Without the C Realme the Prince produceth the Regents letters in an open assembly of the Princes of Germany. Within the Realme, he exhorts them of his party to provide men and money, and by an association made with the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of his party, hee promisseth to employ himselfe for the deliuey of the King and Queene, and for the maintenance of the Edicts, and the Estate of the Realme.

On the other side, the King declares by his Letters Patents, that both he, his mother, and his brethren, are at liberty, forbids all his subjects to arme vnder that pretext: commands them that are armed to surceale, and to retire home to their houses: and by another Edict he commands the execution of the Edict of January, but within the City of Paris and suburbs thereof. But to quite abolish it, hee calls the Nobility the 23 day of Aprill, and declares by Proclamation, the Prince and his adherents to bee seditious and bad D Christians, and that the Prince made prouision of foraine forces to disturbe the quiet of France. It is an example of dangerous consequence, when a people armes vnder colour to set their Prince at liberty: for oftentimes in stead of libertie, they make him captiue. The Queene-mother did easily arme that party which she meant to employ: but great men, who commonly maintain their authority by armes, doe more willingly take them, then lay them downe. She cannot now cause them to surceale, whom shee had armed for this deliuerance: the confusion is too great, their courages are too much incensed, and their hearts puffed vp with many hopes: they must come to blowes, their fingers itched on either side. In the meane time, the heads being gone, and perswaded to preferre E the publike before all priuate respects, they offer in shew, to lay downe their armes, and to retire home to their houses, so as their aduersaries will submit themselves to the like. But to conclude, the companies of men at armes being for the most part armed at Paris, with part of the old bands, the King of Nauarre, the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Marshall of Saint Andre (the Protestants called the three last Triumvirs, and in truth they were but three heads in one hood) hauing by an Edict banished the Calvinists out of Paris, take the way of Chasteaudun with twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The Prince was as strong, and euen then would haue ioyned with them: *A* *Andelet* and *Boucari* aboute all others vrged it, but the Regent abused them with fruitles hopes of an accord, whilest the Kings armie grew stronger, both with French and foraine forces.

Hauing thus lost the opportunite of a battaile, the Prince maintaines his armie about two months, with a commendable discipline, without blaspheming, whoring, robbing, or theft. In the end, they lose all patience. Baugency taken by assault, opens the gates to disorders: for this first heate soone past with the French grows cold, money for their pay grows short, and the Nobilitie could not frame themselves to this strict discipline of warre, which the Admirall did practise, being a great enemy to robbing. In many F Provinces, matters went indifferently betwixt the Catholikes, and Protestants: and to giue

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gave two strokes with one stone, to stay the dissipation of this armie, and to relieue them that might in the end fall, the Prince sent the Earle of Rochefoucault, with some troopes into Poitou, Xaintonge and Angoumois: *Soubize* to Lyons: *Tuy* brother to *Genlis*, to Bourges: *Montgomery* into Normandy: *D'Andelot*, to hasten the succours of Germany, and *Brigaut* into England. These troopes from the moneth of April, vntill the midst of August, did possesse Orleance, Baugency, Vendosme, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Mans, Angers, Bourges, Angoulême, Rouan, Chalou upon Soan, Mafcon, Lion, and the most part of Dauphine, with many others, not without effusion of blood, spoyleing of Churches, and such infolencies, as the warre doth cause in a country of conquest.

Bourges recovered.

Orleance and Bourges held by the Prince, did much helpe their affaires, but Bourges might easily bee surprisid before it were fortified. The King then (whom the Commanders had drawne into the armie) marcheth thither, and the composition which *Tuy* made with his Maiesty, put him for a time in disgrace with the Prince. This arme cut off (as the Guisens said) from the Huguenots, inuited the Kings armie to the siege of Orleance, where the Prince and the Admirall were. But the resolution of these two Commanders, and the feare to receive shame and losse, made them passe on to Rouen, where *Montgomery* commanded with seuen or eight hundred souldiers of the old bands, and two companies of English. The end of September, was the beginning of this siege: a famous siege, by the hurting of the King of Navarre in the shoulder, as hee surueyed the weakest part of the city: whereof he dyed the seuenteenth day of Nouember, three weeks after it was taken by assault, and spoiled. *Montgomery* lauded himselfe in a gally, but many of the chiefe passed through the executioners hands. On the other side, *Lewis* of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, reduced to the Kings obedience, the townes of Angers, Mans and Tours: the Marshall Saint André took Poitiers from the Lord of Saint Gemme, and *Henry* of Montmorency, Lord of Damuille, incourted the Protestants forces in Languedoc, whilst the Earles of Tende and Suze, by the defeat of Momburn, tooke Cisteron for the King, and *Montluc* with *Bury* gouernor of Guienne, put to rout the troopes of Gascons which *Duras* led to the Earle of Rochefoucault, besieging Saint Lean d'Angeli.

Death of the K. of Navarre.

The Protestants beaten in diuers places.

The ouerthrow of *Duras* brought the Earle with 300 Gentlemen, and the remainder of the defeated army, on this side Loire, to ioyne the Prince with the Reistres whom *d'Andelot* brought. This supply made the Prince to resolve to goe to Paris, and by annoying it, to encrease the feare wherewith they were possessed. He marcheth, forceth Pluuiers, takes Elampes, and besiegeth Corbeil: but finding it better furnished with men then he expected, he approacheth to Paris, makes a great skirmish, and beats back the troopes that were come out of their trenches. So he camped at Gentilly, Arcueil, Montrouge, and other neighbour villages, the Queene-mother busies him seuen or eight daies with diuers parleys, during the which, foure and twenty Ensignes of Gascons, and Spaniards arriuing, were lodged within the suburbs of *S. James*. The Prince then seeing his enemies forces to encrease, resolves to fight with them, before they were all vnited, so as all hope of peace being conuerted with smoke, he riseth the tenth of December, takes the way to Chartres, and resolves to goe into Normandie, to receiue the men and money which came out of England, and by that means to diuert the siege of Orleance. The Constable and duke of Guise march after him.

A notable dream.

Dreames are lies, as we commonly say: yet haue we often tryed those which present themselves in the morning (the spirit hauing taken sufficient rest) to bring certaine aduertisements of that which is to come. The night before the eue of the bataille, the Prince dreames that he had giuen three batailles one after another, obtained the victory, ouerthrowne his three principall enemies, and finally himselfe wounded to the death, haue laid one vpon another, and he about them all, yelding in that sort, his soule to God. And to say the truth, haue we not seen this vision verified by the death of the Marshall of Saint André, which is at hand: by that of the D. of Guise before Orleance the yeare following: and by that of the Constable at the bataille of Saint Denis, and of the Prince himselfe in that of Bascac.

The battle of Dreux.

In the Kings army, they numbered two thousand horse, and nineteene thousand foot. In that of the Prince, foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot. They ioyne the nineteenth of December, and without any skirmishes, charge with all their forces. The Princes Suisses lose seuentene Capitaines, with three parts of their troops, which were about three

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A three thousand, and endure three charges before they could bee broken. On the other side, the taking of the Constable, the death of the Marshall Saint André, the defeat of their troopes, caused a generall confusion in the Kings armie, if the duke of Guise charging the white cackasses, and the Reistres with fury (whose Pistols had made a great slaughter of his men) had not forced through the Princes hostes, who straying too much from the battell, fell prisoner into the hands of the Lord of Damuille, the which made the victory doubtfull, seeming before to incline to his side. The conflict continued from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill night, with many charges, there are seuen thousand men slaine vpon the place, on both sides; many hurt, and in a manner, all died, and a great number of prisoners. The King lost (besides his Suisses) the most part of his horse, and a great number of foot. There were slaine of men of marke, the duke of Nevers, killed by one of his household seruants, either by hazard, or of purpose, the Lords of Montbrun (the Constables sonne) *d'Annebault*, *Guiry*, *la Brosse* and his sonne: there were hurt, the Duke of Aumale, brother to the Duke of Guise, Rochefort and Beauvais. *Anson* a Nobleman of Galeony, whom feare made fly to Paris, and there hee died of griefe. The Prince lost about two thousand two hundred foot, and a hundred and fifty horse, French and Reistres.

Both Generals taken.

This bataille is famous, by the taking of two Generals, the one in the beginning, the other in the end of the bataille, so as the field was left by both parties: but after the retreat, it was viewed, and taken againe by the D. of Guise, and the next day, as it were, recovered by the Admirall, who presented himselfe in bataille. So the Prince had the advantage over the dead, and the honour to haue made his retreat with order: but the duke had the advantage of the victory, for that he lodged vpon the place of bataille, spoiled the dead, and won the Princes artillery, who (a strange matter considering their hatred) supped, and lay all night with the duke of Guise. Doubtlesse, it was a courtesie in the one, and a resolution in the other. By the taking of the two Commanders, the duke of Guise was declared the Kings Lieutenant General in the army, and the Admirall tooke the command for the Protestants. Either had sundry designs. The duke to recover the places held from the King: the Admirall to preferre Orleance with more facility, by the conquest of some places about it: and then to finish his voyage into Normandy, whither the treasure of England called him. So hauing taken Salles in Berry, Saint Aignan, Montrichard, and Sully vpon Loire, he deliuered the guard of Orleance to his brother *d'Andelot*, with foureteen ensignes of French and Lanquenets, foure of the inhabitants of the towne, and a great number of the Nobility, vnder the conduct of *Duras*, *Beuchamenes*, *Bussy*, *S. Cyre*, *Anaret*, and other voluntaries: and tooke the way to Normandy, thinking by this meanes to diuide the enemies forces, who had Orleance for the chiefe object of their armes. The fifth day of February, he camps before it, and the next day hee wins the Portereau, with the slaughter of foure hundred good French souldiers, being abandoned by the Lanquenets, who cowardly left the place they had in charge.

E The eighteenth of the moneth, hee was ready to giue an assault: and making his reckoning to winne the towne, hee writes to the Queene-mother, that within 24 houres hee would send her newes of the taking thereof, and would make the day very memorable, sparing neither sexe nor age: that after he had shroued there, hee would exinguish the remembrance of the towne. But man knoweth not his destiny, nor what shall happen vnto him. The same day as he returned towards night, vpon a little Moile, from the campe to the castle of Coruey, his ordinary lodging, *Jehan Polrot*, Seigneur of Mery, a Gentleman of Angoulmois mounted vpon a Spanish horse, by his owne proper and private motion, shoots him into the shoulder with a pistoll charged with three bullets, and faines himselfe by flight: but hauing wandred all night, he was taken the next day: soone after, hee was pincht with hot irons, and so drawne in pieces with horses at Paris. The D. of Guise dyed the 24 of the said moneth, and was interred at Paris, with pompe like vnto a King. *Henry* his sonne being yong of age, was preferred to the place of great Chamberlaine, and Lord Steward of France.

The D. of Guise slaine.

The Admirall, in the meane time, runnes over Normandy, without opposition, and followed by foure thousand horse, hee coopt vp them into their forts, who had had little scope, since the taking of Rouen: namely, the Marquis of Elbeuf, and *Armenant*, a knight of the Order, molested by the Protestants of Caen, tooke some, and due others.

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The money, artillery, powder, with five companies of English, and two of French, which he newly received, came very fitly to reduce the towne, and the strong castle thereof, to his devotion. *Monty* conquered Honefleu; and the Lord of Colombieres, Bayeux: and by this prize, he amazed the garison of Saint Lo, as they left the place. The Admirall sent *Montgomery* thither, who was received into Auranches without contradiction. *Vire* being taken by assault, endured the ordinary rigour of the warre. The Earle went on with his forces, even as the pacquet of peace arrived, which called the Admirall to Orleance. So the 14 of March, he marcheth thitherward: the 18 he entred into Bernay by force, and causeth some priests to be hanged being found in armes perswading the people to resist in a paltry dog-hole. Two dayes after, the Vicont of Dreux takes Aigle, and puts all to the sword that he finds armed. *Falsife* compounds: Argenton redeemes it selfe for ten thousand franks. Mortagne a great village in Perche (seduced by some indiscreet priests) makes resistance. They force it, and the most mutinous pay for their folly with the price of their lives. The Monkes of Saint Calais had received garison, and ill intreated some of the household servants of the Lord of Coignee: but now he takes a sharpe revenge, and *Ceruy* surprizing the castle of Mezieres neere unto Dreux, makes the garison for ever after vnable to beare armes. So the Admirall re-enters into Orleance the three and twentieth of March.

At the beginning of the siege of Orleance, the King, his Mother, the Priny Councell, and certaine Deputies of the Court of Parliament at Paris, were come to Chartres, to arraigne (said they) the Prince of Conde. The Duke of Guise had by this meanes given two strokes with one stone: for the losse of the Prince of Condes head, had struck off the Constables. But *Dammille* hauing the honour to haue taken the Prince in battell, had likewise the honour to preferre his life, by the dispersing of this assembly. Now that the Queene-mother stands no more in feare of the duke of Guises authority, shee reuiues the treaty of Peace begun before his death. For the effecting whereof she holds an assembly in the Isle of Oxen, where the Prince and the Constable assist being yet prisoners. The Constable protests at the beginning, that he will not suffer any peace made with the conditions of the Edict of Ianuary. The Prince craves leave to conferre with his counsell in Orleance. His counsell giues him to vnderstand, that neither the Queene, nor he, can derogate from the Edict so solemnly made: confirmed, and sworne, at the instance of the Estates, and so notable an assembly of all the Parliaments of the Realme.

But the Prince was grieved to see himselfe guarded by a company of horse, and three ensignes of foot, and many Gentlemen had not of long time seene their families. Moreover, they gaue the Prince to vnderstand, that the Articles of the Edict of Ianuary were not altered, but onely to content the Catholikes: that armes being laid aside, they should by little and little obtaine free liberty. So the Articles of Peace drawne in forme of an Edict, were concluded the twelfth of March, and all confirmed in the Kings Councell at Amboise the nineteenth following, verified in Parliament the twenty seuen, and the same day proclaimed throughout the towne by the sound of Trumpet. The executions qualified with the name of Iustice, the robberies, general and private massacres, committed on the persons of the Protestants at Paris, Sens, Amiens, Abbeville, Meaux, Chaulons, Troyes, Bar vpon Seine, Epernay, Sens, Auxerre, Neuers, Corbigny, Aurillac, Moulins, Moudun, Mans, Vendosme, Angers, Craon, Blois, Mer, Tours, Bourgueil, and places therabouts, Poitiers: Rouen, Valongnes, Vire, Saint Lo, Bourdeaux, Agen, and generally in all parts of the Realme, are read at large in the Originals, and would augment this Volume beyond the iust proportion: Time and leisure may hereafter giue all this discourse specified more particularly. Let vs onely obserue the most memorable exploits chanced during these first troubles, from the month of April, in the year 1562, vnto the publication of the Peace.

The Protestants of Meaux exceeding the Catholikes in number, had vntill the end of Iune, continued the exercise of their religion, without any disturbance: then transported with an indiscreet zeale, and ill-advised presumption, grounded vpon their numbers, they fly to the Churches, beat downe Images, and make the priests retire. This insolency made the Court of Parliament at Paris to censure them, and to abandon them to any that could spoile or kill them, without any forme of processe. Therevpon *Lithons* brother to *Montmorency*, comes to Meaux, and with the consent of the Protestants, restores the exercise of

A peace on-  
cluded at  
Orleance.

Particular  
ambles at  
Meaux.

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A the Catholike religion; and then giues commandement to the inhabitants, to bring their armes into the towne-house. Some obey, others to the number of foure hundred, march to ioyne with the Prince *Portian*: they charge them, and kill them all but forty, which recover Orleance with much adoe, leaving their wiues to the mercy of the stronger, whereof many were forced to goe to the masse with blowes, many mariages solemnized anew, many children (but without order) baptized againe. The 13 of February 1563 some fugitiues tried to recover the place, but this caused a total ruine of their companions, who remained within the towne, they were massacred, drowned, and hanged, their wiues and children rauished, their goods spoiled, and their houses made inhabitable.

B At Chaulons, des *Bordes* Lieutenant to the Duke of Neuers, Gouvernor of Champagne, slue many men and women, imprisoned handicrafts men, spoiled their houses, caused mariages to be re-solomnized, and children to be re-baptized. Those of Bar vpon Seine be- came the stronger, but rashly in a place easie to be forced. Some Cannons planted onely against the castle, scattered all within it like vnto Partridges. So the besiegers entring, finding few men to execute their reuenge on, they fall vpon the women, maidens, and children, open some of their stomacks, pull out their hearts, and with a fury (vnworthy doubtlesse of one created after the same image and likeness) teare them with their teeth. *Ralet* a young Advocate, son to the Kings Proctor, was (a prodigious thing) hanged by his fathers procurement. In the month of Ianuary following, some fifty horse of the garison of Antrain, surprised the towne at the breake of day: and at the first sight this *Ralet* to the top of his house, then with their pistols caused him to expiate the death of his sonne. The other murderers were murdered, and their spoile spoiled by other spoilers. So the Lord requires the blood of man by the hand of man himselfe.

*Saint Edienne* being returned from Orleance, with two of his brethren and some others to refresh himselfe, in a house of his neere vnto Rheims, was beset, besieged and battered with the Cannon, by a troop of fiftene or sixtene hundred men, who going forth vpon their word to speake with the Duke of Neuers, who (they said) asked for him, was murdered by his owne Cousin germane the Baron of Cerny, and his two brethren, with sixtene others stabbed.

D A hundred persons of all qualities were miserably slaine at Sens, their bodies cast naked into Seine, their houses spoiled, and (as if it had beene no sufficient reuenge) their Vines were pulled vp. The eleuenth of May 1562, the Catholikes of Neuers called in many Gentlemen of the Country, seized vpon the gates, and three dayes after fell vpon the protestants. *Fayette* ariues, ransacks their houses, re-baptizeth the children, expels whom he pleased, and so laden with booty, worth fifty thousand Crownes, he retires to his house in Auvergne. *Noisat* Marshall of the Company of *Fayette*, entreated them of Corbigny in the like sort. Capitaine *Blany* surprized the towne few dayes after, and restored the Protestants to the publike exercise of their religion. Capitaine *Blosse* surprizing the towne of Antrain, stayed the Catholikes from committing the like excesses, as they had done at

E Auxerre. *Stephen Blondelot* a Priest, and another called the *Dangerous*, were hanged and shot. *Ifferieux* (called in by the Protestants of La Charite to take the charge of the town) was let vpon by *Cheynon*, *Achon*, and other troops, and finally (being besieged by *Fayette*) he yeelded vp the towne vpon an honest composition for his partie. This was the tenth of Iune, but the Grand Prior entring, he pulled the Capitulation (being signed) out of *Ifferieux* hand, and afterwards *La Fayette* abandons these poore Protestants to spoile and ranisme, like to them of Neuers. The third of March following, the Captains *du Bois*, *Blosse*, and *Blany* re-enter by scalado. Leaving it afterwards in guard to *du Bois*, who defended it with three score and seven souldiers, and some inhabitants, against an army of foure thousand foot and horse, slue about foure score of them, and forced them to raze the siege.

F Those of Chastillon vpon Loire, standing amidst many difficulties, and in the end spoiled of all their commodities, fortified their little towne, and the fifth of Ianuary endure an assault against the Lord of Prie, kill seuen or eight of his men, and hurt many others: the men defending themselves with stones, and the women pouring boiling water vpon the assailants. In the end, *Monterad* Gouvernor of Berry besieged it, battered it, and took it by force, killed men and women, young and old, spoiled the towne, euen to the hinges of doores, glasse and bars of windows.

Cyen

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At Gyen.

Gyen maintains it selfe long, the Protestants were the stronger, but the insolency of A Captains and Souldiers, whom the Prince of Conde lent thither from Orleans to refresh themselves one after another, forced many of the inhabitants to retire to Orleans. So the towne remaining at the deuotion of the Kings armie, who camped before it, was subiect to the violence of the stronger, where the Italians amongst other insolencies, cut a young child being alive in two pieces, and with a horrible fury ate his liuer.

At Montargis:

Montargis was the Sanctuary of many Protestant Families, vnder the countenance of René of France, daughter to King Lewis the twelfth, and Duchesse Dowager of Ferrara. The Duke of Guise her sonne in law sends *Malicorne* thither with foure companies of men at armes, but the prey he fought was safe within the Castle: his fury fell vpon an old B man met by chance, who was slaine and cast into the riuier. *Malicorne* threatens the Duchesse to bring the Cannon to force her to yeeld the castle and the Protestants that were in it. But the generous resolution of this Duchesse, and the death of the Duke of Guise, stayed the execution of his threats.

At Aurillac.

*Bersons*, according to the Commission he had from the Duke of Guise to seize vpon the forts of high Auvergne, enters into Aurillac, murders eight men, spoiles the towne and that of Argentat, with some castles, rauishes wiues and maidens, making his account to root out all the Protestants in the Country, if the Edict of pacification had not forced him to surcease. *Montars* comes to Moulins with like Commission, he expelled out of the towne whom he doubted, then giuing liberty to his troops, they spoiled the houses and farmes thereabouts: he caused six men to be hanged, and five others to be drowned, returning from Orleans with three Merchants of Daulphiné, suffering the hangman to execute them without any forme of Process, whom the multitude deliuered vnto him to be put to death. Thirteen young men of Lisouan were beaten downe in the water the eight of May at Saint Laisne, a village two leagues from the towne, and the ninth of Iuly following, *Sarsay* seized vpon Lisouan, armed the Catholike inhabitants, drew malefactors out of prison, and filled it with Protestants, who for the most part died, being smothered vnder the ruines of a Tower, of sixtene that escaped, ten saved themselves at Bourges. Vntill the Edict of peace, he spoiled both the towne and country, ransoming some, deliuering others to the Hang-man, which had not meanes to redeeme themselves: D he rauished wiues and maids: and to conclude, exposed these poore creatures to all the insolencies of souldiers. The third of April 1562, those of Mans became masters of the towne. But violence neuer continued long, and souldiers led by a Commander of small credit and little authority, did neuer see their armes prosper.

At Mans:

These men are no sooner armed, but they employ themselves to the beating downe of Images, sacking of Churches: and from the towne they runne to the Villages neere. The commons assemblé, kill such as they meet, and rescue the booty. In the end, an apple of discord diuides them of the towne and the castle: the insolencies of the Captaines and Souldiers amaze the Protestants: the Duke of Montpensier prepares to assaile them, and of three Captaines which command within the towne, two haue intelligence with him. E This being discovered, the towne being also ill furnished, *La Mothe Turgueau* drawes forth tumultuously eight hundred men carrying armes, leading them through many difficulties into Alangon, who then took sundry parties: some not practised in armes remained there: others put themselves into the troops of the Conge *Montgomery*, others of the Duke of Bouillon, and the other two Captaines submitted to those to whom they had giuen their words. Thus the Catholikes haue their turne, they were driven out of the towne, and now they re-enter, and full of spleene they spoile the Protestants houses, both within the towne and abroad, eight leagues compass: and without respect of kindred, kill, spoile, and ranfome men, women and children. Some women of good account, some simple people, seruants and chamber-maids, retired to their farmes, or to their friends in F the country, remaine at the deuotion of 500 Harguebuziers, leauied for the guard of the towne and country thereabouts, who forbore no kind of reuenge and rigour. The prisons are filled, they forbid by any meanes to sollicite for them: the accused are not admitted to except against any witness, and for the last act of this Tragedie, about two hundred persons of all qualities and sexes, purge by their mournfull deaths the insolencies of these fift furies. The absent were executed in picture, their goods confiscate that were dead carrying armes: their children degraded from all offices, and declared incapable to succeed.

Crusades continued in Mass.

A succeed. In Villages neere and farther off, about sixscore persons yielded their throats to the reuenging swords of them to whom the change of armes had now giuen the advantage. One Capitaine *Champagne*, to glut the Pickles in a poole which he had, doth gorge them with about fifty persons. *Bou-lardin* his Lieutenant fills two trenches neere vnto his house, with fifty or threecore carcasses. *La Ferté-Bernard*, *Sablé*, *Maine*, *Loire-Castle*, *Meuners*, *Belesmes*, and *Marigue*, had the fields thereabout white with the bones of such as were slaine, whose flesh was deuoured with birds and beasts. The Images overthrowne at Vendosme, the Altars beaten downe, yea the monuments of the House of Vendosme too insolently broken, might not these stirre vp some reuenge? *Tou-beat downe* (say the Catholikes) *the Images, and destroy the reliques of the dead: but we will beat downe as many living Images as shall fall into our hands.* The Monkes of Saint Calais second them, and of many Protestants which held their Abbey, they massacre five and twenty or thirty. Some troops which kept the fields, kill the first that passe, stone them and cast them into wells. The Lord of Congnée ioyning with some gentlemen, comes to charge them, kills the murderers, and (except a few which fled betimes) puts them all to the sword: then hee discharge the rest of his fury vpon the Priests and Monkes, and causeth two of the most insolent to be hanged in their Church, yea where the alarum had rung to assaile the Protestants.

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Those of Angers become the stronger, yet without any offence to their fellow-citizens, C and make an agreement within themselves: *To liue peaceably one with another, vnder the Kings obedience, with obseruation of the Edict of Iannary.* This modesty continued from the fifth of April to the two and twentieth. Then they lose all patience, overthrowing the Images and reliques of Saint *Samson*. The Catholiques rest patient, but they could well choose the time of their aduantage. It chanced that the Prince of Conde required a supply of men and money from the Protestants of Angers. Many Gentlemen and Souldiers march, and by this meanes make their party weake. *Puygaillard* a Gascon Capitaine, sent by the Duke of Montpensier, enters the Castle the fifth of May, and the next day winnes a part of the towne: then to lull the Protestants asleepe, and to haue them in the end at his deuotion, he grants them free liberty of Religion. But two dayes after, vnder colour of disarming them, they enter their houses. A receiuer of Subsidies and some others bar vp their gates. They found the alarme, their houses are spoiled, and the prisons filled vp with men and women: and after the eleuenth of the said moneth vnto the end of the yeare, about foure-score men were executed after diuers manners. Many women of all qualities were put into sackes, drawne through the dirt, and their bodies cast into the Riuier, and their daughters rauished: some making strong resistance were stabbed with their daggers. And the Duke of Montpensier, hauing published the Edict of the Parliament of Paris, *To pursue all them that should be any way suspected of the Protestant religion*, many Gentlemen and others about Angers during these furies lost both life and goods.

At Blois. At Blois they were masters both of the towne and castle, but being too weake to encounter the forces of the Duke of Guise, all the men of warre retired to Orleans. Those which remained in the towne, paid for their companions: for besides them that were beaten downe in the streets at the Duke of Guises entry, many tied to stakes, were cast into the riuier, wiues and maydes were rauished, houses spoiled, and as often chanceth in these inuicill tumults, many Catholikes were slaine in these confusions, as liberty giues euery man meanes to reuenge his priuate quarrels. They compaine to the Duke. *There is no remedy* (saith he) *we haue too much people in France. I will deale so, as viriuals shall be good cheape.* As if the disposition of seasons were in thy power, oh Duke! or if the earth should desire to be watered with mans blood, to become fertile.

The Towne of Mer was spoiled ten dayes together. *Beaupais* a Minister of the Church F hanged, some men slaine, some women being rauished did, some of them in the hands of them that rauished them, others of grieue soone after. The foresaid decree was published euery Sunday in places depending on the Parliament. It was a meanes to arme theech, vagabonds, villanes, leud and idle persons: it made the plough-man to leaue the plough and the crafts-man to shur vp his shop: to conclude, it did change the multitude into Tygers and Lyons, and fether them against their owne Countrymen. A troop of these rascals fall vpon Ligneul, hang some men, pull out a Ministers eyes, and then burne him. Another company runnes vpon the marches of Comeri, *Elle-Bouchart*, *Loches*, *Aizé* they burne, and

At Mer.

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A. Tours.

and the neighbour places, beating downe and murdering men, women, and children.

Those of Tours were seized of the towne, but having spared the images no more then the rest, the Duke of Montpensier comes in July, and summons them to yeeld. They had no means to keepe the towne, nor the Prince of Conde to succour them. So they make three Ensignes of foot, and two Cornets of horse, and ioyned with them of Chinon, and Chastelleraud, making a troop of a thousand men of warre. This was but a fire of straw: feuen or eight companies of men at armes, and some cornets of light-horse of the Earle Villars, charge and ouerthrow them, kill some, and carry others prisoners to Chastelleraud: some recover Poitiers, others which had yeelded themselves at the first in this defeat, being sent back to Tours with passports, fell out of Scylla into Charybdis. The multitude receives them disarmed, and beats them downe. About three hundred recover the gates of Tours with running, hoping to find a Sanctuary at their houses. But the people arme, and murder most of these amazed men, cast their bodies into Loire, massacre their companions remaining within the towne, sacke their lodgings, and in this furious liberty, die the River with the blood of their fellow-Citizens, men, women, and children. *Chauniguy* armes, and by his presence doth countenance this popular insolvency. *Bourgeau* President of Tours, no Protestant, but onely suspected to fauour their partie, had redeemed his life out of the hands of *Clermaux*, Lieutenant to *Chauniguy*, for three hundred crownes, and a basin of silver, but in the end, being murdered with stauces and swords, hanged by the feet, his head in the water vnto the brest, they open his belly, tear out his bowels, and cast them into the river, and placing his heart vpon the top of a Lance, they carry it through the towne, crying: Behold the President of the Huguenots heart. The Duke Montpensier arises, and by gibbets, wheels, and other tortures, plays the last act of this vnciuill Tragedie. The Protestants of Poitiers, being masters of the towne, did not forget to beat downe Images.

A horrible cruelty.

Poitiers.

The Earle of Villars, and the Marshall *Saint Andre* besiege them. *Saint Gemme* commanding there for the Prince of Conde, sustaines a furious assault, making the assailants to determine of a retreat, when as *Pineau* Capitaine of the Castle, practised by the assailants, giues them a signe to returne: he shoots against them that were at the gate, and forced them to leaue the defence. The gate being thus wonne, they come to fight for the market places. The Protestants began now to yeeld to the victors force, when as *Mangot* a Capitaine of Lodun breaking the lockes of *Saint Cyprians* gate, makes a way for the Citizens and Souldiers to saue themselves, leaueing the towne and country about, subiect to all the insolvency incident to a country of conquest. *Cornellin* a Scottish Capitaine, escapes from Poitiers with his troop, and to suppress the peasants fury, greedy of blood and spoile, he layes an ambush, and then he cunningly ioynes with them, and by this stratagem, takes from them all desire to assemble together againe for the like effect. The vnrstrained liberty of armes, made the strongest of all sides to seize vpon their townes, thinking delays to breed danger. But alas, how many pitifull Catastrophes grew by these inciuill and fatall tumults: Rouen was not the last to make tryall thereof.

The first siege of Rouen.

The fifteenth of April 1562, the Protestants seize vpon the towne, enter the Churches tumultuously, beat downe and ruine reliques, images and altars, in about fifty parishes, abbeys and religious houses: the exercise of the Catholique Religion furceased, and the Court of Parliament retired to Louviers. During these broiles, the Duke of Aumale comes as the Kings Lieutenant Generall. *Villebon* Bailiffe of Rouen, seizeth vpon *Pont de Larches*, the Baron of Clere, on *Caudbec*: and so blocke vp Rouen both aboue and beneath the River: the Magistrate ceaseth to administer iustice, the Merchant his trafficke, and the handicraftsman shuts vp his shop: heauy foretellings of a horrible confusion to come. Many difficulties did now presse them of Rouen, when as *Mornuillies* coming from the Prince of Conde, and slipping cunningly by water into the towne, provides for the souldiers disorders, and for the guard of *Saint Katharines* fort, prolonging the hope of the besieged. The Duke of Aumale assailes the fort, and tires them with daily skirmishes, but most fatal for himselfe: he loseth at the first charge an hundred men, and the besieged *Saints Agnan* and *Languesot* braue Captaines, at the second a great number of men, and two Ensignes carried into the towne. The eleventh of Iuly, the Duke giues a generall assault, and so furious as three Ensignes of the enemies planted vpon the rampier, did so inflame the courage of the besieged, as they ouerthrow both Ensignes and men, pursued them to their campe, and

A and forced them to dislodge the night following, in confusion, with losse of their viuals, munition and baggage, to goe and reuenge the dishonor lately receiued at Rouen, by the taking of *Ponteau de Merand* and *Honfleur*. *Mornuillies* content to haue preserued Rouen, at this time; retires to his house, and leaues the charge to the Earle of Montgomery, called by them of Rouen out of base Normandy. About the end of September, the King, the Queen, and the King of Nauarre come to the army, consisting of sixteene thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides Reistres and Lanqueters: five dayes are spent in skirmishes, but with most advantage to the besieged. The first day, most part of the souldiers goe to refresh themselves within the towne. A Capitaine named *Lewis*, who had intelligence with the enemy, giues them aduice. They runne hotly to the assault (during these skirmishes, they had made a breach in the wall with five or six hundred Cannon shot) they kill many good souldiers, many pioners, eight and twenty women, and take the place: but with the losse of *Lewis* his life, slaine by one of his souldiers as he did helpe the assailants to mount. A worthy reward for so notable a treachery. Three hundred Burgeses did runne to the defence: but the fury of the assault caried some to their graues, and others to prison, and made the way easie for the taking of the Bulwarke of *Martinville*, and the Fort of *Montgomery*. The thirteenth of October a hot assault was giuen against the town from the morning vntill night, and many men on both sides slaine. The next day, about eleuen of the clocke, they renew the assault, and plant three Ensignes vpon the rampier of *Saint Hilary*. *Montgomery* repels them, and driues them backe beyond the trench, killing of his enemies about eight hundred men, and losing of his party, foure or five hundred men, women, and children.

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The second siege.

The fort taken.

The King of Nauarre slaine.

The next day was fatal to the King of Nauarre. If I may (saide he to a Nobleman) escape from this siege, I will neuer carry armes more for this quarrell. A certaine fore-telling of the mischief that followes vs, doth commonly touch our hearts. Having visited the trenches, and dined neere vnto the wall without the battery, he was shot in the shoulder as he made water: the bullet being drawne out too late by the Surgeons, and his wound inflamed by his voluptuousnesse, accompanied with a Fever, he gaue his soule to God the seuenteenth day of Nouember following, as we haue said before. In the meane time, the battery continues, many thousands of shot beat downe diuers towers, many Mynes play without effect. The fourth assault was more auailable, the 26 of October. Thereby the assailants win the breach at the port *Saint Hilary*, they enter in troop, and kill all they encounter, force houses, rauish wiues and maids, and commit all as ordinary in the like accidents. *Montgomery* vnable to withstand this last violence, saues himselfe in a galley with such as could get in, the rest remaining in prey were spoiled, slaine, drowned, and made prisoners. The Parliament returns three dayes after the taking of the towne, and at their first sitting the President of *Mandreuille* lost his head: *Sogence* and *Bertheneuille* Councillors, and *Marlorat* a Minister, were hanged, and the next day five Captaines, and diuers Burgeses of the towne. Moreouer, enuy and hatred amidst these popular furies brought in question the Seigneur of Anthor, chief President, and *Boisfeger* the Kings Aduocate, being Catholics, but enemies to sedition, and wise politicians. In ciuill tumults, the vulgar doth commonly take for essentiall markes of Religion, the insolvency and excesse, which fury and the sufferance of the Magistrate doth suggest.

Rouen taken.

Diepe yielded.

And taken againe.

Diepe serued for a retreat to many Protestant Families, but the ouerthrow of some troops which *Briquevaux* sent to *Montgomery* for a supply, and the taking of Rouen, terrified most part of the inhabitants, who being pressed by *Aumale* and *Villebon*, were content to yeeld, and to cease the exercise of their religion. *Ricardville* and *Bacqueville* had the government: the former of the Castle, the other of the towne. But how many Captaines by indiscretion haue lost both liues and places: *Ricardville* going out of the castle to see his horses, is slaine, and suddenly the castle is seized on by *Caserville* and Capitaine *Gaston*, who going from thence into the towne, take *Bacqueville*, and restore the exercise of the Protestants Religion vnder the government of *La Curie*.

*Montgomery* laboured with all his power to maintaine to Protestants in base Normandy, but he had the Duke of Estampes and *Maignon* to encounter him. In May, hee had taken *Vire*, beaten downe the images, and caried away the reliques. The last of Iuly, the Catholics awaked at this first rumour, surprize the Protestants coming from the preaching, reuenge their losses by the death of some, and hurting of others. About the

end



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end of August, *La Moth, Tibergean, Aunais* and *Deschamps*, sent by *Montgomery* with six score horse, surpris'd the towne, and spoile both it and the country. The fourth of September the Duke of Estampes comes with eleven corners of horse, they force the towne, kill *Aunais*, take the Cattle, slay two hundred men that were fled into it, ravish and kill women and children. *Tibergean*, and many others ransomed their lives: so as generally there was nothing but taking and re-taking of townes, with most cruell and incivill stratagems.

New-hauen delivered to the English.

Britany.

The Vidam of Chartres, and *Beauvoir la Noelle* his brother in law, having assured themselves of New-hauen, the Vidam going into England, treated with the Queene to succor the Protestants: and for assurance of her men and money, delivered the said place into her hands, with protestation, as well by him, as by the Queene, no way to prejudice the Kings soveraigne authority, nor the estate of the Realm. And shee shall shortly yeeld it without any difficulty. According to the treaty, there arises six thousand English in Normandy, vnder the Earle of Warwicke, and are dispersed in Rouen, Diepe, and New-hauen. After the taking of Rouen, the Reingraue brought his Reistres before New-hauen: but his violence prevailed as little, as fifty thousand crownes did, with a collar of the Order, and a company of men at armes entreated, which the Queene Mother promised to *Beauvoir* to corrupt him to yeeld vp the town. Britanie continued vnder the moderate government of the Duke of Estampes, both for that the Queene Mother liued in suspence, and entertained both parties, as also for that the factions of Normandy had drawne away the worst affected. Those of Guienne, Languedoc, and other places, made warre against the Images and Altars, ministring occasion to shed the blood of liuely images at Grenade, Castelnauary, and Cahors, where above six score Protestants assembled to heare the preaching, were slaine. On the other side, *Bury* and *Montluc* (scourges to the Protestants) reuenged the beating downe of Images throughout all Guienne, with infinite murders, and lamentable spoiles, *Duras* having abandoned the protection thereof, vpon a commandement which he had receiued from the Prince of Conde, to bring him forces to Orleans, which succeeded ill for him, as we shall see.

*Bury* and *Montluc* did runne vp and downe the country to crosse the Protestants designs: and those of Bourdeaux (having too slackly proceeded in an enterprise made against the towne and castles) caused the Parliament to search their houses, and to put them to death, who had not in time retired themselves vnder *Duras* Ensignes. *Montluc* incensed especially against them of Agen, tryed all his wits, to bring them vnder his power and command. He had against him the L. of Memy Generall of the war for the Protestants in Guienne and the neighbour country, a sickly man, and not greatly practised in such affaires: for if he had made benefit of the great forces which he had at his command, and would haue beleueed *Arpajon* and *Marchastel*, he might in shew haue cut *Montluc* in pieces, being much weaker of men, who knowing the carriage of his aduersary, wearied him with daily courtes and alarms, to the contempt of the Protestants, which fell into his hands, as he himselfe doth vaunt in his Commentaries, a true portrait and table where we may reade at large the horrible desolations chanced in those countries during the first troubles. In the end, those of Agen seeing their towne vnable to resist the Cannon, make a troop of about six hundred men, and retire for the most part to the castle of Penne committed by *Duras* to Capitaine *Liouran*. The next day, the common people of Agen troop together, spoile and kill all they meet: *Bury* and *Montluc* flye thither, they execute many prisoners, and such as were absent they hang in picture. *Duras* not able to diuert this heauy accident, takes the way of Quercy, wins Lauette by force, kills six hundred three score and seven men, amongst the which, nine score and fourteene Priests were found slaine, without any respect of their Order, through this detestable wastlike insolvency. For a counter-change, *Montluc* comes to bessege the castle of Penne, forceth the place after the death of *Liouran*, puts man, woman, and child to the sword, and (continuing the course of his prosperity) takes and sacks Castelnau, Marmande, S. Macaire, Bazas, Tonneins, Port S. Mary, Villeneuve of Agenois, the Castle of *Duras*, and Montlegur, leaving bloody trophies of an vncivill and pitifull victory.

Lezouze.

Lezouze, the chiefe towne of Armagnac, was at the Prince of Condes deuotion. *Burgole* a Capitaine of Bearne and a Catholike commanded there: who by the taking of Sauterac of Gaure, of Larromien, and of Tarraube, had assured the Protestants of his constant

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A stant affection to their party. *Montluc* sends Capitaine *Pierrot* his sonne to suppress *Bugle*. *Pierrot* treats with *Bugle*, and reapes the fruits which follow by his parlee. Capitaine *Mesmes* led two hundred souldiers to fortifie Lezouze: *Bugle* caught them to stay vpon the way, vnder colour to send them a guard to make their passage easie. And to this intent he speedily sends to field three hundred men at armes, and five and forty Argoletiers, and himselfe leads other troops of foot to Tarraube, that by the weakening of Lezouze, *Pierrot* might haue meanes with his men at armes, to stop the returne of the troops of Tarraube to Lezouze, and by the same stratagem cuts off the passage for Capitaine *Mesmes*, leaving him in prey at Roquebrune a poore village, from whence he passed through his enemies, being four or five to one, and retired into Bearne. Moreover, although Tarraube were vnfurnished of meale and water, yet he kept his foot-men therein, that being besieged, they might more easily be at *Pierrots* mercy, as it afterwards fell out. And to fill vp the measure of his treacheries, soone after the yeelding vp of Tarraube, hee with a brother of his followed *Pierrots* Ensignes, and against his plight faith, he beheld him to cut in pieces two hundred thirty one prisoners at Tarraube, hang some, and ransom many. *Montluc* advertised hereof, assembles the Commons with six companies of foot, besiegeth Lezouze, makes a breach, gives an assault in foure places. *Brimont* gives him the repulse, hauing not with him above an hundred souldiers, a weak number, the which induced him in the end (together with the Q. of Nauars treaty, to whom the town belonged) to depart by composition. Now we must perform our promise touching the exploits of *Duras* in Guienne: with the first forces he had gathered together, he tried to assure Bourdeaux: but having failed of his designe, he chose the country betwixt the river of Garonne and Dordogne, to re-view his troops. S. Macaire gaue him bullets as he passed in stead of victuals, and kills some of his men. He is offended therewith, assaults the towne, forceth it, and takes his reuenge of the former outrage. *Bury* and *Montluc* pursue him, (they knew well that hauing slaine him, all Guienne vnfurnished of a Commander, would be at their discretion:) they over-tooke him neere to Rozan, and charge him at their aduantage, being abandoned by the most part of his company, which were vwarlike, and not capable of discipline. This first checke was sufficient to abandon all: yet the cause whereof he had taken the defence, did summon him once more to trie the hazard of armes. He gathers together what hee can, assembles new forces, takes the way of Agenois and of Quercy, helps them of Agen, reuengeth his injuries vpon *Lauferie*, as we haue heard, marcheth towards S. Antonin, and there fortifies himselfe with two companies of foot, led by *Marchastel*. His meaning was to goe into Languedoc, and to ioyne with the Lord of Crusol: But the Earle of Rochefoucault inuities him to the succour of Orleans, and for a guard, sends him *Bordet*, a valiant Gentleman of Xaintonge, with sixty horse, two hundred Argoletiers, and two Ensignes of foot. These troops consisting of about five thousand men, horse and foot, march to Montauban, there they receiue men, munition, and artillery, and so turne to Xaintonge: in the way they force the Castle of Marcues, take the Bishop of Cahors, and threaten to hang him as the author of a massacre made of the Protestants within his Diocesse: five or six souldiers made satisfaction for this offence by their deaths.

A great error.

*Bordet* had a spleene against them of Sarlat: they had in this passage slaine two of his Gentlemen. So at his perswasion *Duras* encampes before it the first of October. *Bury* and *Montluc* flye to succour it with a great number of horse, and some eight thousand foot. *Duras* raiseth the siege, and to lodge at ease, diuides his men into Heudreux, Ver, and other places neere: the rainy weather gaue them likewise some impression and confidence of the enemies temporizing. But they were vigilant, and fearing lesse the injury of the ayre then *Duras*, they came thundring vpon him. Without doubt when two armies are neere together, the first that makes his retreat giues the other an aduantage. *Duras* who supposed they had bene but the enemies scours, determined to retire softly, and to lodge his men in safety: when as *Bury* and *Montluc* seeing him retire, charge him behind, and finding very small resistance, kill five or six hundred of his souldiers, charge home to the artillery and baggage, kill 1500 seruants, & hang some prisoners, especially Ministers that followed the troops. But the booty qualifying the victors heart, gaue leisure to the first that fled, to set wings to their feet, and by a sudden flight to prolong their liues for some daies: for the most part of them that escaped, were taken againe, and led to Agen, and there hanged on a gibbet set vp expressly, which they called the Consistory.

The battell of Ver, and the second defeat of Duras.

Ppp

Battels

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& 63Envoies of  
Piles, and

Rivier.

Bergerac.

Bartels are variable, and he is no Merchant that was alwayes, saith the Proverb. *Duras* gathers together some remainders of this shipwracke, and advertised that *Lamoussiere* a Capitaine lent by *Sanjac* to overthrow him quite, did attend him at Embonnet with five hundred men, hee marcheth directly against his enemy, surpriseth him at the breake of day, cuts in pieces both the Capitaine and his fouldiers, reserving three only to cary newes vnto *Sanjac*, and by this foule slaughter, reuengeth the disgrace which he had lately received : then most of his troops being gone, some to Rochel, some elsewhere, and hauing no man of command remaining, but his eldest sonne, *Berdet*, *Puch*, and his brother, with about forty Carabines, and eightene hundred fouldiers, halfe disarmed (his horsemen being gone before, and ioynted with *Rochefoucault*) hee recovered Orleans and there died vpon the conclusion of the peace. Through the absence of *Duras* the Protestants estate in Guienne was very lamentable, their bodies and goods left to the discretion of their enemies. *Piles* a Gentleman of Gascony, hearing of the outrages which *Bury* and *Montluc* committed without controule, parts from Orleans (hee came with the troops which *Grandmont* brought out of Gascony) and surmounting a world of difficulties, in the end hee recouers his house neere vnto Bergerac, and notwithstanding the garison which the Duke of Montpensier had left there, he opens the prisons, and sets all them at liberty that were committed for matter of religion, and then retires to his house.

This new and bold attempt puts the Country into armes : all rise against *Piles*, who forced to yeeld to violence, withdrawes himselfe, being followed by fifteene horse, and fifteene Harguebuziers on foot : at Montagnac hee surpriseth a Corner of sixscore light horse, commanded by *Montcaussin*, hee kills their Leader, with foureene others, and puts the rest to rout; and by means of the horse which he recovered there, of good fouldiers hee made profitable men at armes. *Piles* had left *la Riviere* about Bergerac, a young gentleman, who (wedding the practice of armes to the study of the Lawes, from which hee was newly returned) became as soone a braue Capitaine, as a resolute souldier : for his first stratagem, hauing suddenly trooped together some twenty fouldiers, and a good number of peasants with flauies, he surpriseth Sainte Roy vpon Dordonne by scalade, cuts the Corps de gard in pieces that was set in the market place, and commanding in the streets many and sundry things, as if he had beene followed by seven or eight hundred men, hee slew *Rexas* one of *Montluc* Captaines, his Lieutenant, his Prouost, with fourescore of his fouldiers, and became absolute master of the place. *Bury* and *Montluc* chafing at this disgrace, received by an Apprentise in warre, lodge many troops betwixt Bergerac and Sainte Foy. But *la Riviere* hauing forced through the troop of Capitaine *Salé*, and a Squadron of horse, made his retreat, passed the Riuier of Dordonne in safety, and went with his troop to ioyne with Capitaine *Piles*. Vpon the way, beheld a band of fouldiers encounter him being faire from his men, and as he enquired newes of *Piles*, they overthrow, hurt, and take him. But passing ouer a bridge hee casts himselfe into the water, recouers the contrarie banke, and so saues himselfe at Hymet, a towne of Agenois, whereas *Piles* prepared for the surprize of Mucidan, the which *Montluc* thinking to take from him about the end of Ianuary 1563, by means of the Seneschall of Perigord, hee left the vnderaker consumed in his designe, and his troops put to flight. This successe giues courage to *Piles* : he attempts against Bergerac, and at the second charge enters it the 12 of March, putting three Corps de gard to the sword, and all such as could not in time recouer the Castle. The next day a tower being vndermined, hauing smothered them that were within it, the Castle vnfurnished of munition, yeelds at the victors discretion, who puts them all to the sword. Ah cruell and more then inciuill warre ! What worse vylage could wee expect of strangers and barbarous people, whose inhumanity we willingly abhorre : and doe wee not tremble at the effusion of our Country-mens blood ? In the Countries of Angoulmois and Coignac, the Seigneur of Mirron, by many murders, ranfomings, and robberies, ranshuffing of wiuies and maids, and other oppressions which the war doth vually bring forth, reuenged the excesss the Protestants had committed, in beating downe the images at Angouleme. In Xaintonge, Count *Rochefoucault* maintained their affaires, but the taking of Poitiers before described, & the defeat of *Duras*, caused the Protestants to be spoiled at Xaintes by Capitaine *Mogere*, and the exercise of their religion to be abolished at Rochel, and the neighbour Ilands, by the Duke of Montpensier. But alas, all these disorders and bloody confusions do not counteruaile the horrible furies of Tholouza, & other places of the

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A the Parliament of Languedoc. Tolouza is one of the greatest and best peopled cities of the Realme, and at that time the Protestants numbered about five and twenty thousand persons of their Religion, of all qualities, ages, and sexes. After the publication of the Edict of Ianuary, matters passed with great moderation vntill April. A little sparkle doth soone kinde a fire of sedition : and a small cause thrusts the seditious into furie, especially if the Magistrate (ordained rather to restrain the bloody-minded) doth countenance their insolencies. The buriall of a dead body was the Prologue to a horrible Tragedie, whereof the first act was played in the suburbs of Saint Michael, Saint Stephen, and S. Saluador : and so passed the wals, and put all the City into a mournfull confusion. The B Parliament did winke at it, but the Capitols being more modest, employed their authority to quench these first flames, which must needs put all their State in combustion : foure of the most seditious being hanged, and two whipt, did make some satisfaction for the blood and death of such as were wounded, slaine, and cast into Wels. This pursuit makes the people mad. The Protestants, to warrant their liues, and to saue themselves by some good capitulation, seize on a gate, and vpon the Towne-house. The Parliament stormes, calls in the Nobility, assembles the commons, giues authority to their furious armes, and by a generall proclamation, both within the City and abroad, commands them to arme, and to fall vpon the Huguenots, with warrant from the Pope, the King, and the Court of Parliament. Then they kill, they fill the prisons, they massacre many. When they find no holes to hold them, the riuier is heaped vp with carcasses : they cast them aliue out of the windowes, and if they labour to recouer the bankes, they beat them downe with stones and staues. The Protestants shut vp in the Towne-house, and hauing no other hope but to despair of life, resolute to sell their liues dearly. They had Cannon, and with the thunder thereof amaze their enemies, they make many sallies with great effusion of blood on either side. They treat an accord with them : they demand an assurance of their liues and goods, with the obseruation of the Edict. It is rejected : and so this vnciuill and fatal combat continued many dayes. In the end, the 16 of May they grant them, *To retire in safety, leauing their armes in the Towne-house*. They goe forth towards night. But oh confusion ! it is the best expedient to disarm an enemy with dispensation of conscience, with whom they will keepe no faith. At their going forth they imprison such as they can lay hand on, the rest escape by the gate which they held : some, recouer Montauban, or other places of their partie, others are subiect to the mercy of the peasants and fouldiers lying in the fields. So as about three thousand five hundred persons (saith the Originall) lost their liues in this mutiny.

The Catholiques are now absolute masters of the City : they beat downe the Protestants Temple, and foure dayes together they kill, imprison, and spoile. These broiles and popular tumors haue oftentimes confounded the authors themselves, and the spoile of rich houses is a very dangerous and attractive bait. The Parliament knowes it well, and begins now to feare, lest the insolency of such, to whom they had giuen liberty, should fall vpon themselves. They therefore leaue a sum of money to content the companies, and to void the towne of them. So *Montluc* and *Terrides* march against Montauban, *Fouqueneux* against Beziers, *Mirepoix* the younger against Limoux. The Court hauing the gouernment without controule, displace two and twenty Councillors that were least partiall, and most suspected with some chiefe men : condemne prisoners, and from the end of May vnto February following, they execute by diuers manners, foure hundred persons.

This massacre of Tolouza, that of Gaillac in Albigeois against eightscore persons, and the approach of *Bury* and *Montluc*, had so amazed the inhabitants of Montauban, as they abandon the towne : but the taking of Agen, and the troubled Estate of Bourdeaux (as we haue heard) called away both of them for this time. In the meane time, *Arpajon* and *Marschall* putting two thousand men into Montauban, had put new courage into them, when as newes comes that *Montluc* and *Terrides* came to besiege them with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot : the which made the Capitaines take a new resolution to goe to Orleans : the people are amazed, feare driues many out in confusion, the drum sounds, they issue forth tumultuously, forsake the towne, and abandon the gates. But which was the better expedient, either to die in defence of their houses and families, or to fall into the hands of the enemy, from whom they might expect no mercy ? The most part being

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surprised in the fields, were forced to yeeld their throats to their swords that pursued them, others brought to Toloufa ended their liues vpon sundry gibbets: the Capitaines and some few others recovered the towne. The 24. of May, *Montluc* arrie armies, but being content with some skirmishes, and to haue wasted the come, hee retired to make a greater leape. He returns in September following, with nine companies of men at armes, a great number of voluntary Gentlemen, five and twenty Ensignes of foot, foure companies of Argoletiers, and three of Spaniards, which made twelue hundred men, and thirteene peeces of Artillery. The partie was stronger on either side then at the first, for *Duras* and *Marchastel* were entred, vnder hope to lead both the companies and Cannon to Orleans. So as *Montluc* hauing lost some six hundred men in diuers skirmishes, and refused to fight with *Duras*, who offered him battell, he retired the second time.

Three pieces  
of Montauban.

Then *Duras* and *Marchastel* leading away the troops, vnsupplied the towne of two great Cannons, and two field Pieces, the which were afterwards lost in the battell of Ver. *Montluc* aduertised of the estate of Montauban by *Fontraine*, one of the Capitaines of the towne, hastens thither, offers a scalado, and giues the alarme in three parts. Two hundred recouer the first curtaine, being followed by the two Ensignes of *Bazourdan*. *Laboria* borne in the towne and a Capitaine there, beats them back, and with the slaughter of two hundred of their men, forceth them to leave their attempt to winne it by force. The thirteenth of October, they batter it with nine peeces of Artillery, and continuing vntill the 22. of the moneth, he beats downe a piece of the wall. *Bazourdan* will needs discouer the breach: but being shot in about the left pap, he could not returne with any newes. The next day they giue a furious assault: the more courageously the assailants presse them, the more resolutely the assailed defend themselves, men, women, and children, eury one in his place. Oftentimes they obtaine that vnder the Foxes skinn, which the Lyon cannot effect. *Laboria* might doe much to draw the Inhabitants to composition. *Terrides* promiseth him the government of the Towne, vnder the Kings authority, and three companies entertained. He accepts this offer. But his new proceeding brings him presently into suspect, so as hauing no more credit, and the Citizens resolute not to giue eare to any Capitulatation with men, who hauing (say they) no faith, cannot keepe it with any. *Laboria* followed by his Sergeant, retires himselfe to *Terrides* campe: from that time vntill the fifth of April, being the day of the publication of the peace, the siege passed in assaults, sallies, and skirmishes, wherein the besiegers lost about two thousand men, with a great number of Capitaines and worthy Gentlemen without any profit.

Carcassonne, Castelnau d'Arny, Reuel, and Limoux were partakers of these disorders. The Protestants of Carcassonne had their exercise in the suburbs. The 16. of March, 1563 the Catholikes hauing taken view of foure or five thousand men, giue an alarm to the protestants assembled in the suburbs: they made them leave the place at the sound of their Cannon, drums and trumpets: they pursue them, kill, hurt, hang, and ransom them. Castelnau d'Arny was subiect to the like fortune, about fifty persons were murdered with the like fury and popular tumult. Those of Reuel hearing of the confusion at Toloufa, saved themselves at Castres, and elsewhere, leaving their families and goods to the mercy of theesues and robbers. Some being apprehended by vertue of a commission granted by the Parliament, were led to Toloufa, and condemned, some to the gallies, others were fined, and some banished. At Limoux they had an aduantage over the Catholikes: but *Pomas* being entred with tenne companies, and eight hundred Bandaliers, Spaniards for the most part, and the Marshall of Mirpoix being sent by the Parliament, the towne was subiect to the will of the stronger, and suffered the ordinary insolencies of conquerours, spoiles, murders and rapes. He that sees his neighbours house on fire should looke to his owne. So the Protestants of Beziers aduertised of the murder of *Fassy*, draw some souldiers vnto them, and ruine the images in all the Churches. *Beaudin* chiefe of the Protestants F troops assisted them, and by the taking of Magalas and Espignan, strong places which did much annoy Beziers, assured the towne to their party. *Joyeuse* followed by 5000 men, and 12 peeces of artillery, crossed their attempts, and hauing at the second assault forced *Lezignan*, and taking Montagnac by composition, he tooke the way to Pezenas. *Beaudin* comes against him, and might easily haue defeated him, but five hundred Crownes, which the Master of his Campe had receiued of *Joyeuse*, with promise of a thousand more, made him lose about six-score Souldiers, and by the rout of his companies, opened

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A opened the gates of Pezenas to *Joyeuse*. Beziers was ready to receiue a law from him: but the sacke and murder of their neighbours, and the feare of the like vlsage, made them to shut their gates against him, and to goe to field, to force and burne Lignan, with the defeat of two companies that kept it: and then to surprize Seruian, to force the Garison of Cafouls, scale Villeneuve neuere vnto Beziers, and so to preserue themselves vntill the publication of the peace.

*Beaucaire* feared the like vlsage to Limoux: they therefore obtaine two companies from Nismes. *J. Perap* a Beauuoisin, with *Sernus* and *Bouillargues* led them, they assure the town and castle, ruine images and altars, and then retire, leauing a company for the safety of B their companions. To encounter them, the Catholiques by twy-light bring in a great number of souldiers attired like peasants, and in the night open the gates to fifteene or sixteene hundred men, who coming from Tarafon, separated onely by the Rhone, made their conning famous by blood and spoile. The Protestants recouer the castle, and speedily call backe *Sernus* and *Bouillargues*, who returned to Nismes. They turne head: *Sernus* enters into the castle, and so descending into the towne, surprizeth his enemies, kills a great number, and pardons such as laying downe their armes craue mercy. *Bouillargues* coming from the rescue of the booty which they caried away, and weary with killing them that fled, he likewise enters into the towne, and puts all to the sword that hee encounters. Thus *Beaucaire* remained in the Protestants hands, vntill the Edict of peace.

C The like feare troubled them of Montpellier. The proceedings at Toloufa and other places amazed them: they fortifie themselves, raze the suburbs, in a manner as great as the towne, beat downe thirty Churches, and by these ruines make themselves able to sustaine a siege which threatened them. The enemy discharged his choller vpon certaine shot lodging in an old tower ill flanked, a league from the towne, who hauing yeelded to haue their liues saved, were notwithstanding slaine as they came forth. The like chance fell vpon the Capitaine, and twenty souldiers that were in Maguelone, and descreedly, according to the diuine iustice, haueing treacherously fled the Castle. At that time the Lords of Suze and Sommerie, the chiefe of the Catholikes army in Languedoc, had passed the Rofne with about three thousand foot, foure hundred Masters, and three Cannons, with D an intent to besiege Saint Giles, a small towne vpon the Rhone. *Beaudin* vpon this aduice, parts from Montpellier, he speedily assembles six hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, vnder the command of *Bouillargues*, *Albenas*, and *Grille*: he is aduertised by some prisoners of a disorder in the enemies campe: he marcheth towards them, and chargeth presently. *Suze* and *Sommerie* turne their backs, their Capitaines and Souldiers are amazed and run away: *Bouillargues* followes them that flye: not one makes resistance. *Grille* falls out like wife, and both jointly doe kill, what by the sword, and water, 2000 men, and win all their baggage, being richly furnished, as to a certaine victory, with two Cannons, (the Culuerin beinge sunke in the Riuer of Rhone) 22 Ensignes, and the Colonels guidon. This victorie makes them proud, and *Grille* contemning the aduice which was giuen him, suffered E himselfe within a few dayes after to be surprised and taken at Arenasses, to lose an hundred or fix-score souldiers, his troops to be put to flight towards Lunel, Mauguet, and Sommiere, and had it not bene for the arrival of *Beaudin*, who freed him, hee had remained a trophie to his enemy.

In the meane time *Joyeuse* (seeing the plague to waste his men daily) retires from the Campe before Montpellier: it was rather to free the inhabitants from ialousie. He had practised certaine intelligences within the town, but the iustice of God brought two of the chiefe Merchants to be a spectacle vpon a scaffold for other crimes: who hauing confessed the treason, euen as the sword hung ouer their heads, ended *Joyeuse*'s practices with their liues.

F His attempts vpon Agde were as fruitlesse, and much more preiudiciall vnto him: for being repulled by *Sanglas* from a scalado, and two assaults, *Bouillargues* cut off two hundred and seuentie of his men in his retreat, hauing diuided them into three bands. Hee drew three hundred Catholiques lodged within Avanton, into an ambuscado, slue the most part of them, and soone after seized on Saint Laurent in the Comtat, hee chased five and thirty Italian Lanciers, three score Argoletiers, and a company of foot. But the course of his prosperity was somewhat stayed by the death of *Rays*, Guidon of his company, and of Capitaine *Aisse*, who kept the tower of Carboniere seated in the Marshes

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of Aiguefmortes, and did wonderfully molest the said towne, it being surprized in an Ambuscado, and they slaine the twelfth of Nouember. The death of these men was recompensed with the slaughter of fourescore, surprized and slaine by them of Montpellier, within Bourg, a small towne vpon Rhone, besides a great number that were drowned seeking to save themselves by the said River. This happy successe inuited them to new attempts. A company of the enemies lodged in Agnane, and spoiled the Countrey. *Rapin* Governor of Montpellier, being followed by five hundred shot, and *Gremians* troop of horse, awaked them in the night, about Christmas, surprized some asleepe; others in their shirts, slue the greatest number, and brought the rest prisoners to Montpellier. The yeare ended with the taking of Saint Paul and Damiette, separated by the river of Agout, besieged, battered, and within three dayes taken from the Protestants by *Pierot* Sonne to *Montluc*, with great slaughter. A Gascon Captaine having slaine a Priest of purpose or otherwise, made them beleue it was the Minister: within few dayes after hee went to Castres, where the Protestants had still the better during these inciuill troubles. Let vs briefly looke into the Provinces of Vinazere, Rouergue, Givaudan and the Countrey of Foix. In April the Protestants of Nonnay become masters of the towne, beginning presently to beat downe images: they opened and publicly burnt the relike which they call of Holy vertues. Doubtlesse, if man could iudge by the present what would after chance, he would restraîne his passions. For the interchange of worldly things suffers most offences at length to find a reuenge. The towne was vnfurnished of armes, and *Sarra* their gouernor (threatened with a siege) goes forth the 22 of October: the next morning hee comes at the breake of day to Saint Etienne in Forrest (the abundance of armes and harnesse that is forged there, makes the towne famous) sets fire to the Gates, and takes and packes vp such armes as he needed. But oh man! remember that thou shalt bee measured with the same measure wherewith thou hast measured thy neighbour, and whilest thou doest loiter and linger behind with thy souldiers to search houses for the goodliest armes and the fairest women, thou givest thine enemy leisure to prepare thee a potion full of bitterness. *Saint Chaumont* sent by the Duke of Nemours (who then made warre in Lionnois) encounters him, chargeth and takes him prisoner, huits and kills about six-score men of his troop: and from that time those of Nonnay lay open to many outrages. He gathers the commons together, besiege the towne, waite both men, armes, and a Commander: he enters, sheds as much blood as he pleaseth, spoiles it, fires it, and burnes two and twenty houses: then vpon a brute of the Baron of Adretz approach with stronger and greater forces, hee dislodgeth without Trumpet, and seemes rather to flee then retire.

Vinazere and others.

The first taking of Nonnay.

About the end of the yeare, *Saint Martin*, by the commandement of the Lord of Crussol, and the Cardinall of Chastillon, then Gouvernors of Guienne and Dauphiné, vnder the Prince of Condes authority, came to Nonnay, repaired the ruines, and provided for the defence thereof, leaving Captaine *Proff*, *le Mas*, and *Mongroff* there. *S. Chaumont* flies thither with foure thousand men, but vnfit to force places well furnished, hee treats with the Citizens, offers an honest composition as well for themselves as for their strangers. They accept it, the strangers depart, and the same night *S. Chaumont* causeth or suffereth his men to enter, who forgetting no kind of inhumanity, murder some, others they cast from an high tower, some they burne in their houses, many they make to leape out at the windowes, beat them downe vpon the pavement, stab them in the streets, sell prisoners by the Drum, and for want of buyers they murder them in the place, and burne the houses for want of present money to redeeme them: there were six-score by this meane burnt to ashes. And to fill vp the measure of this horrible confusion, wiuues and maides were barbarously rauished, corne and other things which could not be caried, was scattered about: the heads of wine-vessels beaten out, the wals for the most part beaten downe to the ground, the towers dismantled, and the gates caried away. Bonlieu a small towne neere vnto Nonnay, did accompany it in this lamentable desolation.

The second taking.

In Rouergue, *Valsergues* one of *Montluc*s Lieutenants, and Captaine of the Garison of Villefranche, hauing wonderfully oppressed the Protestants of that place, and the Nobility of Rouergue, those of Villeneufue, Perrouffe, Froissac, Saignac, la Guepie, Elpailon, Saint Afrique, those of Bressol, Compeyre, Millau, Saint Felix, Cornus, and of Pont Camates, resolved to defend themselves, and by their constant resolution had made frustrate their enemies attempts, if two of their Captains had not by their ouerthrow shaken their

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A. their affaires. About thirty men led by *Peigre*, going out of Millau to refresh Compeyre, besieged by *Pessin* and others, were cut in pieces, their leader led to Toloufa, was at the instance of the Cardinall of Armagnac quartered aliue. And *Saignac*, hauing failed in an enterprise he had vpon Villefranche, was inuited in the castle of Granes, where for want of water, hee was forced to accept his life to be saued, and theirs that followed him, being about a hundred souldiers: notwithstanding all but six or seuen were put to the sword.

The Protestants fell like wafe vpon Givaudan, those of Ceuennes, entering into Quesac, burnt the Image of our Ladie, and made a booty of two hundred and fourescore Markes of silver, of the reliques and ornaments of the Church being molten. But this profperitie was like a sheaf of straw, wherein they often confound themselves in their ouer-weening. Afterwards they came before Mendes, and in the end of Iuly, they enter by composition, but they suffer one *Copier* to change his profession of a Minister to a Captaine, to order the Treasure, and to dispose of matters of warre: who vnder this rash presumption, sends about six-score men to another enterprise, vnder the conduct of a Hosiier of Alby called *La Croix*, as very a noice in matters of warre, as his pretended Colonel. *Treillans* the younger, sends part of his men, who surpriseth them in the field, and out of order; and kills the rest of his troop, and hee with the rest of his troupe, rides directly to Mendes: hee enters without any difficulty, carries away the Gouvernour, spoiles what hee pleaseth, and leaues the rest to the discretion of other hands, who laying hold vpon *Copier*, make him yeeld an account of his vsurped government: notwithstanding some troops of his party rescued him within few dayes after, and brought him backe safe and found with his companions. The Province of Givaudan enioyed then some rest, when as the Barons of Guise, and Saint Vidal, *Treillans* and others came to molest it. They make a troupe of two thousand men in the beginning of October, to layne with *Isseuzet* at the siege of Montpellier: but the defeat of their men at Saint Giles, made them to change their designe, and to attempt Floras. Eight men onely commanded by *Bossy* a valiant souldier of Montpellier, kept it. The besiegers vye both battery, scalado, assault, mines, and parle, and get nothing but blowes. In the end a report flying of the coming of *Beaudiné* to succour the besieged, they raise their campe with confusion and disorder.

Marshallat, a Castle belonging to the Seigneur of Peyre a Protestant, had another issue. *Coffart* Gouvernour of Rocoles, besieged it in the beginning of February, and hauing taken it by treason, hee kept his faith with the souldiers like unto *Granes*, which then was used as a Protester in the mouthes of Protestants. *Peyre* afterwards incountred *Coffart*, slue three score and ten of his men, and recovered his house. These confusions continued still euen after the publication of Peace: for the Baron of La Fare hauing tryed by all meanes (saith the Originall) to haue a maide of excellent beauty at his pleasure, besieged Floras the fifth of Aprill. But *Beaudiné* making hast to succour it, preferred both the virgins chastitie, and the Citizens blood. The Lord of Filleul, Seceshall for the King of Nauarre, in the Countrey of Foix, fed the Protestants with words. The desolation of Toloufa made him to change his copy. So the Wolfe (according to the Fable) hauing sent away the dogges, doth then breake into the fold, and deuoures the sheepe at his pleasure. Hee adultereth such as hee feared among the Protestants (seeing they had beene charged with the beating downe of Images and Altars) to retire themselves: else hee should be forced to imprison them. This terrour chafeth many. *Pailles* entering into the towne, puts some in prison, and so terrifies others, as they were glad to leaue the towne. Of the prisoners, two were beheaded, two burnt, six hanged, six and twenty condemned to death, ten to the gallies, and the goods of them that were fled abandoned in prey to the souldiers: the other townes of the Countrey terrified with his stratagem, accepted such conditions as *Pailles* would prescribe them.

Onely *Pamiers* resisted. The towne belonged to the Queene of Nauarre, and the number of the Protestants was great. Man hath meanes to preserve himselfe from humane forces, but what harbour, what shelter can protect him from the wrath of heauen? Men make warre one against another, and two parties seeke one anothers destruction: but God with the same arme strikes both the one and the other, and it fals vpon whom hee pleaseth. The Catholikes of *Pamiers* seeke all meanes to oppresse the Protestants, and the

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the Protestants to crosse the practices of their enemies, when as a common scourge affures them both. The plague comes into the towne, and in few weekes takes away three thousand Citizens. But (a strange thing) of all this great number they did not account above fifty Protestants: so as subsisting in the midst of this mortality, and by this meanes protected from the injuries of their enemies abroad, they succour their neighbours of Castres, kill the Vicont of Seres and his brother, with the greatest part of three hundred men which he commanded, and so disperse the rest, as the way was open for them to recover their houses: where discovering a practice made by some begging Friars, to bring in *Pailles* and others, they made such a spoile in their Couents, as neuer after were they more seene or heard of. This bloody stratagem amazed the Priests and Chanoins. They saue themselves in the towne of Foix, where they spoile their houses and the Bishops. As one mischiefe follows another, the peace being concluded, in the beginning of May, a furious haile continuing by fits for the space of three weekes about Foix, cuts the corne and all greene things, so as there was no hope of fruit. The Commons mutine, accuse the Clergy, being fled, to be the motives of this remorse, & were ready to fall vpon them. They auoid this popular fury, and retire to Maugency.

Let vs change our Climate, and turne into Gaule Lioinois. The last of April the Protestants were seized of Lyons at two of the clocke after mid-night, without any slaughter but of two men. The Lord of Saul had the first government. Amongst many of the Princes faction which posted thither, the Baron of Adretz (a valiant man, but proud and cruell) seized on the government. The Prince sent afterwards *Poncent* and *Changy*: the first to command the horse, the last the foot.

Hereupon the Baron of S. *Vidal* and other Auernacs advanced, with three or foure thousand men, to wast the cuntry of Lioinois, whilst the D. of Nemours assembled an armie of Bourguignons, Auernacs, and Forensins, for the siege of Lyons. *Poncent* with five hundred men goes to discover them, chargeth them at the first approach, makes such a slaughter, as by their rout he ouerthrowes their designe, and pursuing his victory, neere vnto Feurs in Foret, he encounters with some troops of horse, which made against him: he chargeth them, persued them to flight, and presently forceth the towne of Feurs, where most of them that fled had faued themselves.

*Des Adretz* arises, who hauing resisted the forces of *Sammerine*, *Suzé*, *Carres*, *Maugery*, and others, brought some places vnder his subiection, and amongst others *Montbrison* the chiefe of the Prouince. But there he blemished the reputation which hee had gotten in Dauphiné, and by his cruelty did violate the lawes of humanitie, and made himselfe odious, the which plunged him into many miseries, as we shall see hereafter. One afternoon hee tooke a delight to see many prisoners leape out of the high tower of Montbrison, amongst the which there were some Gentlemen of account. *Soubize* comes to Lyons, being sent by the Prince of Conde, with the title of Lieutenant and Gouvernor: and did so politickely handle the violent disposition of *Adretz*, as he perswaded him to returne into Dauphiné, where hee did goodly exploits. But this decay of his authoritie did presently discontent the Baron: who on this first spleene laid the leuaine of a speedy reuolt.

On the other side, *Tanamus*, approached with five thousand French, and three thousand Italians, led by the Earle of Angoulé, not with any intent to force the towne, but to hinder the haruest and the vintage. These Italians had many goats, so as in detestation of this horrible medley, the peasants call all their goats among the Carion where they passed. The Duke of Nemours arises, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant general, and for the first fruits of his armes, he receiues Vienna vpon Rhone by composition, by the fauour of the Catholikes: hee kills few, and spoiles much. The taking of this towne shormented their victuals at Lyons. *Soubize*, to haue meanes to keepe the field, calls backe *Adretz* and the Prouençals. He brings foure or five thousand foot, and foure hundred horse.

The Duke conceiuing an assured hope of victory by the weaknesse of their horse, encounters them, puts them twice in rout neere to Beaurepaire, but with small losse: and if the conduct and resolution of *Adretz*, with the advantage of the place, had not fauoured him, he had then receiued a mate. Hauing speedily rallied his troopes, he incampes within two leagues of Vienna, holding the Duke of Nemours occupied with continuall skirmishes,

The siege of Lyons.

The Baron of Adretz arrives.

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A misfies, whilst *Soubize* gathered in victuals. Hereupon a packet comming from Orleans to *Soubize*, falls into the hands of the Marshall of Brissac. Amongst other Letters one from the Admirall contained: That he must endure the violence of the Baron of Adretz as much as he could, lest of an insolent man he should make him mad. This was a fit expedient to put the Baron into furie. *Brissac* hauing presently sent S. *Sernin* to Nemours and *Adretz*, causeth them to enter into strange practices one with another. *Soubize* (who was alwayes vigilant both at home and abroad) and had (as the History commends him) spent largely vpon spies, discovers presently their secret intelligences, causeth the Baron to be apprehended, and by the commandement of *Crussol* and the Cardinal of Chastillon sends him vnder fure guard to Nismes, whereas nothing but the benefit of a peace, which presently followed, preserved him from the danger of death. Notwithstanding the Duke making his profit of the Barons practices, drawes neere to Lyons, and by sundry skirmishes cuts off their victuals. But he that undertakes too much, speeds but ill. At one instant he attempts both Romance and Valence. The whole body of his army was necessary for this designe: and whilst that he seeks to deuoure all at once, he loseth all. He tries all his wits, and employes all his deuices to vanquish Lyons, and vpon hope to be assisted by them of the towne that were of his faction, hee attempts it by *scalado* in diuers parts, but all in vaine. He is ill serued both within and without, and so rudely entertained by *Soubize*, as he must now put on another personage. He helps himselfe with the newes of the battaile of Dreux, and proclaimes this victory. But now he finds out a new practice, whereby he hopes to attaine his desire.

*Mark Herlin*, Receiver of the Impost at Lyons, had been taken in skirmish in the moneth of February 1563. To giue two strokes with one stone, to saue his life or his ranfome, and to mocke the Duke, he giues him to vnderstand, That hee had meanes to doe the King a notable seruice: that they had accustomed to employ him in the guard of the towne, and to trust him with many matters of weight: that if he will grant him liberty, he will watch some convenient time, to giue him entrance at Saint *Iusts* gate, whereby hee should bring in a sufficient number of men to make himselfe Lord of the towne. We easily beleue that which is plausible to our desires. The Duke accepts this offer: hee frees *Herlin*, but as if he had escaped of himselfe. *Herlin* comes to Lyons: imparts it to *Soubize*, then returns to Nemours, and appoints him the 7 of March following.

The eue before this pretended execution, *Soubize* plants his artillery in the night, to scoure the streets, lodgeth three or foure thousand shot in the bulwarkes, walls and houses of approach, and appoints *Poncent* with his troope of horse to follow them. The day being come, *Nemours* approacheth: they giue him a signe from a small tower. Three thousand foot enters into the suburbs of Saint *Iust*, and from thence advance vnto the gate, *Herlin* goes to meet them and brings them in. But being entred by the wicket, he suddenly shuts it. The artillery plays, and two or three hundred muskets and all the other shot discharge vpon them: *Blacons*, *Poyet*, *Andefroy* and *Entragues* pursue them with six hundred choice Harguebuziers, who defeat them quite: and if the horsemen had made speed, scarce any one had caried newes of this stratagem to his companions. Foure hundred were slaine in the suburbs, many without, and a greater number ended their liues flying to the campe at Vienna and other places. This disgrace did so trouble the Duke, as he continued two moneths sick in his bed, and in the meane time a Peace was concluded.

The first ciuill tumult in Dauphiné, was at Romans. *La Mothe-Gondrin*, Lieutenant to the D. of Guise in that Prouince, would haue beaten downe a house, whereas the Protestants had heard some Sermons. The Protestants troope suddenly together: and if he had not retired himselfe, they had put him in danger of his life. The second happened at Valence but fatal to the author: the 25 of April was the day of the election of new Counsils and of Councillors at Valence; *La Mothe* meaning his Pistoll should giue the first voice, and then to haue such named as he pleased, hee sends some horse out of the towne, either to prevent that none should come to crosse his designs, or to cut such in pieces as should seek to escape: he causeth the gates to be shut, enuirones the place of the assembly with armed men: he enters it with a fauchion in one hand, and his Pistoll in the other: the which hee dischargeth vpon a Secretary of his whom he findes there. The Protestants doubting that *Gondrin* would begin with them: a number of them retired into a house, and resolute to defend their liues.

A stratagem against the D. of Nemours.

Dauphiné.

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But as they came to force them, they slip out at a backe doore, and recover Saint Felix gate, where discovering *Gondrin* horse scouring the Plaines, they couer themselves within the gate. These horsemen encountering no man, fall vpon some Countrey-men that came to Valence, and kill some of them, whose bodies are brought to the towne vpon ladders: for with out-rage the people require iustice. The next day being Sunday, the Protestants stirre not: they feared lest by reason of others of their party which came from all parts at the report of the former daies worke, some new tumult should arise. *Gondrin* commends them, and with sweet words perswades them to goe out of the towne for the exercise of their religion: that in doing so, they shall shew themselves obedient to the Edict. When they are abroad, they discover, or at the least imagine, that they seeke to surprize them: some runne to the gate: others enter the towne, and seize vpon the other gates. Munday morning, the whole party armes, they besiege *Gondrin* house and fire it, who being retired into the next, he was slaine with six or seuen of his household seruants: his house lackt, and to appeale the multitude, they hang his carcase at a window towards the street. These are the effects which the infolencies of an armed multitude brings forth.

They proceed yet farther: the report of images beaten downe in many other Provinces, transports them to the like infolencies: they chose the Baron of Adretz, chiefe by prouision in Dauphiné, attending a confirmation, or some other certaine nomination by the Prince of Conde. The Baron (to make the entrance of his authoritie famous) sends boldly to the Parliament of Grenoble: that they should thrust out of the towne, the second President, the Attourney Generall, the Aduocate of the towne, the fourth Consull, and some others, whom he termed seditious, and therefore hee threatened to hang them. These men, without either commandement or compulsion, were glad by a voluntarie exile to auoid the Barons threats.

The Protestants thus freed, seize vpon the gates of Grenoble the first of May, enter into the Friers, ouerthrow Altars and Images, plant the exercise of their religion: and for the fury of the towne, bring in a company of foot sent by *Adretz*, who to encounter *Maugiron* (that termed himselfe the Kings Lieutenant Generall in Dauphiné) came in the end to Grenoble with a troope of horse and foot. Their first warre was against Images and reliques, afterwards they seize vpon the castles of Bussiere and Mirebell, and burnt the great house of the Catharians, three leagues from Grenoble. Whilest these sayle in full seas with a prosperous winde, behold others suffer a most pitifull ship-wracke. The massacre of Vassy, the Italian troopes of *Fabrizio Serbellone*, a Bolonois in Auignon, and those of Prouence ioynd with *Fabrizio*, terrified the Protestants of Auranges neere vnto Auignon, who to crosse the intelligences, which they said these troopes had in Auranges, prote& themselves with six hundred men. Moreover, *Fabrizio* writes to *Sommerine*: That seeing he hath an army ready, he should performe a great worke, to bring it speedily before Auranges, whither there resorted daily a great multitude of Huguenots. If they were not suppressed at their first beginning, not onely Auignoa should be annoyed, but also all Prouence receiue great harme. So *Sommerine* and *Suze* march against Auranches, and at the first finde good meanes to ruine the towne. *Parpaille* President in the Parliament of Auranges, had bene taken at Bourg vpon Rhone returning from Lions, where he had bene to make prouision of armes, for whose rescue the troopes of Auranges, being of their neighbour towne runne to Bourg. *Sommerine* and *Suze* fortified with many companies of Dauphine and Auignon, besiege Auranges being without souldiers, they batter, make a breach, force it, and forget no kinde of cruelty that the Victors furie doth vitally inuent. All are put to sword without distinction of age, sexe, quality: and by a new kinde of death practised since in ciuill warres, they cast some downe vpon the souldiers Halberds, they burne others, tyed to their hookes in chimneys, they hang men, women, and children at their windowes, they shoot some with their harguebuzes, murder others in their mothers armes: and to finish this desolation, they sacke and burne the towne, castle, palace and Bishops house: six weekes after, *Parpaille* at the instance of the Vicelegat of Auignon lost his head.

But alas! this was (as they say) but to anger a Horner. The Baron of Adretz studies of nothing but reuenge. Hee runnes, hee cries out, hee formes, and full of indignation and threats, beats *Pierrelate*, and forceth it in few houres, puts all that he finds armed to the sword, enters in fury into the Castle guarded by three hundred souldiers of the troopes

Siege and destruction of Auranches.

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A of Suze; some he kills, others he casts downe, not one escapes (with the like fury he takes the towne of Bourg. Pont S. Esprit brings him their keyes. He forceth Boulene a frontier of the Conrat, puts the company of Captaine *Murellet* to the sword, and threatened Auignon: when as newes came that *Maugiron* was entred by intelligence into Grenoble, where he spoiles, kills and downes. He posits thither, afflictes himselfe of Romans by the way, redueth S. Marcellin to his deuotion, and puts three hundred of *Maugiron* men to the sword. *Maugiron* fearing the fury of this man, retires into Sauoy, and from thence into Bourgongne to *Tannier*, leading with him all those of his faction: and the 26 of Iune *Adretz* re-enters into Grenoble, settles things in their former estate, and then hee marcheth into Forest, as we haue seene.

Behold strange alterations: *Suze* and *Fabrizio* beheld the Barons actions being in safety: his passage into Forest, drawes them not as field. *Mambrun* makes head against them, and by the taking of Mornas, doth partly reuenge the spoiles of Auranges. *Suze* will haue his reuenge, and comes to besiege Boulene: but finding nothing but blowes to be gotten, hee goes and spoiles Vaucares, in the County of Menaiffa: and thinking to enlarge his limits, hee meetes with the Baron, who with a fury (without viewing or giuing him leisure to arrange his troopes) doth charge him, defeats him; cuts in pieces the most part of his foot, kills him, with many Gentlemen, and wins his artilerie: but he shall not keepe it long. Then extending his victory, he undertakes the defence of Cisteron, threatened by *Sommerine*, forceth S. Laurent des Arbres, and Rochemaure a strong place: takes and burnes the Castle of Pont Sorgues, kills all *Fabrizio*'s souldiers that kept it, and the next day surprizeth *Fabrizio* himselfe, and chafeth him euen vnto the gates of Auignon.

As he continues his course along the river of Durance, and findes nothing to stay the violence of his victories, newes comes of the Prouencals attualt at Gaillon: Hee wades through the river the first of September, chargeth them at the first, kills the most part, and puts the rest to flight. But in stead of going directly to Cisteron, whither hee had sent *Mambrun* with six hundred men, and the Cannon taken from *Suze* (he had some spleene against *Mauuin*, Captaine of Cisteron) he takes the longer way by the Plaines: whereof followed the ouerthrow of *Mambrun*, the losse of his artilerie, and the taking of Cisteron, as we shall see.

*Adretz* had left the Councillor *Ponai* for his Lieutenant at Grenoble: a man more capable of law, then fit for armes. Hereupon *Vinay* takes an occasion to attempt against the towne. Saint Mauris and La Coche receiue him so roughly, as the death of threecore of his best Spaniards and Italians, at the first skirmish, makes him to leaue Grenoble, to goe burne the peasants houses in the valley of Pragala. In the end, the course of the Barons prosperities is stayed by the taking of Vienne, and of the Castle of Piper, and by the two seuerall ouerthrowes hee had at Beau-repaire, whereof followed this change of sides, and the losse of the reputation and credit which hee had gotten among his followers, as we haue heard. These losses caused the siege of Grenoble, whereof *Ponai* (being called away by *Adretz*) had left the defence to La Coche. Six thousand men campe before it. But a goodly designe, and easie to be effected is often made frustrate by the discord of the Commanders. Many heads are the cause that Grenoble holds firme. They assaile it, but slowly: their vituals now growing short, after three weekes siege, presse La Coche to capitulate, when as Captaine *Farmier*, hauing assembled six or seuen hundred foot, and fourescore horse, passeth the river of Isere, surmounteth the straight of the Mountaine, forceth them that kept it, and aduanceth vnto the river of Drac neere to Grenoble. Meaning to ferry ouer, he sees the passage guarded by three or foure hundred horse, with a great number of foot, and discovers another troope in ambush within the next wood, to charge him behind. He retires, & with a counterfeite feare, makes shew to turne backe: the enemy pursues him, he turns head against them, wades through the river of Drac, chargeth the first he meetes, breakes them, and by the resolution of his passage, in the face of so many enemies, he amazeth all the troope, scattereth and chafeth them with great slaughter: and this vnexpected attualt, strikes such a terror in the campe, as euery one abandons the trenches: euery man flies, and staves not vntill they haue recovered the marches of Sauiouy. *Cristof* had recovered Serignon and Auranges in bafe Dauphiné. La Coche surprised the Tower of Lempis, in the beginning of the yeare 1563; whilest those of Grenoble

The first siege of Grenoble.

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viſual their place, and prepared to endure a ſecond ſiege. About the end of February, A there comes againſt them 8000 men, foot, and horſe: two great Cannons, and three field pieces: *La Cocbe* had to make head againſt them, beſides the citizens, ſix hundred good ſouldiers, nine braue Captaines, and ſome voluntarie Gentlemen, who hauing repulſed the aſſailants at their firſt aſſault, preferred, with the points of their ſwords, both the ſack of the citie, and the blood of their citizens.

Prouence was  
betwixt the  
father and the  
ſonne.

Let vs paſſe into Prouence. The Earle of Tende was Gouverneur and his two ſonnes; *Sommerme* (ſiſſed of the firſt wife) was Lieutenant for the King in his fathers abſence. *Cipiere*, being then very yong, borne of the ſecond wife, and the Lord of *Cardet* of the houſe of *Saluſſes*, ſonne-in-law to the ſaid Earle, were (as many others did vaunt in thoſe dayes) maſtiues which did defend the Proteſtants troupe. *Sommerme*, a violent man and too bloody, did ſuddenly incenſe all Prouence againſt them: and being armed with force, he made his government famous by a horrible and generall execution of men diſ-membred, hanged, burned, cut in pieces being aliue, drawne through the ſtreets, caſt downe head-long, ſtabbed, and ſuch like miſeries. The Earle his father, abhorring this generall deſolation, and not able by his authoritie to diuert his ſonne from the wicked proceeding, gathers together what force he can: gives the command of the horſe to *Cipiere*, and of the foot to *Cardet*, who by their armes kept all the towne beyond the river of *Durance* (except *Pertuis*) vnder their command.

On the other ſide, *Sommerme*, after the executions of Auranges before deſcribed, C hauing taken muſter of fifty enſignes of foot, and ſome Cornets of horſe, ſeyes furiously to the ſiege of *Ciſteron*, being full of many Proteſtant families, that were retired thither, and manned with eleven companies vnder the Lord of *Beauieu*, nephew to the Earle of Tende, and three hundred men commanded by *Furmier*. The eleuenth of Iuly, *Sommerme* gives three aſſaults, continued from three of the clocke in the afternoone vntill night. Moſt of the moneth was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes: the priſoners on either ſide finding no mer-cie, nor grace of the ſouldiers. In the end, *Sommerme* (ſeeking ſome new checke by the hands of *Adretz*, who had lately wonne the battaile of *Vourdas*) he went and intrenched himſelfe three leagues from *Ciſteron*. *Cardet* approacheth, but hee cannot by any deuice draw his brother-in-law out of his trenches. So the Earle of Tende, diſtreſt for victuals, D raiſeth his campe, puts ſome of his troopes into *Ciſteron*, and ſends the reſt to *Adretz*.

The ſecond  
ſiege.

*Membrun*  
deſerted.

*Sommerme* doubles his courage and force, and the ſeuen and twenty of Auguſt, followed by a hundred and two enſignes of foot, and many horſe, beſiegeth *Ciſteron* a new, on three parts, and vpon an intelligence which was given him, that *Membrun* approached to ſuccour the beſieged (as wee haue before ſpecified) *Sommerme* marcheth againſt him, chargeth *Membrun*, kills about a hundred and fifty of his men, puts the other in rout, and wins two pieces of Cannon, which he had lately loſt. This victory was to *Sommerme* a foretelling of good ſucceſſe. The 14. of September, hee ouerthrowes a hundred and forty paces of the wall: he planted two ſmall pieces, to batter the Friers. Three and thirty enſignes of foot, ſupported by a troupe of horſe, goe to the aſſault, and continue it with a wonderfull fury vntill ſeuen of the clocke at night: that powder ſlaying them on either ſide, they fall to ſtones, ſwords, and handy blows: the greater number preſeailing, the beſieged abandon the breach, retiring themſelves with great loſſe, and *des Adretz* returned into *Dauphiné*. *Senas*, *Mouans*, and other Captaines, ſeeing themſelves vnſuſtained of munition, without hope of ſuccours, charged with a multitude of men, not trained vp in warlike affaires, together with the enemies obſtinate reſolution, they preſerre the ſafety of their liues and perſons before the place: and in the night recouer the ſtreights and deſerts of the mountaine, and ſo come ſafe to *Grenoble*, from thence they were conducted to *Lions*, and there liued vntill the Edict of pacification. *Sommerme* at the breake of day, ſends ſome troopes after them: but the difficulty of the wayes, and feare F to loſe their part of the ſpoile, ſtayed the purſuit. So the victors enter into this abandoned towne, and put to the ſword about foure hundred women and children, without diſtinction of age or religion.

*Sommerme* is now maſter of Prouence, leauing in all places pitifull ſignes of a bloody victory, whereof the originall notes (as principall instruments) *Carcex*, *Mentis*, *Flaſſans*, thruſt forward eſpecially by *Bagarris*, *Cheſne*, *Saint Marguerite*, and others of the moſt ſeditious of the Court of Parliament of *Aix*, who with all impuſiue gave libertie to

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A to all thefts, ſpoiles, and murthers: ſo as after the Edict of pacification, the Kings Priuy Councell gave Commiſſion to the President *Morſan*, and ſome Councillors of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to ſuppreſſe ſuch diſorders: who by an exemplarie puniſhment of many, cauſed the following warres to be managed with farre more moderation. But the quality of ſome, and the credit of others, ſaued many heads which were prepared to vomit vp, in open view, the blood which their hands had too prodigally ſpilt.

As for the Duchy of *Bourgongne*, *Tauannes* Lieutenant for the King in the D. of *Aumals* abſence, Ioued ſiluer better then the blood of the Proteſtants, and the Parliament of *Dijon* hauing by vertue of Letters obtained the firſt of March 1562, forbidden the exerciſe of their religion, *Tauannes* diſarmes them, puts the chiefe in priſon, forceth ſome to depart with threats, others he expels violently. The Maior and Sheriffs proceed farther: they thruſt forth wiues, maids, and children, commanding the peſants by Proclamation the 7 of Iuly, to ſet vpon the rebels and not to receiue, lodge, nor feed them that are expelled the towne: (a rigour which humanity neuer vſed to the moſt barbarous) they condemne them, as guilty of high treaſon that had caried armes, or aſſiſted them with aide or counſell: and they giue liberty to kill them all with impunity that ſhould hereafter aſſemble in any other places but in their ordinary Churches. This liberty cauſed many thefts and ſpoiles, at *Auſſonne*, *Autun*, and *Beaune*: yet the people are commanded to haue contained themſelues within the bounds of modeſtie. *Chalon* vpon *Saone*, *Maſcon* and *Belleuille*, ſeized on by the Proteſtants, ſerued them for a time as a Sanctuary and refuge. *Membrun* commands at *Chalon* with 500 *Harguebuziers*: but being ſuddenly beleagured by *Tauannes*, and finding not the town furniſhed or defenſible, by a dangerous, and (as the Originall ſaith) a deſpicable example, hee left it in prety to *Tauannes*, and retired to *Maſcon*.

*Bourgongne*  
Duo.

*Tauannes* goes thither with all ſpeed, and preſents himſelfe at the gates, hoping by kind offers to perſwade the people to receiue him, but he finds no admittance. So hee gathers together all his forces, and the third of Iune beſiegeth the towne. His army conſiſted for the moſt part of *Bourguignons* of the county, carrying openly red ſcarfes. The beſieged countenance themſelues with this pretext, and make their proſit thereof, to auoid this preſent ſtorme that threatened them. They giue the King to vnderſtand; that it was not reaſonable, they being his naturall ſubiects, and deſiring to liue in peace, vnder the obedience of his lawes, ſhould be forced to open their gates to *Tauannes*, armed with ſtrangers enemies to the crowne, who is ſuſpected of them for many other great reaſons. This admonition preuailed ſome-what: for *Tauannes* ſtraight-wayes retired by the Kings commandement, but it was to prepare for a ſecond ſiege.

The firſt ſiege  
of *Maſcon*.

Thoſe of *Lions* ſent *Entragues* to defend the ſiege. *Tauannes* makes his trenches, wins the ſuburbs of *Saint Laurence*, and the fourth of Iuly, beats downe the defences, makes a breach, and viewes it, but to their coſt whom he ſent: So (as if ſome important buſineſſe E had called him into *Bourgongne*) hee raiſeth his campe, and making his account that the beſieged would follow him, he layes a ſtrong ambuſh: but *Entragues* had no men to loſe. *Maſcon* fired from this ſecond ſiege, behold *Belleuille* is aſſailed. *Saint Point* with other Gentlemen of *Dauphiné* came from the ſpoiling of ſome boats laden with the value of 40000 frankes in reliques of gold and ſiluer, which two Sherifes of *Maſcon* had ſent of their owne authoritie to *Lions*, to be conuered to their priuate vſes. So the robbers are often robbed. This booty puts them in hope of another. The 28 of Iuly, he comes with 200 horſe, fix or ſeuen hundred ſouldiers, and the common people thereabouts, to beleaguer this little towne: but the night before, two companies parting from *Maſcon*; were entred into it, by whom the aſſailants being repulſed with loſſe, turned their reuenge F vpon their neighbours cattell. The retreat of *S. Point*, made *Entragues* ſeeke to extend the limits of his iuriſdiction. He beſiegeth the Caſtle of *Pierrecloze*, forceth *Maheſat*, and ſiue and twenty ſouldiers which commanded there, to yeeld at diſcretion: and cauſeth them to be led priſoners to *Maſcon*: but this was to feed the Fox, who in the end ſhall eate his pullaine.

The ſecond  
ſiege.

During theſe broyles, *Poncenat* comes to *Maſcon*, with *ſuiſſes* and French, drawes forth the chiefe forces, beſiegeth *Tourmon*, and becomes maſter thereof. But what can the fury of inciuill armes forbear? *Clugny* forced with the ſame rage, ſees that exquiſit

*Maſcon*  
deſerted.

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The third siege  
and taking of  
Mafcon.

and famous Library defaced: a most precious treasure, which made that Abbey to bee greatly esteemed amongst others of France. *Tamames*, advertised that Mafcon was vnfortified, and that *Enriquez*, to please *Pencenat*, followed his enignes, parts from Chaaons with foure cornets of horfe, and 800 foot, being assured of a practice which he had with in the towne, whilst that his enemies, transported with their priuate affections, imployed their forces elsewhere. The 17 of August, many waines drawne with Oxen, enter by his means that kept the keyes of one gate, being of the intelligence: they passe the first and the second gate: at the third, the first Carter ouerthrowes his Waine willingly, and by this policy flayes the rest. Twenty men coucht vpon their bellies behind a wall in a garden neere adioyning to the gate, runne thither: they kill some, bring in their men, overthrow a Court of guard, and become masters of the towne: the souldiers of *Pierrecloux* are freed from prison, and cut off heads, armes and legges of the Protestants: they cast many into the riuier, spoile their houses, and ranfome the wealthiest. This *Bourgongne* returnes to the Catholikes deuotion, and *Saint Point* had the gouernment of Mafcon, a violent and bloody man, who oftentimes glured his eyes, after his meat, with the mournfull spectacle of such as he caused to be cast into the riuier.

These confusions did pitifully afflict all the Prouinces of this Realme: when on the other side, the heads of both parties, being prisoners, did sollicite the conclusion of a Peace. The Admirall, by ample Letters to the Queene, purged himselfe of the accusation laid against him, touching the death of the Duke of Guise: whereof *Peltori* himselfe, in the midst of his most sensible torments at his execution, freed him. And the Queene-mother (leaving this thorne in the Admirals foot, that she might raigne among these combustions of the houses of Guise and Chastillon) did cunningly giue two strokes with one stone: for shee made the Prince of Conde beleue, that the restrains propounded vpon the Edict of Ianuary, tended onely to content the Catholikes in some sort, and to open the way for the Protestants to haue greater liberty. Shee pleased the young Duke of Guise with the execution of *Peltori*, and his aduancement to his fathers offices: and the Constable, by the moderation of the Edict: for he had protested neuer to yeeld to the Edict of Ianuary. So the iudicious Reader may see, by the course of the History, which party did first breake it. But that which did most import *Katherine* in disarming her enemies, the entertained a discord between two mighty families, whereby she maintained her authoritie.

In the end a peace concluded the 13 of March, gave liberty of Religion to Noblemen, having all manner of Iustice for them, their families and subiects. To other Gentlemen that had inferiour iurisdiction, for them and their families, with permission of the Lords of whom they held. In all Bailiwikes and Iurisdiccions depending on the Parliaments a place appointed for their assemblies, at the election of the Prouince: besides all other places where the exercise had bene since the 7 of March. The Viconty of Paris onely excepted. Euery one restored to his former possition of goods, honours and offices. A generall abolition of all things past for matter of armes. All offences (except robbing) pardoned, and a defence to injury one another, either for warre or Religion. This treaty did please and displease many. It reioyced such as made an account, that this sweet and pleasant name of peace should make an end of all their calamities, and restore euery man to his former estate. It grieved such, as (of three mighty enemies seeing two preuented by death, and the third a prisoner) thought that the gouernment of the State was lawfully false to the Prince of Conde, who by consequence did derogate from his authority, subscribing to so weak and easie conditions of Peace, fore-seeing also, that the secret oppositions of the Parliaments, and the violences of the most murinous (who being armed lay daily some of their men with all impunity) would in few yeares giue cause of new confusions.

So by this Peace, the Germanes were sent home. *Elizabeth* Queene of England held Newhaue, whereof the Prince had put her in possession, as a pawning and security for the money, wherewith shee had assisted his party. To make a breach betwixt her, and the Protestants, the English must bee chased away by them that had called them in. The King goes thither in person: they likewise vrge the Prince to goe with most of his party, and cause them to make the point. The place is strong, both by Nature and Art: but the fresh-water being cut off, and the plague hauing wasted about three thousand men,

The chiefe  
Articles of the  
Peace.New-hauen  
assured.

1563

A men, the Earle of Warwicke entred into Capitulation the 23 of Iuly, and the next day yeelded the place to the King. One of the chiefe motives, that induced the Prince to yeeld so easily to these conditions of peace, was the Lieutenant Generall, which hee expected by the King of Nauarres death, and the Queene-mothers goodly promises. But to confirme her Regency, she puts the Prince from all his hopes. She causeth the King to be declared of full age, being yet but fourteen years old: carries his Maiestie to the Parliament at Rouen, makes him protest, *That he will not hereafter endure the disobedience that hath been vsed against him since the beginning of these troubles: that his pleasure was to haue the Edict of pacification duly obserued, threatened such as should oppose or make any leagues.* And afterwards, by an admonition made in writing, by the Parliament of Paris, touching the Edict of his maiorty, confirming that of pacification, the Queene-mother causeth her sonne to name her Ouerseer and President of his affaires: and for an answer to the Court, according to the instructions of his mother: *I doe not meane (saide hee) you should deale in any other thing, but with the administration of good and speedy Iustice to my subiects. Vnderstand hereafter, that you are not confirmed in your offices by me, to be my tutors, nor Protectors of my Realme, nor Gouernours of my city of Paris, as hitherto you haue persuaded your selues.*

The King being returned to Paris, the Duke of Guises widow, his children, and kin-folke, came solemnly, and demanded iustice, of the murder committed on the person of the deceased, taxing the Admirall, as the chiefe author thereof. But it was not yet time to suffer these two houses to encounter. That of Guise might receiue as much, or more losse then the other, and *Katherine* pretended, to make her profit of the first. To auoid this brunt, she causeth the King, to command them to surcease this quarrell, and appoints them another time to aduise thereon. In the meane time, shee honours them with the chiefe charges, and giues them all access and countenance neere his person. The rest of the yeare was spent in the confirmation of many Edicts, touching Ecclesiasticall and ciuill causes, and then was the iurisdiction of Iudges and Consuls among the Merchants erected, and the Notaries of consignment established.

As these things passed in France, the Prelates assembled at the Councell of Trent, provided for the support and mainenance of the Catholike religion, namely, in this Estate. The Cardinal of Lorrain (a man greatly praised in the affaires of the Realme) doth all he can to root out the Protestants. To that end, they find this expedient, that the Kings of France and Spaine should make a strict league, and he of Spaine should giue the French such forces as were requisite for the execution thereof, and in the meane time, they should seeke all meanes to abolish the Edict which allowed the exercise of the pretended reformed religion: that this treaty made for the preservation of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion, should be called, *The holy League*. The Cardinal promiseth to employ all his endeouours and meanes to this effect, and assures the assembly of the willingness, and good affection of the Queene-mother, and the Lords of the Councell. The chiefe of this league were the Pope, the Kings of France, and Spaine, the Princes of Italy, the Common-weale of Venice, and the duke of Sauoy. Of the Emperor, and the house of Austria they speake diuersly.

So from the beginning of February, they labour to produce some effects. Their Ambassadors come to Fontainebleau, demanded the obseruation of the Decrees of the Councell throughout all France, whereof the reading should be the 25 day of March at Nancy, in the presence of the Ambassadors of all Catholike Princes, assembled to make a general league, against those estates that were false from the obedience of the Romish Church. They require also, that in fauour of the Clergy, the King should cause the alienation of Ecclesiasticall goods to cease, as against the law of God, and preiudiciall to his Maiestie and the Realme. That the Edict of pacification should be disannulled, and heretikes rooted out; namely such as had bene partakers of the duke of Guises murder. Behold new fire-brands to cast this monarchy into the flames of a second ciuill warre. But the fires of the first did yet smooke. And things not being so soone prepared to enter into new home bred combustions, the King answers: *That hee hath granted the Edict, as free the Realme from strangers: and that hee hopes hereafter to maintain his subiects in peace, according to the institution of the Church.*

In the meane time, such as were worst affected to the publike peace, attempted many things

A general  
Council at  
Trent.

1563  
The Edict of  
peace is obli-  
ved.

things contrary to the Edict. The Commissioners sent for the observation thereof, had small credin in many places. The Estates of some Prouinces said plainly, that they could no more endure two religions, then two Sunnes: the execution thereof had small or no effect, in places where it was proclaimed: the Magistrates delayed to appoint the Protestants places for their exercises, and by their slacknesse caused many to seeke their dwelling elsewhere, to liue in quiet and safety.

The complaints and discontentments which founded in the Kings cares from all parts, gaue Katherine (vnder colour to lead the King in progresse through the Prouinces of his Realme, and by his presence to end many controversies, which even then seemed to threaten him with some imminent confusions) a goodly pretext of conference with the King of Spaine.

The voyage of  
Beyonne.

Charles begins his voyage by Champagne, and through Bourgogne comes to Lions, forbidding the Protestants the exercise of their Religion following the Court, yea euen in the townes that were assigned them for their assemblies, whilst his Maiesty should bee resident there. The Protestants were here in great numbers, and might well fortifie themselves againe at need. To take from them all means, they build a Citradell, and the King stirres not before it be in defence. By the example hereof many other townes receiued the like restraint, whilst on the other side, they dismantled Orleans, Montauban, and some others. The Edict of Peace is greatly impugned by an other made at Rouffillon. The King forbids all Iustices to allow the exercise of the pretended reformed religion, but in places specified by the Edict. For the first time, hee banished such ministers as had exercised their charge, in places not comprehended in the Edict: and for the second time, punished them with death. He commanded all priests, religious men, and Nunnes that were married, to make separation, and returne to their couents: if not, to depart the realm, forbidding the Protestants all their Synods, as making Monopoles vnder that pretext, and stirring vp the greatest part of the Realme to rebellion.

Murders of  
Cognac.

From words they fall to deeds. Those of Creuan in Bourgogne murder many assembled for their exercise, with all inapinicie. And the Kings abience from those places where they were accustomed to see him, caused many seditions, and mutinies: amongst the which, *La Courre*, Gouernour of Vendosme, a Protestant by profession, was murdered, by the command of *Chauigni*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Montpensier, as hee sought to suppress some, who vnder fauour of the troubles, had purposely murdered many men, women and children, in the country of Maine, and places therabouts.

Offences.

As this infolency increased, a licentious rage transporting them of Tours, to fall vpon the Protestants of their towne, coming from their exercise, they murder some, hurt others, and with the same rage, bringing their weapons bloody into the towne, they kill, drown, and spoile, without distinction of age, sexe, or quality. The Marshall of Villeuile was sent to suppress the mischief, before it spread farther. Hee was readie to carie himselfe therein, according to the tenure of his charge: but *Chauigni* opposing by open force, caused all this premeditated punishment to turne into imoake, as if the examination thereof should discontent both great and small, and make things tend to new troubles. In the end, at the importunate suite of the Protestants, who complained of these horrible infolencies, and that they were forced in all places to furnish holy bread at the parish masses, to hang tapistry before their lodging on *Corpus Christi* day, to contribute to brotherhoods, and such other things: and at their instant suite, not to be forced in their consciences against the conditions of the Edict, the King staying in Dauphiné, commands all gouernours of Prouinces by his Letters, to enterraine and to cause the Edict of pacification to be duely obserued, and to haue a care that no mutinies should grow within their gouernments.

Prison against  
the Iesuits.

This voyage of *Beyonne* is famous, by that notable suite of those which with a pre- sumptuous and partiall title, termed themselves of the societie of *Iesus*, decided in the Court of Parliament, *Stephen Pasquier* pleading against them, for the Vnicersitie of Paris: a vehement and most grace Advocate of so rare a cause, and Master *Peter Parisius* for their company: their pleadings are read, and their beginnings, and first entry into France, their advancement, and alskath concerns their sect, is so learnedly exprest in an Epistle of the fourth booke of the said *Pasquier*, and in his pleading, as it is needlesse to insert them.

This

1564

A This new yeare bred new troubles at Paris, and was likely to haue stretched farre. The Cardinall of Lorraine coming from the councell of Trent, accompanied with his Nephew, and a number of men with Harguebuzes, contrary to the Edict, and followed at hand, by the duke of Aumale his brother, went to Paris. The conclusions of the Councell, and this carying of armes, did much disquiet the Protestants. It is giuen out, that their meaning is to offer them violence: they fly to the Marshall of Montmorency as gouernour of the Isle of France, a wife-man, and louing the publike peace. Hee intreats the Cardinall not to enter in this manner. This request neglected, he resolues to vie his authoritie.

B The Cardinall growes obstinate, and offers to enter with all his force. But the Marshall (as the Kings Lieutenant) opposeth himselfe, being followed by the Prince *Forsein*, and about forty gentlemen of account. The Cardinall growes amazed, saues himselfe with his nephew in the next houses: and after some dayes of stay at Paris, he goes into Champagne to attend the Kings returne from Bayonne. Hereafter there is nothing but associations, leagues, and conferences. They must be reuenged of this affront. But they find too strong a party: for the two houses of Montmorency and Chastillon (most straightly allied by consanguinity) doe likewise vnite their wils in this defence. The Marshall assisted by the Admirall his cousin, contains the Parisiens in peace, and makes the Parliament and the Kings Councell to approve this act. The Queene-mother (feareing lest this mutinie should hinder the effects of the voyage of Bayonne, and by that means the fulfilling of her designs would be made frustrate) makes the King to command by his letters patents, such as were not yet entred into Paris, not to approach any neerer, and to such as were there, to depart vntill that his Maiestie had ended this quarrell, after his returne out of Gascony.

C Now the Court was full of complaints. The Protestants accused the Catholikes of violence and breach of the Edict. To content them, the Queene assigns them deputies at Tolouze: but they returne without any other satisfaction, but a discouery that they meant no good vpon them. There it was concluded, that all Princes and others, of what qualitie soeuer, (whereof many were very farre engaged by their promise in a certain league made in France without the Kings p'sent) should renounce all confederations, both within and without the Realme, and should binde themselves by oath to the King vpon paine of rebellion. This was the aduce of *Montluc*. But the difficulty was to draw the articles, for to make a soueraine Prince to enter into association and company with his subjects, Was it not by a pernicious consequence to blemish his royall authoritie, and ouerthrow that which should serue as a fundamentall law, for the quiet of the Realme, and the obseruation of the Edict?

In the end, the King hauing visited all Aquitaine, he arriues at Bayonne in Iune, and thither comes his Sister *Elizabeth*, wife to King *Philip* of Spaine, to meet with him, accompanied with the Duke of Alua and others, to the end (said they) that the matter should be lesse suspected, and that their league might take sure hold. But the most cleare-sighted did attribute it to ambition, lest the Spaniard should seeme to vie any submission. How soeuer it were, the holy league was confirmed betwixt the two Kings, by *Elizabeth* means: For the establishing of the ancient Religion, and extirpation of the new. And for that this Doctrine did extremely afflict France, the Spaniard did promise the French such aide and succours as he could, and the French to the Spaniard (for that hee did see his estate of the Low-countries to hatch a great confusion, which the following ages did bring forth) the like assistance according to his power: but both doe promise ioyntly, to maintain by all means the dignitie of the Catholike religion, to cut off (as much as in them lay) all lets, and speedily to seeke all occasions profitable for this designe, beginning first with the heads.

F This businesse was not so secretly managed, but the Prince of Conde, the Admirall, and other Noblemen of that party had intelligence. They stand vpon their guards, aduertise their men, and for this time preuent surpris. The end of the yeare brought the King home, much satisfied with the ioyfull entertainment his subjects had made him, plunging himselfe with yong brethren, in masks and delights, whilst the Queene his Mother, with her Councillors, gouerned France at their pleasure, and laid plots, which shall soone breed as dangerous stormes as the former. Whilst our Christian

Q q q

Princes

1565

The Swiss  
army at Mula.The death of  
the Pope and  
Emperor.AP. "ament  
at Moulins.Causes of the  
Protestants  
discontent.

Princes study by their enter-view and league, to kindle horrible combustions in their estates, they give the Turkish armie the better meanes to land in the Isle of Malta, to besiege and take the fort of Saint Elme, lately built by the Pryor of Capoua, and by this victory to make the siege of Malta more easie. Let vs observe three notable things, before we conclude the year. The first was that braue attempt of *Pietro*, the eldest sonne of *Montluc*, who weary to liue idle, rigged out some ships, with a good number of Gentlemen, Souldiers, and Mariners, to make a voyage into Affrica: he took and sackt the Isle of Madera, but with the losse of his life, leauing his troope excluded from all returne into France, by the pursuit the King of Portugal made, demanding satisfaction of the outrages done to his subiects. The Earle of Sanzay was sent to pacifie him: and euen then was treated (but without any effect,) the mariage of *Marguerite*, Sister to *Charles*, with the said King. The second was the death of *Ferdinand* the Emperour and King of Hungary, deceased in September, leauing his sonne *Maximilian* for his successor. The third was that of *Pius* the fourth, in whose place was chosen to the pontifical chaire, *Michel Gesileo* a Iacobin, Cardinall of Alexandria, and tooke vpon him the name of *Pius* the fifth.

The first fruits of this year were very commendable, and if they had giuen hope of the like proceeding, the harvest had bene very happy: but such as trust not but vpon good cautions, take not all kindes of money for payment, growing very suspitious, by reason of the conclusions taken in this voyage. To make it more glorious and lesse suspect, the King calls an assembly at Moulins, of the greatest Personages of his Realme, as well for the government of Iustice, as for other causes concerning the good and quiet of the State, whereof followed that great volume of statutes, of which they rightly say: *That they were as iust and holy, as ill observed.* Those of the houses of Guise and Chastillon were called. The quarrell of Paris inuited the Marshall of Montmorency, and the Admirall, hauing purged himselfe by oath of the crime whereof they pretended him to be principall motiue (the King had already pronounced him innocent by his letters Patents) the King, the Queene-mother, the D. of Auiou, brother to the King, the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine and Guise, the Constable, the Marshalls of Bourdillon and Vienneuille, the Bishops of Valence, Orlance and Limoges, *Thou* and *Seguier* first and second Presidents of Paris, *Dais* the first of Toloula, *Lagueresson* of Bourdeaux, *Truchon* of Grenoble, *Le Feurs* of Dijon, *Fournau* the second President of Prouence, and many other Noblemen assembled to that effect: besides the aboue-named Statutes, made the reconciliation betwixt the two houses, whereof followed imbracings, protestations and promises not to attempt any thing whatsoever one against another. But the issue will verifie the saying: that there is no trust in a reconciled enemy.

In the meane time the resolutions of *Bayonne* appeared manifestly, the moderations they made in the Edit, the infolencies they committed in many places with all impunity, the threats they gaue the Protestants amazed them on all sides. The Prince & Admirall were vigilant, obseruing the countenances of their enemies. The preparations of Spaine againe the Low-countries, made them to foresee that this enterprize would in like sort prejudice their partisans in France. The Prince of Roche-sur-yon had before his death discovered many particulars: they complained, that about three thousand persons had perished of violent deaths, since the Edit, without any iustice, and their complaints had no other satisfaction, but goodly words and gracious letters. To conclude, the winds (said they) which did blow at Bayonne, must needs cause a strange tempest.

So the causes of their discontent some were manifest, others secret, and consisted in the dismantling of some townes, to take from them the meanes, in the building of Cittadels in some places of their exercise: in the ordinarie murdering of their men, in the massacring of men of account without punishment: in the ordinarie threats, *That shortly they should not lift their heads so high*: but especially in the leauy of six thousand Swisses made vnder a fained pretence, to guard the frontier against the coming of *Don Ferdinand Aluarez* of Toledo, Duke of Alua (who marched against the Protestants of the Low-country with a mighty armie) whom notwithstanding they caused to enter farre into the Realme, and by some letters intercepted, being sent from Rome and Spaine, they had discovered many practices made for their ruine. And the intelligences they had from one in Court well affected (yet secretly) to their party, that it was decreed in a secret Councell to seize vpon

1565

A vpon the Prince and Admirall, to put the one to death, and keepe the other prisoner: at the same instant to bring two thousand Swisses into Paris, two thousand into Orlance, and the rest into Poitiers: and then by the abolishing of the last Edit, to establish one quite contrarie. All these considerations made the chiefe heads resolute to stand vpon their defence, and to obserue foure things in this new taking of armes. To seize on few townes but of importance. To bring a gallant army to field. To cut the Swisses in pieces, by whose fauour the Catholikes should be alwayes masters of the field: and to chase the Cardinall of Lorraine from Court if they might, as the chiefe firebrand of the confusions which would consume the whole estate. Man purposeth, and God disposeth: and of many resolutions few haue their desired end. The pleasure of God often disappointeth the designs of them which are most practised in knowledge, valour, discourse and wisdom: and some enterprizes little or not at all premeditated, doe often fall out very successfully. For the execution of the first point, diuers considerations had made them to name three townes, Lions, Toloula and Troyes.

But a great designe, imparted after the French manner to many meane persons, and vncapable of such actions, turne them easily into smoke. Not one of them that vnder-tooke the charge could effect it. For the second, the Protestants being first armed, were in the beginning masters of the field, but within six weekes the Catholikes forced the Prince and the Admirall to fly to the Germanes, which the Duke *Iohn Casimer* brought them, as we shall see. Their proiect against the Swisses was likewise discovered, and the forces which should haue met at an appointed day, failed in their expedition. The fourth succeeded, but it imported least of all: but this separation was but in shew, and not in authority, nor credit.

The King is much incensed against them. He was at Meaux, and prepared to solemnize the Feast of Saint Michael, according to the custome of the French Kings. The Prince approached with 500 horse, and by this attempt forth the King to retire with some amazement to Paris, in the midst of 6000 Swisses, and a good number of horse, the which had bene in danger, if a hundred and fifty horse coming out of Picardy, and the Harguebuziers on horsebacke which attended the Prince, had arised betwixt Paris & Meaux, at the day appointed. At the same time the Protestants party arme on all sides: and this generally taking of armes vnllooked for, with that bold enterprize vpon the Swisses, and the taking of Orlance, Soissons, Auxerre and some other places, had wonderfully amazed the Catholikes. But that which augmented this alarm, the Prince being too weake, loth to engage himselfe in this forest of halberds, pikes and shot, went to lodge with his troopes in Saint Denis, where some others arising, in few dayes made vpon the number of 2000 horse, and foure thousand shot.

The King assembles his troopes, and had already ten thousand men. But this sudden approach to Paris might perswade them, that the Prince expected speedy and great forces, and that he had good intelligences in Court and at Paris. Paris was the chiefe object of his armes. The Parisiens were not accustomed to fast: taking their viuals from them, he hoped of two things to effect the one, either to force them to fight, or to draw his enemies to a more assured pacification then the first. To this end he sends *d'Andelot* with 300 horse, towards Poissy and Pontoise, to seize vpon the passages of Seine beneath Paris: and other troopes to seize vpon such places as were about the towne. Some companies were sent to ioine with the forces that came out of Guienne, who should come to Orlance, being lately surprised by *la Noue*. Hee and the Admirall with about 800 horse, and twelue hundred Harguebuziers keepe Saint Denis, and intrench Saint Owin and Auberrilliers, to curbe Paris on that side.

But how could so many excellent Capitaines vnder take so painefull and vnlikely a designe? May an Antassailan Elephant? How many mighty armies haue in former times lost their labours, thinking to effect such an enterprize? To remaine idle, had impaired their reputation. They were suddenly drawne into it, and they must for their honours sake repute that which occasion seemed to present vnto them. Their men being sicke and full of resolution, made difficult things easie. One thing onely stayed the course of their success. Such places as the Prince hoped to surprise vpon Marne and Seine (whether if he should be forced to abandon Saint Denis, he meant to retire himselfe, and attend his Germans) there were two onely seized on, Laigny and Montcreau. On the other side, the

The retreat of  
Meaux.The beginning  
of the second  
troubles.



1567

the Constable, Lieutenant general for the King in this army, resolved (having increased his troops) to force the enemy to fight. The great advantages he had, invited him unto it. He had fiftene or sixteene thousand foot, and two thousand Lances: hee was furnished with artillery: hee had a commodious place for a battell, and fit to lodge his troops and Cannon. The Parisiens were prest by famine, and were much grieved to see such tenants in their farms. And many cried already against the Constable, as a great temporizer, and as firme a partisan to his Nephewes, as to the King his master.

The battell of  
Saint Denis.

They were to blame: for hee was no sooner aduertised of the error the Prince had committed in dismembred the body of his army, as we haue heard, but he presently embraced the occasion, sends seuen or eight hundred Lances, followed with some shot for their retreat, to discover the certainty of the protestants forces: and the next day, the 10 of Nouember, he goes to field, with all his army, and giues him battell. The Constables footmen, for the most, did little good, and the Princes very much. The horsemen on either side shewed great resolution and courage. In the end the Protestants are forced from the place, and followed about halfe a quarter of a league, and it may be, but for the Constables hurt (whereof he died within few dayes after) they had beene chased more hotly: but the night fauoured their retreat, and parted the battells. To conclude, the Catholikes were masters of the field, and had the spoile of the dead: and by consequence the honour of the battell, which shall be blemished the next day with a great disgrace.

The Princes  
excuse.

This advantage seemed to inuite the Catholikes to perfect their victory the next day: but the losse of the Constable kept them within their walls. The Prince attended a second charge, not thinking his enemies would haue taken it for a repulse: hee therefore sends speedily for *d'Andelot*, who comes to Saint Denis at mid-night, sorry to haue lost his part of the banker.

Having rested a while, the Commanders conclude to make an attempt to abate some of their aduersaries glory, gotten the day before. They bring their small army to field, present themselves before the suburbs of Paris: stand there some houres in battell, and burnt a village and many wind-mills, to vrge them. But no man comes forth. They bury their dead, dresse their hurt men. The Captaines view their Cornets and Companies and will hazard no more. What should the Prince then doe, being encamped before Paris with a few men? The losse of one man did impart him more then an hundred of his enemies: and to stay there were his ruine. Hee dislodgeth, marcheth to Montereau, and there augments his army with the forces that came to him from Orleans and Estampes.

The death of this incomparable old man (but farre more happy in his age, if hee had shed his blood against the stranger, enemies to this Crowne, the which hee had so freely employed, during all the course of his life, and not against his country-men, yea against his owne blood) gaue the command of the royall army to *Henry* duke of Aniou, the Kings brother, a Prince of sixteene yeares of age, vpon whose head we shall see the Crowne after his brothers deace. He sought the opportunity to fight: his elder Captaines prest him forward, taking the Princes retreat for a kind of flight, and grounding their advantage vpon the great forces newly arriued of twelve hundred horse, and two thousand foot led by the Count *Aremberg*, one of the famous Captaines of the Low countries. Moreover, if the Protestants did ioyne with their Reistres, the warre was like to continue long, or else to make the chance of a battell doubtfull. But they disswaded him, weighing the importance of their Generall, and the constant resolution of the contrary party: who (said they) had then no other Councillor but Despaire, and no other wealth or riches, but their armes and horfes.

To withstand the leauy of the Protestants Reistres, the Duke of Aumale was sent into Lorraine to receiue the forces which were brought to the King by Duke *Iohn William* of Saxony, the Marquis of Bade and other Commanders, and young *Lausie* into Germany, to diuert those of duke *Iohn Casimir*, which were leauied in the Princes fauor. The Prince had ioynd with the troops of Guienne and Poitou, consisting of eight cornets of horse and three Regiments of foot, vnder fix and twenty ensignes: and advancing towards Lorraine, he forceth Bray and Nogent vpon Seine to open their gates, and to giue him passage, and seizeth on Elpernay vpon Marne, where he assembles the body of his army.

Experience teacheth vs now, that all policies and deuices are allowed in warre. To

coole

A speech of  
peace.

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A coole the heat of such as flie to the ayd of strangers, to stay them, and (it may bee) to surpriseth them. Vnder this pretext they begin to speake of a peace, in the which the chiefe of their party are imployed: and the better to conferre (said they) of the points propounded, they agree vpon two suspensions of armes, either being of three dayes. But whilest the Prince thought to enioy the benefit thereof, hee had almost fallen into a pitfall. The Duke of Aniou approached, and the Prince remained neere vnto Chailons, in a bad lodging farre from his troops, and had it not bene for the rout of the Captaines, *Blais*, *Blasfett*, and *Clery*, defeated by the Earle of Brissac during the truce, the Prince himselfe had bene in apparent danger.

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A speech of  
peace.  
The truce  
broken.

B Misfortune is good for something. This fury of *Brissac* teacheth the Prince not to trust his enemy, but vpon good assurance. And notwithstanding the iniuries of the Aire, and the difficulties of the wayes, leauing the Duke twenty great leagues behind, he makes him to lose all desire to follow him, and goes on into Lorraine to learne some newes of his Reistres, the which hee receiued at Pont a Mousson. From hence Duke *Iohn Casimir*, the younger sonne of *Frederic* Count *Palatine* of Rhine, Elektor of the sacred Empire, being chiefe of this army, protests by writing vnto the King before he enters into France, That he comes not for any profit of his owne, or priuate respect: but only to assist those who assisted for the same Religion, had required his helpe. That if it please his Majesty to assure them liberty of conscience, and free exercise of their Religion, he is ready to retire himselfe.

C Hereupon they renewed their treaty of peace pretended the yeare before. The Queene-Mother comes to Bois de Vincennes, accompanied with the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, and Guise. For the Prince there came the Cardinal of Chastillon. Hee lets her vnderstand, That to settle a peace in France, the King must receiue all his subiects into grace, impart his fauours and the offices of the Realme indifferently vnto them, and giue them conuenient liberty of their Religion. *Katherine* answers, that such matches are not to be allowed: that the Prince and those of his party should before all things countermand their Reistres, lay downe armes, and come and yeeld the King a reason of the enterprife of Meaux. The Cardinall replies, that they only defend themselves, that they oppose these succours to all sorts of strangers called in by the Catholikes, and cannot send them backe, but they must presently subiect their throats to their enemies swords: that they are ready to disarme when they shall see the Realme freed from Swisses, Flemings, Italians, and Germanes, which were come to spoile them, and matters restored to their former estate. As for the enterprife of Meaux, their intention was onely to beseech the King (from whose presence the violence of their enemies deuiued them of all access, but by force) to reuoke that cruell sentence, which some determined to execute against all their party, being ready to proue by armes against all those that would maintaine the contrary, that they had neuer any other will against their Soueraigne, but as his most faithfull and obedient subiects.

The treaty of  
peace cannot  
but in vain.

During this negotiation, the Duke of Aniou fought for the commodity which hee had lost to fight with the Prince, and the Prince receiued his strangers with a wonderfull contentment to the whole army, fearing lest the heauinesse of the Germanes, should make them attend long in Lorraine. They expected a hundred thousand crownes at their entry, but they which had so suddenly drawne them to horsebacke, must haue leisure to make money: At last they make a vertue of necessity. And what might not two Commanders, (whereof the one by his natural pleasantness, and the other by his grauity, tempering the excessive cholle of some, and the exceeding suspicion of others) obaine of their men, amongst whom they had so great credit. The Prince by their example summons both great and small: the Ministers in their Sermons moue men, and the Captaines prepare their soldiers. Every one contributes, some for zeale, some for loue, some for feare, and some for shame of reproach. They gather, what in money, plate, chaines, gold and Jewels, some foure score thousand Frankes, and by this voluntary liberality satisfie the first and greatest hunger of their Reistres. Being ioynded, the generall opinion was, to make warre about Paris: an apparent meane to haue a peace. Orleans was their nurse, neither could they from any place euer couer artillery, munition, and money, so commodiously. They therefore take the way to Beauce, and for their first beginning they defeat some troops of Italians and French, that came to charge them in the reuerward vpon their passage of the Riuer of Seine. They force Itancy, and passe ouer the Rivers of Yonne, Loire, and

Cure:

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Cure: they draw diuers commodities from all the small townes opposite to their passage, A  
always assailing and alwaies assailed, and still with the losse of the one party or the other.  
Whilst this companie(having the mighty army of the Duke of Anjou opposite vnto them)  
marched into Beaulieu, they fall to armes in other parts in fauour of their party. Affier,  
Sipierre, and others in Languedoc, Prouence, Daulphine, and Gascogne, make diuers as-  
semblies, seize vpon Nismes, Montpellier, and many other places. *Ponscat* and *Verdelay*  
leauy troops in Bourbonnois and Auvergne, whereas the forces of Guienne which marched  
towards the Duke of Anjou, encounters them, breaks them, and for that time makes their  
attempts fruitlesse. Moreover, the Duke of Nevers, with an army of fourteene thousand  
French, Suisses, and Italians, besieged Mafcon, battered it, and tooke it by composition, B  
but being incourted by fourescore horse, and some foot, issued out of Antrain, vnder the  
commands of Capitaine *Beauvais* and *Bourgeois*, as he aduanced with an hundred horse, to  
visit the Duchesse his wife, he was shot in the knee with an Harguebuze, which made him  
lame all the remainder of his life.

*Montluc*, *Pons*, the Bishop of Tullus, and many other Catholikes in Guienne, being  
followed with foure thousand foot, and seuen hundred horse, surprise and kill about foure  
hundred men, spoile the Isle of Re, attempt to besiege Rochel: but too long delays makes  
their designe fruitlesse.

In the meane time the Viconts of Bourniguet, Montclar, Paulin, Gourdon, Mouuans,  
Rapin, and other Protestants, aduanced with seuen or eight thousand men, of the bands C  
of Gascogne, Prouence, Daulphine, and Languedoc. *Saint Heran* Gouvernor of Auvergne,  
*Saint Chaumont*, *Gordes*, *Vrfe*, the Bishop of Puy, *Hatefeuille*, *Brefieux*, and others, as-  
semble a troop to stop their passage, and runne as to a certain victorie, forbidding expressly  
all the neighbour townes, *To receiue any one that flies, what liuery sener he beares*. The which  
shall cost them full deare. The Viconts charge these horsemen, kill a great number, and of  
the chiefe, vpon the place: put the rest to rout, and makes them seeke their safety by flight.  
But the Pelants armed with the former prohibition, know no man, neither doe they spare  
any man, but make of their country-men as great a slaughter as the victor did, & by this in-  
direct stratagem, open the way for the Viconts to recouer Orleanse. Being ariued, they  
slay the inroads which *Martineghe*, *Richelieu*, and others made, euen to the gates of Or-  
leanse: they take Baugency, attempt Blois, and take it by composition. The Gascons doe  
not easily forget their hands, and the souldiers of Richelieu, who were retired thither,  
could not free themselves from the sword.

Hereupon the Princes army comes into Beaulieu. Chartres is one of the chiefe store-  
houses of corne for Paris, and being taken would much auale the Protestants. *Liquieres*  
was made Gouvernor for the King there, and two and twenty companies, fortified vpon  
feare of a siege with a Regiment of foot. The Prince besiegeth and batters it, but to  
small purpose: five Cannons and foure small Culuerins prevailed little against so many  
men of warre, being intrenched with great aduantage. They found out a place of small  
strength, where a breach gaue hope of victory: but the Lord of Valette, a great Capitaine, E  
comes to succour the besieged, with eighteen cornets of horse. The Admirall is aduer-  
sified: and not to faile of his prey, hee made choice of three thousand five hundred horse,  
marcheth towards them, chargeth *Valette*, ouerthrowes part of his troops, carries away  
four cornets, and puts the rest to flight. The Duke of Anjou encamped beyond Seine, and  
loth to hazard a battell, left Chartres in apparent danger. But *Katherine* knew how (for  
so she did vially vaunt) with three sheets of paper to effect more then her warriors with  
their armes.

A good peace was no lesse necessary then wisht for. The Protestants did generally be-  
leeue, that the Catholikes would disarme with them, and the Nobilitie were particularly  
moued with a great desire to see their houses (it is a desire whereof we can hardly stay the  
effects in them that are voluntaries.) Many whole cornets had already taken the way  
of Xaintonge and Poitou, they would not lose the season of their vines: many other pre-  
tend the lacking of their houses, where their presence was necessary: the footmen of some  
Counties lying farthest off, slip away daily, their purses were empty, and no man paid.  
It was in March when as armies are accustomed to goe to field, and their French forces  
decreasing visibly, had driuen them in short time to stand vpon their defence: their ene-  
mies were whole and strong. To diuide their strangers into townes, were to dismember  
them.

Chartres  
besieged.

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A second peace.

A themselves. These considerations and others, made the heads of the Protestants to ac-  
cept of a second Edict of pacification, concluded in Loniueau, saying: *That those of the*  
*pretended reformed Religion, should purely and simply enjoy the first Edict, and that it should*  
*be executed according to the tenour, notwithstanding all restrictions, modifications, inter-*  
*pretations, and declarations made since the day of the date thereof, untill the publication of*  
*this second Declaration made the three and twentieth day of March.*

This counterfeit peace caried *Iohn Casimir* with all his forces home into Germany: the  
Prince, and the Admirall, with all those of his party, retire euery man to his home. But  
diuers breaches of this Edict, did suddenly open the gate to the third ciuill war: and whilst  
B that enery one imputes the cause of this sudden reffrall of armes to his enemy, the effects  
fall both vpon good and bad. The Catholikes groundeth their discontents, for that many  
townes refused the restraint made by this last Edict. Sancerre, Montauban, and other  
townes of Quercy, Viuarets, Daulphine, Languedoc, and elsewhere, would not abso-  
lutely submit themselves to his Maiesties good pleasure. Rochel refused to receiue the  
garison sent by *Larnac* their ancient Gouvernor: they continued their fortifications before  
begun, neither did they restore the Catholikes to their offices, goods, nor religion: they  
armed out ships to keepe the Seas, without the Kings allowance. They refused the ayde  
and subvention, which his Maiesty required for the affaires of his Realme. Many Captains  
C of Alba, to draw afterwards (aid they) the Protestants of Flanders into France, and ioint-  
ly to oppress the Catholike Religion.

The Protestants on the other side complained, That in stead of enjoying the Edict and  
liberty of their consciences, they gaue them declarations vnder the Kings authority, to  
hinder the exercise of their Religion: That hauing dismissed their men, both strangers  
and French, with the least oppression of the people that might be, and deliuered into the  
Kings hands the townes and strong places which they held: yet they receiued the Suisses,  
they entertained many companies of Italians, they did distribute their horse and foot into  
such townes as did most import the Protestants: Tours, Orleans, Amiens, and others, to  
the end (said they) to take them like Partridges in a net, being retired to their houses. That  
they sued in the Court of Rome for leaue to sell the temporall lands of the French Cler-  
gie, to the value of an hundred and fifty thousand Frankes by yeare, the money to be em-  
ployed to the rooting out of their party: That this counterfeit peace ruined more of their  
men, then the rigours of warre: That they guarded townes, bridges, and passages of ri-  
uers. These grudgings were openly published, when as another occasion makes them both  
to speake boldly, and to take armes.

The complaints  
of the Pro-  
testants.

In a manner all the Duke of Anious horse stayed about Paris, with five or six thousand  
foot, vnder colour to fortifie the guards of the King, the Queene-mother, his brethren,  
and the capitall Citie: and *Tauannes* sent towards Bourgongne with many companies,  
made them suspect that it was to beset and surprise the Prince at Noyers, a little and weak  
E towne of his owne, and the Admirall at Tanlay, a Castle belonging to his brother *d'An-*  
*delot*. Some acquainted with his practice giue them aduice: they complaine, to the King  
of the iniustice is done them, beseeching his Maiesty to quench the fires kindled in his  
Realme by the factions of the Guisens, and to free themselves they take Rochel for their  
Sanctuary.

This braue prey being thus escaped, *Katherine* and the faction (sent forth Commissions,  
and appoint the rendezvous for the troops in Guienne and Poitou. The Duke of An-  
jou prepares: and for a reuenge of Meaux, he chafeth away the Protestants. The Queene  
of Nauarre, accompanied with three Regiments of foot, and eight Cornets of light  
horse (notwithstanding the endeuours of *Esparis* and *Montluc*) retires to Rochel with the  
Prince her son, (who succeeded afterwards to this Crowne) and the Princess her daugh-  
ter. The Cardinall of Chastillon is forced to leaue Beaumoulin, and to saue himselfe in a  
small Barke in England. The Nobility of Poitou arme with the first, and repaire to Ro-  
chel. The Earle of Rochefoucault was armed some dayes before. *D'Andelot* marched with  
a thousand good horse, and two thousand shot, gathered together in the confines of Maine  
and Britany.

The Duke of Martigues, Gouvernor of Britanie, going with three hundred Lances, and  
five hundred braue shot to Saumur, to the Duke of Montpensier, hee is aduertised that  
many

The Pro-  
testants a me.

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many of the enemies troops are lodged in his way. He sends to discover them; and finding them lodged at large, after the French manner, passeth brauely through them, with the losse but of twenty men, and with the gaine of an Ensigne, and the slaughter of about fourescore of his enemies: and recouers Saumur, whilst that *D'Andelot, la Noue*, and other Commanders ioyned with the Prince. If the Dukes of Aniou, Montpensier, and Martigues, who assembled men from all parts to oppose a mighty army against the Protestants, had in time fore-seene, that those which d-lodged in so great haste, went to seeke their fortunes farre off, and had fought to crosse their designs, the Prince and all his part had in all shewes beene coopt vp in Rochel. But behold, of poore vagabonds in two moneths they become masters of Niort, Fontenay, Saint Maixent, Xaintes, Saint Iohn d'Angely, Pons, Cognac, Blay, Angoulesme, and are strong enough for the continuance of a long warre. While the Dukes arme, the King begins the warre against the Protestants by the Pen. He declares by his proclamation, that the Edict of Ianuary had bene but prouisionally, vntill he were of full age: that now he forbids all exercise of the pretended reformed religion, in all the territories of his obedience: forfeits both the bodies and goods of them that shall breake it: commands all Ministers vpon great penalties, to depart the Realme within fifteene dayes. And by another, he suspends all officers making profession thereof, from their offices and charges, commanding them to resigne them into his hands within fifteene dayes.

The Protestants make their profit of these Edicts, and send them into Germany, England, and to the Suisses of their Religion, to proue, That they are not persued as Rebels affecting the Crowne, (crimes by the which their enemies would make them odious.) And in truth these Edicts were spurs to hasten the leauie which the Duke of Deuxponts shall bring the next yeare, and for the heads of Dauphine, Prouence, and Languedoc, to goe and oppose the forces of the said Provinces against the Kings army, which was ready to fall vpon the Prince. To this end, *Acier, Mouuans, Pierre Gourde*, and others, draw forth sixtene or seuenteen thousand shot, but few horse: seeming with this multitude of men to haue vn-peopled all that Climate. But as they did fortifie the Princes affaires on the one side, they did weaken them on the other: for after their departure, the Catholikes seized vpon many places, the which they might well haue held, lodging halfe their forces in them, then marching in troop close and speedily, they might haue arised late where their preference was most profitable and necessary.

But the presumption of equality, doth commonly engender a pernicious ielousie among great men: and the opinion one conceives of his forces, and of his owne valour, with an obstinacy not to yeeld vnto another, is a dangerous plague in an armie. *Mouuans* and *Pierre Gourde*, finding themselves annoyed by strait lodging, as they had done till they came neere to Perigueux, they meane to lie more at large at Mensignac, not discovering that the Duke of Montpensier approached, who at his arriual puts in rout two Regiments, and kills a thousand souldiers at their Colonels feet: who selling their liues dearly, forye the Dukes troops, as they could not charge *Acier*: yet they were amazed by the fearefull report of such as were escaped, who made the Dukes forces exceeding great, beyond all truth, who retiring to Chastelleraud, made the way open for *Aciers* troops, which remained of this shipwracke, to fortifie the Protestants army, and to make it able, not only to endure the shooke, but to attempt something against the Catholikes. The Prince did muster his army about eighteen thousand Harguebuziers, and three thousand good horse. The Duke had ten thousand foot, beside Suisses, and foure thousand lances: the souldiers of both armies were well experienced in warre.

He that takes not the French in their first heat, they are easily broken: the chiefe sinewes of warre failing, might greatly coole this new vigour: and Winter approaching, withdraw the greatest part of them. The Prince therefore seeks to fight: the number and courage of F his men inuities him. He comes within two leagues of Chastelleraud, and by his approach annoyes the Duke of Aniou: the Duke moued with the like desire, and grieved to see so many men at the Princes deuotion, knowing also that the forces of Germany would be ready to march in their fauour in the Spring, seeks to diuide his enemies power, and to overcome them by peece-meale. Our first motions are sudden, but they doe not alwaies bring forth effects premeditated. To come to a battell, was properly to cut away the sinewes of the Realme, and by their mutuall weakening, to inuite the forraine enemy to the inuasion

*Mouuans and  
Pierre Gourde  
described and  
haue.*

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A inuasion of this Estate. The soueraigne Commander of battels did shew at this time a signe of his accustomed fauour to this Crowne, taking from both the Generals the sharpnesse of their iudgements, and making them to lose in one day a notable occasion for either of them to preuaile against his enemy, as we shall heare.

The Prince had intelligence, that the Duke camped in a place of aduantage, vnder the fauour of a meadow, intrenched on diuers parts: so notable to draw his enemy to fight, he dislodged, and goes towards Lusignan. The Duke takes the same course, and one not acquainted with the others designs, the Marshals of both Campes meet in a manner at one instant at Pamprou, five leagues from Poitiers, a great village furnished with victuals, and

B in a very good country. They chase and re-chase one another, but loath to dispute this Rendezvous with more hazard, they both leaue it (yet with an honourable retreat of either side) to put themselves in battell, a quarter of a league from the place. The Admirall and *D'Andelot* his brother, supported their men with five Cornets of horse, set in order vpon a small hill, to keepe the Catholikes from viewing the valley, and to giue them some apprehension of greater forces lodged there. The Prince was a league from thence, and aduanced with great speed. On the Dukes part there appeared seven or eight hundred Lances, commanded by the Duke of Martigues. Being approached within Cannon shot, the Admirall causeth a Captaine of Argoleiters to aduance alongst a hedge, who more valiant then discreet, fals presently to skirmish, and their cornet marcheth to second them.

C *Martigues* thinks that they meane to fight, and sends forth three or foure squadrons of Lanciers: the Admirall and his brother grieved they had not prevented the indiscretion of their Captaine, who ingaged them to fight vnadvisedly, and contrary to their charge, calls back these skirmishers, and with an assured countenance covers the weaknesse of their troops. *Martigues* taking a troop of seruants for a battalion of Harguebuziers which appeared behind a village, stayes his Lanciers, and for want of footmen, loseth the opportunity to fight. In the meane time the Ensignes of foot, and troops of horse arise from all parts: the night approaching, gaue them leisure only to skirmish with the Duke of Anious fore-ward. The Dukes fore-ward was too weak to endure the shooke: the Commanders deuise a policy, whereby they perswade the enemy, through fauour of the night,

D that all their forces were present: their Drums found after the Suisses manner, they double their guards, make great fires, cast many matches amongst the bushes, keepe their men close without any skirmish, lest some prisoner should discover the truth, and after they had refreshed themselves, they dislodge without any noise, some marching to Iafeneuil, where the Duke lodged with the battell, the rest to the village of Sansey. So holding one another in suspense, they lose the opportunity of a great aduantage, the first in the Duke, the second in the Prince. Mans counsell without God preuailes nothing, and, *The actions of great men, are in his power, as those of the meanest.* So saith the Oracle. For the next day many things chanced more by hazard then by counsell. This retreat giues them courage to fight: to this end the Admirall follows them at the heeles, and the Prince marcheth after. There were two wayes; one led to Sansey, the other to Iafeneuil. At the break of day there riseth a great mist, which causeth the Prince to stray: after he had marched two leagues, he finds himselfe in the front of the Dukes armie. Necessity giues him resolution: he puts his Harguebuziers before, which were about twelve thousand and forced to make some shew of fight, salutes the Duke with his Cannon, skirmishes with diuers volleys of shot, sends to learne newes of his fore-ward, and wils the Admirall to make haste.

He had already turned head vpon the noise of the Cannon; but the Sunne setting at his arriual, preventing a generall fight, caused all to passe in sharpe skirmishes, with losse on either side: and after a daies breathing either part retired, the Duke to Poitiers, the Prince to Mirebeau.

F Few dayes after, they both returne to their first resolution to fight. The Duke goes to field and recouers Mirebeau. But he doth not obserue the composition, and giues *D'Andelot* cause for a reuenge, to cut in pieces the garison he finds in S. Florent, an Abbey neere vnto Saumur. The Prince held Loudun. It was in the Dukes way, and enioying it, he held a fertile Country from his enemies, which might feed his armie a moneth together: and there was no reason the Prince should hazard his forces for the keeping of a weak place. The Duke approacheth: the next day he hath newes that the Prince puts his army in battell alongst the suburbs: he likewise arangeth his: the Cannon playes on both sides,

*A picture  
arrangement.*

Rrr

and

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and passeth through their squadrons doing some harme. About four thousand men almost all French, beheld one another in the midst of a champion field, without any advantage, and with an equal courage and countenance attend but the signe of battell. But the outward cold did quench much of this inward heat: the frosts were great, continual mists, and the wayes so slippery, as no man could hold his footing. It was dangerous for the first that charged, the slippery wayes stayed their horses, and the maine ditches (made to diuide the lands) serued them as trenches. So as either of them being loath to hazard any thing (stand firm, beholding one another, expecting when the most rash should begin the charge. Such as goe to the skirmish, either breake or put some member out of ioynt: their fals hurt more then the shot. Three dayes passe in this sort, the fourth the Duke retires to warme his troops benumbed with cold, and for the most part lodged in the open aire (of twenty yeares there had not bene felt so sharpe a winter,) in his retreat three companies were cut off in a village, one of Swisses, and two of French, and the sicknesse falling among the souldiers, diminished both the armies of eight thousand men. This fruitlesse abode caused a generall murmur, and both Nobility and souldiers on either partie did threaten, if they were not lodged in safe and well fortified places, they would provide for themselves, notable to endure the extreme frosts and cold without any effect. The two Commanders agree. The Duke goes to winter beyond the riuer of Loire about Saumur, and the Prince at Thouars, Montreuil-Bellay, and places thereabouts, either hauing some secret practice against his enemy, but with small effect. This retreat gaue the Prince leisure to deuise meanes for the maintenance of the warre. The goods of the Clergy of Poitou were ingaged and sold to them that durst buy them: The Rochelais contribute foure score thousand Frankes, and the Queene of England sent an hundred thousand Angels, six Cannons, powder and shot, for the which shee was paid in Salt, Wooll, and Bell-metall, for the most part at the Catholikes cost.

5. Michael besieged.

The Abbey of Saint Michael alone, amongst all the other places of base Poitou, bridled the Protestants. They besiege it, batter it, and take it at the third assault, and cut foure or five hundred men in pieces which defended it. *Martinengus, Entragues, and la Chastre* Governors of Guienne, Orlence, and Bourges, beseege Sancerre, giue many assaults, lose many men, and finally tyred with many sallies, leaue this small towne in quiet, D to be hereafter a myrrour of singular patience in the preservation of their liues and families. But those of Sancerre, seeking to enlarge themselves, and to build a fort vpon Loire, suffer themselves to bee surpris'd, lose both fort and some fifty men, and are enforced to shut themselves within their wals.

During the sharpnesse of Winter, and this small surceasing of armes, the Vicounts of Bourniquet, Montclar, Paulin, Gourdon, and others, with seven thousand shot, and some horse, made war, especially against them of Tolouza. Montauban was their chiefe retreat, and experience had lately taught them; That it were better to defend the Province and their Country-men against *Montluc* and their enemies, then transporting their armes into a strange Country, to leaue them againe in prey. *Piles* was commanded to perswade them to ioyne with the Prince. At their refusal, he armes twelve hundred shot, and two hundred horse, takes Bergerac and Saincte Foy: passeth into Perigord, burning all the Villages: and to purge the death of *Mouuans* and *Pierre Gourde*, hee kills all that were suspected of their overthrow: and so he marcheth towards the Prince.

The Prince had now taken breath, and hearing that the Duke marched towards Angoulême, fortified with three thousand foot, & some horse which the Earle of Tende brought him, and two thousand Reistres led by the Reingraue and *Balsompierre*, hee retires along the Riuer of Charente, to view the Dukes countenance, and to fortifie the places of his obedience: but with the prejudice of his army. The Duke comes likewise to Chasteauneuf, a towne vpon the Riuer of Charente, and at the first takes a castle by composition, F which was kept by a Scottisshman. The Admirall likewise arriues, followed with seven or eight hundred horse, and as many Harguebuziers: and to hinder the Dukes passage, he lodgeth two Regiments of foot neere vnto the bridge, seconded by the horse: charging them to vex the enemies guards with continuall alarmes, to make them thinke, that all the Princes vanguard was lodged there, and then he retires to Bassac, with the rest of the vanguard. But this commandement wrought no effect. They had forgotten the manner of camping, euery one would lodge, liue, and forage at his ease: so as the

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A most part going to quarter elsewhere, and leauing the passage vnfortified of men, make the passage easie for the Duke. The Duke, through the care of the Lord of Biron, repairs the bridge, makes another of boats, and in the night passeth the riuer of Charente. At the breake of day, fifty horse being in guard, a quarter of a League off, discouers the enemies troops that passed, and aduertise the Admirall: (the Prince being a League beyond at Iarnac) the Admirall sends for his men dispersed in their lodgings, to come vnto him, and to make their retreat together, and in the meane time hee attended them at Bassac.

In a great action all delays are dangerous. He spends three houres to attend them, and B might easily haue retired, if his troops had bene ioynd. Hee had nine cornets of horse, and some Ensignes of foot. *Montgomery, Acier, and Ponsault* were Colonels, whom hee was loath to lose. Being all ioynd with him (except *Acier*, who could not arise in time with his six thousand shot) he finds all the Dukes army past, making shew by their skirmishes, that that day, being the 13 of March, should not passe without a battell. The Prince was aduanced halfe a league in his retreat, but he was too well bred to see his friends ingaged, and to fight in his absence. Hee turnes head towards the Admirall, with those few horse he could suddenly draw out of his battell: for he camped not, but his armie was dispersed into quarters. The Admirall making his retreat, encounters a small riuer, which could not be passed but in two or three places. Then the Duke sends forth the flower of all his horse, being seven or eight hundred, who at the first, overthrow foure Cornets, take *la Noue*, and *la Loue* fighting, vanquish *Ponsault*, charge *D'Andelot*, but with the death of *Montfalez*, and fifteene or sixteene others of account.

The battle of Bassac.

In the end the Prince and the Admirall fee themselves in a manner ingaged betwixt all the Dukes forces and the riuer of Charente: they goe to the charge, first the Admirall and then the Prince, and at the first make them turne their backs that were before them: and now they endured a second charge, more fierce and of longer continuance. But suddenly all the army fals vpon them, their horsemen are in rout, the Princes horse slaine, and he overthrowne vnder him, abandoned by his troops, and prisoner to the Lord of Argence, to whom he had yeelded, but he was shot in the head with a pistol by *Montguyon* a Gascon, D and Captaine of the Princes guards. A lesson for great men, and a maxime of warre: That a Generall should not fight, but being forced, for that in the losse of his person consists the ruine of his army. This Prince hath left this memory of him, to haue yeelded to noman of his age, neither in courage nor courtesie, eloquent in speech, liberrall, affable to all the world, and a most excellent Commander in warre. The Protestants lost in this battell neere foure hundred men, most horsemen, and few footmen of account: *la Tour* a Poiteuain Sea Captaine, young *Chasteliers*, *Portant*, *Chandenier*, *Melanthere*, *Brandanier*, the eldest of the *Bessons*, the younger of *Tabariere*, *Barrete*, *la Mestray*, and a great number of other gentlemen of diuers Prouinces, many wounded, and many prisoners: the amazement and disorder being so great, as they could not stye fast enough. Of Catholikes there E died about two hundred, amongst the which were *Montfalez*, the Barons of Ingrand, and *Prunay* of the house of Billy, the Earles of Mirandole, of Morette, Montcaure, Linieres, and some others of marke.

The Prince of Conde slaine.

Many Protestants would haue gathered together againe, but they pursued them too neere, and the Reistres arriuing in the pursuit, so hastened them that fled, as night surprized them in the midst of their flight. The Admirall and *d'Andelot* not able to pacifie the amazement, nor repaire the disorder, tooke their way towards Saint Iean d'Angely: and gaue the rendezvous for them that escaped at Xaintes, whither the young Princes of Navarre and Conde were retired. The body of the army was entred into Cognac. The footmen with their Commanders, *Acier*, *Beaudinot*, *Blacons*, *Chellar*, *Mirabel*, and many others, and of the horse, *Montgomery*, *Chaumont*, and others. To dislodge them from Cognac, the victorious Duke sends to besiege it: but his attempts against Cognac, his intelligences within Saint Iean d'Angely, and his fruitlesse threats that hee vsed against Angoulême, slayed the course of his victory.

In the meane time the Protestants gather together the pieces of this shipwrack: the Admirall led the Princes to Tonay-Charente, hee tooke view of the horse: *Henry* Prince of Navarre was declared Generall, and *Henry* Prince of Conde an assistant, foure thousand masters tooke the oath, *d'Andelot* gathers the foot-men together, provided for money,

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and stayed the enemies courtes, when as a burning feuer took him out of this world the 27. A day of May in Xaintes, leaving for ever a surname purchased by him of a *Knight without feare*. *Acier* did succeed him in his charge, *Beaunau la Noe* had his company of men at armes, but the Admirall the care and government of the whole army, with the managing of the chiefe affaires which concerned the Protestants estate. The Dukes army did ouerrunne Xaintonge, Angoulmois, and Limosin, vnder the conduct of the Earle *Brissac*, Colonell of the Infantry of France. Having recovered Aubierre, and some other places from the Protestants, he attempts Mucidan, being vigorously battered, and valiantly defended. In the end it is burnt to ashes, the castle endures some assault, the most worthy men of the Regiments of *Brissac*, *Montius*, and *Escars*, lose their lines there, and finally *Brissac* himselfe approaching to view the breach and the defenses, is shot into the head and slaine vpon the counterscarpe, leaving a wonderfull griefto them that knew him, being now but five or six and twenty yeares old, and might in time haue proued one of the valiantest and greatest Captaines of his age. Yet necessity forced the besieged to a composition, to depart with bag and baggage. But the impatience to haue lost their Colonels, and so many braue souldiers, made most of them to be slaine, issuing out of their wals. *Piles* recompensed this losse by the taking of the Isle of Medoc betwixt Bourdeaux and Rochel, the spoile whereof enriched all his troop. Then *Wolfgang* Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Deuxponte, brought vnto the Princes about six thousand Reistres, and five thousand Lanquenets. Ciuill warres alwayes make the way open to a neighbor stranger, the which he durst not attempt without the support of one partie. The difficulty was to ioinne with the Princes being farre off, and without a French conuoy it could hardly be done: but see what chanceth vnlookt for.

*Mouy*, *Lenis*, *Morilliers*, *Feguiers*, *Esprenay*, and others, had in the beginning of this third inciuill warre, assembled five or fix hundred horse, and two thousand harguebuziers, whom the difficulty to passe into Guienne had transported into Brabant to the Prince of Auranges; Count *Ledenike* his brother, and Count *Volrad* of Mansfield, who having for a time entertained the warre with a variable successe against the Spaniard, passed the Meuse and offered battell to the Duke of Alua: but he sought onely to consume them for want of victuals, whereof they were so scantied, as necessity casting them backe into France, they came to Vitry, and so strucke vp into Germany, and by their arriuall gaue *Wolfgang* the helpe he desired. Wee must now begin anew. The Duke of Aniou leaues Guienne, and takes the way of Berry, to keepe the Duke of Deuxponte from ioining with the Princes: but it had bene better to haue prevented his entry into the Realme. To this end, the King commits two armies, the one to the Duke of Aumale, the other to the D. of Nemours (neither of them being fortunate in war) both strong in footmen, but weaker in horse then the Germane. They aduance vnto Sauerne: coast the Germane Duke, who crost through Bourgonne, presse him on the flanks, and behind with sundry skirmishes, and oftentimes encounter goodly and fauourable occasions, which they let slip for want of iudgement and good correspondency, the true bond of the brauest exploits that may be practised in warre. But was it not a want of iudgement in those two great Commanders, fortified with twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot sent by the Pope, to leaue La Charite vnfortified of men, knowing well that the Protestants could not passe the Riuier of Loire, without getting by force, or surprizing some of the passages thereon? *Wolfgang* attempts La Charite, presteth it, terrifies it, and takes it, before that any succors can come, and thereby shortens his way about threescore leagues, where hee must haue passed at the head of Loire, and frees himselfe from a passage full of wood and mountain, whereas the horsemen would haue bene but an incumbrance.

The Admirall could by no means fauour these succours (for he had the Duke of Anious army in front) and holding it as a matter impossible for the Reistres to get a passage vpon the Riuier of Loire, he attended hourly newes of their rout. But aduertised of the successe: Behold (said he) a good signe: let vs make it absolute by our diligence and resolution. So the Princes aduance towards the marches of Limosin, to keepe the Dukes army occupied, whilest that their Reistres marching through the Country performed the funerals of the D. of Deuxponte, who being lately deceased of an ague, left the command of the army to the Earle of Mansfield, and in the end of Iune both the Protestant armies ioynd, the which vnited together made about five and twenty thousand fighting men: and in the Kings,

Count Brissac  
slaine at Mucidan.La Charite  
taken by the  
Germanes.

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A Kings, they numbred about thirty thousand. The Country of Limosin is fruitful, and the fertility of the soile forced the troops to lie dispersed, the which might easily cause some surprize: but the Admirall desired rather to prevent then be prevented. The Dukes army camped at Rochelle. To surprize him they march, resolute to giue him battell, and are in view of the enemy before he hath taken any alarme of them.

Three hundred Harguebuziers of Colonell *Strassie* kept the principal approach to this lodging, being strong both by situation and nature: and happy were they to be lodged in a place of defence. At the first brunt *Strassie* relieves them with five hundred others who the space of an houre held good against foure thousand of the Princes shot, while the Dukes army was put in battell. This passage being vnease to force, the Admirall sends forth foure Cornets of horse which renew the charge: they breake vp certaine palizados which couered *Strassie*s Regiments, kill two and twenty Captaines, and five or sixe hundred men vpon the place: take their Colonell (without whole resistance the Princes foreward had passed euen vnto the Cannon without any let) put the rest to flight, and nothing but the raine that fell hindred the successe of a great victory, the which was continued the next day by a skirmish against two hundred Italians, and some horsemen of the Duke of Nemours, whereof many slue some,ooke others, and chased the rest, being mounted vpon horses of aduantage fit for such a retreat.

After this encounter, the Duke sent to refresh his troops vntill the beginning of October, in the garisons neere to Guienne: giuing the Princes by this meanes leisure to seize vpon many places, both by force and composition: Tuiers, S. Suplice, Brantonne, Chasteau l'Eueque, La Chapelle, Confolant, Chabannes, S. Genais, and others. Whilest the Duke rested, the Earle of Lude, Gouernor of Poitou, promised wonders; but more in words then in effects. He had five thousand foot, and some cornets of horse, whereof hee had foure ouerthrowne by *La Noue*, neere vnto Niort: the Princes absence encouraged him to besiege Niort: where *Puissault* entred in despite of the assailants: hee sustained three assaults and some calamities, forcing *Lude* after the losse of five hundred men to raise the siege. In the meane time the Princes approached neere to Poitou, and at the first had taken Chastelleraud by composition the 12. of Iuly, and the 21. following, Luignay, D. Coutre, Sanlay, Viuonne, and other small places about Poitiers, to cut off victuals from the towne. At the same time, the subjects of the Queene of Nauarre had their part in the Cake. *Terride* gouernor of Quercy, had accepted the Commission, to summon the Quee and the Prince her sonne to leaue the party of the pretended Reformed Religion: if not, to invade the countries of Bearne, Foix, and Nauarre. So accompanied with *Nigrepelisse*, *Sainte Columbe*, and others, hee had easily reduced all to the Kings obedience, and held Nauarrin besieged, the onely strong place that remained to the Queene.

The Princes send the Earle of Montgomery to encounter him, who with a small army of five hundred horse, and foure thousand foot, forced *Terride* to raise the siege, and to retire himselfe into Orthez. His men were dispersed, and to prevent him from gathering E them together, the Earle pursues him, besiegeth him, giues an assault, forceth the towne, and makes a great slaughter: and to beat *Terride* with his owne armes, he suddenly plants the Cannon he found in the towne against the Castle. *Terride* vanquished with these terrible stratagems, yeelds vpon composition, to depart with their liues and goods: *Sainte Columbe*, the Baron of Pordiac, *Gobas*, *Tamas*, and some others of the Queenes subiects, were excepted in the Capitulation, and as guilty of treason (having seized vpon her places, and stirred her subiects to rebellion) were put to death. This resolute repulse of *Terride*, and the execution of the aboue-named, did suddenly reduce all the other places to the Queenes obedience, and the Earle hauing manned the townes of his new conquests, came to Nérac, made warre a while with the neighbour Garisons, and so came to the Princes F armie. Let vs see the progresse of their armes. La Charite gaue the Protestants meanes to annoy the Provinces on this side Loire, and taking this place from them, then the Duke of Aumale should recover many commodities to refresh his armie.

To this end he appoints *Sanlay*, who was yet a Nouice in Commissions of such importance. Yet he gathers together out of the Garisons of Orleans, Bourges, Chartres, Neuers, Gien, and other townes, about seven thousand foot, and five or six hundred horse, besiegeth La Charite, being yet but weakly fortified, changeth and re-changeth his battery, ouerthrowes a great part of the wall, and sends to the assault, the which was so

Incourte  
Rochelle.La Charite  
besieged.

Arr 3 resolutely



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Poitiers besieged.

resolutely defended, that of an hundred of the assailants scarce five returned to the campe: and upon a false brute, that the Princes came to succour it, the besiegers display their Ensignes, and without any farther inquiry, recover their Garisons, after a monthes siege, and the losse of about an hundred men. Within few dayes after, *Blossi, Bais*, and others, disbanded from the campe to visit their families, forsaie the towne, spoile the Country, and by the taking of Douzy, Pouilly, Antrain, Saint Leonard, and other small townes, they made the way open to Berry, Niernois, and the neighbour Countries. The siege of Poitiers was lesse fatal, and of as small successe for the Protestants. The Admirall held opinion to force Saint Maixent, then Saumur, and to fortifie it speedily, to have a passage upon the River of Loire, neere vnto them, and to transport the warre towards Paris in the time of haruest. Poitiers was then very well furnished: the Dukes of Guise and of Mayenne had put themselves into it: many Captaines and companies both of horse and foot shewed a great resolution for the defence thereof, vnder the ensignes of the two young brethren: these great and spacious townes being commonly the sepulchre of armies: yet all these reasons were of no force. The Nobility thereabouts preferring profit before honor, vrged the contrary: That Poitiers was indeed strong of men, but weak of defence, and to be forced: That this place taken, would be the conquest of all Poitou, a rich Prouince, the which would disappoint the Duke of Anjou of an assured retreat. But the hope of spoile was an enticing bait to draw them vnto it: for the more men are within it (said the Nobility) the greater shall our booty bee. Yet the respect of their private profits made them forget the constant resolution of such as had vnderaken to guard it, the great means they had to defend themselves, and their small prouision of artillery, munition, pioneers, and other things necessary for the siege.

In the end, plurality of voices caries it. The Princes lose some weekes before Poitiers. The towne is commanded by hills, which annoy them: but their slow batterie giues them time to fortifie the breach, and force the assailants to make new attempts elsewhere, and with the like successe. Hunger oppressed the Citizens, hauing lost many Captaines, with a great number of souldiers: and the plague afflicted the Princes campe: those within find a good meane for their liberty: and the Princes an honest cause to dislodge. The Duke of Anjou vnderstanding the extremity of the besieged, and that the Protestants armie began to dissolue, propounds two things to the Commanders, either to free Poitiers, or to suffer a place of that importance to be lost, in the which were many of their confident friends. Hee besieged Chastelleraud, and makes a breach: the French will haue the point: the Italians contend for it. In the end, the chance of the dice giues it them. They come brauely to the assault: the French disdaine to follow them, and they within defend the breach. They overthrow the most resolute with a furious volley of shot, and force the rest to retire in confusion, leauing five Ensignes vpon the breach, about two hundred and fifty slain, and a great number wounded, whereof many died. This was the 7 of September. They prepared for a second attempt, when as the Princes taking this second assault for a lawful occasion, raise their siege, where with they were no lesse troubled to depart with their honour, then the besieged were prest with extreme necessity. The Duke hauing no compleat army, and seeing his designe successe, dislodgeth all night, retires to Celle in Touraine, passeth Vienne and Creuse, lodgeth his troops and artillery in a place of aduantage, gathers together all his dispersed bands: and now the way is prepared for a second battell, and a notable victory.

The Princes being aduertised of this sudden retreat, take it for a kind of flight: march all night after them, passe the riuers, put themselves in battell, to force the Duke, or to make him retire to Tours, where the King then remained. Both the armies are in battell: but betwixt them is a small riuier, which makes the country moorish and very vnfit for a generall fight, so as they could not ioyne their battells, and had no meane to bring the Cannon without hazard to lose it. The Duke who was lodged in Celle, a village well intrenched, flanked and gabioned, covered on the one side by a Riuier, and on the other with a wood, could not by any skirmishes be drawne to fight, vntill he had vntied all his forces. The Princes for want of victuals repasse Creuse and Vienne, and lodge at Faye la Vineuse, and from thence (the Country being spoiled, and ill to lodge in) passe to Montcontour, a lodging of aduantage, both for the situation and commodity of victuals. The Duke pursues him, and by his speed deceiues the enemies. His foreward led by *Biron* meets them

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A them vnlooked for at Saint *Cere*, chargeth *Montmorency*, who made the retreat with 300 horse, and two hundred Harguebuziers, kills about fifty men at armes, and almost all his footmen, so amazeth the Princes army, as they all begin to wauer, and had not a freight been, where only twenty men might march in front, the whole army had then bene in rout. The Admirall makes halt to repaire this disorder, and by his presence renews their daunted courages. They charge and re-charge twice or thrice at this passage, and not able to bee forced, the two armies campe within shot of Musket, leauing it betwixt both. The Duke had eight or nine thousand horse, seuenteen or eighteen thousand foot, French, Suisses, and Italians, and fiftene pieces of artillery. The Princes had six thousand horse, French, and Reistres, ten thousand Harguebuziers French and Lansquenets, and eleuen pieces of Cannon.

As these armies beheld one another, two Gentlemen following the Dukes campe, present themselves to the first they meet of the Protestant party. *Aduertise the Admirall* (said they) *that he forbear to fight, for the succours newly arriued haue greatly fortified our armie: let him temporize a month only: it is the time the Nobilitie hath giuen vnto the Duke, with protestation to serue him for that time, but not afterwards, then shall hee be forced to a peace to your aduantage.* Of two Councils those which hatten to their owne ruine do commonly follow the worst. They aduertise the Admirall herof, he apprehends it, and desires to follow it, so doe the most modest, and that at nine of the clocke at night they should take the way to Eruaux, putting the riuier, that runnes there, betwixt the two armies. Others of a more boyling humour, inferre: That these nightly retreats terrifie them that make them, preiudice their reputations, augments the enemies courage, and that they must doe it only at the point of day. Moreover, this might bee a practice to amaze their troopes, and that comming from suspected persons, accustomed to deceiue, it was also suspected, and to be reiected.

This diuerstie of opinions troubled the Admirall, but see what afflicted him more neerely. The Reistres did mutine for want of pay, the Lansquenets refused to march: three or foure French regiments of the most remote Countries, had already asked leave to depart, many Gentlemen were retired to their houses, and the Duke approached. The Admirall then beseecheth the Princes that were at Parthenay to come to the armie, that by their presence they might containe them in obedience. They bring 150 good horse: But whilst the Admirall labours to pacifie the mutiny of the Germans, two houres are spent, so as the troopes cannot recouer a place of aduantage neere vnto Eruaux, where they could hardly haue charged them.

These broyles appeased, the army takes the way to Eruaux the third of October, and discourages the Dukes which aduanced. They cause the Princes to retire, being yet too young (but vnder colour to conduct them with more assurance, many retire with them) and arrange themselves in a valley, being covered from the Cannon. And vpon the approach of the Dukes foreward (consisting of nineteene Cornets of Reistres in two squadrons marching directly against the Admirall) the Admirall sends to Count *Lodowike* who led the battell, to send him three Cornets. The Earle obeyes, but he leads them himselfe: who hath no sooner left his place, but hee remains engaged in the skirmish, the which continued three quarters of an houre: the Admirall was hurt in the face, and his horsemen being overthrowne, leaue the field. The battell makes a great resistance, but vnfurnished of a head, it is forced to yeeld to the greater number: part of the footmen are cut in pieces, and part dispersed here and there, the artillery lost, and the ensignes caried away: all fly, euery man saues himselfe. Count *Lodowike* retires with three thousand horse in one company, turning head still against them that pursued, and recouers Parthenay, the refuge of the remainders of this shipwracke. Foure thousand Lansquenets dyed in this battell, 1500 French souldiers, about three hundred men at Armes, many horses, seruants, and Lackeys of men of marke, *Puigresseur*, *Biron* brother to him that led the foreward, and Saint *Boncl*, Cornet of the Admirals company. *La Noue* was prisoner againe, with *Acier* and others: the Reistres baggage was spoiled, that of the French being more aduanced towards Niort and Parthenay, was saued. The Duke lost few foot, but five or six hundred horse, and twice as many hurt, whereof the most part died, as the eldest *Reingraue*, the Marquis of *Bade*, *Clermont* of *Dauphine*, and few others of quality.

An vnlooked for accident.

Battell of Montcontour.

Seldome

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Notable error

Seldome doe we reape the fruits of an absolute victory. The Protestants too often were dispersed: and their horsemen (for the most part Reistres) were discontent for want of pay, and losse of their baggage. A hot pursuit had in shew produced one of these two effects, either their defeat, or their retreat into Germany: two months pay had drawne them vnto it. To leave the remainder of these forces at the Commanders deuotion, was to giue the Admirall meantes (being a wife Commander in warre) together together the remnant of this shipwracke, to repaire his broken vessell, and in the Spring to goe to field with new troups, to spoile diuers Provinces, and in the end to bring the warre to the gates of Paris. Moreover, these daunted spirits would bee soone reuiued by the presence of their Princes, whereas vpon this first defeat they might shue them into some place whereby the warre should be soone ended.

Victories after the battell.

Thus discouraged the most iudicious: but others finding the recouerie of those places easie in this amazement, which the Princes held in Poitou, Xaintonge, and Angoulmois, the Duke follows their resolution, and for the first fruits of his conquest marcheth to Parthenay: but there he finds nothing but the nest, the place empty, and the gates open. The Princes vpon the first brate had recouered Niort, and so Saint Jean d'Angely. The Baron of Mirebeau kept Lusignan, a place sufficient to winne much reputation, yea for a Captaine of no great valour: yet the parles of young Lufac preuailed more with the Baron, then five thousand Cannon shot which the Dukes of Martignes and Aumale spent against Piles, as wee shall hereafter see. Niort being summoned, began to wauer, and May who had the guard of it (being gone forth against some scouts that were approached to the gates, and traitorously shot with a Pistol by Maurenel a Gentleman of Brie, who had newly put himselfe vnder his Cornet, and shall within fewe yeares make himselfe famous by an act equall to the first in treachery, and detestable villany) retiring himselfe by the aduice of the Princess to Rochel, where soone after hee dyed of his wound, the towne being abandoned returned into the Dukes power without any difficultie. Puyauit also leaving Fontenay, the garisons of Chastelleraud, Chaugny, Rochepot, the Caste of Angle, Prully, Cleruaut, and other small places, dislodged together, and vnder the conduct of Briquemault came to make head in Sancerre and la Charité, being let vpon in their way, by the Commons of Berry and la Chastre Gouverneur of the country.

Momburn, Mirabel, Verbelay, and some six or seuen hundred horse of Dauphine, Vignaretz, Auvergne, and Languedoc recouer their houses, vnder colour to prouide for some places of importance in their marches, and to make the way easie, which the Princes pretended to follow, for to winter in Limagne of Auvergne, if they had not altered their designe. We shall see shortly what course they tooke after their defeat. Nismes returns into the Protestants power. An aduenturous souldier, did with a secret fyle, in sundry nights, fyle asunder a grate of iron, which stopt vp a hole at the foot of the towne wall, by the which did flow a fountaine for the benefit of the inhabitants. The passage being made, Saint Cosme, Chaussy, Mingelle, and other Captaines enter, they cut in pieces a corps de gard towards the Carnes gate, force another neere to that of the Crowne, open the gates, bring in their men that remained without the towne; and become masters thereof, to the preiudice of S. Andre being Gouverneur, who hauing no leisure to slip into the Caste, brake his necke leaping over the wall, and his Lieutenant his thigh. Almost Captaine of the Caste kept it almost three months against the towne: in the end being vnurnished of men, some lost by sundry accidents, some dead or languishing of sickness, and a good number oppressed vnder a myne, he yielded to depart with bagge and baggage.

Verdelay better  
ge: it is as  
flamefull for  
Sesja.

On the other side, Sanfuc by vertue of a Commission granted him from the Duke, to take from the Protestants whatsoeuer they held on that side Loire, had taken Douzi a place abandoned, then Noiers by composition, the which was ill obserued: most part of the souldiers were led to Troyes in Champagne, and about threecore passing through the streets were abandoned to the peoples rage. But Verdelay is feared too high vpon the rop of a steep mountain, hauing but one approach. Tarot and some other Gentlemen Protestants his neighbours had lately seized theron, and Blesser, Sarasin, Belanson, and Rimpierre Captaines defended it. Sanfuc makes his approaches with three companies: but at the first the Captaines cut off two companies, kill the Captaines & forty souldiers, the

the

1569

A the third being scattered in the vineyards retire in the night. Hee returns with greater forces, makes his battery, opens two breaches, giues an assault and scalado, but in vaine: he loseth about 300 men: and the besieged lost Sanfuc with some thirty souldiers: Sanfuc doth change and re-change his battery, he tries another assault, and (as at the first) hee is shamefully repulsed with losse, but not discouraged. Some of his confident friends within the towne giue him aduice, that most of the Gentlemen are gone to field: hee returns with new artillerie, (his owne being broken or crackt) new munition, and new forces. Twelve Cannons begin a long and furious battery, takes away the defences, enlarge the first breaches, and makes the rampars euen with the ground. They giue a general assault: B the siege of La Charité, made the assailants attempts contemptible to the besieged: the more earnest he is, the more obstinate they grow. Three thousand Cannon shot doth nothing abate their courage: contrariwise fiftene hundred souldiers of the assailants being slaine, inflame the Vezelois, they kill the brauest of them vpon the rampars, at the breach and in the trench. Then Sanfuc forced to retire, is contented to blocke them vp in the end of the yeare. Briquemault and Guerchy gouverneur of la Charité, doe afterwards relieue them with some refreshings.

Ciuilt warres are but a perpetual ebbing and flowing of losses and conquests: Poitiers had bene the Theater whereon the Princes had to their ruine played the first act of their tragedy, and now Saint Jean d'Angely must end the victories of the Duke of Anjou. The Duke putt vp with the happy successe of his victories, comes the 16 of October to besiege S. Jean: but he finds not so easie approaches as at the rest. Piles commanded therein, who by sallies and skirmishes, shewes that they must come well armed, and at the first assault he kills many of their Captaines, and of their best souldiers. Montisquieu (he that grew so famous by the murder of the Prince of Condé) died there, but too honourably for him. In the end Baron General of the artillerie, (seeing the resolution of the besieged) did mediate a truce, at the end whereof Piles should yeeld the towne, if within a certaine time succours came not, or an answer from the Princes. The day comes, when as Saint Senerin leading forty horse, doth politiquely deceiue both Sentinels and Guards, and vnder the name of a friend, slips into the towne. So the hostages deliuered on both sides, they begin D againe to play and batter with their Cannon, and the towne-men to carie earth, make rampars, and to shoor with such a fury, as Sebastian of Luxemburg, D. of Martignes, and Governor of Brittain, found this towne fatal to lodge him in the monument of his Ancestors. During this batterie, the Queene would honour the siege with the presence of the King her sonne, being then nineteene yeares of age. But this bred a ieaousie betwixt the two brethren. Charles was quicke, vehement, and somewhat froward: Henry more tractable and courteous: and Charles euen then perswaded himselfe, that his mother would make him recuee a disgrace at Saint Jean d'Angely, to fauour the Duke her younger sonne, whose advancement she made shew to desire. The succeeding yeares will teach vs, that this impression made Charles to loue his brother best, being farther off in the North, then by his presence to enioy the Mothers affections, and to haue authority within the Realme.

Finally, the second of December, after two months siege, the King signed their capitulation: That they should depart with their goods, armes, horses, and Ensignes displayed, and for foure months should carie no armes for the pretended reformed religion. But as this siege is famous for that it was valiantly followed and defended: so is it likewise famous by the breach of faith giuen by his Maiestie. At their going forth, they spoile them of their armes, apparell and money: the Duke of Aumale, and the Marshall of Vielleuille are not able to make good the Kings promise: nay, the D. of Anious presence, cannot restrain their insolencies. They spoile their baggage, they take away their horses, they strip their men. And to increase their villanies, the regiment of Sarrien, being lodged at Saint Leger, halfe a league off, comes ouerthwart, wounds, kills, murders and casts them into the River: and happy is hee that can escape in his shirt to recouer Angoulême, where Piles and some others holding themselves (by reason of this treacherous and vnworthy visage contrarie to the Law of Armes) freed from the conditions whereunto they were bound by the capitulation, went to the Princes to vnderstand their pleasures. The Historic obserues about ten thousand men of warre lost before Saint Jean, five thousand Cannon shot spent, five and twenty, or thirty Commissaries of the artillerie slaine in their charges many

Saint Jean  
yielded,The compo-  
sition broken.

many shrunke away, and in the end the campe was diminished eightene or twenty thousand men.

A treaty of  
Peace.

The army tyred with labour, and prest with want of victuals, and other discommodities, dislodging from Saint Jean d'Angely, gave the Princes leisure to determine of their voyage: and the King retiring to Angiers, aligned the Princes deputies thither, to begin the following year by the continuance of a treaty of Peace begun in the month of November. *Beauvais, la Noche and Taligny* come thither in February, and returne with another answer to the Protestants, but a liberty to live within the Realme free from search in their houses, and for their safety two townes, which *Biron* should name vnto them, in the which they might doe what pleased them, not impugning the Kings authority: nor the quiet of the Realme: his Maiestie offering to restore them to their charges, except such as had been dismissed by the order of Iustice, and the money (growing by the sale thereof) received by the Kings commandment: but for forbidding all exercise of Religion, but of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish: banishing all Ministers out of the Realme, and requiring them to disarme, to send back presently their foraine forces, and to yeeld vp all townes held by the violence and force of armes. In the meane time posts fly into England and Germany, and to diuert or stay the succours which the Protestants might expect from thence, the brute flies that a Peace is made in France.

The Princes and Admirall thinking they were but deuices to hinder their affaires, every one prepares againe to put on harnesse: their forces were dispersed into diuers Provinces: those about Bourges had an enterprize vpon the towne, by the practice of a souldier, who by treacherie makes them to lose thirty men at the entry, and as many prisoners. So he that thinks to take, is often taken himselfe. The reduction of Poitou, had likewise brought Marans and the Castell of Beauvoir vpon the sea to the Kings obedience. Angouleme and Rochel onely remained to the Protestants. They had lost Lusignan: but Blay, Taillebourg, the Isles of Xaintonge, Marennes, and Brouage, were yet at their deuotion. To try Rochel the King threatens them by his Letters, and by promises he seeks to win *Paradailan* and *Romegas*, the Gouernours of Blay and Taillebourg. They answer (saith the History) the King wisely, and *Lanfac* courageously: *You cannot bee more grieved (said Paradailan) to attempt to force me in this place: then I shall be, for the shame, losse and confusion; which I shall cause you to receive, or any other that shall attempt it. Romegas* speakes in the same sence. The effect was more to be feared then words: yet *Lanfac* attempted nothing against them. The Islands had much annoyed the siege of Saint Jean d'Angely; and the *Lanqueners* escaped from Montcontour, were dispersed there. The Earle of Lude, *Puigalliard* and *la Riviere Puitaille*, Gouernours, the one of Angiers, the other of Marans, with eight cornets of horse, and twenty ensignes of foot, force the said Islands, and make such a slaughter, as there remained not about three hundred fighting men.

*La Noue* the Princes Lieutenant in Guienne, studied to recover Brouage, a place of great importance for the Rochelois, when as the Baron of la Garde attempting vpon Tonne Charente, made both their enterprises to proue vaine. Rochel is now blockt vp on all sides. *Lude* and *Puigalliard* had an armie in Poitou: *la Riviere Puitaille* the elder, held Marans and other places thereabouts: the younger commanded in Brouage. *Landsman* Vice-admirall held Olone. The Brittons & Bourdelois cut off the Rochelois victuals by sea. *La Garde*, then Generall of their galleies, did runne oftentimes even into their haven: but to presse them on all sides, he would gladly have beene master of Tonne Charente. *La Noue* had undertaken the defence thereof, who vnderstanding the Barons practice, so planted his shot, as at his enemies first landing, hee slew their Commanders, and many others, gaue liberty to the slaves, and became master of the galley: and if hee had not too soone transporting them, the rest comming to enter into Charente, and resolute to land, they could not haue escaped death or prison. This gally did afterwards serue *Romegas* to beat the Catholikes in many places. And if *la Garde* prevailed nothing by force, his policies were of as small effect. So as he lost his time, men, and money, and did nothing of moment.

Contrariwise, the defeat of some troops at Nouaille by the harguebuziers of *La Noue*, vnder the leading of *Scipio* an Italian Ingenger, and the recovery of Marans by *La Noue*, from *Chaparon* Gouernour of the place, after the death of the elder *Puitaille* lately deceased,

A ceased, was the cause of the winning of ten or twelve other places thereabouts, and gaue the Rochelois meanes to enlarge themselves. The spoile of Olone did enrich them, furnished them with forty good vessels, with some armes and Cannon, and a good number of prisoners, and diminished their enemies strength of about 400 fighting men. This reuiving caused *Puigalliard* and *Fernacques* to make enterprises vpon Langon and Gué of Nelyure, and by the recovery of Lufon to molest Marans and Rochel againe, if that *la Noue* had not speedily taken this fort from them that came to seize on it, and slue *Sforza* a valiant Gentleman, Captaine of a company of Italians, who were come to charge him behinde in his retreat.

B The Tower of Moric, the Castle of La Graue, Talmonde, and the Castle of Chiff, being taken againe by *Puigalliard*, recompensed the losse of Lufon: and the conquests of *Puigalliard*, were at the same time crost by *Puisault* Gouernor of Marans, by the death of Captaine *Dante*, who scoured all Poitou, by the rout of their company, and wounding in a manner, of all the members thereof, and by the ouerthrow of *Chamont* and *Goulenes*, issued out of Angouleme with two cornets of horse: by the death also of *Guitiere* Gouernour of S. Jean d'Angely: the ouerthrow of young *Riviere Puitailé*, the route of his men, and the losse of two Ensignes. But the death of Captaine *Herbetele*, commanding a company of French, and two of Italians, and the defeat of his troopes by *Coignes* issued out of Angouleme, which then held for the Princes, made the mid-may famous, a season when as the second parle of peace was reuiued.

Time brings many changes, now it fauours the Protestants, reuiues their courages, fortifies their hopes, and the Catholikes are new to beginne, the King was wearied with this variable continuance of warre, it drew his subjects from his obedience, ruined his Provinces, wasted his treasure, and consumed his forces. The Queene-mother, since the enterprize of *Meaux*, did still nourish in her breast a fire of reuenge. She was wonderfully discontented, that the Protestants in the beginning of the first troubles had so violently opposed against her desire to rule, by the mutual ruine of the one and the other. But there was paine and perill to suppress the heads of the Protestants: many murderers, and many prisoners, offered themselves, but the most part drew backe when it came to the effect. Moreover, the Princes grew waggard and iudgement, they framed themselves to affaires, they began to know the friends and enemies of the Common-weale. And on the other side, many Noblemen of either party, laboured to temper the humors, both of such as were best affected to the publike quiet, and of those that during these viciuall confusions, made a way for their ambitious designs: whilest that *Biron* and *Taligny* chiefe Deputies, the one for the King, the other for the Princes, labour about Peace.

Let vs see what course the Princes tooke since the battell of Montcontour vntill the peace. A small ball of snow rowled from a high mountaine, grows great in a short time, and becomes able to endure a great force. So the Councell whereby the Princes resolved to retire farre from the Conquerors armie, did much auile them: for they assured their men, fortified themselves with new troopes, and consumed their enemies, in the taking and retaking of places which they had possessed.

But still the poore people suffer for great menes follies. *Aginois* and *Queray* serues now as a good retreat for the Protestants. They finde there a fat and fruitful Country, where by the spoile of the contrarie party, they refresh their persons, and make a new bodie. There is nothing but inroads, spoiles and robbings of the enemy: but there was violent warre against Tholousa, and horrible fires in their houses which belonged to the Court of Parliament. They haue beene (said the Protestants) very violent to burne them of our Religion, beheaded Captaine Rapin, who caried them the Edict of Peace from the King, and to commit many other inuolencies, whereof opportunitie now cries for vengeance. Doubtlesse the Iustice of God doth oftentimes send a wished encounter to be reuenged of an indignitie received. The Marshall of Danuile, *La Pallete*, and some other Commanders of quality, made some sallies, with diuers variable euent, but not traying farre from their walls for feare of surprize.

*Cermain*, *Oriac*, *la Faye*, *Lesbos*, *Montefranc*, and generally all they besiege (except Saint Felix, from whence the Gascons were repulst in the assault, with the losse of fifty men, and the Vicount of Montclar hurt whereof he dyed at Castres) is forced, and the garisons cut in pieces. During the armies abroad in Albigeois, the Princes, ( notwithstanding the crosses

The Princes  
voiage after the  
battell.

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crosses of *Escars*, *Pompador*, *la Vanguion* and others commanding three thousand men) A being fortified with five or six hundred horse, brought from Rochel by *Beaudin* and *Ren-ty*, send *Piles* into the county of Rouffillon, where hee did spoile and greatly annoy the Spaniard, whilest the Kings deputies conferred neere vnto Carcassonne, with *Teligny*, *Beauvais* and *la Chassettiere*, who going afterwards to his Maiestie, concluded what wee shal see in briefe. Languedoc, Viuretz & Dauphine, hauing fortified the army with about 3000 Harguebuziers, most of them mounted at the country-mens charge, in stead of those which *Menbrun* (through fauour of the fort which hee built vpon Rofne right against Pufin) led away to refresh themselves in their country, hauing surmounted the difficulties of the mountaines, and the Admirall being freed from grieuous sicknesse, which B had brought him to deaths doore, at Saint Estienne in Forest, the army comes into Bour-gongne, where being fortified with 1500 light-horse, come from la Charite and the neighbour garisons, vnder the command of *Briquemault*, they encounter a good occasion to aduance the peace.

It seemed to the Protestants a matter of some difficulty, to obtaine a peace, vnlesse they approached neere vnto Paris: and to that end, the Admirall had suffered almost all his footmen to furnish themselves with horses, and aduanced by great iourneys into the heart of France, whilest his troopes were fresh, and lusty, and free from diseases. But hee had before him, the Marshall of Cossé, the Kings Lieutenant in the absence of the Duke of Anjou: who, to hinder the Princes approach to Paris, seeks meanes to fight with them. They incamped at René-le-Duc, a place not very strong of situation, from whence they thought to dislodge them with their Cannon, whereof the Princes were vnfurnished, and by diuers volles of shot, to make them leaue certaine passages which they held. The Marshall *la Valette*, *Stroff* and *la Chastre*, come with all speed, charge and recharge them, and at the first, they force them from a passage. *Briquemault*, Marshall of the campe, *Montgomery* and *lenis*, endure the shooke; they kill, hurt and take many: and by this firme resolution, make it knowne, that their lodgings are not to be forced. So the Marshall founds a retreat, and the Princes, to whom all stay was preiudiciall, being strengthened with new companies drawne out of Sancerre, la Charité, Antrain, Vezelai, and other places of their party, and furnished with some artillery: they turned head towards Paris. But a truce of ten dayes, stayed all exploits of warre, betwixt them, and the Marshall: while the Baron of *La Garde*, *Puigalliard* & *Riniere Puitaill*, chiefe enemies to the Protestants, laboured to become Masters in Guienne, and the neighbour country. To that end, after they had overcome the troopes of horse and foot, led by *la Noue*, *Soubize* and *Phoiault*, and by a shamefull chafe shut their companies into Rochel, they recouer all the forts and places which had bene taken from them since the surprize of Marans. And the more to restrain the Rochelois, they build a fort at Lufon, vnder the command of Captaine *Mafcaron*. They hoped this fort should bee a bait to draw the Protestants to field, but hauing built it without contradiction, *Puigalliard* tries another stratagem. Hee retires his forces into high Poictou, and giues out, that the Princes had gotten a great victory, and that he must by the Dukes commandement, lead away his troopes with all speed: that by a strong ambush and turning head suddenly, hee might charge the Protestants, and defeat them at their first approach. Notwithstanding, *La Noue* and his companions keepe themselves quiet, giuing their troops (amazed by their last fight) time to take breath, the which causeth *Mafcaron* to slacke the guard of his fort.

*La Noue* being aduertised, that the fort was to be forced, goes out of Rochel with foure corners, cleuen ensignes of French, and 300 Lansquenets, which remained: *Puigalliard* gathers together speedily what troopes he can, which now began to leaue him: and to shut vp *la Noue* betwixt Marans and Lufon, makes them to march two dayes and a night to Saint Gemme, halfe a league from Lufon, but with one light repast. Here his second policy of warre preuailes as little as the first. He taines himselfe sick, and giues out, that a burning ague detained him in his bed: then vnder colour of the delivery of *Rouffiere* a Gentleman of Poictou, and others whom *Phoiault* had lately taken in an encounter: he sends a trumpet to assure them of this pretended sicknesse, and to discouer the strength of the besiegers. But this spy was not cunning enough: he trips in his answers, and by his faintnesse discouers his masters practices. *Phoiault* extorts the truth by force: then shewing them, that they had to do with men that were toiled and broken with their great march,

Incoun-  
ter at  
René-le  
Duc.

Warre in  
Guienne.

The fort of  
Lufon be-  
sieged

743

1570

A march, they dislodge from S. Gemme, to ioyne with *la Noue*. *Puigalliard* is aduertised that the enemy flies, and retires in disorder to Marans. Hee approacheth, enters the Bourg, and finding nothing but the nest, some runne to the victuals, others to the spoile. But they haue a contrarie aduice, That the enemy is neere and in battell. *La Noue* had lodged his men by the fauour of the ditches, hedges, and bushes, which compasse in the vines of that country, whereas *Puigalliard*'s horse could not passe but by small companies. *La Noue* commanded to the charge, Saint *Etienne* and *Bruneleire* beginne it, against 150 masters, of the chiefe troopes of *Puigalliard*, and makes them to stagger. *Phoiault* forceth through them, kills some, and amazeth the rest. *Puigalliard* and those that were best B mounted, fly vnto Fontenay, foure leagues from thence: the footmen hemmed in on all sides, and broken by the horse, presently giue way, and remaine at their mercy, without mercy, namely, of the Lansquenets, who reuenge vpon them the blood of their countrymen, shed neere to Montcontour: Sixteene Ensignes, and two cornets were taken, 300 old souldiers slain vpon the place, and thirty men at armes, with many Commanders and Officers of Regiments and Companies. Seven or eight hundred prisoners were sent away with white wands in their hands. The fort being valiantly assailed, and yielded by *Mafcaron*, added foure companies to the victory, and this victory caused the conquest of Fontenay le Conte, from whence the besieged retired to Niort: *La Noue* hauing lost his left arme in the siege.

C Oleron, Marennès, Soubize and Brouage, yielded to the victors, where as the death of *Riniere Puitaill*, recompensed *la Noue*'s hurt. So as by the recovery of all that which the King held about Rochel, the Protestants coopt vp the Catholikes within the wals of Saint Iean d'Angely. The Prince Dauphin of Auvergne came into Poictou, to reparaire *Puigalliard*'s losses, and to strengthen the forces of the Earle of Lude, for the making of some new attempt, when as a peace concluded betwixt the King and the Princes, stayed the course of their triumphs, the eleuenth of August, and caused a suspension of Armes, to renewe it againe two yeares after, with a more vnworthy and horrible proceeding.

By this third Edi& of Peace, they had foure townes of safety, Rochel, Montauban, D Cognac and la Charité, to be held two yeares in the Princes names, and the Princes, with the chiefe Commanders of the Protestants, attending the full execution thereof, retired to Rochel: the armies were dismissed, and the strangers conduced into Lorraine. Soone after, the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, gaue his eldest daughter in marriage to *Philip* King of Spaine (so the Vncle married his Neece, but the House of Austria hath oftentimes obtained such dispensations) and so our *Charles* in the towne of Mezières in the end of November, tooke to wife *Elizabeth* the yonger Sister, a wife and virtuous Princeesse.

There was a Peace concluded, but no full obseruation of the Edi&: whereupon the Princes sent *Briquemault*, *Teligny*, *Beauvais* *la Noelle* and *Casannes* to Court. The King at their instance, sent Commissioners throughout all the Prouinces of this Realme. But there were some amongst them, who (not many yeeres before) had condemned the Admirall to be hanged. Amongst others, the Marshall of Cossé, and *Proutiere* Master of Requests, were at Rochel, to consult with the Queene of Nauarre and the Admirall, about the meanes in general, to maintaine the Realme in Peace: and particularly to treat of a marriage betwixt *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Nauarre, and *Marguerite* of Valois the Kings Sister, and then to conferre with the Admirall touching the warre which his Maiestie seemed to pretend against the Spaniard in the Low-countries, to the protection whereof, he was greatly sollicitated. The Kings good countenance, and the gifts hee gaue to the Deputies, namely, to *Teligny*, who seemed to be greatly in his Maiesties fauour and F likewise might doe much to perswade his father-in-law to come to Court, makes them at their returne to Rochel, to extoll the Kings singular loue and affection to the Queene of Nauarre, the Princes, the Admirall, and to all the rest of their party, and to assure them by his commandement, that he will not onely maintaine the Peace, but also confirme it by the alliance of his owne Sister, and that he desires to conferre by mouth with the Admirall, touching this new expedition of the Low-countries, and therefore they should make hast to goe vnto him.

And the better to confirme them in this beliefe, the King sends *Biron* after them with  
S f f the

The battell of  
Lufon.

The third  
Edi& of Peace.

King Charles  
marries the  
Emperours  
daughters.

1571

The Kings d. c.  
simulation  
with the Prin-  
ces & Admirall.Pretexts for  
the Low-coun-  
try warres.

the same charge, and that hee would procure the Queene his Mother, and the Duke of Anjou his brother, to moderate their spleenes and discontents, and would worke a reconciliation betwixt the Duke of Guise and the Admirall. The apparant meane to confirm a publicke concord did please the Admirall, beleeving this marriage should be the ground of a most happy peace, and the Queene of Nauarre feared lest delay should alter the Kings good meaning. But the accomplishment of the marriage was hindered by some lets. The Pope made some difficulty to dispence therewith, as well by reason of the confanguinitie of the parties, (the one being petty-Nephew, the other grand-child of Francis the first King of France) as also for the difference of their religions. The Queene of Nauarre likewise made some scruple of this disparity of religion, of the ceremonies, and of the place of the solemnity. She would not haue the marriage celebrated after the manner of the Catholike Church, and feared the City of Paris, as most affected to their religion, and of long time an enemy to the House of Nauarre.

Contrariwise, the King would haue Paris to be the Theater, where this notable act should be solemnely celebrated in view of the capitall Cite of his Realme, without changing any thing in forme of royall marriage. In the end, the respect of ciuill reason prevailed. As for the motives of this warre pretended in the Low-country: (they were goodly in shew) for besides this hereditarie hatred of the French against the Spaniard, being reuiued by the outrages and warres made in France by Charles and Philip his sonne, the remembrance whereof was yet fresh, they renewed the ancient quarrels of many possessions in the Low-countries, depending vpon this Crowne. Moreover, they pretended new causes, which seemed lawfull to breake the alliance betwixt the two Kings. That his Maiestie had most certaine intelligence of poison giuen by Philip to his wife, the Sister of our Charles, vpon some discontents and filthy ialousies. These reasons had a shew of truth, and the Admirall to the end the French (who cannot liue long together in mutuall concord, and that by a long life of warre breathed nothing but warre) should not seeke some new feedes of ciuill diuision, held it good to diuert this vehement heat against some stranger and nation as farre off. Many necessary considerations fortified this ciuill counsell. The forces of the Prince of Orange, and his bretheren, who spoiled by the Spaniard of many rich possessions both in the Low-countries, and in the county of Bourgongne, had long time sought to recouer it by armes. The credit and fauour of the Low-country men in Germany, by reason of the exceeding cruelty of the Duke of Alua; Lodowike of Nassau, brother to the said Prince, a man of great courage and resolution, prest it forward, and his presence was a spur to the Admirall. Moreover, to the end it should seeme this warre was managed with the Kings consent, his Maiestie did suffer the Prince of Auranges Fleet to ride about Rochel, annoying the Spaniards and Portugals, which sailed vpon that coast for the trafficke of the Low-countries: and for Cont Lodowike, to sell the booty hee had taken from the enemy freely and publicly at Rochel.

So the Admirall, a widower by reason of Charles of Laual deceased in the second troubles, after hee had espoused the Countesse of Antremont in Savoy, at Rochel, and giuen his daughter Louyse to the Lord of Teligny to wife, he comes to Court, relying vpon the Kings assurances, so often confirmed by messengers: and especially by the Marshall of Cossé whom the King had sent to accompany him, presuming the Admirall would giue more credit to the Marshalls words, by reason of their familiarity.

The King receiued him with all Demonstrations of loue (those of Guise leaue him the place, not to yeeld any thing vnto him, but to returne soone after with greater authoritie) and to take from him all ialousies and distrusts which were giuen him from all parts, the King at the first doth recompence the losses which the Admirall had sustained during the former warres, by the gift of a hundred thousand frankes, and grants him for one whole year, the reuenues which his brother the Cardinal of Chastillon enjoyed (being lately deceased in England.) He giues him a place in the Priuy counsell. Doth oft-times conferre with him touching the warres of Flanders, and makes shew to bee governed therein by his aduice and counsell: hee honours him with that plausible name of father, and treats with him so familiarly, as the country tooke this familiarity for a shew of his Masters affection to the Admirall, and the people beganne now to murmur, that Charles not onely fauoured the Huguenots, but would shortly himselfe become

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A become a Huguenot. A cunning bait to free the Admirall from suspition by the aduertisements which had beene giuen him to the contrarie. He could now tast no admonitions, his spirit was so transported with the Kings countenance and words.

Doublelesse the wisdom of man failes euen in the wisest, when it pleaseth him that giues it, to weaken the strongest spirits, and (by a iudgement incomprehensible to man) to cast a vayle before his eyes, and to make him vnable to conceiue the iustice and horrow of the iudgement which he meanes to display. For the better aduancing the enterprise of the Low-countries, the Admirall thought it fit the King should make a Peace with Elizabeth Queene of England. They might treat it with a very honest colour, to the prejudice of the Spaniards, Elizabeth was not married, and Henry Duke of Anjou had no wife, the dignity of so high an alliance was honorable for the Duke, and the qualitie of a Kings brother was not to be contemned by a Queene: hauing also in his yong age purchased great glory and reputation. This charge is giuen to the Marshall of Montmorency. But the issue did shew, that besides this negotiation of Peace, their meaning was to abuse both the Admirall and all others whom it was expedient to abuse for the execution of the counsell of Saint Cloud, and by the same practice to send the Marshall farre from Court, lest by his ordinary conuerſing with the King, hauing a good iudgement, and smelling out the complots of this pitifull Tragedy, hee should discouer them to the Admirall his cousin: and by meanes of this new peace, the English in the midst of this indignitie, should be restrained from attempting of any thing in fauour of the Protestants, as it chanced. During this time the Admirall retirates to Chastillon: and in the meane season they prepare a Fleet at Bourdeaux and Brouage, vnder the command of Strossy, Landereau and the Baron of la Garde. The pretext was the warre of Flanders: yet had they expresse commission to attempt vpon Rochel, and by open or secret practises to gett into their owne power.

The Admirall hauing founded the foard, vpon his assurance to the Queene of Nauarre of the Kings singular affection to her and to all her house, in the end shee goes to Blois, where as the Court remained. Hereupon falls out an accident, which made the aduancement of the said marriage more easie: the death of Pope Pius the fifth. Gregory the thirteenth, succeeded him: whereupon the King sent the Cardinall of Lorraine to Rome, to assist at the new election, and to procure of his successor a necessary dispence, for the accomplishing of the solemnitie.

Some letters of the Cardinall of Pelue (sometimes a scullion in the Colledge of Montaignu, and then seruant to the Cardinall of Lorraine during this study, and afterwards growne to be a Cardinall) written vnto his Master, being intercepted by the way, containing amongst other things: That the Court of Rome did wonder greatly at the familiarity the King vsed to the Admirall, during his abode nere his Maiestie: that it was fit to vse such policy, attending the execution of the Priuy Counsell, the which discovered sufficiently that which was generally spoken of throughout all France. This had beene concluded at S. Cloud nere vnto Paris, amongst few, but it was common in many mens mouths: and Lignerolles, Gouverneur of Bourbonois, one of the D. of Anious mignons (for that hee had blabed out some thing which hee had learned in secret of his master) did expiate the rashnes of his licentious tongue, with the price of his blood. But we shall see in our dayes a more strange effect of Gods iustice, for that the last of our Kings of the race of Valois, shall end his life miserably in the same chamber where the fatal counsell had beene held in his presence. Neither could the aduice of Pelue, nor any other, stay the Admirall from coming to Paris as soone as the King: being solicited by his Maiestie, by many and sundry Letters, to conclude fully of the marriage, (besides they treated the marriage of the Prince of Conde, with the Marquesse of Lifle, the yongest daughter of the House of Neuers) and of the voyage of Flanders.

The Queen of Nauarre, to whom this long delay was very troublesome, prepared all things necessary for so famous an act, but she falls sicke of a quotidian fever, the fourth of Iune, eighteen dayes after his arriual, and dyes the fifth day after her sicknesse, growing (said the Physicians) of an extraordinary hardnes of the Lungs, with a great impostume, augmented by the great heat of the season, and her continuall trauell in the time of her health. A Princeesse of a notable courage, inuincible in aduersitie, of a ready wit, iudicious, absolute in her actions, capable of counsell, comprehending things with a great

Peace with the  
English.The Queene  
of Nauarre  
comes to  
Court.

Letters intercepted.

The death of  
the Queene  
of Nauarre.



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viuacity of spirit, and deliuering her minde with an admirable grace, either by word or writing: of a Iouiall complexion, and very pleasant in conuersation. But happy chiefly in this, that shee left vs a lawfull heire for to inherit this Crowne, to redeeme it out of the hands of the stranger, and to preferue it with happinesse and prosperitie.

Many are amazed at this sudden death, as an assured foretelling of some future mischiefe. The King, the Queene-mother, and all the Kings House shew a wonderfull sorrow: and to take away all suspicion of poison, Charles commands the body to be opened, and to search the causes of her death. The Physicians report, there is no shew of poyson, but her braine was not opened. Some hold opinion, that an Italian, the Kings perfumer presented her with a paire of Gloves, which prevented her from beholding of that pitifull and bloody tragedy, which shall bee shortly acted. The continuall messages sent from Charles, had likewise drawne the Princes to Court, and this death did seeme to aduance the marriage, for she gaue vnto her sonne the kingdome of Nauarre, and now he beganne to enjoy the title of King, and all his mothers succession. The Popes dispensation was necessary, without the which the Cardinall of Bourbon vncle to Henry, who was appointed to marry them, refused to proceed therein. In the end it comes, and the day of the consummation is appointed to be kept the 18 of August.

Supposed to be  
poisoned.

Beginning of  
the warres in  
Flanders.

Isle defeated.

Such were the actions of the Court, whilst that Cont Lodowike, La Noue, Sancourt and Ienlis, to whom the King had giuen chiefe Commissions for the Belgicke warre, had by the taking of Monts in Hainault, drawne all the Duke of Aluaes forces against them. Flusingue had slaine their Gouernour, with the most part of the Spanish garison, and repulst those the Duke had sent to recouer the towne. Many other townes of the Low-Countries followed the like example. Holland and Zeland hunted after their libertie. Beginnings which seemed to draw after them a long continuance of great consequence: and the authoritie the King gaue to the aboute-named to prouide for the succour of Monts, and for the continuing of other like exploits, induced the Admirall to beleuee firmly, that the King embraced this businesse without dissembling. According to this authority, Ienlis led fise hundred horse, and foure thousand foot, whereof the Duke of Alua being aduertised, he surprisid him suddently, defeated his troopes, rooke him prisoner, with many others, and slue many of his men.

The King seemed displeased with these newes, hee sends to Mendauct his Ambassadour of the Low-countries, to procure the libertie of these prisoners: and suffers the Admirall to send such succours as hee could, to ioyne with the armie of Reistres which the Prince of Orange had leauied: hee caused money to bee made ready for the entertainment of the foot, which they esteemed foure regiments, and thirty companies of men at armes. The Ambassadour of Spaine was gone out of France. The Queene-mother likewise playing her part, seemed to be ignorant of the Kings designs, and being informed thereof, shee seemed ready to retire from Court. These reasons did still confirme the Admirall, Teligni, and the rest in that beliefe, that the King concurred with the Admirall in one will, to send the warres farre off into the King of Spaines countries, the which hee had before kindled in the foure corners, and in the heart of this Realme, pretending to entertaine it there, and to maintaine himselfe with the shipwracke of this Crowne, and to seize thereon in time, as the attempt of his designs in our dayes haue testified.

The Marshall of Montmorency returned from his Ambassage, bringing a mutuall league offensive and defensive, with, and against all men, not naming any one: but the marriage whereof hee had charge remained fruitlesse: which made many beleuee that it was but a meere fiction, fit for the season, where they prepared a scaffold, on the which they should soone present a horrible spectacle. The Marshall either not to bee a spectator nor counsellor, or doubting to be ingaged in these publike and private furies, retires himselfe to his house. Rochel was in the meane time beleaguered, souldiers arised hourly, giuing terrible threats against the towne, who beganne to cry to the Admirall for succours. In other townes they heard secret murmurings, which terrified the most cleere-sighted amongst the Protestants. These aduertisements found continually in the Admirals eares. But hee continues alwayes like vnto himselfe, constant in the midst of all motions, and grew resolute against all such as laboured to call him from Court, either by mouth or writing. As for the house of Guise (saith hee) wherof they

A they will put me in feare, the King hath taken order, making vs to sweare before him to continue friends: and as for them of the Religion, the marriage of Madam Marguerit, whom his Matiesse giues not to the King of Nauarre alone, but as it were to all those of the party, to ioyne himselfe vnto them by an indissoluble union, is the finishing of their quiet and safety. To conclude, he will be no more troubled touching the Kings ill meaning, nor the Queene-mothers, the duke of Anious, the Guisens, nor any others.

And that which settles the Admirall the more in his conceit, hee finds the King, (after the death of Stejsmond King of Poland) to effect the pursuite of that Crowne in fauour of his brother. Charles was cleere-sighted in affaires of State; hee was young, yet of quicke B and ready wit, and (if bloody and furious counsels had not peruered him) without doubt he might haue brought forth better fruits, and this Monarchy had been freed from the miseries which haue since ruined it. His brother had great credit generally in France: his mildnesse made him pleasing to his Mother, and his liberalitie, to the people. He desired rather to see him command farre off then neere. And the Admirall, who knew the D. of Aniou to be an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestants, supposed that the King would by his absence settle a firme peace: that Henry being confirmed in Poland, his adherents would grow more milde: that the house of Guise disappointed of this support, would feare the Kings looks, the which sometimes appeared terrible: and that Charles C it wholly vnto himselfe, as already he made shewes of his intent.

The Admirall seeing Iohn of Montluc, Bishop of Valence, a man of iudgement, and practised in negotiations, imployed in this Ambassage, he fed himselfe with new hopes. And contrariwise, Montluc (fore-seeing the imminent storme,) was very glad to be neither a Councillor, nor a witness of the miseries that were like to fall vpon the Protestants. And indeed he had before counselled many of the chiefe amongst them, not to meddle in this imaginary warre of Flanders, but to retire in time to their houses, and not to trust ouer-much in the goodly shewes of Court, considering the enuy of the great, and the ill will of the people of Paris. But thus God confounds the iudgement, and blinds the vnderstanding of such as hee reserves for an example to their posterity. Oh France, D my haire stands vpright, and I tremble, to enter into the relation of so inhumane a Tragedie! And shall wee neuer be satisfied to heare the lamentable and continual slaughter of our countrey men? what man would not be troubled? what minde would not be oppressed with heauinesse and griefe, to see so much blood vnprofitably spilt in our Cities, which should be carefully preferred for the defence of our country against strangers and common enemies? yet let vs passe this dangerous passage: the course of times inuities vs to proceed.

A great number of Noblemen, both Catholikes and Protestants, repaired from all parts, to the solemnizing of this marriage. Those of Guise come, bringing with them a great traine of men of all qualities faithfull vnto them. The water which mooues by little E and little, the birds which houer about it, and the ayre colder then of custome, foretelle a storme to come. So the common murmurings, the stirring of the quarter-masters, and other Captaines of Paris, the Kings guards dispersed through the City, the ordinarie threats against the Protestants, were certaine testimonies, that this marriage should be seasoned more with blood then water.

The day appointed comes: the Cardinall of Bourbon maries the parties vpon a high scaffold, built before the doore of our Ladies Church at Paris. Four dayes are spent in plays, feasts, dancing and masks: the which finished, the King protests to the Admirall, that he will answer and satisfie the Protestants requests. Euery one of their Churches had their Deputies in Court, for many affaires, wherein the Admirals authority was very necessary. They ought a great summe of money to the Germanes, due for their entertainment in former warres: for the payment whereof, the King had suffered them to tax themselves to the fifth part of their estates. The Commissioners and Receiueurs prest the collection, being destitute to make an end of that businesse, the day of payment being past. Hereon the Admirall treated with the Priuy Councill, on Friday the 22 of August, where the Duke of Aniou in the Kings absence was President.

At the rising of the Councill, the Admirall hauing attended on the King, who went to play at Tennis, he retired himselfe to his lodging at dinner time, being accompanied with

Negotiations  
of Poland.

The marriage  
solemnized.

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The Admirall  
hurt.

fifteene or sixteene Gentlemen : and reading a petition, when as being about a hundred spaces from the Louvre, a Harguebuze shot from the window of a lodging neere by, belonging to *Villemur*, sometimes Schoolemaster to the Duke of Guise, caries away the fore-finger of his right hand, and wounds him in the left arme. They breake downe the doore of the lodging : they finde the Harguebuze, but not him that discharged it. This was *Mauzeuel* (vnder a counterfeite name of *Bollan* one of the Kings guards) a fit man for such murders : who mounting vpon a Genet of Spaine which was provided ready for him, fled by Saint Antonies gate to a place of safety.

The King played, and vpon the first report of this hurt : *Shall I neuer haue quiet* (said he) *shall I daily see new troubles*. And casting his Racket to the ground, hee retired to the Louvre, and swears with an execration to the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Condé (who were come vnto him to complaine of this outrage) to take such exemplary iustice of the offender, his fauours and adherents, as the Admirall and his friends should haue cause to rest satisfied. He presently commands to pursue him that shot (but they goe slowly after him) he appoints three of the Parliament to make informations against the offender, *Thou, Morfan, and Viole* : hee leaves onely two gates open with great guards, vnder colour to search for such as were priuy to this outrage, putting the whole city into armes. The Queene-mother seemes to be discontented. *They do great wrong vnto the King* (cries she) *if he should suffer this crime unpunished, they would in the end attempt against his owne house*. These counterfeite speeches retaine the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Condé, who had desired leaue to retire themselves, but then they made no more mention of leaving the Court. *Charles* himselfe, and *Katherine* his mother, come in the afternoon to visit the Admirall. The Admirall shewes vnto him the miseries which the breach of the Peace would bring vnto France : he beseecheth him to chafe away these murdres, and to maintaine his promised faith : whereupon he was come to Court, and to provide for the preferuation of the Realme. But the Queene-mother knew well how to prevent him, lest he should acquaint the King with some secrets, touching the preferuation of his Estate.

Treachery in a  
King.

The King protests againe to bee exceeding forie : that this act toucheth his honour, and that hee will be reuenged, so as the memory thereof shall remaine for euer. Hee persuades the Admirall to suffer himselfe to be caried to the Louvre, for the safety of his person : that it was to bee feared, lest the multitude stirred vp by the authors of his hurt, should fall into some greater mutinie. Hee also aduise the Gentlemen, Protestants, to lodge about the Admirals lodging, lest (said he) that being disperfed through the citie, they should recieue some wrong. But to shew that hee would not forget any thing that might concerne the Admirals safety, seeing the griefe of his wound would not suffer him to be transported, he command *Coffeins* Capitaine of his guards, to giue the Admirall as many of his guard as he pleased, and to suffer no Catholike to enter. And lest any man should grow amazed hereat, the King writes to the Gouernours of the Prouinces, to the chiefe towne, and Magistrates, *That he would take such order, as the authors of so wicked an act should be knowne and punished*. And to his Ambassadors with foraine Princes : *that they should make it knowne to all the world, that this outrage doth displease him*. The Queene-mother writes in like manner, but this was onely to keepe euery bird within his nest. In the meane time the dukes of Aniou and Guise, tooke counsell of that which they had to doe the night following. Saturday in the morning, it is bruited throughout the citie, that the Protestants did threaten the house of Guise. Hereupon the Dukes of Guise and Aumale goe vnto the King, and say vnto him : that of late they haue found their seruice to be little agreeable to his Maiestie : that if he were pleased to see them retired to their houses, they were ready to depart. Goe (saith *Charles* vnto them with a frowning countenance) *where you please, I will haue you at all times, if you be found guilty of the Admirals hurt*. So making shew to be discontented, they goe to horse, and many with them, yet meaning to yein Paris.

Paris was a pit-fall to intrap the chiefe of the Protestants : they being dead, the safer sort of that party, would in all likelihood remaine quiet. The time now offered a fit opportunitie of reuenge, the which should not be lost. The counsell was taken after dinner at the Tuilleries, by the King, the Queene Mother, the dukes of Aniou, Neuers, Retz and Taunannes.

The

A The King of Nauarres life, with the Prince of Condes, were put in balance, the wars had beene managed in their names : If they liue (said one) they will serue as an Ensigne, to reuieue those Huguenots which shall remaine in diuers Prouinces, and shall euery day minister motiues of confusions. Contrariwise, the Admirall and the principals being taken away, it shall be easie to restrain these young Princes, not onely not to attempt any innovation, but also in time to winne the Kings good fauour by their seruices : also the indignity of the fact would purchase an insupportable hatred amongst strangers. God disposed the hearts of the Councell to this second aduice, so as they will embrace the Catholike religion, and liue vnder the obedience of his Maiesty. As for the rest (whom the fury of their armes should touch) they might with a goodly pretext, leaue to the ancient quarrell of the Guisens against the Admirall, and take for an excuse, the feare they had left the Huguenots should seeke a reuenge for his hurt. To lay all the hatred vpon the Guisens, they giue the charge of this businesse to the Duke of Guise, they appoint him the meanes, the time, and the ministers of the execution.

The night being come, the Duke calls vnto him the Captaines of the Suisses, and other companies (whom to that end they had drawne into the Citie) and delieths his charge vnto them, which was, to root out the Admirall and all his partisans. He exhorts them to blood and spoile, and disposeth his troops in some speciall places. Then hee giues aduice vnto the Prouost of the Merchants, the Sheriffes and quarter-masters : that throughout all France, the like should be done to the Huguenots as at Paris. That the Palace bell ringing at the breake of day, shall giue the signal : and the mark of these executioners should be a handkerchiefe tied about their arms, with a white crosse in their hats : that they should put their men in armes, and bee at midnight in the Towne-house, to receiue order what they had to doe.

They assemble at midnight, and place many guards in the streets. Some Gentlemen lodged neere vnto the Admirall, rise at the noise of their armes, and the light of their lamps, and going into the streets, they enquire of the first they meet, what this assembly of armed men meant at so vnseasonable a time. A doubtfull answer being giuen them, makes them to repaire to the Louvre, to discover more. Here the guards goe from words to blowes, and fall vpon them. The Duke of Guise parts from the Louvre, accompanied with the Knight of Angoulême, bastard to *Henry* the second, the Duke of Aumale, Coffersins, Sadaboue, Goas, *Attin* a Picard, *Hausfort* an Auvergne, and *Besmes* a Germane, with some Harguebuziers of the Kings, and all the Duke of Anious Guard. The alarme-bell rings at Saint Germane Auxerrois, and they publish throughout the Citie, That the Huguenots had conspired against the King, the Queene mother, and all the chiefe in Court. *Coffeins* knocks at the Admirals gate : he enters at two of the clocke in the morning, the foure and twentieth day of the month, stabs him that comes to open it, forceth the doores of the lodging, enters with seuen or eight armed. *Besmes* a household seruant to the Duke of Guise, offers the Admirall the point of his sword. Hereupon the Admirall being risen

E vpon his sector, and covered with his night-gowne, said : *Townsmen, thou shouldst haue respect vnto my old age and infirmities, but thou shalt not way shorten my dayes*. Hee thrusts him through the body, and then doubles it on his head : *Attin* shoots him through with a pistoll : and when as these three wounds were not able to overthrow him, *Besmes* wounds him on the legge ; euery one of the reſſignes his blow, and thus they cast that body miserably to the ground, whom liuing and in health they durst not looke in the face. The Duke of Guise hearing the noise of their armes in the base Court, enquires if it bee done, and commands them to cast him out at the window : who yet breathing, layes hold on the pillar : but hee butcherly murderers shule him downe headlong, where the duke wiping his face with a handkerchiefe : *I know him (saith he) it is the very same* : and so spurges him with his foot : then going into the street ; Courage companions, we haue begunne happily, let vs proceed to this rest, the King commands it. An Italian of the household of the Duke of Neuers, cuts off his head, and carries it to the King and Queene mother, which causing it to be embalm'd, sent to the Pope and to the Cardinall of Lorraine, for an assurance of the death of his most capital enemy.

The palace docke strikes, and the people flye to the Admirals lodging like mad men, one cuts off his hands, another his priuy members : and for the space of three dayes, they dragge this poore carcasse with all indignity through the streets : and then they carry and

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The king re-  
solves to mas-  
sacre the Pro-  
testants.The Duke of  
Guise giues  
order for the  
massacre.The chiefe  
murderers.The Admirall  
murdered.The Protes-  
tants massa-  
cred.

hang

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hang it by the feet at Montfaucon. His lodging is spoiled, his household servants murdered. Those which attended on the King of Navarre and Prince of Conde, are driven out of their chambers, (they were in the Louvre, where the King had lodged them, to the end (sayd he) that (those of Guise having the people at their devotion) they should not in like manner feele the effects of their violence) and murdered in the base Courts the Noblemen and Gentlemen lodged in the Admirals quarter, vndergoe the like fortune. The like fury oppresseth the other Protestants throughout the city and suburbs, of all ages, conditions, and sexes, men, women, and children, rich and poore. There is nothing to be heard in Paris, but a horrible noise of armes, horses and harguebuzes: a lamentable cry of people going vnto death, a pittifull complaint of such as cried for mercy, and the pitiless shouts of murderers. The streets are strewd with carcasses, the paucements, market-places, and riuers died with blood. One day alone (by the murderers saying) hath ended the quarrell, which neither pen, paper, decrees of iustice, nor open warre could see determined in twelue years. About ten thousand foules makes this Sunday famous for euer, polluted with the spoiling of goods, and the effusion of their blood that were asleepe, disarmed, and at such a season as they thought themselves most safe. And doubtlesse the horrible catastrophes happened since to our Charles, to his brother and successors, and to the brethren of the House of Guise, in the last acts of their liues, and generally to all this Realme, euen vnto our dayes, forceth vs to confesse; That mans blood violently spilt, when as the manner of it may not lawfully be qualified with the name of Iustice, cannot please his sight, who hath created them to his owne image and likenesse, and fels them dearly to the authors of this effusion.

The fame of this massacre had already passed from the city to the suburbs, and when the Earle of Montgomery, John of Ferrieres Vidame of Chartres, *Beauvais la Rôle, Fontenay*, and many Gentlemen, lodged in the suburbs of Saint Germaine, perceiving a number of men to crosse the riuer, to make them equall with their companions: they abandon their baggage, goe suddenly to horse, and save themselves with speed, being pursued halfe a dayes journey by the Duke of Guise. But he that should haue brought the keyes of Saint Germaines gate, having mistaken them, gaue them some leisure to get the advantage.

The King lends for the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, and gives them to vnderstand, That having bene croit many years with a continuance of warre, hee had in the end found an assured meane to cut off all motives of confusions to come: that by his commandement they had slain the Admirall (the pernicious author of forepassed troubles:) that now they did the like to others in the City, that were infected with the poison of heresie, and the ministers of his wickednesse: That he remembered well the discomforts he had receiued by their two meanes, making themselves the heads of a troop of desperate men: That now the cause and opportunity gives him meane to beee revenged of such outrages: but notwithstanding he doth pardon their offence, by reason of constancy and their young age, believing that all had bene committed, not by their fault and counsell, but by the Admirall and other wicked subiects, who now haue suffered and doe suffer a iust punishment due to their deserts, so as hereafter they repaire their faults past, by fidelity and obedience; and renouncing the doctrine of their prophane superstition, they cleave to the Catholike Religion, and returne into the communion of the Church: That hereafter hee will haue but one Religion within his Realme, euen that which he hath receiued from his Ancestors: That they should aduise whether they would obey him in this point, if not, let them resolute to yeeld their heads to the like punishments of their companions.

The King of Navarre beseecheth his Maiesty to remember his promise, and the alliance lately contracted, and not to force him in the religion which hee hath learned from his infancy. The Prince of Conde answers: That the King hath giuen his faith to all them of the Religion; and that he cannot perswade himselfe he will breake so solemne an oath. As for the obedience (saith hee) you require of me, I haue faithfully performed it vnto this day, neither will I hereafter stray in any thing from my duty. But as for my religion, my Liege, I am resolute to continue constant and (with the hazard of my life) maintaine it to be true: you haue granted me the exercise thereof, and God hath giuen me the knowledge, to whom I must yeeld an account, leauing my body and goods to the disposition of your will. This resolute answer puts Charles into choller, who full of

threats,

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A threats, gives the Prince but three dayes liberty to aduise, whether hee would soone lose his head vpon a scaffold. In the end, both abjure the doctrine they followed, and by the intercession of the Cardinall of Bourbon their Vncle, they obtained pardon of the Pope, and were receiued into the bosome of the Church.

After the massacre, those of Guise, according to the conclusion of the Councell, should retire themselves into some one of their houses out of Paris, and Charles should expressly charge and command the Gouernors of Prouinces and Townes, to obserue the Edict of peace, and to punish the breach thereof severely, to the end the people of France and their neighbours, should impute all the fury of this massacre, to the ancient quarrell of those of Guise, with the house of Chastillon. But the foulness of the fact might heape vpon them and their posterity, the hatred of all men, with whom humane society and vertue is in recommendation. For they had not spared an infinite number of learned men, of reuerend old men, honest virgins, honourable matrons, women with child, chaste maidens, young schollers, and little Infants hanging at the breasts of their mothers. Arming themselves therefore with the peoples loue, they resolute to goe out of Paris, handling the matter so politely, as they cause the King to auousch all that had beene done. So Charles writes other Letters to his Ambassadors and Gouernors, aduertising them, That the tumult which had happened concerned not religion, but the preferuation of his Estate, his House and Person, against the practices of the Admirall, and some other seditious persons; who had joyntly conspired his death, his Mothers, and his brethren, and therefore he would haue his Edict of pacification religiously obserued. Yet if any Huguenots (moued with these newes of Paris) should assemble in armes, they should root them out, as perturbors of the publike peace, referring the surplussage of his will, to the credit of the bearer. And the better to authorise this approbation, the sixteenth twentieth day of August, Charles with his brethren assits in Parliament, all the chambers being assembled, where sitting in his seat of Iustice, he declares openly, that those things which had chanced in Paris, were done by his owne proper motion and commandement, yet making no mention of the cause. Christopher of Thou, the chiefe President, commended his zeale in the name of all the companie.

The Admirall  
accused of  
conspiracy.

D But to what end did he write the contrary the next day to his Officers and the Magistrats of Townes; That to his great griefe the Admirall his cousin, and some others of his party, had bene slaine at Paris: commanding them to prevent all mutinies and murders, and to proclaim, that euery man should remaine quiet in his house, without taking of armes, or giuing any offence: and to giue order that his Edict of pacification be exactly obserued: and yet the same day to publish a declaration of the former tenure, containing, that by his expresse commandement, the Admirall and other his complices had bene slaine, not for matter of Religion, but to prevent the execution of a wicked practice made by them against the Kings person, the Queens-mother, his brethren, the King of Navarre (this was for a colour of excuse, to such as would obiect, Why then was this Prince saved from shipwracke, and it may bee for loue of him, the Prince of Conde his cousin) and generally against their Houses, and the House of France?

Doubtlesse there was small likelihood, that a little troop of men, dispersed some in the suburbs, others within the citie in small numbers, should presume to attempt any thing against the Estate. Charles had both night and day his ordinary guards, French, Swisses, and Scotchmen: the most of the Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Realme were in Court to honour the marriage. Those which had accompanied the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, had no other armes but their swords: and for a gage of their innocency, had brought for the most part their wiues, children, sisters and kinsfolkes, studying only to shew themselves at the Tilt and Tourney.

F The accusation made no mention of time, place, or adherents, neither of the means, or any witnesses of this conspiracy. If it had bene plotted since the Admirals hurt, three hundred Gentlemen vnarmed, which had accompanied him, could they haue effected any thing vnder a Commander, tied by both the armes, and ready to see the one cut off by the aduice of the Physicians and Chyrurgions, in a mighty city, and against about three score thousand men, ready to be opposed at the first alarme? Moreover, the King of Navarre and Prince of Conde, who had bene still present at Councels, would they haue belied their honors and Houses with so great an infamy? And if their innocency had

freed

The King and  
sources the  
first citie.

A noble reso-  
lution of a  
young Prince.

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freed them from the common danger, the consultations of the Admiral and his followers, A had they not bene very childish at such a time, in such a place, among so many natural French-men come with him, who had neither goods, kinsfolke, pleasure, nor content without the Realme? Besides, if the Admirall were suspected of this attempt, might they not have committed him presently to a safe prison, informe of his practices, and take such conclusions as the crime might deserve according to the lawes? To conclude, admit the Admirall after his hurt, or else his friends had giuen forth some bad speeches, must the same punishment deuoure so many persons, who conuerfed onely with their books and papers, with their trafficke, and with their worke, so many women, who dreamed but of their huiuswifery, so many virgins and infants, whose age and condition kept them from the conference of any counsell?

As for the attempt against the King of Nauarre, that accusation is friuolous. Had not the Admirall him in his power, for the space of three yeares? what benefit should he reap by his death? Haue they not conuerfed long together with an humble and sincere respect of the Admirall towards him, and a perfect loue of the sayd King to the Admirall: but omit all other reasons that might refuse this slander: let vs onely obserue the testimony which Montluc giues in the seuenth booke of his Commentaries, vpon this subiect. *The Queene-mother* (saith he) *did me the honour to write vnto me, that they had discovered a great conspiracy against the King and his Estate, the which was the cause of what had happened. I know what my beliefe was, it is not good to offend ones master. The King did neuer forget how the Admirall made him retire in haste from Meaux to Paris: wee lose our iudgements suddenly, and doe not dreame that Kings haue greater hearts then we haue, and doe sooner forget seruises then offences.* And a little aboue: *My Lord the Admirall was ill aduised, to thrust himselfe into Paris, to shew that hee gouerned all. I wonder, that so aduised and wise a man should commit so grosse an error. He payed dearly for it: it cost him his life, and many more.*

The particularities of such as during this horrible butchery haue shed their bloods for Religions sake, at Meaux, Troyes, Orlance, Bourges, la Charité, Lions, Tholouza, Bourdeaux, Rouan, and other townes, in villages, and in the open fields, as they sought to saue themselves without the Realme, haue bene obserued in other workes that are extant, and the blood of these murdered persons, which amount to aboue thirty thousand, hauing dyed the earth, and made the waters red, haue cryed so loud, that the heauens haue continued their vengeance ouer great and small, for so many yeares, as there remains scarce any one of the authors of this violent fact. Britan and Picardy remained reasonably quiet: Champagne and Bourgongne shed little blood, through the policy of them of Guise, that all the blame might light vpon the King (as also they had saued many of the chiefe Protestants in the midst of the fury of this Parisien euil-song.) In Auvergne Saint Heran put more money into his coffers, then he shed blood in his gouernment. In Dauphine there were some murders committed. In Prouence, the humanity of the Earle of Tende restrained the hands and swords of the bloody-minded.

In the end, the people (glutted with the blood, and cloyed with the spoiles of the murdered Protestants) grow quiet, and the King appoints an extraordinary Iubile with general processions, where his Maicesty assisted, with the Queene his mother, his brethren, and the Court, of purpose to giue thanks to God, for that which had so happily succeeded. There were yet some thornes stuck in Charles his feet: Rochel, Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, Aubenas, Millaud, Prius, Mirabel, Andure, and other small townes of Viurets and Seuennes serued as a Sanctuary for the Protestants that were escaped, to keepe them from danger. Rochel was not to be dealt withall, and it seemed that industry and secret practices should preuaile more then open force. *Strussy* and *La Garde* will relieue the inhabitants with men to keepe it, and vn furnish them of victuals, requiring a quantitie to refresh their army. But they had men enough; a great number were fled thither, and many protestant Souldiers whom the hope of the voyage of Flanders entertained in the kings army, slip hourly into their towne. Their priuiledges likewise did free them from garison, and as for victuals, they had for their prouision, but could not spare any. *Strussy* and *La Garde* spent both time and money in vaine about Rochel: they therefore send *Biron* vnto them for their Gouernor, with expresse commandement to receiue a garison. They answer, That they cannot beleue that that charge comes from the King, who commanded the strict

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A strict obseruation of the Edict, and grants them the vse of their ancient priuiledges vnder his obedience. And for a testimony they produce the Kings Letters of the 22 and 24 of August, whereby his Maicesty layes the motives of the sedition vpon them of Guise, saying, That he had much adoe to preserve himselfe in the midst of his guards in his Castle of Loure. As for the reasons which made them to avoid all the surprises and baits of such as *Biron* sent to treat with them, they vsed the means which pollicie wisdom doth usually furnish in such accidents: offering notwithstanding to accept *Biron*, so as the troops may be retired from thence; the exercise of their Religion to remaine free, and that hee bring no forces into the towne.

B *Biron* summons them by vertue of his authoritie, and vpon refusall proclaimes warre against them: and euen then, vnder colour to giue the army at Sea meanes to disperse it selfe, he labours by all meanes to cut off their victuals and prouisions, and to weaken them of their men. The King by his Letters parents of the 8 of October, calls home all that were fled out of diuers townes; saying, That as a good father of a family he had pitie of his poor subjects, being out of their houses: and for not comming did seize and declare their goods forfeit. Yet the excuses which the King made vnto the Pope, to the Duke of Alua, and to the Ambassador of Spaine, that the brutes of the Belgicke warre, and all the former counsels had tended to no other end, but to the ruine of the Huguenots: that his intent was to liue in peace and good correspondency with the Catholike king: and the Commissions he had sent to the Gouernors of Prouinces to degrade all Protestants from their Offices and publike charges, although they were ready to renounce their Religion, except such as advanced to meane offices, were continued by the King, abjuring according to a forme set downe by the Colledge of Sorbonne, and to search for all Protestants, that during the troubles had had the command of armes, or townes of warre, made this repeale of Charles to be wonderfully suspected.

Hereafter they vie all acts of hostilitie against the Rochelois: such as they know to be of the towne are kept prisoners, and put to their rancome: ships that failed towards the port were flayed: all merchandize belonging to the Rochelois seized & confiscated. They therefore hasten the succours which the Count *Montgomery*, the Vidame of Chartres and others prepared for them in England. The 25 of October they set sail, but not able to approach, they returned backe. Those of Sancerre hauing refused to receiue a Gouernor and Garison from the hands of *La Casstre* Gouernor of Berry, were beleaguerd in the beginning of October: *Cadaillet* Groome of the Chamber, and the Kings Huntsman, very well knowne in the towne, as an ancient seruant to the Earle of Sancerre, was sent to conferre with them: he brought the inhabitants to that point, as some desiring and others refusing the Lord of Fontaines being a Catholike, his brother surprised the Castle by the meanes of some inhabitants, who shut themselves into it with him: but the resolution, and the greater number of the Protestants displaced them within foure and twenty houres, as *Fontaines* came to their succours. So as *La Casstre* prepares now for open force, whereof wee shall see the progresse in the beginning of the following yeare.

This vnworthy and strange proceeding against the Protestants, had made the French name hateful to strangers, especially in Poland, and did much trouble the negotiation, in fauour of the Duke of Aniou. Moreover, the Protestants both within and without the Realme, layd plots which in short time might produce dangerous effects. To make the Bishops negotiation more easie, and to crosse the proiects of others, they obserue hereafter some forme of iustice against any that were found after the fury of the massacre. *Brique-mailli* a Gentleman of threescore and ten yeares old, and *Causigner* Master of Requests vnto the King, (both inward friends vnto the Admirall, and of great reputation) were of the number. They threaten them with an extraordinary torture, if they set not downe vnder their hands to haue conspired with the Admirall, the death of the King, his brethren, the Queene mother, and of the King of Nauarre, promising them pardon, if they demand it, in aduowing that wherewith they are charged. *Wee will neuer* (saith they) *accuse innocents, nor our selves for so execrable a crime.* The Commissioners not able to extort from them any such confession, they were both by sentence of the Court, as guilty of high treason, vnworthily hanged the 27 of October, in the presence of the King, Queene mother, her two other sonnes, and the King of Nauarre. To the same execution was added the like decree against the Admirall. His body had bene taken from Mountfaucon and fe- rectly

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cretely buried, the which the greatest fearch of his enemies could neuer discover. They A therefore make the forme of a man, dragge it through the citie, and then caufe it to bee hanged. Moreover, the King commands by his Letters Patents, That those of the pretended Religion should be maintained in safety in their houses, bodics, goods, and liberty of consciences. And to excuse what was past, they cast abroad many libels, defaming the memory of the Admirall and his followers. They giue new charges to the Ambassadors being in Germany, Poland, England, Suifferland, and other foraine countries, to iustifie the actions of the King and Catholikes, to the confusion and dishonor of the Admirall and his partie. But all these proceedings were meanes to discover the iniquitie of their pernicious counsels.

For the intent of this Declaration in fauour of the Protestants was presently discovered by the tenor of the Letters which the Duke of Guise did write vnto his wife, the day that *Brigveman* was executed: *The King* (said he) *hath decreed in Councell utterly to root out this sedition vermine*. But few would be taken, and the practices against the Prince of Aunages and others being discovered by this Letter, vanished into smoake.

In the meane time, they continued their attempts against Rochel: and *Effars* being chosen chiefe of the war for the Rochelois, having taken one of the Baron of *la Garde* galleys, who had approached too neare vnder colour of bringing a Letter to the whole body of the towne, caused *Biron* to publish the Kings Letters patents, giuen the sixth day of the month, and to make open warre to the Rochelois. But *Charles* was not willingly drawne C to armes: he sees well that he had kindled a fire which hee should not quench when hee would. He now tries the last stratagem. *La Noue* sent home by the Duke of Alua, after the taking of Monts in Hainault, had great credit among the Protestants, as one of the chiefe Captaines which remained. The King solicites him to be a meanes to bring the Rochelois to composition. *The impossibility of the thing*, (answers he) *and my conscience, will not suffer me to advise the Rochelois to offer their throats to them that will cut them*. Yet the Kings authority makes him to accept of this charge: but rather with an intent to serue the Rochelois, and to retire himselfe from Court, then to hurt them of his religion. After he had giuen an account of his Ambassage to *Biron*, who was then at Saint Iean d'Angely, he returns to Rochel, where he performed his duty so well and carefully, as they D acknowledged him for one of the chiefe instruments of the preservation thereof during the siege.

A COUNTE

Then appeared there a new *flarre* in heauen, hauing the forme of a Lozenge of four points, and continued (beginning the ninth of Nouember) the space of nine moneths, in-moueable (by the saying of the Astronomers) the first three weekes resembling that which serued as a guide to the Wisemen that came out of the East to worship Iesus Christ in Bethlem. The nineteenth of the said moneth, the King by another Edict, called home all his subiects to their houses, vpon paine of losse of their goods, and solicited the Protestant Suiffes, to chafe away such as were fled to them for succour. But the Ambassadors instance was of no force, and the taking of *Sommiers* by the Marshall of d'Anuille from the Protestants, the persuasions of *Gourdes* to draw into the bofome of the Catholike Church *Monbrun*, *Mirabel*, and *Les Digueires* (who euen then made shew of a most valiant, most wife, and most happy Captaine for their party, and shall hereafter haue a good share in our History) the assurance he gave them, That the King was resolved to suffer but one Religion within his Realme, with all the preparations for the destruction of them in diuers Provinces, tooke from them all desire to returne.

Seeing then that no Edicts can draw them home to their houses, and that Rochel, Sancerre, and other places (being threatened) prepare for defence, they must at the least take from the Protestants such refuges as they haue within the Realme. To shut vp Rochel, *Biron* enters into the Country of Onis, in the beginning of December, with seven cornets of F horse, and eightene Ensignes of foot. Those of Sancerre runne yet at liberty: but the opinion of their chiefe Commanders, that they would attempt some other thing, and the vaine presumption they had of the situation of their hilly place, made them the more negligent, both to furnish it with victuals, and to repaire the necessary fortifications to endure a siege, against the which they should haue foreseene the small hope of succours and the constant resolution of the assailants. Let vs consider of these circumstances, and prepare our selues to see the greatest resolution of men, led by Captaines to whom the necessity

Another re-  
pale of the  
banished Pro-  
testants.

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A necessity of the time, gave more credit, then their beginning gave them authority. *Martignen*, *Pilard*, *Martinhé*, *La Fleur*, *Chaillois*, *Moutauban*, *Busillon*, *Paguelon*, *La Mine*, and *Dorinal* commanded there ouer 650 men, and for Colonnell they had *Andrew Jonneau* Bayliffe of the towne. An hundred and fifty strong labourers in the Vines, wrought great effects with their slings (which were called the Pistols of Sancerre) for the seruices vpon the wall in assaults, scaldos, and sallies.

In Ianuary *La Chastre* Lieutenant for the King, in the government of Berry, and Gene- rall of his army, came before it with about 500 horse, and 5000 foot, sixteene Ensignes of Pioners, and a great number of peasants gathered together: at the first hee offers a reasona- B ble composition to the besieged, if they will accept it. As the beginning of this Generall was courteous, so was the proceeding of the besieged inciuill, disdainfull, and contrary to the law of the Nations. They retaine the Drum, and make no answer. To make his approaches, *La Chastre* builds a fort about four hundred paces off the towne towards Pon- tenay, another vpon the way of S. *Thibault*, a paliado in the field of S. *Ladre*: intrenched the approaches and wayes about the towne, planted ten pieces of artillery in the field of S. *Ladre*: and sixe others at Orme au Loup: (it is a high mountaine vpon the South side of Sancerre, which commands the towne) he shoots against the walls and houses at ran- dom: and spends in two moneths about six thousand Cannon shot (and yet the besieged lost not above five and twenty men) giues an assault, but with the losse of many that were C slaine, and a great number hurt.

The 13 of March, *La Chastre*, by a second battery in three diuers places, beats down the defences both of towers and wal, makes a breach of about three hundred paces, giues a general assault, presents a scaldos on another side, mynes and saps on the third, that the Sancerrois (wearied with so many difficulties) might shrinke vnder their burthen. But well assailed, and well defended, the besieged with the losse of seuenteen soldiers, not only repulse the enemy, but also make them leaue about threefcore of their most resolute men slaine in the ditches, about 200 wounded to the death, and as many maimed for euer; this cooled their heat, causing them to change this hasty fury of Cannons and assaults, into a longer, but more violent warre. They make many forts nearer vnto the Towne, and D notwithstanding the sallies and ordinarie skirmishes of the Sancerrois, they furnish them with artillerie and men, sufficient to cut off all reliefe, so as being shut vp on all sides, they begin to want ordinarie victuals in the beginning of April: they eat their Affes and Moyles, then fall they to horses, Dogs, Cats, Mice, Moles, and Leather, and in the end to Parchment, Hornes, trappings of Horses, Girdles, and wild roots. And in the end of Iune, three parts of them had no bread to eat; some make it of flax-seed, others of all kinds of herbs mixt with bran, beaten and ground in Mortars, and others of straw, of Nut-shells, and of Slates: greafe and tallow serued for pottage, and frying; yea, some (a strange thing and neuer heard of) laboured to incounter the cruelty of their hunger, by the excrements of horses and men. But a horrible thing to see, the 19 of Iune, a labourer in the Vines E and his wife satisfised their hunger with the head and intrails of their yong daughter about three yeares old, being dead in languishing, giuing no other graue to the members of this poore carcase, but their bellies. But the Magistrate aduertised of this inhumanity, did for examples sake shorten their dayes, finding them guilty of other crimes: neither were they forced hereunto by any extremite, seeing the same day they had beene relieued with pottage made of hearbs and wine, whereof there was store in the towne. To conclude, fourefcore men dyed by the sword at Sancerre (saith the History) but of hunger both within and without about five hundred. And euen now the King began to see his threats to take effect: *I will make them* (said he) *eate one another*. They were hopelesse of all humane helpe: such as they sent out for succours, either fell into their enemies hands, or F died by the sword, or returned no more, or could not re-enter. So as they could not hope for any helpe, but in despairing of helpe, when as the providence of God brings them a strange and farre-bred Nation, to giue them the libertie of the fields, and the vse of bread.

The Estates of Poland had chosen *Henry* Duke of Aniou brother to our *Charles* for their King (as we shall see in the end of the siege of Rochel) but with a promise and oath taken by the Bishop of Valence, and *Lansac* in the name of the King, their Master: That all the townes and persons in France molested for the cause of Religion should be set reli- bertie.

Siege of  
Sancerre.

Sancerre in  
great extremity  
for victuals.

An admirable  
meanes for the  
relief of  
Sancerre.

T t t



Sancerre yeelded by compo-  
sition.

Siege of Rochel

bertie. At the request thereof, the Ambassadors of Poland, this poore people languishing for hunger (yet resolute to die one after another, rather then to fall into their enemies hands, who threatened them with a generall massacre) the 19 of August they obtained of *La Chastre* in the Kings name: *To depart with their Armes and baggage: impunitie for such as would remaine still, permission to dispose of their goods, promise to preserve the honour of women and maidens, and to pay La Chastre 400000 francs by the Inhabitants that were absent.* So *La Chastre* entering the last of the said moneth, dismantled Sancerre, beat down some houses, tooke away the Clocke, Bels, and other marks of a towne: but the other points of the capitulation, were reasonably well observed: the Bayliffe *Jonneau* was massacred the 12 of September neere vnto *La Chastres* lodging.

Now follows one of the most memorable sieges that hath been in many ages. A siege where many of the Commanders, and most part of those, which were noted to haue forced the Admirals lodging, began the butcherie, and committed so many murders at Paris and else-where, came to seeke their graves. The Kings army was held to bee 50000 men by land and sea, and therefore pieces of artillerie. The besieged had a good number of Gentlemen and horsemen, eight companies of Inhabitants, nine of strangers, one of the Mayor, one of voluntaries, consisting of twenty Musquetiers, five and twenty armed with corselets of prooffe, and thirty Harguebuziers: the two thirds thereof, were Gentlemen, and such as had charge in the former warres. Yet the mildest way is the best. And therefore *Biron* in the beginning seekes some means of an accord: but the Rochelois discouraging every day some new practice, beleueed that their preservation consisted in distrust. And a gentleman being in Rochel, reuealed the intelligences which *Biron* had with him for the surprizing of the towne, hauing already drawne into the towne some souldiers of *Pai-guillards* and *S. Martins* companies, and was ready to draw in the most resolute Captains, if the Mayor and Councill had not held it more fit by a small exemplary execution, to breake off a great and dangerous enterprize.

To encounter the enemy, *La Nove* is chosen chiefe of the forces within the town, without any diminution of the Maiors rights and authoritie in other things. *Manigomeris* succours could not passe: *La Nove* sends new Deputies into England to the same end, but the league confirmed of late years betwix our *Charles* and *Q. Elizabeth*, now againe renewed by the baptism of the Kings daughter (whereof *Elizabeth* was God-mother with the Empreffe) seemed to withdraw the affection which was wont to come from beyond the seas for the reliefe of the Protestants, whilst the sallies and dayly skirmishes at Rochel, inflame both the one and the other: where by the reason of the nearness of the retreat, they doe greatly wast the number of the assailants.

The Duke of Aniou comes to campe

The eleventh of February the Duke of Aniou comes to his armie, accompanied with his brother the D. of Alençon, the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Dauphin of Auvergne, the Dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, Nevers, Aumale and Guise, the young Earle of Roch-fou-cault, the Grand Prior, and many other Noblemen, bringing with them a great traine of men, who for the most part would haue beene grieved, they should haue taken this Sanctuary and succour from the Protestants. This siege was great, and seemed to be of long continuance. Euery man runnes thither, euery one will haue his share. They prepare things necessary for the battery, and in the meane time make many skirmishes: before they come to their greatest force, the Duke sollicit the Gentlemen and inhabitants by Letters, containing both promises and threats. They humbly shew vnto him the necessitie of their defence, knowing no fitter means to preserve their liues against the enemies of the Peace, then to oppose force against violence, & to retire themselves into well fortified places, vntill it should please the King to provide for a lawfull assembly of the Estates, & a free council. The King on the other side, protekting of his sinceritie in matters lately passed, and laying the fault of the outrage hapned vpon the pretended conspiracie of the Admirall and his partisans, hee summons the Rochelois to open their gates to *Biron*, or to any other hauing charge to enter into the towne, as they ought to maintaine his Royall authoritie, and so to order it as the place may be no more at the disposition of mutines. Which doing he grants them exercise of their Religion, with the like liberty as he had granted by his Edict of pacification, and withall he takes from them all hope of succours from England.

*Biron*, *Straffy*, *Villeguier*, and the Abbot of Gadaigne, carie the Kings promise to the Rochelois.

A Rochelois: which now neglected, hee would neuer bee perswaded by any intreaties or requests, considering how much the King abused himselfe vnto his subiects. They shewing the equity of their defence, and the tyrannous iniustice of the Baron of La Garde and others, accept the Articles offered by the King: but they request that the Edict may not only be maintained for their priuate respect, but also generally for all of their religion in France. But these were words without effect on either side. The Rochelois are aduertised, how the enemy approacheth with two and thirty pieces of battery, and that after dinner they should keepe them in skirmish. They prevent them, they fall forth at noone, kill and hurt in one skirmish of six houres, an hundred and fifty men, amongst the which were many Captaines. *La Nove* had two horses slaine vnder him, three Captaines, five souldiers, and twenty hurt. Thus their courages are set on fire, and the battery begins: the one prepares to assaile, and the other to defend. The chance fell vpon *Claude* of Lorraine D. of Aumale, vnto the Duke of Guise, slaine behinde a gabion, with a piece planted vpon the bulwarke of the Euangile: and the Town-men issuing forth at the end of the battery, kill many, and coole the enemies heat.

The Duke of Aumale slaine

In the beginning of March they try againe, whether they may winne the Rochelois without combat. They offer them the exercise of their Religion within their towne, but abolished in all other places of the Realme. Those of the party might haue held them for double-dealers. One day of parle was more hurtfull vnto them then many weekes of warre. They resolute therefore to prefer a iust warre before a dishonorable and doubtful peace.

The battery is renewed: about 13000 Cannon shot spent in that moneth, shakes both the fortifications and wals: many skirmishes are made: euery one studies to surprize his enemy, and *La Nove* (seeing his presence of no import to the besieged, where hee must yeeld all, or in a manner all, to the popular government) comes to the Dukes army, where he effected more in fauour of the Rochelois being absent then present, as they afterwards confessed. The ordinarie sallies of the besieged wasted the Dukes troopes dayly, losing in few weekes about twenty good Captaines. The battery continues in April, and with such violence, as a long wall from the old fountaine vnto the end of the bulwarke of Euangile, was beat downe to the ground, the bulwarke vngarned, and the Tower of Cognes beaten downe. In the evening the enemy casts a bridge of wood into the trench, advancing euen vnto the bulwarke, they come to the assault, and win two casemats. But they dislodge them from the one with the Cannon: from the other, with a furious charge: some of them remaine for a gage, the rest saue themselves by flight. Two hundred rondaches and Corselets passe by their bridge of wood, and the Cannon playing without intermission, seemed to keepe the besieged from their defence. But the women and maids, running with an incredible resolution to cast wildfire and stones, inflamed the courage of the souldiers. They kill and wound, and in the end force them to abandon the trench, but they lose about threescore men, and some Captaines.

The Rochelois endure nine assaults.

E Hereafter there is nothing but thundring of the Cannon both by land and sea, furious assaults, showers of shot, planting of ladders, ruines of bulwarkes, saps and mynes, most fatal to their authors: and vntill the end of May all the attempts that might bee deuised in a mighty and obstatinate siege. On the other side, men, women, and children, without feare, endure the rough charges of the enemy, fill vp their breaches, ouerthrow the first that mount, beat back their enemies into their trenches, follow after them, and fight with variable successe: but most commonly to the advantage of the town-men, hauing endured nine assaults no lesse courageously, then valiantly giuen.

Victuals began to grow short in the towne, the Cannon continued the battery dayly, the number of the souldiers decayed, they had no means to refresh them, and many retiring themselves, bred an amazement in the towne. Some of the chiefe win many men to their wils, and already there were three hundred men, who weary of the warre, will haue a peace of what price soeuer. Others deuise to seize vpon a gate to depart when they please. These murmuring and diuisions cause new parleys, the D. of Aniou being desirous to retire with honour. But before the Ambassadors of Poland arriue, they must first resist their last force. The 12 of Iune the assailants giue a fierce assault, at the little breach neere to the old fountaine: About an hundred or sixscore Gentlemen mount with targets and courtelas, some get to the top of the mount, and view the trench and the countermines gabioned

The last charge giuen to Rochel

1573

gabioned within the trench. A volley of shot overthrews fifteene or twenty vpon the place, and makes the rest retire. The Duke himselfe is in danger, but the providence of God refused him for a more exemplarie end.

Face of Rochel.

As he beheld the breach made at the old fontaine, a souldier shootes at him from the towne: but *De Vin* the Master of his horse, seeing the fire in the cocke, steps before him, and with the willing losse of his life saues his masters. In the end the Ambassadors of Poland come the 17 of Iune, to carie away their new chosen King. God vseth this meanes to deliuer Rochel, being vn furnished of victuals, of munition for the warre, and of many hundreds of their men. The King by his Articles of Peace made in forme of an Edict, grants to them of Rochel, Montauban, Nismes, and other townes which had maintained themselves, free exercise of their Religion, and to others permission to liue in their houses without search, to solemnize Christnings and Mariages after their manner, without any greater assembly then ten persons besides the parents: but the said exercise was forbidden in Court, and ten leagues round about. Another meanes did greatly ease the besieged, the diuision in the Dukes campe, and the aduertisements they received from their friends following the armie. So the end of this siege, being of exceeding charge, and the graue of about twenty thousand men slaine in skirmishes, encounters, surprizes, assaults, and dead of burts, hunger and diseases, caused the King to make great designs for the repairing of many errors, into the which the priuate ambition of some, abusing the youth and the violent passions of this Prince had drawne him: but too late for him, for hee sees his Realme inflamed with the same fire, which they perswaded him should haue beene wholly quenched with the blood that was shed at *S. Barthelemyes*, and the warres of ciuill diuision vterly extinct. So the feeling hee had in himselfe of these actions whereinto they had drawne him, shall soon lodge him in the graue of his Predecessors.

The other exploits of warre done elsewhere in diuers Prouinces of the Realme, require some place in our History. The Baron of Serignac, a wife man, vertuous, and louing martiall discipline, with some others of Quercy, Foix, and the neighbour Prouinces, haue caused Montauban to resolute to armes, goe to field with their troopes, put a garison into Terride, whereof *Serignac* named himselfe Baron, tooke Buzet vpon Tar, three leagues from Tolousa, by scalado, assure themselves of Villemer, seize vpon many other places, fortifie those they had held during all the former troubles, assure the passages, then at an assembly held at Realmont in Albigeois, they made a diuision of their charges & governments. The Vicount of Gourdon had a part of Quercy towards Cadenac; and *Serignac* the other towards Montauban and Gascony; the Vicount of Paulin, *Lauragais*; the Vicount of Panas and his brother, *Rouergue*; the Vicount of Caumont, the County of Foix, and the mountaine country.

They were equall in their commands: but to auoid ieaousie, they decreed that one of them wanting succour, the other Commanders should succour him with all their forces, and be commanded by him. So they all retire to their governments, every one giues order for the preservation of their estates. *Serignac* occupies some neighbour places, then hee campt with two thousand shot, and some horse before Monricou, makes a breach, giues three assaults, and one scalado, and is repelled with losse. *Piaule* and *Reauille* make him receive the like disgrace, and kill many of his men. But he is reuenged to the benefit of one of his Captaines, besieged in a Village with fourecore men, hee slue about two hundred men, and put the rest to flight.

The Earle of Villars, Admirall of France and Licutenant for the King against the Protestants in Quercy, and the Countie thereabouts, gathers together his troopes, dispersed into garisons, besiegeth and taketh *Saint Geniez* in high Quercy, caries away the Lord of the place, notwithstanding the composition made to depart with their liues and goods, who was sent prisoner to Cahors. It is better to hunt after off, then near at home. The pursuit of many, against whom hee had made cruell warre, brought him to a scaffold, as a spectacle and triumph to his enemies. *Brissenet* in high Rouergue had a capitulation better observed: but the Admirall lost in counter-change, in the moneth of May, *Soreze*, Montequion, two leagues from Tholousa, Lodeue a Bishopricke, and rich in the mountaines of Languedoc, and Mas Saintes Puelles, neare to Castelnau dary. The Marshall *d'Anville* did likewise arme against the Protestants six Cornets of horse; and

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1573

The siege of Sommiere.

A ten thousand foot, with foureteen pieces of battery, pretending to besiege Nismes, and then Vazez, but the surprize of Sommiere, neere to Beziers and Montpelier, called him from his enterprise. He besiegeth it, makes a breach, and giues two assaults, which were defended to the losse of the besiegers. The Earle of Candale, brother-in-law to the Marshall, arises with an hundred horse, and twelue companies of Gascons, who desire to haue the force-ward at the first assault: but with the losse of three hundred of the most resolute. This cheeke amazeth the Earle. *What fooles are we* (saith he to the Marshall his brother-in-law) *to cause our selues to be beaten, murdered and slaine, for their pleasure, who haue murdered our kinsmen, friends, and will one day pay vs with the same money?*

He had reason, and the issue will teach vs soone the effect of this true diuination. And if the Marshall of Montmorency had been present this fatall 24 day of August, the same fury had interred him with all his house vnder this common ruine, as many others, yea Catholikes suffered the like violence by the practices of their priuate enemies, to whom the time and force gaue meanes to reuenge their priuate quarrels vnder another pretext. There were foure moneths already spent at this siege, about 5000 Cannon shot had beaten the wals of Sommiere to powder, victuals failed, and the besieged demanded nothing but composition. But the Marshall would haue it by force. He exhorts his brother-in-law to reuenge the death of his Captaines and Souldiers, who suffers himselfe to be persuaded, but as he goes resolutely to the breach, performing the duty of a braue Commander, and of a resolute souldier, he sees the place couered with a great number of his men, and himselfe in the end overthrown dead vpon the carcases.

This hens-rout might haue been the sepulchre of many more, but *Grenian* (to whom the honour of the taking and keeping of Sommiere is chiefly due) after they had performed the duties of valiant men, accepted the composition was offered by the Marshall: To depart, their Drums sounding, ensignes displayed, their matches light in the cocks, with seven dayes liberty to carie away their baggage, and to retire where they pleased. So the Marshall seeing the resolution of them of Nismes, and hauing lost two thousand and five hundred of his best men, dismissed his troopes, & proceeded afterwards against the Protestants, by seizures and sale of their goods within his government. The Admirals armie had another successe. Terride, Flaignac, and generally all which the Protestants held beyond the riuier of Garonne, recompensed the losses he had received. But *Causade* stayed the course of his victories, and made him vnable to doe and thing worthy of fame. *La Motte Puiols* kept the towne with six hundred Harguebuziers, and the repulse the Admirall received after a great losse of his forces, caused in the end the ruine of his armie, the which the Vicount of Gourdon shorned of a company at the passage of Dordonne, chasing the rest which marched to the siege of Rochel. The King of Nauarre had lately invited his Subjects of Berne to returne into the bosome of the Catholike Church. They answered their Prince with excuses, thinking it proceeded from some other motion then his owne: and protest to other Churches of that party, to perseuer and maintain themselves with them in the same religion: See now the effects of their protestations. The Baron of Grandmont, marcheth into Berneto plant the ancient religion. They troope together within the Countie, retaine him prisoner, and cut the most of his men in pieces. *Saint Romaine* was chiefe of the Protestants in Viuzarez, *Montbrun* in Dauphiné. The first held Villeneuve, the last seized vpon Orlperre, Serres, Meuse, and by diuers courses became terrible in the Diocesse of Die, and the neighbour mountaines.

These new broyles thrust their neighbors into like reuolts: and the King who thought by the abolition of the Edict, of the year 1570, at the least by the departure of his brother into Poland, and a Peace granted before Rochel, to enjoy an assured rest, finds himselfe incumbered with new and generall combustions. Those of Quercy, Languedoc, and their neighbours, planting an order and rule for the warre, and the administration of Justice, protest against this Edict, tearming it captious, and a forerunner of new massacres. Our capital enemies (saith they) the authors of fore-past disorders, remaine the enely counsellors and gouernours of the King and his estate: all the Churches of France, and deputed of the publicke exercise of Religion solemnly granted: and now by this Edict abolished: all the contents of this last pacification, and whatsoever else is promised vnder that words without effects: it is a generall abolition of what is past, the authoritons are abol-

Protestations against the Peace of Rochel.

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1573

Peace of Ro-  
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He had reason, and the issue will teach vs soone the effect of this true diuination. And if the Marshall of Montmorency had been present this fatal 24 day of August, the same fury had interred him with all his house vnder this common ruine, as many others, yea Catholikes suffered the like violence by the practices of their priuate enemies, to whom the time and force gaue meane to reuenge their priuate quarrels vnder another pretext. There were foure moneths already spent at this siege, about 5000 Cannon shot had beaten the wals of Sommiers to powder, victuals failed, and the besieged demanded nothing but composition. But the Marshall would haue it by force. He exhorts his brother-in-law to reuenge the death of his Captaines and Souldiers, who suffers himselfe to be  
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This hars-roust might haue been the sepulchre of many more, but *Gremian* (to whom the honour of the taking and keeping of Sommiers is chiefly due) after they had performed the duties of valiant men, accepted the composition was offered by the Marshall: To depart, their Drums sounding, ensignes displayed, their matches light in the cockes, with seven dayes liberty to carie away their baggage, and to retire where they pleased. So the Marshall seeing the resolution of them of Nismes, and hauing lost two thousand, five hundred of his best men, dismissed his troopes, & proceeded afterwards against the Protestants, by seizures and sale of their goods within his government. The Admirals armie had another successe. Terride, Flaingnac, and generally all which the Protestants held beyond the riuer of Garonne, recompensed the losses he had receiued. But *Causade* stayed the course of his victories, and made him vnable to doe and thing worthy of fame. *La Motte Piquet* kept the towne with six hundred Harguebuziers, and the repulse the Admirall receiued after a great losse of his forces, caused in the end the ruine of his armie, the which the Vicount of Gourdon shorned of a company at the passage of Dordonne, chasing the rest which marched to the siege of Rochel. The King of Nauarre had lately invited his Subjects of Berne to returne into the bosome of the Catholike Church. They answered their Prince with excuses, thinking it proceeded from some other motion then  
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Protestations  
against the  
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Rochel.

1573

The Protestants  
order in Lan-  
guedoc.Their petitions  
and admoni-  
ons to the King

ued, and no mention made of any iustice to be done against them: All Ecclesiasticall discipline being forbidden vs, they will plunge vs into Atheisme. This tractate is but coloured by some private persons without any generall aduow; whose approbation cannot prejudice the vniuersall body, neither ought they to yeeld to any thing without the common consent of our Churches. These complaints and protestations caused them to assemble at Millaud, and afterwards at Montauban, and there diuiding Languedoc into two gouernments, they make Montauban chiefe of the one, and the Vicount of Paulin Gouernour in that part; and Nismes of the other, for the nearer of Seuennes and Viarez, vnder the command of S. Remaine: but both subiect to the authoritie of the Estates of the Country, who gaue them counsell, and furnished them with money, being chosen in either gouernment of the worthiest men of the country, yet in such sort, as the particular estates of euery Diocese, did in matters of importance, confer by their Deputies with the Estates of the whole gouernment; and according to their conclusions, the gouernour shall cary himselfe, and receiue money from their hands. To fortifie this order, they decree: That the souldiers should be content with their entertainment, without spoiling of the country: that the townes and villages of the contrarie party, should bee taxed and forced to contribute for the entertainment of garisons, to the end their labour and reaping of their fruits might be free. The reuennues of Benefices was appointed to make a stocke of money, to be employed in their greatest affaires, the which they had leisure to effect: for the election of the King of Poland busied the Court and Councell in feasts, dancing, C and pleasures. So they man many places, from whence they might at need draw forth almost 20000 men, and by seizing on the Clergy lands, and the contribution which came from all parts, they weaken their enemies. Many Catholikes otherwise discontented, growing familiar with them, and beginning to ioyne their forces together, lay great designs, which shall soone breake out in all parts.

Matters thus handled, giue a beginning to the first troubles in France: but before it brake forth, the Protestants of Languedoc sent their Deputies to the King. They humbly thanke him for the affection he had seemed to haue to the maintenance of Peace within his Realme, and necessary means to restore an estate threatened with imminent ruine: they protest of their obedience, but they beseech his Maiestie not to finde it strange, if they assemble to preuent the pernicious attempts of wicked Councillors, who by their fraudulent and violent practices, had induced him to declare himselfe, both by his mouth, and his Letters Patents, to the great blemish of his reputation among strangers, the Author of the massacre committed at Paris, the which he had few dayes before disauowed. That they cannot beleue he should willingly condiscend to so bloody effects: and the feare they had to fall into the like, forced them to seeke all means they could to warrant themselves, with the losse of their companions blood so vniufully shed.

They request therefore: That for the effect of the Peace, those of the religion should in those Townes they held, and in two others of euery Prouince, chosen by four Deputies, haue Garisons entertained at the Kings charge, the exercise of their religion free and publike, to all such as would demand it, the obseruation of their Ecclesiasticall discipline, the buriall of their dead, without distinction of times, and of Churchyard: the exemption of contributions for the Ceremonies of the Romish Church: reception of their children into Colledges, vnder Tutors of their owne religion: Legitimation for such as should be borne of the marriage of Priests conuerted to their doctrine. Erection of a new Court of Iustice in euery Prouince, composed of Iudges of the same Religion. The Tithes which they paid to Priests, to bee referred for the maintenance of their Ministers. Punishment of the authors, councillors, and executioners of massacres, as theues and disturbers of the publike quiet. Moreouer, they demand, that the Admirall, with all those that had bene murdered, and that were then liuing, should be reputed to haue bene, and to be faithfull seruants and subiects to the King and his Estate, innocent of rebellion, and guiltlesse of conspiracy. A nullity of all acts made against them as calumnious: Restitution of goods, honours, and offices, to the heires of them that were murdered: Abolition of all infamous monuments, and generall processions instituted in memory of so execrable a day.

These were the principall points of their propositions, amongst other Articles concerning the gouernment. But they treated partly, as humble seruants, partly, as armed subiects,

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The apprehen-  
sion of Charles.King Charles  
sick dangerous-  
ly sick.New practices  
in Court.

A iect, like vnto such as begge for almes with their swords in their hands. And as a new alteration flies easily and suddenly from one Prouince to another, so those of Prouence, Dauphine, Lionnois, and others, ioyne with the first: and by the mouth of a Deputy, present their Petition and admonitions to the King. The King sends him to certaine Commissioners, to conferre thereof: and promisseth, that after hee had conducted his brother out of the Realme, he would doe all things necessarie for the contentment of his subiects.

This hardy resolution taken in Languedoc and the neighbour countries, made our Charles to change both his countenance and his speech. He sees well, the more he halted, the more impatiently they did beare his brothers departure: namely, the Queen mother,

B the Duke of Guise, and the Clergy. Henry himselfe desired rather to beare the title of Duke of Anjou in France, then King of Poland: neither was he greatly pleased, to make so long and so crosse a pilgrimage. His most confident seruants would willingly haue discontented the Polonois in their answer, either to haue sent them away ill satisfied, or to winne time vntill the Spring. But there was no remedy: Charles could no more containe himselfe amidst the complaints which came from so many parts of his Realme, but sometimes giues out threats against them which had abused him, making him beleue, that after the execution of the foure and twentieth of August last past, hee should raigne free from confusions. Strangers reproach him openly with the irreparable wrongs hee had done to himselfe and to his subiects: and accuse him, that in stead of a father, he had

C bene a butcher, and a hang-man of his people, or at the least taxed his honour with this title, by the induction of the principall authors of this horrible disorder. The delays of his brother displeased him. Henry by his first affabilitie won the peoples hearts. The affection which Charles noted of long time in the mother, to his aduancement as her best sonne, the credit which the house of Guise had in him, or at the least seemed to haue, and the hope which the Clergy grounded vpon his authority (they had already recompensed these agreeable seruices which he had done them, with a present of three hundred thousand Crownes, and had much augmented it, if Rochell had been taken) made him to bee suspected and fearefull to the King his brother, who euen then would willingly haue found the means to chastise such, as vnder the shadow of his name, had opened the way

D to so great iniustice, and such enraged furies. But during these garboyles and confusions of affaires, he found not any one of his Councillors of State, that did teach him to dissemble, and to containe himselfe, vntill that opportunity should giue him means of reuenge. So his complaints and threats were carefully obserued, and bitterly digested by such as it concerned. The Queene-mother, not able any longer to deferre the departure of her sonne Henry. Go (saith she) my sonne, you shall not continue long there. And as Charles goes before vnto the frontier, pressing his brother to follow him, he is suddenly staid by a great sicknesse, at Vitry in Champagne, giuing occasion to his most confident seruants to thinke, that about two attended the issue of his infirmities: and to speake disgracefully of the Queene-mother, the new King, and their trustiest seruants,

E whereof some retired from Court, and went to shroud themselves in Brittany, seeing that the vigour of the Kings youth, had expelled the venome of his disafe, by his head, necke, and visage. The King of Poland building vpon his mothers promises, departed in the end of October, being assured of the loue shee bare him about the other two. She feared the humors and threats of Charles: and Francis D. of Alancou did not greatly affect the House of Guise, neither had hee approved the massacre. The male-contentes, who with a lesse odious name called themselves Politicks, find credit with him, thinke him fit to reduce the affairs to a better course, and make him to repine at the small account is held of him: they let him vnderstand how small a proportion was allotted him for his maintenance: the distrust they haue of his faith, the opposition of the Queene-mother,

F to keep him from the Lieutenantcy of the Realme (who gaue the King to vnderstand, that by means of his male-contentes, he might stir vp some factious mutinie hauing the forces at his command) the search was made of him, and the means which were offered vnto him to restore the Realme. Katherine was well acquainted with these practices, but she cunningly makes her profit of them all, during the Kings sicknesse, to avoid the danger when the pleased, and to ruine one by another at need, as hereafter we shall see, they will do their best. During these alterations, those of Languedoc fortified themselves. To keepe them at a stay, vnder hope of some content, they appoint a generall Parliament at

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Beginning of  
the first troubles

at Compeigne : the Princes prepare the remembrances, some Deputies were on the way with instructions and Commissions, to speak boldly, namely against the authors and counsellors of murders. The Queene-mother and her followers fearing the touch, obtaine a reuocation of the States; and labouring at the first to pacifie these deputies by promises and words, in the end they change their countenances, they vie threats, and doe so terrifie them, as they returne home onely with a vaine hope, to receiue satisfaction shortly to their demands, and permission (especially to them of Languedoc) to assemble againe for the drawing of new Articles, concerning the preservation of themselves and their associates: the which they did afterwards at Millaud in Rouergue, and those of Rochel entred into association with them, forced vnto it by the practices and deuices of *Paigardard, Landereau*, the Baron of La Garde, and others, attending to surprize them: but ended with the yeare, and the liues of some that vnderooke it, being publiquely executed.

The fourth troubles, begun with the massacres, had some respite by the peace of Rochel: but now this last conspiracy discovered, and the practices to surprize them of Languedoc, with the secret leauies of men, to assaile them suddenly, giues an entrance to the fifth. The Protestants alledge for the ground of their arming, the infinit outrages which haue beene done them within few moneths, and send aduertisements and admonitions to the Princes, Nobility, the Parliaments, and the Estates. The Male-contents, and such as were most inward with the D. of Alancou, foreseeing the shortesse of the Kings life, yet not daring to complaine of it, but in shaking of the shoulders, and holding downe the head, sollicite him to get the Lieutenant general, to represent the Kings person; or if they will employ him against them of Languedoc, that he should seeke to saue the Realme from the violence of such as by the death of *Charles*, and the absence of *Henry* would seeke to seize thereon. He makes request vnto the King, being at S. Germaine in Lay, and the King doth acquaint the Queen Mother, and the Marshall of Montmorency with the dukes desire. To deny the Duke his request (sith the Marshall were to doe him wrong, and to call his sufficiency into question, seeing the same place had been giuen to the D. of Anjou without demanding it. But the Queene-mother, and those of Guise, desired it rather for the D. of Lorraine, whom soone after hee called to Court: and in the meane time seemes to beleue, that they be practices of the Marshalls of Montmorency and Cossé, at the persuasions of the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Conde, to the end the Kings furie might ruine both one and the other.

She therefore takes counsell to assure her selfe, and to ruine such as would follow any other party but her own: and euen then did she trouble the Kings head with an exceeding feare and distrust of his household seruants. The Duke of Guise would gladly haue vnder-taken the House of Montmorency: but it was to no purpose, if all the foure brethren were not taken in one net. The Marshall of Anuille was in Languedoc, and determined to ioyne with the Protestants: yet the death of the eldest might make the rest easie. So the Duke of Guise one day picks a quarrell in the bafe Court of Saint Germaine with *Ventabran* his household seruant, and for a slight cause, being resolved to kill him, hee draws his sword. *Ventabran* flies directly to the Marshall of Montmorencys chamber, which hee finding shut, he mounts higher to that of the Constables Lady and widow: where finding *Thore*, hee slayes, and there receiues some blowes, but it was flatlings with his sword. This tragicke act (turned to a iest) sent the Marshall out of Court: but hee shall soone returne to receiue a great disgrace. The Duke of Alancou resolves likewise to leaue it, and to leade the King of Nauarre with him: but the execution was of great difficulty. To aske leaue would breed too many scruples and iealousies in the Kings head: to goe without leaue, was to accuse himselfe of some plot, and to be pursued as a fugitiue. Hee therefore stirs not, but lets passe a troope of two or three hundred horse; assembled in Normandy, to fauour (as the common brute was) the Duke of Alancous retreat, or as others would haue it; (but without any likelihood) to murder the King, his Mother, and his Councell. This leaue terrified the Court, and brought it to Paris: they presently charge the Duke of Alancou, and the King of Nauarre. To purge themselves, they publish a Declaration the 24 of March, touching the fact of S. Germaine: they protest of their good affection to the Kings, and they offer their seruicis against all Rebels.

Hereupon the Marshall of Montmorency is perswaded to come to Court. Hee is no sooner arriued, but they appoint him the Bastile for his lodging, and for companions in prison

The Marshall  
Montmorency  
prison in the  
Bastile.

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A prison the Marshall of Cossé, *La Mole*, *Cocornas*, and *Tourtay*, seruants to the Duke of Alancou, whereof the three last lost their heads at Paris, culpable onely to haue beene acquainted with some of their masters Councels to abandon the Court.

During these broyles in Court, the Protestants and their associats make their profit in *Viarez*, *Daulphine*, *Languedoc*, and *Poitou*. And the Marshall d'Anuille, hauing by Letters surpris'd, discovered the practice against him, conferred now with *Saint romaine* Gouernour of Nismes, but seizing on Montpellier, Beaucaire, Lunel and Pezenas, hee giues the Protestants some cause to suspect his designs. The Politicks of Poitou haue ioynd with *La Noue*, seize vpon Saint Maixant, Melle, Fontenay, Lusignan and other places. The C. checke fell vpon the Normans: *Montgommery*, *Lorges*, and *Galarçon* his children. *Columbiers*, *Sey*, and others with troopes of horse and foot, had secretly taken Saint Lo, Carentan, and Valongues: but *Matignon* and *Fernaques* ioynd with the forces of the Count *Thorién*, (who already camped before Saint Lo) shut him into Danfron, a weake place, and ill furnished, with threecore horse, and fourecore Harguebuziers. They batter the Castle, make a breach of sixe and forty paces, and hauing beene vigorously repulsd from a sharpe assault, the Earle abandoned by his people, (whereof the most part were gone to his enemies, and the rest wauering, being vnfurnished of munition, water and succours, perfwaded by the Lord of Vassé (for he held it farre more honourable to dye vpon the breach, with a pike in his hand, then to fall into the Queene-mothers power, to end his dayes ignominiously on a scaffold :) he did but capitulate (but not without a grieuous apprehension of *Columbiers*, desiring rather to dye vpon the breach, then to serue as a spectacle at the Greue at Paris,) to depart with their liues, and to carie away some furniture with their swords and daggers: vpon condition notwithstanding, to remaine some time in the hands of *Matignon*, and *Vassé*, kinsman to the Earle, with surety of his life. A captious and fraudulent composition: the obseruation whereof must needs be broken. The Earle goes forth, and was led away by *Matignon* and *Fernaques* at mid-night: but his company remaine at the enemies deuotion, who force the Castle, kill some, spoile the rest, & put them al to ransom. Then *Vassé* appointed by the two Commanders, led the Earle to Paris: where since we did see him gore a mournfull scaffold, and expiate by his death (to the Queenes content) that of King *Henry* her husband. In the meane time the Duke of Montpensier made warre in Poitou, but slowly: and except the Cattle of Talmont which hee tooke from the Protestants by composition, hee did not any thing worthy of memory.

The taking hereof was encountered with two great disgraces, the one neere to *Sainte Hermine*, in the defeat of his company by *Sainte Estienne*, Captaine of Fontenay, (who slue many Gentlemen: led away fiftene or sixteen prisoners, got great store of baggage, and the Dukes plate:) the other at the siege of Fontenay. Some thinking to reuenge a disgrace, doe oftentimes increase it. Hee got nothing but blowes, with the losse of the most resolute of his troopes: and then an honest colour, the Kings sicknesse, called him from this siege, to attend new Commissions and forces. At that time the Prince of Conde did recreate himselfe in Picardy, wearied with the tymoyles of the Court. Being aduertised of diuers practices layed to seize vpon his person, hee flies into Germany; with *Thorién*, ill beloued by reason of the Marshalls of Montmorency, and d'Anuille, his brethren, and the counells giuen to the duke of Alancou. Being at Strasbourg, hee exhorts the Protestant Churches, to rely vpon his loue and zeale for their reliefe, and *Thore* perswades his brother d'Anuille, to open his eyes, and to embrace the occasion that was offered. This Marshall held the Wolfe by the eares: for on the one side, the Protestants of Languedoc might greatly crosse him, if hee had banded his forces directly against them: and on the other side, he feared the King, and the Queene his mother, who to keepe him in awe, caused his eldest brother to bee safely guarded, as a sure pledge for his yongers actions. Hee must therefore assure himselfe on all sides, and according to the course of the market, entertaine both the one, and the other, expecting a Catastrophe of this strange and horrible tragedy, which was acted in Court.

The King declined in the meane time, and decayed visibly in the prime of his age; and since the King of Polands departure, hee seemed more changed in minde, then in body, being incensed especially against the authors and counsellors of the massacre (as he made knowne by his speeches, to some of his Court, being enemies to iniustice, and by Letters

written

Count Mers.  
gomery taken.The Prince of  
Condes retreat  
into Germany.



1574

Charles dies.

His disposition.

written out of the Realme) for whom he prepared a strange potion, if the providence of A God had not referred them as scourges and ministers of that punishment he meant to inflict vpon this Realme, to the end that seeing him afterwards to cast these rods into the fire, we should confesse: that it is not now alone that hee sheweth himselfe the gardien and Protector of this Monarchy. At that time *Charles* lay taken both hand and foot, his chiefe seruants were dead, disgraced, and absent. The motives of new troubles did much disquiet him. He did foresee insupportable feeds of combustion in the coloured captiuitie of his brother, and brother-in-law: in the imprisonment of the two Marshals: in the exile of the Prince of Conde, in whose fauour the Germans began to arme. He sees his subiects cruelly armed one against another, and the fire of diuision ready to waste the Realme. B His infirmities had some intermission during winter, but in the end, after hee had languished the moneths of February, March and Aprill, tormented with many pangs, hee kept his bed: and the thirtieth day of May, he slept his last sleepe, in the Castle of Bois de Vincennes, after great effusion of blood, which issued out by all the passages of his body, the last two weekes of his sicknesse, during the which he endured all the violent assaults and combats which the vigour of youth might suffer in the extreamest pangs of death. His successor could not come so soone from Poland. *Katherine* therefore to assure his authoritie during his absence, had obtained on the nine and twentieth day, letters of Regency from the King, directed to the Gouernours of Prouinces: and the better to fortifie this nomination, to restrain the Princes of the blood, and to maintaine her selfe in the midst of confusion, she causeth Letters Patents to be sealed by the Chancellor of Birague, her seruant, and by this meanes doth abolish the fundamentall lawes, the order of the Realme, the priuiledges of Princes, the authoritie of the generall Estates, and the prerogatiue of the Parliaments. C

*Charles* was born the 27 of Iune 1550, and began to raigne the 5 of December 1560. A Prince of a very actiue disposition, inconstant in his thoughts, violent in his enterprises, impatient, ready of conceit, the which he did expresse in good tearmes, a diligent obseruer of other mens natures, cholericke, secret, a dissembler, cruell and a blasphemur. But let vs impute these vices and others, not to his naturall inclination, but to his gouernours and schoolemasters, amongst the which the History doth especially note *Martignes* and *Lesser*, D who with the consent of the mother corrupted this yong Prince, and made him take the habit of *Vices* and infections, wherein they dayly plunged him. They might haue pruned this yong plant better, to haue brought forth better fruits. At the beginning he was open, courteous, studious, sober, and little giuen to women. His speech was pleasing: hee loued musick and poetry: we reade yet good Verses compiled by him in French. But the pleasure of hunting transported him wonderfully, and the blood of wilde beasts, which hee slue with singular delight, made him with long continuance, as it were greedy of mans blood.

But let vs tremble in this death, vnder the Iustice of Gods iudgements, who suffered (after lo horrible a butchery committed and commanded during his raigne) him to bee surprized with a great debility in his latter dayes, to wallow in his owne blood, vomiting it out pittifully by all the conduits of his body, as a iust iudgement for him that barbarously shed it, throughout all the Prouinces of the Realme. Doubtlesse God loues not the Prince that thirsts after his subiects blood; for the subiects blood is the very blood of their Prince.

HENRY

1574

HENRY the THIRD,

The 62. French King.



*T* is a great comfort vnto mee (saide *Charles* some few houres before his death) that I leave no heires males lawfully begotten, for leaving him yong, hee must endure many crosses; and France hath need of a man. But alas! we shall now see one advanced to the Crowne, whereunto the fundamentall law of State and Honour doth call him, instilled with a confused beginning, and afterwards by an Edict of pacification, to reduce and retaine his subiects happily in their obedience, vnder a raigne as lasciuious and voluptuous as the other had bene cruell and bloody: vntill that the House of Guise (seeing the King barren, and his successor confined in shew beyond the riuer of Loire) shall discouer their ambiri-

on, and cause (but in the end with losse of the liues of two of the chiefe motives of confusion) the people to breake out into a blind, vaine, and treacherous rebellion, being too ready to second the ambitious designs of great men, and to runne at random vnder the libertie of a turbulent raigne, and for the last scene of this Tragedy, they stirre vp a monstrous Monke, traitorously to murder him, and by his death to extinguish the name of *Valois*, and vnwittingly to set the Crowne of France vpon the head of *Henry*, the first of the branch of *Bourbons*, whom wee shall see happily called from beyond the riuer of Loire, miraculously to take the helme of this Estate, and valiantly to encounter the dangerous attempts of his enemies, who had already proclaimed a triumph before the victory; wisely to quench the fires of diuision kindled in his Realme, and to raigne most happily, and by the admirable fauour and blessing of heauen, to gouerne his people in concord; D peace and loue. This is the man whom France had need of, to pacifie the diuisions both of great and small; to restore their general and priuate ruines; and vnder so gentle and milde a command, to preserve them from the proud Empery of Strangers. Doubtlesse France cannot be gouerned but by a Frenchman, as we shall see, hauing obscured the beginning, progresse, and pittifull end of this Prince, vpon whom depended the estate of this great and mighty Monarchy.

Posts fly with speed to carie newes to the King of Poland, of the death of his elder brother, whilest the Queene-mother (attending his coming) made a truce with them of Poitou, to the end shee might with lesse opposition supply the warres of Normandy: and to stay them of Languedoc and other neighbour Prouinces, she perswaded the Duke E of Alençon and the King of Nauarre, to advertise them of the death of *Charles*, and solicited the gouernours to write vnto the new King, touching their zeale to his seruice, and desire (vnder her regency) to obserue the like fidelity to him, as they had done to his Predecessors. *Matignon* laboured in the meane time to take Saint Lo and Carentan from certaine Gentlemen Protestants, whom the breach of faith to the Earle of Montgomery, had made resolute in the defence of such places as they held.

*Colombiers* hauing escaped from Danfronç, puts himselfe into Saint Lo with a small troope of men, where hauing endured three assaults, and slaine nine or ten of the enemies Captaines, with three hundred of their men, in the end hee is stricke dead with a shot: the which daunted his souldiers, who (vnfurnished of a Commander, F that might encourage them with the like authoritie, toyled with long fighting) leaue the breach, and in their retreat abandon both the place and the liues of two hundred men, to the mercy of *Matignons* souldiers, to make satisfaction for the death of their companions. Carentan might likewise haue interred many Catholikes vnder the ruines of her walls: but *Guise* and the chiefe of his company, seeing themselves alone in Normandie without any hope of succours, went out by composition on horsebacke, with their swords, and the souldiers vpon condition to serue the King where he should imploy them.

Here.

1574

Confirmation  
of the Queens  
regency.

Hereupon Letters Patents come from *Henry*, entitling himselfe King of France and of Poland, dated the 23 of Iune, bearing confirmation and amplification of the Queene-mothers Regency and government of the Realme. Having therefore taken the oath of all the Gouvernors, and published the Kings Letters Patents; to make way for her sonnes returne out of Poland, the cause for the Nobilitie, assembles the foot, makes leaues of Reistres and Suisses: sends to the Prince Dauphin sonne to the Duke of Montpensier, and to *Gordes* (who made warre in Dauphine): That they should doe their best endeavours to ruine the country which the Huguenots held: and chargeth the duke of Vwez, and the Lord of Joyeuse, to be watchfull over the Marshall *D'Anville*, with whom shee had small credit in Languedoc. The imprisoning of his elder brother, the exile of the two younger *Mern* and *Theré*, and the Regents letters being intercepted, had incensed him: yet did he swim betwixt two streames, and maintaining himself betwixt both, he did nothing trust the Catholikes: and not louing the Protestants, hee applied himselfe vnto them as he had need of their helpe. These proceedings bred some ielousie in them of Tholouza: but especially the truce he made with the Protestants; the assignation he gave for the assembly of the Estates of the Prouince at Montpellier the 2 of Iuly, and the ordinary residence he made in that towne. So this Parliament by two Decrees of the 19 of Iune, disallows the truce, forbidding all persons within their iurisdiction, to goe or send to these pretended Estates, appointed without the Kings permission, vpon paine to be declared rebels, and breakers of the lawes.

D'Anville affo-  
ciates himselfe  
with the Prote-  
stants.Warre in  
Dauphine.

Moreover, the Protestants (perswaded by this truce, which gave them some hope of peace) began to allow of their Gouvernours actions: and (notwithstanding the aduice of some who condemned this association, as threatening the ruine of their party by this conjunction) they vnite their forces with the Politikes, offensive and defensive against all that would assaile them. These enjoyed some rest, whilest that *Montbrun* cuts in pieces a regiment of the Prince Dauphins forward, and covers the bridge of Royans with foure hundred of the brasse of his amie, slaine vpon the place. For a reuenge, hee besiege Alais a small towne, batters it, makes a breach, gives an assault, and is repulsed: but the besieged being vnable to maintaine it, retire into the Castle: the Prince surpriseth them, casts some downe headlong, and burnes the rest that were within it. Oile was the second of his triumphs: but *Lauran* stayed his course. The successfull fallies of the Towne-men, and the ordinary courses of *Montbrun*, who descending from Lorient, did still keepe the Prince in alarm, makes him to raise his siege, and to put his men into safety.

In Viuaraiz.

In Poitou.

The Protestants being freed on this side, they were fortified on the other, by the taking of Vessaux, a small towne in Viuaraiz by *Bochevade*. *Perigourde* takes Chalençon, and S. Romaine Nonnay for their part. *La Noue* (not to approoue *Katherine*s regency, but rather to second the Prince of Condes forces which were prepared in Germany) was at truce with the Regent, for the months of Iuly and August, in the Prouinces of Angoulmois, Poitou, and Xaintonge. But the Regent hoped to subdue the Protestants of the said Prouinces, before her sonne should arise. For the effecting whereof, shee assembles men from all parts, to surprize them suddenly: that being rooted out, the King should haue nothing to doe with them of Dauphine and Languedoc. So the D. of Montpensier, Chaugny, Puigailiard, Richelieu, *Bussy* of Amboise, and other Commanders, meet at Saumur with ten thousand men, and eighteen pieces of artillery. The Protestants fly speedily to armes: those of Lusignan in the beginning of Iuly overthrow the Gentlemen of Poitou: and those of Fontenay nere vnto Nantes, overthrow 500 Harguebuziers, almost all younger brothers of the Gentlemen of Britany.

Fontenay  
surprised.

These two checks thrust the D. to the siege of Fontenay le Conte. Saint *Estienne*, commanded there, with about twenty Gentlemen, and foure hundred souldiers, who after some fauourable fallies, hauing valiantly maintained two sharpe assaults, and one scaleade, the sixteenth of September, after fifteene dayes siege, beginning to treat of the composition before in question: behold Captaine *Massefrouffe*, either through feare, or desire to provide for himselfe, or being too confident, for that they were vpon termes of capitulation, gives entrance to some of his acquaintance: the rest runne thither by heapes, they force the breach being ill guarded, and become masters of the towne: they kill some souldiers, ran some others, strip the rest, and chase them away with a white wand in their hands:

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A hands: but they vse the towne with lesse rigour then a place taken by assault. The Baron of Serignac, otherwise called *Terride*, recomenced this losse at the same time by the surprize of Castres in Albigeois, and the slaughter of two hundred Italians being in garison: and *Langoyran* Gouvernor of Perigueux for the Protestants, by the absolute defeat of two hundred Harguebuziers, whereof sixe onely escaped, to cary newes to the rest of their partie.

Then *Henry* escaping secretly out of Poland, approached the Realme, where his new crowne attended him, desiring a farre off to ruine the Huguenots and to plant the onely Religion of his Fathers throughout the whole Realme. There is no sin so great (said the B Emperor *Maximilian* vnto him) as to force mens consciences: and such as thinke to command them, supposing to winne heauen, doe often lose that which they possesse on earth. The like admonitions were giuen him in all places, in Austria, Venice and Piedmont: they exhort him in all places to pacifie the troubles of his Realm. But comming to Lions, they cause him to commit a great error, in making war in stead of peace.

The new Kings  
arrival.

The Queen mother, the Dukes of Guise and Neuers, the Marshall of Retz, the Chancellor *Birague*, and some other new-bred Frenchmen, disposed of the affaires at their pleasure in the secret Councils of the Cabiner. The King did willingly giue them authority (and what might be expected of men who gladly would people France with new Colonies of Italians, Lorrainers and Piedmontois) carrying onely to Court Ladies, from the C which he had beene sequestred almost a yeare, with this nation which is lesse lasciuious then ours. These pernicious Councillors cause him to protest by sundry proclamations of his loue to the good of his subiects, and to abolish what was past, so as they lay aside armes, deliuer him all his townes, and lue quietly in their houses, without any feare, constraint or molestation for matter of conscience. A policy practised by them, to entertaine the fire of ciuill dissention, to rule in this confusion, and to fortifie a third party, which in the end we shall see will oppresse the King, & bring the Realme to a very miserable estate. The Protestants stood then the more vpon their guards: they are full of ielousie, distrust, doubt, and feare. All those Proclamations made no mention of liberty of their Religion, neither of a Parliament, for the politike government, nor of a national Council, for matters of conscience. And what was it to grant vnto the Rochelois liberty of conscience, and to forbid the exercise of their Religion for a certaine season, but to keepe their party at a gaze, whilest by their great preparations which were made in all parts, they should be able to put a mighty army to field, to ruine them without hope of rising?

III Council.

So they arme on all sides, especially in Poitou. The Baron of Fontenay (afterwards Lord of Rohan in Britany) being followed by threecore gentlemen and six hundred good souldiers, puts himselfe into Lusignan, which the Duke *Montpensier* threatned, and according to the leisure he gave him, he provided for the fortifications and all things necessary to maintaine a memorable siege, which might by the meanes of some succours consume an army before the Castle. About the beginning of October, the Duke encampes before it, and with a battery of about 2300 cannon-shot, thinks to draw the besieged to a composition. They importune them, but they answer, they will attend a general peace for all them of their religion. He spends 1250 cannon-shot more, makes a breach, gives an assault, and is beaten back with great losse. Five daies after, the besieged fallly forth, and to reuenge the blood of 7 young gentlemen, 16 souldiers, & 20 that were hurt at this first assault, they cloy 5 cannons, fire their powder, kill 9 captaines, and many souldiers, bring away many ensignes, and retume laden with spoiles, armes, and prisoners. This disgrace caused him to rest all November. In December, the duke fortified with 1200 Reistres, and 600 French foot, presseth Lusignan againe, & batters down a mill which did furnish them with meale. So (their hand-mills not able to suffice) they began to want bread. To enle the mind of some superstitious mouthes, they craue a passport for some Gentlewomen and other persons vnfit for the war, to retorne to their houses, or other places of safety. But the hatred this Prince did beare to the Protestants, had more force in him then the ordinary courtesie which Frenchmen beare vnto Ladies. He supposed the wiues and children should bee an vrgent sting to draw their husbands and fathers to yield speedily. Now their horses serued them for food, the souldiers (almost starued) took away the bread violently as they caried it from the ouen: they break into many houses in the night, to seek for victuals, they had no wood but moueables and the ruines of houses, ill clothed, ill shod, ill lodged, and no cleane linen,

Siege of  
Lusignan.

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royled

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toyed with continuall trauell, to defend themselves both aboue and vnder ground, to frustrate the mynes which the Duke caused to be made, two of the which in their ruines buried many of the assailants, and gaue the besieged courage to continue firme in their resolution.

The 23 of the moneth they begin to thunder with eigheteen cannons and foure culuerins, and the next day they continue the same fury with fise and twenty peeces. After dinner they come to the assault: the showers of musket-shot coming from sundry flanks, makes the enemy retire, and to leaue the breach full of dead bodies. The greatest force was against the ravelin of La Vachery, which being won by the assailants, makes them retire to the Castle that had it in guard. At the first port of the Castle euery man did shew his resolution: all fight in the midst of the thunder, fire and smoake, and fise houres together dispute it with a doubtfull and bloody fight. In the end, both the one and the other (being tired with so furious an assault) take breath, the besieged remaining masters both of the towne and Castle, being reduced to fourescore cuirasses, and foure hundred and fiftie harguebuziers, resolute to lue and dye both in the defence of the place, and of their quarrell, hoping that *La Noue* would find means to send them some reliefe.

Lusignan yielded.

Not courage, but force failed them. So as *Fountainay*, the fise and twentieth of Ianuary, accepted the Articles of composition which the Duke offered vnto him by Colonnell *Servien*: himselfe and his gentlemen to depart with their armes, horses and baggage, the capitaines and other Commanders, euery one with a curtall, if they had any, their armes and baggage: the souldiers with their Harguebuzes, their matches out, and their Ensignes wrapt vp: the gentlewomen, and all others that would depart, to bee conducted in safety to their houles, or else to Rochel. Thus it was concluded. This siege caused aboue twelue hundred men to be slaine, a great number to be maimed, and ruined a mighty army. They endured aboue ten thousand Cannon shot, with many assaults, and lost fise and twentie Gentlemen, and about two hundred souldiers. And the Duke for a memory of his losses, caused the castle of Lusignan to be razed, being in former times one of the goodliest fortresses in Europe. Such conquests were of more difficulty in Dauphine: the Protestants had more places, and more Capitaines at their deuotion. *Poussin*, *Liuron*, *Prinus*, and others did greatly hinder the traffike of Marfeilles and Lions: and some running into Piedmont had charged the Kings baggage returning from Poland. To reuenge these insolencies, the King sends the Prince Dauphin to besiege *Poussin*: eigheteen thousand men besiege it on either side of the riuer of Rhone, in the beginning of October: fourteene great Cannons batter it, and make a breach: *Rochegude* and *Pierregourde*, defend it with a wonderfull slaughter of the enemy, and so terrified the rest of the army, as all were ready to truste vp their baggage: but suddenly the wall shaken with the artillery, and ouercharged with earth cast vp for the trenches within the towne, falls downe to the ground. So the towne lying open, and the ruines not to be repaired during the siege, the place being too strait, *Saint Romane*, after many inroades and sharpe skirmishes, enters into it, and iudging that in the end it would be forced, he drew out of it, men, women, and children; and putting them into *Prinus* in safety, hee abandoned and left *Poussin* to the besiegers mercy, who entering by heapes, spoyle, sacke, burne; and make the place desolate: and by the taking thereof, they recouer a part of Viuaraz; Grane, Loziol and Roinsat (being vnable to endure the Cannon) made easie the approaches of *Liuron*. But let vs view the estate of Languedoc.

Estate of Languedoc.

The Queene mother, and those of Guise, desired infinitely to dispossesse the Marshall *D'Anville* of his government, for he crossed their aduancement with all his power, and stayed them from proceeding (as gladly they would) against his elder brother being a prisoner. But yet if he had not fortified his estate with the Protestants party, who were then strong in Languedoc, hardly could hee subsist amongst so many and so mighty enemies. He therefore in open assembly of the Estates at Montpellier, ioynes himselfe with them, and according to the declarations lately published by the Prince of Conde, and the people of Languedoc, he sets downe the causes of this his new and forced taking of armes. The Vicount of Turenne his sisters sonne, doth likewise publish his, of the same substance. *Thur* and *Mau* brethren, and the Earle of Ventadour (brother in law to the said Marshall) ioine with him. The Duke of Alangon seems to fauour it: but the event will shew, whether it were fraudulent, or with a sincere intent.

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A This report amazed the Court, and to stop the course thereof, the Queene-mother doth presently, by gracious letters, inuite the Marshall to some agreement. But giuing the Protestants but a simple liberty of conscience, she debars them of the publicke exercise of their religion. The Marshall protests of his affection to the common good of this Realme, and shewes the like desire to be in his associates: but withall he shewes, that the Councellors, who by that horrible and infamous massacre the foure and twentieth of August, had caused the deceased King to breake the last Edict of pacification, governing at this day the helme of the affaires; it was very difficult to settle a firme peace, the which cannot subsist, vnlesse the exercise of both religions may be indifferently allowed within the Realme.

B So this treaty of peace remaining fruitlesse, the Queene-mother changeth her countenance, and labours by diuers practises (but in vaine, the alliance being yet too fresh) to sow diuision betwixt the Marshall and his associates, and yet by sundry messages continues this pretended parlee of a generall peace in France. But it could not bee concluded with such conditions as the King required: that all his townes should first be yeelded vnto him without exception; and then would hee grant his subjects peace. The Prince Dauphin, hauing left the command of the Kings army to the Marshall of Bellegarde, he comes in the middest of December to campe before *Liuron*. *Reffers* a gentleman of Dauphine commanded there, with about foure hundred men, but full of resolution and great valour, in

C a hilly place, strong of situation, but then of no fame amongst the other townes of Dauphine. Fourteene companies of the Kings guards; eleuen Ensignes of Suisses, twelue Ensignes of Harguebuziers, Prouencals and Dauphinois, nine Ensignes of Piedmont, three hundred men of the old bands, foure companies of men at armes, and eight cornets of Reiffres besiege it on all parts. Two and twenty great peeces of battery, planted in three parts, doe batter it, and after eleuen hundred Cannon shot, make a breach of fise hundred paces. The Marshall was not satisfied with this ruine: he will haue all battered downe, and with a generall ruine fill vp the trench. They make a greater breach with a new battery of foureteen hundred cannon shot. He recouers the trench, and makes defences for his men. All this doth nothing amaze the besieged: but contrariwise, to shew that they haue

D force to defend themselves, and that they must haue great dexterity and resolution to take them: they tie to the end of a pike, a horse-shoe, a paire of mittens, and a cat; they lift vp the pike, as if they would say; Marshall, this Cat is not taken without mittens. Such was the estate of *Liuron*, when as the King solourning at Auignon, being distrest for money to supply his exorbitant charge and prodigality, *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine (labouring the marriage of *Henry* with *Lemise* of Lorraine, daughter to the Earle of Vaudemont his kinswoman, and to furnish this exorbitant and stately pompe, aduising the King to sell for an hundred thousand crownes in benefices) was surprisid with a fever, and falling from a fever into a frensie, he died the 23 of December, in the midst of a cruell tempest, and violent whirlwind, which vncovered the houles, and loosened the barres of iron in the Carthusiens Couent, in the suburbs of Auignon.

Liuron battered with a second siege.

Cardinall of Lorraine died.

E Some impute this death to the smelling of a certaine precious purse which was giuen him full of rare peeces of gold, with the Queene mothers priuity: whom the foresaid treatie of marriage, which the Cardinall did practise, made remember the crosses she had suffered after the marriage of *Francis* the second, her eldest sonne, foreseeing that this new alliance tended but to restore the Houle of Guise to the same authority they had enioyed vnder the reigne of the said *Francis*. Others did attribute it to the blowes the Cardinall had giuen himselfe vnder colour of deuotion, in the company of them that bear themselves in the sharpest time of winter. Others applied it to the iust iudgement of God vpon this Prelate, who drawing all his greames, and all his meanes from the Clergy of France, would yet perswade the King to so pernicious an alienation of goods appointed for the vse of the Church, whatsoever it were. Notwithstanding the strict familiarity which the Queene mother had with the Cardinall, yet did she giue this testimony of him after his death; that the three and twentieth of December a most wicked man was dead. And the people both far and neere said; that this extraordinary storme in the ayre, noted that this man, hauing by cursed practises filled his houle with exceeding wealth, sacke and torne France in peeces with intestine warres, did then feele the iust reward of his actions. Doubtlesse such as the life is, such is the end.

V v v

Whilest

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War in Lan-  
guedoc and  
Dauphine.

Whilest the King becomes a new brother of these tormentors of themselves, otherwise called Penitents, and the Court busied sometime in the processions and ceremonies of this new brotherhood, the Estates of Languedoc, fallen from all hope of peace, battered Saint Giles neere to Aignion, and became masters thereof, the Courtiers making no shew to succour it. *Montbrun* on the other side keeping the field with his horse-men, did still catch vp some that were farthest from the campe. But Liuron was a Churchyard for the most hardy of the assailants: cuery man defends his goods and his life: men, women, and children, all labour in the fortifications, to repulse their enemies, and vnder the command of *La Hay* (a young Gentleman about three and twenty yeares of age, valiant and pleasing to the souldiers of *Rosses*, hauing bene slaine at the breach with *Fiancity* and *Bellier* Captaines) threw the ruines of the wals with carcasses, cast many into the trenches, dead, wounded, and languishing: and finally, (after many assaults, and infinite Cannona- does, fortified with two and fifty Souldiers) they force the enemy to found a retreat, and to couer themselves from the shot, pikes, swords, stones, and such armes as necessity could yeeld to the besigged. Thus those of Liuron withstood the fierce assaults of their enemies: the armie diminished, and a certaine discomfiture wasted most part of the Piemontois, crept in amongst the other Nations: when as the King iudging of the rest by this small towne, found that he must seek out some other means to reduce his subiects to obedience: who were so resolute to arms, as a simple offer of liberty of conscience might soon make them fall away. Many conquests cause but sleight triumphes. A more stateely crowne attended him his coronation called him, and the taking of Aiguemortes, a sea towne and of great importance for the Protestants, invited him to stay the course of their prosperity by some negotiation of peace.

Henry therefore packing vp his baggage, the thirteenth of Ianuary, and approaching neere to Liuron, stayed some houres in the campe. Here the souldiers cries and exclamations against him, and especially against his mother, gaue him to vnderstand, that the horrible disorders and vnworthy government of the latter yeares, had withdrawn that loue and reuerence to their Kings, for the which the French Nation had bene so much commended: and so altered the minds of the greatest part, as their iust griefe transported them beyond the bounds of reason and modesty. *Ah murderers!* (cried they with open throat) *Dyon shall not stab vs in our beds, as you haue done the Admirall and the rest. Bring vs those Mignons with their ruffes and perfumes: let them come to looke on our wines, they shall teach them whether it be a prey easie to carry away.* A lesson for a Sovereigne Prince, that if any diuerty of religion diuide his subiects, yet is he a common father to them all. As no reason doth allow of the sonnes ingratitude to the father; so all lawes doe abhorre the inhumanity and impiety of a father to his children.

The Campe being dislodged, the rest of the Piemontois repasse the mountaines. The Dauphinois ashamed of the disgrace they had receiued at Liuron, disperse themselves here and there: some cornets of Reistres follow the Marshall of Rez into Prouence, the rest with the Suisses are giuen to the Duke of Vzez, to make warre in Languedoc: a government wherewith the King had lately honoured him. See alterations. The duke of Vzez is now armed against them, for whose protection hee had often fought during the former wars, and the Marshall *D'Amville* lately their capitall enemy, now supports them. Thus great men play with Religion, fitting themselves to that party which they thinke may most auaille them whatsoeuer it be: and the people is still the anvil, whereon all sorts of hammers strike. But the Marshall did little remember the obseruation of the Articles sworne in the association. And dissolutions creeping in amongst the Protestants, could not but preface a speedy ruine of one of the parties, or of both together. Yet he entreated himselfe with them. So likewise did the Duke of Vzez, and protesting that he would make no warre but against the Marshalls faction, hee promised to reconcile all the Protestants to the King, if they would sequester themselves from the Politikes their associates. But he would haue bene glad, that in ruining the one party, they should haue ruined themselves. During these contentions betwixt the Marshall and the Duke, the King was crowned at Rheims, the fifteenth of February: and soone after hee sent home *Elizabeth* of Austria (widow to *Charles* the ninth) to the Emperour *Maximilian* her father, but with a lesse traine then her quality required. Then hee married *Louise* the daughter to *Nicholas* Earle of *Vaudemont* in *Lorraine*, who they supposed should haue been the wife of

The siege of  
Liuron raised.War betwixt  
the Marshall  
D'Amville and  
the D. of Vzez.The Kings co-  
ronation.

A of *Thore* the Constables youngest sonne. Practices of the Queene-mother, to maintaine the authority hee had gotten in France, about a Daughter in law of meaneer quality then her selfe: and to fortifie her selfe with them of Guise, against the Houses of Bourbon and Montmorency.

This marriage should haue caused as chaste and as vertuous a bed on the Kings behalfe, as the was chaste and vertuous whom he had now espoused. And it seemed the dissolutions and excesse of Court were come to their height in the reigne of *Charles* the ninth. But hereafter both King and Court (for the subiects doe frame themselves to the Princes humour) plunge themselves into more horrible dissolutions, then the best Schoole-master of corruption and filthinesse could inuent.

The Court is drowned in delights and excesse: but they are at blowes in Languedoc, Viuaraz Dauphine, Perigueux, Auvergne, Xaintonge, and elsewhere. *D'Amville* hath an enterprize vpon Beziers: but hauing failed, he employed his forces against fourscore ten and villages thereabouts. He takes Alais, a towne and castle: and the Duke of Vzez, Saint Ferreol, a small towne neere vnto Vzez, to annoy his subiects, and to force them to acknowledge their Lord. The forces on either side encounter often, fight, and by their common defeats weaken one another, whilest the Protestants keepe the stakes and view the sport. Those of Viuaraz surpris the towne of Beys and the Castle of Pouffin, and kill the Captaine and his garison. *Montbrun* runs through Dauphine, and becomes master of many places. The Vicont of Turenne adds to the victories of his part, Perigueux, Brioude, La Gaillarde, Vzerche, and some other places.

The Xaintongois and those that lay neere vnto Rochel, began to hold vp their heads, and to goe to armes. The Prince of Conde filled all his party with great and speedy hopes. All rise, all dreame of new forces. They must therefore deuise by some practice to quench this great flame which was like to set the whole Realme on fire. *Katherine* amazed with this prosperous successe, hastens the Deputies of the Prince of Conde, of Xaintonge, of Dauphine and Languedoc: they come to Paris the tenth of April, they present Letters to the King from the Prince and Marshall, and demand free exercise of their religion throughout all France: new Chambers in the Parliaments for the administration of Iustice, punishment of the murderers, ease of imposts, a free assembly of the generall Estates, and an assurance for the entertainment of the pretended peace. Fifteen dayes are spent in disputes, words, and discourses.

The King promisseth to content them all: but he will haue them referre these demands to his will. Finally, he grants vnto the Protestants, to remaine where they pleased within the Realme: safety for their persons without any search for matters of conscience, liuing in peace and modestly vnder the obedience of his Edicts: exercise of their Religion in those places they held, except at Montpellier, Castres, Aiguemortes, and Beaucaire. The like priuiledges for Lords of fee, for themselves, their household seruants, and all other in their houses. And as for other Gentlemen that haue no such fees, exercise for them and their families, but without townes and suburbs, ten leagues from Paris, and two leagues from Court. Too weake articles to content them who saw their affaires so successful, or to stay such as seeking innouations were transported with future hopes. The Councell feared it: neither were they other then words without effects. And vpon refusal made, to giue vnto the Deputies a copy of the Kings answer to the Petition and Articles presented by them, to the end they might shew them to the Assembly of the Confederates, the treatie vanished into smoake, and serued onely to bring forth mooues of new confusions. *Rochegade* begins in Viuaraz. Those of Lions had recovered Andance, a small towne vpon the Rhine, and fearing lest Nonnay would likewise be lost, he marcheth to supply it with men. Vpon the way he encountreth the enemy, chargeth them, and puts them in rout, but he gets a great and a deadly wound.

This death, and the approach of the Duke of Vzez to the siege of Beys, troubles them of Viuaraz more then before. *Pierregorde* succours them, and with the ayde of an hundred and fifty men giues means to the Gouernour of Beys to defend the towne against the Duke that besieged it, vntill the beginning of May. The Duke hauing left it, they within the towne issue forth: they kill about three hundred, and nothing slayes them but the resistance made by the Suisses, from carrying away or cleying of his Artillery. If the Dukes forces and threats preuailed little against these men, his money

V v v 3

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His marriage.

Negotiation  
of peace.

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and promises did leffe. Hee shippes his Artillery vpon the riuers of Rhone, raiseth his campe, and by the houses which hee burnt to ashes, hee gets the ill will and curse of the people both farre and neere, for that he grew so bitter against them, whom lately hee defended so courageously.

Sedition at  
Marseilles.

These parties thus diuided, bred new seditions. At Marseilles the people being risen against the Customers and Toll-gatherers, runne to the Custome-house, take their books of accompts, registers, waights, and measures, and cast them into the sea. Some other townes of Progence followed this example. Some, called the shauen, (being a troop of malecontents, shauen after a certaine manner to be knowne) arme against treasurers and receiueurs. The Baron of Alemagne, Ozeon, Establon, and other heads of the Protestants, held Lourmarin, Riez, Seine, and some other small townes in the Prouince. To conclude, there are so many factions, so many parties, as one destroyes another. The Lord of Vins goes to field, and reduceth to the Kings obedience all these last conquests, except Seine, and some other places thereabouts. *Montbrun*, on the other side, made his forces fearefull in Dauphine, but his too great lenity to his fouldiers, made him to purchase much ill will and many enemies. Chastillon, a village, neere vnto Die, strong by reason of the Castle, did annoy it. *Francis* of Bonne, Lord of Des Diguers, (who commanded in those parts), resolueth to pull this thorne out of their foot. *Gordes* Gouverneur of Dauphine for the King, makes haste to crosse his attempt. *Montbrun* poseth thither, through the mountaines, and descending into the plaine, he chargeth *Gordes* thrice. The night comes and ends the conflict, *Montbrun* hauing lost eight men, and *Gordes* six and twenty.

*Des Diguers* approacheth in haste, but the next day, the thirteenth of Iune, *Montbrun* not satisfied with this aduantage, forceth his enemies to fight, and puts them to rout: *Gordes* saues himselfe within Die. Two and twenty Ensignes of Suisses which hee had drawne from the Duke of Vez after the siege of Beys, performe wondrous feats of armes: they make it good, and rather die then giue backe: but they are encountered by a generous resolution, who no lesse couetous of glory, then they were enemies of a shamefull flight, strewes the place with nine hundred carcasses; cary away eightene Ensignes, and by the death of *Freulich* their Colonell, and of sixtene braue Capitaines, *Montbrun* wins an absolute and famous victory. *Du Bar* and *Gouernat* his Lieutenants, second him by the defeat of the whole company of the Earle of Beine. Such is the daily change of humane things, which makes him by a pitifull catastrophe to fall suddenly, who lately seemed to be raised vp to the highest degree of honour. *Gordes* being prest within Die, calls for all the forces of the country. *Montbrun* charged the first that shewed themselves, in a straight: whereof part being slaine, and part flying, they giue the alarme to the whole armie. But whilest the Argoletiers of *Montbrun* are busie at the spoile, a huge troop of horse environ him, where (vertue yielding to the multitude) after a long conflict, they force through his troops. His men being disperfed, flic, some here, some there. Himselfe thinking to leape a ditch, his horse fals and breakes his thigh. So being forced to yeeld, *Rachefort* his cousin, and *Frche*, who commanded the troops, sweare to saue his life, and cause him to be caried to Crest. He lost in this hot skirmish two and twenty men: *Du Bar* amongst the rest, a braue and gallant young gentleman: the others lost two hundred, whereof some of them by their great valour, left a wonderfull grieft to them that suruiued. Two and thirty prisoners were taken with *Montbrun*, the which were freed for their ransomes: but he being arraigned by the Parliament of Grenoble, (after a double charge from the King and Queene-mother) not according to the law of armes, but as one guilty of high treason, ended the remainder of his life vpon a scaffold, whom already the grieft of his hurt had halfe mortified. The History commendeth this Gentleman to haue bene valiant, modest and iust, not couetous, no exaor, but (as we haue noted) too milde to his fouldiers, who for an vnderfetter reuenge of his death, did afterwards commit wonderfull spoiles about Grenoble.

Des Diguers  
chiese in Dau-  
phine.

The wisdome, valour, age, and happinesse of the Lord of Des Diguers, hath since giuen good testimony, that they had reason to chooseth him to succeed *Montbrun*, and to be Lieutenant to the Prince of Conde. For the first fruits of his government, hee restored martiall discipline, as much as the time would suffer him, preiuded for the *Garisons*, and by composition, surprises, and force, brought many new conquests to the party.

Xaintonge was likewise dismembred by the enterprises and ordinary courses of two parties.

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A parties: Among others, *Landerens* had gotten the Isle of Ré: but losing it the same day, he gaue the Rochelois means to enlarge their limits. Such were the confusions which diuided both the Progenies and the affections of this Realme.

But the time now calls vs to a strange consideration, happened either by policie and of purpose, or else accidentally, as it chanceth often in worldly affaires, whereof the wife of this world can make their prouident commodity, to draw forth all such fruits as mans wisdome giues them hope to produce at all euents. But he that sounds the bottom of mans heart, laughs from aboue and when he pleateth (euen when as man dreames not of it) hee confounds the wisdome of the wife, the foolies in their folly, and the malicious in B their owne malice.

The Duke of Alanson seemed to liue in great familiarity with the King, since his returne from Poland into France. *Katherine* said, that this reconciliation of the two brethren was the meane to maintaine the Realme in peace. But the counsels, practices, and negotiations, tooke another course then was expected. The Prince of Condes affaires prospered on the other side the Rhyne. Those of Languedoc preferred the defence of their liberties with the hazard of their liues, before the yoke of a doubtfull and dissolall peace.

Wherefore to ruine at once the generall forces of the Protestants, which threatened most dangerous effects to come: the Court (a good Schoole-mistresse of dissimulations) must take another accustomed habit. Doubleste *Katherine* gaue many of these instructions to her children: and the issue will shew vs, that there were many of her deuices in the managing of the following affaires. Suddenly the Duke of Alanson itemes discontented. He cannot (saith he) haue iustice of the outrages which were done him in keeping him prisoner: they disdain him; those of Guise are preferred by reason of the Queene their cousin the Kings wife; his presence seemes offensive to the King, who can endure no companion, nor any great man neere him. Thus it is bruted in all parts, that the Duke of Alanson is in very bad termes with the King. These horre-leeches of the Court, who by publike troubles aduanced their priuate affaires, buzzed in his eares: hee beleues them, and many of the Nobles ioyne with him: the King and Queene mother, and the Council seeme to be amazed therat: In the end he leaues the Court, the sixteenth of September, and meeting many Gentlemen halfe a league from Paris, hee repairs to Dreux: thither repaired daily vnto him new troops of the Nobility of both Religions, and amongst many, some inward seruants to the Queene mother, namely, *Bussy* of Amboise, a bloody, wicked, and a furious man.

This departure causeth new broiles and murmuring in Court. Every man thinkes, euerly man speaks according to his owne imagination or desire. Some beleue verily the two brethren are at discord: that the Duke not able to endure the brauadoes of them of Guise (whom he abhorres and loues not, as the authors of publike confusions) goes to ioyne with the Protestants and Politikes, to augment his portion, and by their common E forces to plant a peace in France. Most of the Protestants were filled with pleasing hopes, promising themselves a golden world vnder this pretended Reformer. But the cleare-sighted remember what was past, and by the present estate iudge of the future. They know well the strong and variable humour of the Mother: and say that shee vseth the dissembling of her children as a Last for all feet: that hauing preuailed little with the Lyons skinner, she will now put on the Foxes: that she finds the Duke fit to intrap them, seeing that both Protestants and Politikes seeke him jointly, to vndertake their quarrels, and to make him their head: that being young and of small iudgement, neither greatly careful of Religion, or the reformation of the State, there was no likelihood hee should runne this course without their instruction, who had kept him so long in their power.

F Thus men discouraged: but wee commonly beleue that for certaine, which we most desire: all other aduice is reiected. They hope from the Duke of Alanson both the lastty and the protection of the Realme. He to maintaine so commendable a reputation, giues an account of his actions by a publike declaration, protests to employ his forces, munities and life, to banish the troublers of the publike quiet, to pursue iustice for all robberies, thefts, murders and massacres, to restore Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, being prisoners or wrongfully banished, to their goods, offices, and honours, to abolish all taxes, imposts, and extraordinary subsidies, to maintaine the ancient lawes of the Realme; to defend

The Duke of  
Alanson dis-  
contented.

send



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defend the Nobility and Clergy, in their privileges, freedoms, and liberties, and by a generall and free Assembly of the three Estates, to confirme a good, firme, and sure peace in France: he takes all naturall Frenchmen of both religions into his protection, and (vntill that a holy Councell may decide the controversies which diuided their soules) he exhorts them to liue in brotherly loue, and to suffer every man to enioy the exercise thereof. This declaration is followed by Letters to the Prince of Conde, the Marshall *D'Anuile*, to the Earle of Ventadour, Vicont of Turenne, and to the chiefe amongst the Protestants: the most part of them receive leaues of paper for an vndoubted oracle. Whereof some said, they should shortly haue all things at their will: but it was without effect and contrary to promises.

Germane succours promised to the Prince of Conde.

The Prince of Conde laboured then for great succours in Germany. This publication comes happily to dispose *Frederic Elektor* and *Cont Palatine*, to make a league with him: That they should not lay aside armes vntill the King had giuen the gouernment of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, to duke *Iohn Casimir* his son, the places and reuennues depending on the said Bishopricks for the entertainment of necessary garisons vnder the Kings authority, and free exercise of the reformed Religion: That the King should giue him an honourable entertainment, and to the Protestants of Languedoc an annual pension of six thousand crownes: and a mutuall protection both by the heads of Germany and France, to do their best endeavor for the good of France. All this must needs feed the people with hope to preuentall future troubles. But the Prince had some horse-leeches about him, who emptying their companions purses, filled their owne coffers with golden Crownes: and the Protestants employed many persons in the affaires of their Religion, who had neither faith, piety nor religion.

The Court was wonderfully disquieted. The King sends many postes to the gouernors of Provinces, conuies them to keepe their faith, accuseth the Protestants and Politiques, to haue withdrawne his brother from him, forbids his subiects to giue any ayde, fauour, or support to the Duke of Alençon: calls the Gentlemen together, and besides his bands of Ordinary, he makes new cornets of horses, and for their entertainment hee imposts new taxes. And to moue the people, and retaine them in obedience vnder the shew of deuotion and piety, he ordaines processions, fasts and prayers, and makes vowes and pilgrimages. But being returned to the Louure, the Ladies, and his little dogges (which hee kept very daintily) made him to forget the care of affaires, and to leaue the managing thereof to his Mother and some Councillors.

The Queens mother goes to the Duke of Alençon.

She makes a iourney to the Duke her sonne, to reconcile him (said she) vnto the King. But the suspicious held, that her going was to furnish him with new instructions: that being declared Generall of these troops, both foraine and French, and of diuers Religions, and hauing ratified (as he did soone after) an accord made with *Casimir*, she might agree at her pleasure with him, and so disappoint the great designs of the army. After this parle the Duke marcheth into Poiçou, the Earle of Ventadour comes vnto him with three hundred horse, and twelue hundred Harguebuziers: many great Noblemen and Gentlemen repaire vnto him.

The protests of the House of Guise for a third party.

During these confusions, the Duke of Guise and his House deuise to lay the foundations of a third party, the which we shall soone see breake forth. For the present, hee assembles twelue hundred masters in Champagne, vnder the Kings authority, and *Stressly* twelue thousand foot: the Duke of Vzev sends vnto them the rest of his horse, and the Duke of Montpensier sends his troops of Poiçou.

The Marshall *D'Anuile* had required some cornets of Reistres from the Prince of Conde, to fortifie him in Languedoc: but seeing these last designs had called away the Kings forces, to keepe the Germane army from entering: the Councell decreed, that attending *Casimirs* coming, these Reistres appointed for Languedoc, should goe to the Duke of Alençon, being already chosen to be their chiefe and Generall. This did weaken their party, and the first check brought the most part of his Councillors into a bad reputation, and confirmed the Protestants in the ieaiousies they had conceived of the Duke of Alençon. There led these troops, being about fifteene hundred: some French Gentlemen ioynd with him, with five hundred shot. The Dukes of Guise and Mayenne, *Biron*, *Fernaguez*, and others, compassed them in. Some retire and cry for money: some fight, imitating the French; but the greater number preuailes. *Hasting* the Colonell, with his

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A his Lieutenant and some Reistres, and French, are slaine vpon the place: the rest flye. *Cherwin* and many others being taken, with some cornets, serue as a triumph: for the Duke of Guise: sue hundred Reistres ioyne with his troops, he himselfe (following them that fled) recleued a shot with a pistoll in the cheeke, and by his fall gaue meane to many to escape the fury of his victorious armes. There led the remainder of this shipwracke to the Duke of Alençon, being taxed as a bad man of warre, and not capable of counsell. This wound is a ladder for the Duke of Guise to climbe to wonderfull credit with the Catholics: the Kings actions both publicke and priuate beginne to displease him. The King (say they) takes his ease, and drownes himselfe in delights and pleasures: his brother troubles all France, and the House of Guise beares the burthen of the affaires of the whole common-wealth. And vpon these fauourable repinings, the Duke hereafter grounds most terrible designs.

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Murmuring against the King.

His forces were not able to encounter the power of *Casimir*. The King therefore calls for *Mansfield*, *Schomburg*, *Bassompierre*, and other Colonels, who promise to bring him eight thousand Reistres within fixe weekes, giuing them three hundred thousand frankes downe, and fourteene hundred thousand when they were entered. The King was wonderfull needily: all was spent in vnprofitable sumptuousnesse, and vnworthy dissolutenesse: and part of this money could no where be so easily found as in the Parisiens purses. To induce them thereunto, they obtaine Bulls from Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, and foure Churches appointed within Paris to obtaine pardons for many yeares, vpon condition to ayde the King, to root our heresies. And to draw the Parisiens by others example, they giue it out, that *Piennes* sold his inheritance to lend the King foure hundred thousand frankes: and that the Italians of Paris did furnish the like summe: and the Duke of Neuers, the Cardinal of Ferrara, *Gondi*, and *Birague*, nine thousand frankes. Neither the first nor the second bait, could make the Parisiens to bite. They say, that within fifteene yeares their Citie had contributed twelue millions of gold, not comprehending the loanes and extraordinary imposts leauied at Paris, and throughout the Realme: that these ciuill diffentions waste both their men and money: they beseech him, that (according to the notable aduertisements of *Saint Lewis*, to his sonne and successor) hee would maintaine his subiects in peace and concord, by the bonds of piety and iustice. Hee must haue money, and not words: and that by force, seeing loue cannot preuaile. Paris therefore is suddenly inuested with garisons: the King of Nauarre at *Saint Cloud*, the Duke of Guise at *S. Denis*, the Duke of Neuers in the suburbs of *Saint Germaine*, *Biron* at *Montmarre*, the Marshall of *Rez* at *Pont Charenton*, and *Bois de Vincennes*. Thus the Parisiens are restrained of their viuals, and force extorts from them the money, which kindnesse could not win. In the meane time the pretended Reistres were farre off, and Duke *Casimir* marched with the Prince of Conde.

To diuide the Duke of Alençon from these two heads, and frustrate the designs of the Prince of Conde, the Queens mother comes againe to the Duke: she treats a suspension of armes for six moneths: and during the same, she giues him for hostages, the townes of *Angoulême*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges*, and *la Charite*: and for the Prince, *Mezieres*. The King doth ratifie this truce: but the Gouernors of these places, for the most part refuse to yeeld them: neither will the Prince allow of it, for already there marched tenne thousand horse, six thousand Swisses, two thousand *Langquenets*, three thousand French *Harguebuziers*, with foure great pieces of battery, and sixteene leffe, the which threatened to make their passage easie. This army made chiefeest account of the money which Languedoc should furnish, and the Marshall *D'Anuile* had promised the Prince to meet them with good troops, & to bring the pay vnto the army: but no man appeares, neither is there any newes of money. An affront which then had made them yeeld to any passable conditions of peace, if they had beene offered it in the beginning of these first confusions, and might haue transported the men of warre beyond the bounds of modesty and reason, if by a good and commendable discipline the Prince had not restrained the souldiers insolencies.

The Queens mother second voyage to the Duke.

A Gamester stay for the Prince of Conde.

At their entry, those of *Langres* (seeking to crosse their passage through their territories) did presently see the Reistres to spoile all, to load their carts, and to burne the neighbour villages to ashes. Those of *Dion* made some sallies; but they were first to some: others were content to salute them with their cannon, shot into the ayre. *Citreaux*, *Gilly*,

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The Reistres  
begin to  
marche.

Gilly, a Castle depending on the said Abbey, and Nuis a small towne in Bourgongne, were the first conquests of the Reistres, the Prince, and Lansquenets: where they learned by the slaughter and spoile which was made at Nuis, how troublesome a thing it is for a Prince (enemy to blood and spoile) to be mastered by the greater number, being strangers in his armie.

At Loudron the Reistres threaten the Prince to take another party, if he give them not ready money. Having contented them with hopes and good words, the armie passeth Loire, marcheth directly to the River of Allier, and takes Vichy by composition, a small towne vpon the passage. Thus these strangers did forage, whilst the King by a proposition of truce, gave hope of a future peace: and to prevent surprisles, he studied to fortifie the places about Paris, whither the whole army threatened to come: for the effecting whereof he finds his ordinary lett, which was the want of money. The Parisiens remembred with what violence the King had lately forced them to yeeld to his demands: they now promise for their contribution fourteene hundred thousand frankes.

The Queen mother pursues this suspension of armes, the furnishesth the Duke of Alençon with very exquisite meats, sends him his great horses, and causeth them to be proclaimed traitors, that would not yeeld to the Duke her sonne: amongst others, the inhabitants of Bourges and la Charite, offering Tours and Blois in exchange of the said towns. Those of Guise have their designe apart. He speaks boldly, that France hath no need of a truce: that they will fight with their foraine foe, and vpon this hope published, they build the projects which we shall see them shortly to vndertake. Amidst these common diuisions, a new confusion troubles the Court.

The King of  
Navarre escapes  
from Court.

The King of Navarre, vnder colour of hunting, escapes from Paris with a small traine: and writes to the King from la Fere in Picardy (a towne belonging vnto him) That the apprehension of a new captiuitie, and the ordinary slanders of his enemies, are the causes of his retreat. The King excuseth himselfe, and would haue him retorne: but hee had the fields at liberty. And seeing this proiect will not preuaile, he must trie another. Some bad Councillors, which gouerned the Prince of Conde, aduised him to passe the River of Allier, and speedily to ioyne with the Duke of Alençon, leauing Duke Casimir on the other side the river, who should follow his ordinary march.

In the meane time the Duke of Mayenne attends them at the passage with the Kings army. This trick left the Reistres to the slaughter: but Casimir an aduised and courageous Captaine, lodgerh his men with aduantage, and attends the enemy. The Prince discouraging their designe, turnes towards them, and makes the Kings troops retire to their lodging. The Auvergnacs fearing lest this army should passe the rest of the winter vpon their marches, make them to take the way of Bourbonnois, giving them an hundred and fiftie thousand frankes. Here began the first parle of peace: and to this effect Letters and instructions were sent into Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphine. Charoux a little towne in Bourbonnois, besides money lent, payed the charges of some dayes that the army stayed there, whilst they made question to yeeld.

The Duke of  
Alençon crieth  
at Protestants  
army.

The eleuenth of March, the duke of Alençon comes to the plaine of Soze, where in a generall muster they numbered thirty corners of Germane horse, ten of French, seuteene ensignes of Suisses, seuen of Lansquenets, eight of French, and the Prince of Conde, deliuering the white cornet into the Dukes hands, according to the articles of their Capitulation, he was solemnly proclaimed General of this mighty army. The King in the meane time, with the Queen mother, and their Councillors, omitted no practises to corrupt Duke Casimir, and to breake the treaty betwixt the Prince and the Duke. On the other side, the French, Reistres, Suisses, and Lansquenets, demanded nothing but battell, or to march towards Paris: but the duke of Alençon was already assured of the best part of his demands: and the armies without any memorable exploits of warre, did only spoile and destroy France.

At length the Queen mother seeing matters almost brought to a desired end, comes to the army the seuen and twentieth of April, where after diuers ambassages and contestations, she granted in the end to duke Casimir a company entertained of an hundred men at armes, forty thousand frankes yearly pension, and two thousand crownes for the entertainment of a certaine number of horses. In consideration whereof, he did renounce the Article concerning Metz, Thoul, and Verdun. That of eleuen million of Frankes that

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A that were due vnto him, he should receiue two millions within six weekes, and a sufficient pawning of Jewels for the rest, and the reuenues of *Chastell Thierry*. The Duke of Alençon should haue for his part, Aniou, Touraine, and Betry, for an increase of his portion.

The Prince of Conde should haue the gouernment of Picardy, the towne of Peronne for his abode, and two hundred souldiers in garison, free exercise of the pretended reformed religion throughout the Realme, attending a free and generall Councell: Chambers in the Parliaments of both religions; for the administration of Iustice: and at Montpeller for Languedoc, leauing them eight townes in guard, for the assurance of these articles, and of other persons: Aiguemortes and Beaucare in Languedoc, Perigueux and le Mas of Verdun in Guienne; Nyons and Serres in Dauphine, Issoire in Auvergne, Seine, with the great Tower, in Prouence. Restitution to the King of Nauarre, Prince of Conde, Marshall D'Anuile, and diuers others, of their goods, offices, and honors, which they enjoyed before the foure and twentieth of August 1572. Moreover, the King did auow by a solemne declaration, That the Massacres of the said yeere had bene committed against all right and law of armes. He ordained, That the children of such gentlemen as had been murdered; should be freed from all charges of warre: and such as were no Gentlemen, should be eased of subsidies for six yeares. He disannulled all iudgements giuen since the decease of Henry the second, in hatred of Religion: and lately against the Politicks. Hee freed the Admirall, and all others murdered, from infamy: restoring their children to all their goods. He restored *La Mole*, *Cocornas*, and others, executed or condemned for contempt, to their honors. He aduowed the taking of armes by the duke of Alençon and his associates, as taken for his seruice, giuing him the towne of La Charite for two yeares. He appointed a Conuocation of the Estates at Blois, in November following. He cleared the Marshals of Montmorency and Cosse of all accusations, held them for innocents, restored them to their former liberty, and acknowledged them for faithfull seruants to the King and officers of the Crowne. The Edict contained many other articles depending vpon the former, and was allowed by the Parliament of Paris, the 14 of May.

So the Queene mother granted much to many, to give nothing to any, but to the duke her sonne, who alone got more then all the rest together. Also Duke Casimir had no sooner turned his backe from France, but they began to find this peace to be counterfeit, being made onely to disarme them, and to diuide the Countersides. The Prince of Conde did first feele the breach of these promises. They deny him his gouernment of Picardy: some seize vpon Peronne, and put in practice a strange piece of worke. Diuers enterprises vpon the Princes person, make him to leaue the Duke of Alençon, and to retire into Guienne to the King of Nauarre, whom those of Rochel receiued into their towne, with much honour and great triumph, the eight and twenty of Iune. All such of his traine as they suspected, were excluded.

Vpon deniall of Peronne, the King granted to the Prince the towne of Saint Iean d'Angely: but the inhabitants had a watch-word, and a mutuall oath (after the example of a priuate league made by threecore Gentlemen of Poitou, who would haue no exercise but of the Catholike religion) to maintaine one other, and not to give access to any one, of what Religion soeuer, to the end their quiet might no way be disturbed or molested: The Prince seeing himselfe to haue this repulse, hee caused some Captaines to enter secretly, and then assured himselfe of the place. It was then found very weak for the assurance of his person against so many enemies as sought his death. He therefore discouers a certaine practice against him, but fatal to the author alone.

In the end of October he takes Brouage, a strong place neere vnto Rochel. The Catholikes murmure against him, and accuse him as a disturber and breake of the peace. Contrariwise, he demanded iustice against them that had seized on Peronne, as troublers of the public quiet, and guilty of treason: The Protestants likewise complaine vnto the King, That in diuers places they are disquieted in the exercise of their religion granted by the Edict: That many Preachers moue the people to sedition: That the Chambers of both Religions are not erected: That iustice is denied them: That both great and small bandie against them. And they produce ample and certaine proofes of these complaints and grieues.

These of the House of Guise studied to discouer those terrible proiects which they had long hatched. The cloake of Religion was a plausible and fauourable pretence to ad- uance

Preparations of  
new troubles.

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Practices of the  
House of Guise

uance the designs of their pretensions. They had of many yeares (especially vnder *Francis* the second) disparted of their beginning, and of the rights which falsely they pretended to haue vnto this Crowne. *Charles* and *Henry* were become odious: the first by his violences, the last by his dissolutions. *Francis* Duke of Anjou, (for hereafter he shall carie that title) had lately troubled France, and was taken for a turbulent Prince: a title vnplesant to the people. The diuision for matters of conscience, seemed sufficient to keepe backe the chiefe Princes of the blood: the rest were weak both of age and power. Those of Guise in the meane time, had neither forgotten bounty, courtship, nor shew of zeale in piety, to winne the Catholickes hearts. The Queene Mother vied them for a purpose, that by the mutuall ruine of the one and the other, shee might maintaine her authority.

But their fauours within the Realme were not auailable. The Protestants crossed them infinitely: they must seeke a foraine support. They find it fitly at Rome, and in Spaine. The Pope gouernes Catholick consciences, and great men doe still find in Religion a wel coloured pretext to trouble the State. The King of Spaine feared, lest the peace of this Realme should breed him warres. The Prince of Auranges, and many townes in the Low-Countries cast themselves already into the Kings protection, against the Spanish tyranny. They sollicite the Duke of Anjou instantly, and propound conditions vnto him, which make him to open both eares and mouth: and already many Gentlemen and Captaines armed for this quarrell. So both the Consistory at Rome, and the King of Spaine might well countenance these designs, grounded especially vpon the defence of the Catholike religion: the one for the zeale he caries to the rooting out of heresie: the other for the profit he reapes by our common diuisions.

And therefore those of Guise send their Agents to Rome, with instructions, and shew, That by the negligence of Kings issued from the House of Valois, descending from the line of *Hugh Capet* (in the which there appeared none but were dull, or hereticks) the Catholike religion decayed in this Realme: whilst that the Race of *Charlemagne* honored with the blessing of the Romane seat, which subsidies not but by that Race (from the which they will make the world beleue, that they are defended in the direct masculine and lawfull line) remains despised, although it be ready to serue the Church faithfully, and that there liue at this day Princes of that Race, commendable for their vertues, ready to spend their blood and meanes, to augment the dignitie of the Church, and for the destruction of hereticks. And therefore they beseech the Consistory to approue and fauour their designs. Their chiefe designs were to ouerthrow the succession brought in by *Hugh Capet*, in the full assembly of the Estates, and to make the naming of a successor subiect vnto the said Estates: to cause the Princes of the blood, that should oppose against the decrees of the Estates, to be declared incapable to succeed vnto the Crowne. And the residue, of what quality soeuer, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, degraded of their dignities: the money growing of their confiscations, to bee employed for the warre, and their bodies to be executed. A reward to be appointed for them that should root out such as could not be apprehended. To make the Estates protest to liue and die in the faith, set downe by the Councell of Trent. To cause it to be signed in the open Parliament. To reuoke and disannull all publike Edicts in fauour of the Protestants and their associates, and to pursue them to the death that should hinder the extirpation of heresies. To cause the King to reuoke the promises made vnto the Protestants, and to prescribe a certaine time vnto their associates, in the which they should present themselves before the Ecclesiasticall Iudges to be absolved, and then to be sent vnto the King, to purchase pardon of the crimes committed against his Maiestie. To cause the King to name a Lieutenant general, a Prince capable, of experience, and fit to encounter the rebellion of Princes, that should seeke to hinder the effect of the precedent articles, and who neuer had had part, society, nor communication with Hereticks, to whom both he and his ancestors had cuer bene professed enemies: and to require his Maieity to honour the Duke of Guise with that charge, being indued with all the perfections requisite in a great Captaine, and worthy of that Commission. To cause Iudges to be appointed to examine the crime committed by the Duke of Alençon, declaring himselfe chiefe of the Hereticks, authorizing the exercise of heresie: and forcing his Lord and brother to augment his portion. To cause the said Duke to come to the Court, with the King of Nauarre and Prince of Conde: and by ordinary

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The first league  
at Peronne.

A ordinary and extraordinary forces, to seize vpon the Duke, King, Prince, and all others that had accompanied them, and followed them in their enterprises. To cause such Captaines as the parishes should giue to the Duke of Guise, to put all Protestants, their adherents and complices, to the sword, both in the country and in walled townes. To subdue by force or intelligence the revolted Prouinces: to be masters of the field, to blocke vp the townes that were opposite, and to put all to fire and sword that would make head against them: and after this goodly and infallible victorie, hauing wonne the loue of the Clergy, Nobility, and People, to take exemplary punishment of the Duke of Anjou and his complices, then by the Popes consent and permission, to put the King and Queene into a Monastery, as *Pepin* his Ancestor did in former time to *Gilderic*: and for an acknowledgement, and in fauour of the Romane Sea to abolish the liberties and priuiledges of the French Church.

These high and great proiects were hearkned vnto, receiued and fauoured in the Court of Rome, and from that time those of Guise did not cease to dreame of the meanes to aduance the effects. But this was to reckon without their host. They haue compassed some of their conclusions, but the end proued quite contrary to their intents: wherein we admire a most singular prouidence of the King of Kings, whereby he hath vnto this day miraculously balanced, and in the end by his singular grace settled the Estate of this Realme. The Articles of this association were first drawne at Peronne in Picardy: but disguised with goodly shewes, to blind them that would examine them more exactly: which were to maintain the Law of God, to restore the holy seruice thereof: To preserve the King and his Successors in the Estate, dignity, seruice, and obedience due vnto him by his subjects: To restore vnto the Estates of the Realme, their rights, preheminences, and ancient liberties.

And for the execution of these articles, a certaine forme of oath was propounded, including paines of eternal damnation to the Associates, that for any pretext whatsoever should withdraw themselves from this League, and a bond for such as should be enrolled, to employ their goods, persons, and liues to punish, and by all meanes to raine the enemies and perturbers thereof, and to punish them that should faile, or make any delayes by the authority of the head, as he should thinke good.

This done, there was nothing but Postes carrying the first newes of their designs. They cast many libels throughout the Cities, in many good townes: they murmure that they are too much supported by the Edict: they practise to set on fire brands to kindle a new warre: and vnder this plausible and commendable rule of the name of the Church and diuine Service, the people (a firmament to nourish civil diuisions) giue care to such as seeke to thrust them into mutiny. The King was daily advertised of new complots. He found that this match did kindle a fire of perpetual combustions within his Realme. On the other side, he hated the Protestants, and would raine them by degrees, but not by such instruments as wrought without his authority. His mother likewise hated them to the death, and greatly desired the ruine of the heads, being well content that these confusions should still diuide the French, so as holding the staffe in her hand, shee might reuise her children, and maintaine her authority, make warre, and giue peace whensoever she pleased. Thus the cause of the Duke of Alençon to come to Court, and the King by entertaining his subjects of both Religions, in hope of better concord, by meanes of this reconciliation: and to cut off all new factions, he deferred the general Assembly of the Estates vnto the 15 of December following. He presumed likewise, that all his subjects, by hearing the ruine of townes, the desolation of Countreies, and the spoile of strangers, would gladly prefer the entertainment of a peace solemnly sworn before the continuance of warre, and by this meanes, he should prevent all turbulent persons, and bridle the Protestants, whom he meane to consume otherwise, then by open warre: whereby neither his predecessor, nor he himselfe had gotten any honourable triumphs.

The day (appointed for the Estates) comes, the King himselfe begins it. Hee lamenteth the calamities of his Realme, whereof the tendrage in the which his brother and himselfe were in the beginning of these civil warres, may well iustifie them, that they were the authors and motives. He professeth to haue no designe nor desire, but for the quiet of his people, whose milities he would redempt with the price of his blood: he desires the assembly to assist him in his holy resolution. To deuide some meanes for redressing

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the

The Duke of  
Alençon re-  
called to the  
King.The beginning  
of the first  
league.

1577

the lands of the Crowne, engaged for about an hundred millions of gold : to vnite themselves firmly together, to root out all seeds of partialities, to reform abuses, establish iustice, and to restore the Realme to the ancient dignity. *Birague* the Chancellor adds the rest : but the two main points of his speech were to iustifie the Queen-mothers government, and to demand money. *Peter d'Espinae* Archbishop of Lions; and the Baron of Senecy are Speakers, the one for the Clergy, the other for the Nobility; and both conclude a publicke exercise of one onely religion in France. *Peter Verforis*, Advocate in the Court of Parliament at Paris, Orator for the third Estate, insists especially for the vnion of all the Kings subjects in one religion, but by mild means, and without warre : he beseecheth the King to maintaine his people in peace, to reconcile his Princes, and exactly to examine the bad government of his treasure.

The King seemed to encline only to alter some articles in the last Edict of pacification, and not to abolish it quite : but he was needy, and feared that wherewith they threatened him : That no man would assist him, but vpon condition to make warre against the Huguenots. Thus the perswasions and promises of the Clergy and Nobility, prevailed more then those that preferred peaceable proceedings before violent ; making him resolute to armes, to root out all other exercise of religion but the Catholike, to banish all Ministers, Deacons, and Officers of the pretended reformed Religion : and yet to take all his other subjects of the said religion into his protection, attending, that by better instructions they might be reclaimed to the bosome of the Church. But the King of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, the Marshall of Montmorency, *d'Anville*, and other Noblemen both of the one and the other Religion, had well foreseen these conclusions, and refusing to assist at this pretended Parliament, concluded a nullity of all that should be decreed to prejudice the Edict of pacification, protesting that they were resolved to maintaine themselves in the rights, liberties and freedoms which the last Edict had granted them : That the troublers of the publicke quiet, and the sworn enemies of France, should find them in a iust defence, and they should answer before God and Men for all the miseries that should ensue thereby. For answer, it is ordained, that men should be sent to winne some to the Catholike Church, and all to the obedience of the Kings new Edict, tending to maintaine the Romane Religion, to root out all other exercise, to defend the King, and to preferre his people. The King thought by this opposition to stay this new faction which fortified it selfe daily. It was a great indiscretion to countenance an association and league, which vnder the ashes of the last warre, being yet hot, couered the coales of a generall flame. The King of Navarre beseecheth the Estates, by the Duke of Montpensier (who was sent vnto him) not to infringe the Edict of peace, and to suffer then of the Religion to enioy that which had beene so solemnly granted. He offers to submit himselfe, if they will shew him how he erres : But hee intreats them, that in a matter of so great importance, they will giue him time to thinke seriously thereon, and to attend the opinion of an Assembly of those of his Religion, and of the Catholikes associates, which shortly shall bee made at Montauban.

The Prince of Conde answers more sharply : That he doth not acknowledge them that are assembled at Blois, for the Estates of the Realme; but a conuenticule of persons corrupted by the sworn enemies of the Crowne, who haue solicited the abolition of the Edict, to the ruine and subuersion of the Realme; That if they had beene lawfully called, he would haue assisted for the sincere affection he beares to the Kings service, and the quiet of his Country : That he will neuer giue his consent to the counsels of the authors of so many confusions which he foresees, whereunto he hath already knowne the Kings disposition to be repugnant, and a friend to vnion ; being the sure and principall meanes to preferre his Crowne : That he hath alwayes honoured the Clergy and Nobility, and will maintaine them with all his power : but he pities the people, whom these pretended Estates of Blois seeke to ruine.

The chiefe of the Politiques protest, That they do not cleaue to any other Religion then that of their fathers : but as touching a generall peace, they cannot allow of this resolution : To take from the Protestants the publicke exercise which had beene so solemnly granted them. The Duke of Montpensier (being returned) perswaded to haue the Edict confirmed. The third Estate presented a new petition vnto the King, beseeching him to vnite all his subjects in one religion, but without violence. Doubtlesse a king may wel ruine every priuate

The third Estate more indifferent and moderate.

The King of Navarres request to the Estates.

The Prince of Condens answer.

The declaration of the Politiques.

1577

A priuate man, but not all mankind in generall. One succeeds another, and the children, (whose age and innocency doth naturally free them from the rigor and violence of armes) doe inherit the humours, passions and quarrels of their fathers.

The Protestants jointly beseech the King, not to suffer this assembly (which they cannot allow for a generall Parliament) to consult vpon the point of Religion due vnto a free Councell. The Estates (said the King) should neither be free, nor generall, if I should make this prohibition. And as they may demand what they please, so may you doe the like; and I promise you in the word of a King, and of an honest man, that whatsoever I ordaine, shall be for the contentment of all my subjects, and the quiet and peace of my Realme. In the meane time they consult how to leaue money for the warre. The King giues notice to his Governours, and publisheth by his Letters patents; That he is resolved to grant the Estates their requests, touching the exercise of one onely religion. And *Villequier* is sent to the Princes of the Empire, to diuert some from their affections to the Prince of Conde and his adherents : and to obtaine from others a leaue of Reistres. Thus the warre begins in Guienne.

The King of Navarre attempts vpon Marmande, a town of his government, but without effect. The Duke of Mayenne comes for the King : and whilst he is the strongest in field, he batters, takes, and sackes, Thone-Carante, Marans, and other places thereabouts. During the Parliament, the Deputies of the Low-Countries came to demand succours of the King, and the Duke of Aniou for protector of their liberties and priuiledges, against the tyrannous government of the Spaniards. He is now declared the Kings Lieutenant generall. They giue him a mighty army, with the which (contrary to the oath taken by him in the obseruation of the accord and promise past with the Prince of Conde and the Duke *Casimir*) he besiegeth and takes La Charite by composition, and Yssaire in Auvergne by force, where the blood of the inhabitants, shed without pity by the Duke of Aniou, confirmed the Protestants in the bad opinion they had conceived of him.

Rochel crossed the practices of the contrary partie : whose happy exploits caused the Duke of Mayenne to send forth a Navy to sea, vnder the command of *Launac*, which presenting it selfe before the Isle of Ré, retired, seeing the Islanders resolved to fight if they approached. The Rochelois, to encounter them, arme seuen ships, those of the Islands five, and entreat the Estates of Holland and Zealand, vpon good assurance to ayde them with some great vessels, to withstand the force of this Fleet. The Nobility, by their example, inuite all others, and of all qualities, to charge themselves willingly for the maintenance of this army. The Duke of Mayennes first conquests make him proceed. And to make his enterprises vpon Rochel more easie, he comes before Brouage the 22 of Iune. It is a small square towne built in a marsh recovered out of the Sea, fortified during the third peace, & at that time ill furnished with men, victuals and munition; and besides, ill beloued of the Islanders about it. Those of Rochel, whom it doth greatly import for the preservation of their Estate, did greatly endamage the assailants, and cut off about 600 of their men in E short time. But a diuision happened, and was cunningly maintained betwixt the Nobility and the Rochelois : the Prince of Conde hauing (vnder the conduct of *Clermont* Admirall for the Rochelois) lost some vessels, being runne aground, the rest being dispersed, and thereby the Isle of Oleron lost ; the Kings approach to Poitiers; the supply of Suisses in the campe ; *Launacs* comming into the Rode of Chef-de-Bay neare vnto Rochel (where he burnt one of their principall ships, and tooke another, but without the losse of a man,) the death of *Sere* chiefe of the besieged, slaine with tenne or twelue others in a fall by night; the number of sicke and hurt which they had to feed, the ruine of their forrs, the enemies approach, the want of victuals, and the threats of the Duke of Anious comming, who would intreat them as he had done the inhabitants of Iffoire : all these considerations made them enter into capitulation, by the which they departed on the 28 of August with their armes and baggage, leauing the place at the victors deuotion.

This happy successe should haue made the Duke of Mayenne aduance with his armie; but the progresse was dangerous for the Kings Estate : who to maintaine himselfe must proceed after another sort. His manner of life was contrary to the violence of armes: hee was of a soft and delicate nature, impatient of labor, a friend to rest, feasts, dancing, & other pleasures, which peace brings to them that are giuen to delights. So the peace which had beene plotted during the siege of Brouage, was concluded at Poitiers, and was receiued

The Protestants supplication.

The first chaille warre.

By the Duke of Anious and

Of Mayenne.

The siege of Brouage.

The peace of Poitiers.

1580

Articles of hard  
execution.The Kings be-  
haviour during  
the peace.The Order of  
the holy Ghost  
erected.

in the end of September, with so great ioy of either party, as the Prince of Conde caused it to be proclaimed by Torch-light in Rochel the same night it came: although it were not so beneficial for his party at the first. This last Edict cut off some articles of the former: made no mention of strangers: left their consciences free, yet without exercise, but in townes and places whereas then it was publicly vsed in Gentlemens houses that had high Iustice and Sees, in what assemblies they pleased: for others of meane qualitie, a certaine number, and in euery Baillywicke a fit and commodious place for the publike exercise of the pretended reformed Religion. So the proud designs of the Duke of Guise were made frustrate for this time, and stayed for some yeares, vntill that by the death of the Duke of Aniou, we shall see them reuiued, but in the end to the authors confusion. **B**

The partialities and leagues made within the Realme, in the which many, both great and small, had farre engaged their goods and reputations, were the cause of great difficulties, in the execution of the Edict. Those of Languedoc especially (from whom the Mar-shall *d'Anville* had estranged himselfe) did ioyntly, with the other Prouinces, sollicite the King of Nauarre, to obtaine an explanation of many ambiguous and doubtfull articles. So a whole yeare was spent in instances, pursuits, and declarations.

The conference at Nerac betwixt the Queene mother and the King of Nauarre, decided many difficulties: but their spleenes could not be so easily tempred, and sometimes in one Prouince, sometimes in another, the Edict was diuersly and many wayes broken. The most fastidious were very loath to lay aside armes: The Politiques did daily diuide themselves from the Protestants: the Protestants fought to keepe themselves from surpris-es, and full of distrust, maintained themselves quietly in the midst of many stormes which threatened them. **C**

As for the King, experience hath now taught him, that the power of man cannot force mens consciences: that spirituall diseases must haue spirituall cures: that faith is not planted in the heart by violence: that we must attend from heauen the conseruation of them that are strayed, and that the Prince is a patterne whereto his subiects willingly conforme themselves. He therefore shewes himselfe in publike, for a mirror of reformation and pietie, and as a testimony that his greatest desire is to conforme the diuisions in his Realme, he builds many Monasteries, Chappells, and Oratories: vndertakes many pilgrimages on foot: confirms the Brotherhood of Penitents, erects the Order of Hieronimites, is daily conuersant with the Capuchins and Feuillants, called Iesuits; and by their instructions & directions erects many Companies; he carries a Crucifix and Beads in procession, with a whip at his girdle; he causeth many bookes of deuotion to be printed. And to conclude, he leads a life more besitting a Cloyster then a Royall Court: and following the example of *Lenu* the eleuenth his Predecessor, hee institutes the Order of the Knights of the Holy-Ghost, binding the to conditions which carie a strickt bond to the Church of Rome. **D**

He pretended to giue diuers blows with one stone: to vnite great men by an inuolable concord and amitie, for the good of themselves, the State, and their country: To please the Clergy-men, and to lead all the Clergy in a leash: to winne the peoples hearts who are fed with shewes: to suppress the grudging and the ill will which the intolerable oppression of his subiects bred, to remedy the extraordinary expences of his Court in vniual excesses, and for the entertainment of a number of minions and horse-leeches, to whom they must rather weigh then tell money: but chiefly to pull downe the Protestants, to vndermine them, and by this lure of worldly greatnesse, to withdraw the chiefe heads, who could not attaine to this high and stately degree of Knighthood, but in renouncing of their Religion. **E**

Henry (for trumpets of his deuotion) had the Fathers of the Capuchins, Feuillants, and Iesuites. *Dom Bernard Feuillant*, and *Edmond Auger* a Iesuit, gaue him publicly in their Sermons, and priuately in confessions and companies, the testimonies of the most religious Prince, the most courteous, and the most carefull to vnite his subiects, first in their obedience to God, and then to him, that euer France hath knowne in many ages. But wee shall see in the end most of their tongues sold for money; and others, who making profession to come into the Pulpit to instruct the people, shall basely contradict and controule these goodly Oratours, and by a contrary language, suborne the peoples affections, subuert their senses, and as it were with little linkes of gold, draw them after them, tyed by the nose, tongue, and cares. **F**

The

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1580

Mortues of re-  
bellion against  
the King.

**A** The feasts, masks, stately mariages, sumptuous pastimes, and the new impositions to maintain them, led the first dance of rebellion. The Queene mother, and those of Guise, seeing the King drowned in these delights of Court, did willingly entertaine him in that humour, that either busying himselfe to number his beads, or to tread the measures of a dance, they might hold the reines of gouernment, and dispose of affaires without trouble. But he knew well the ambition of these men. He was iealous of his royall authority, and in the midst of his delights and pleasures, their presence was suspect vnto him. He was more pleased with the familiarity of meane men, whom hee had advanced to exceeding greatnesse: and still he set some minion in sentinell, to watch if they should attempt any thing against his royall dignity. Those of Guise are not idle, they watch for occasions, they receiue such as are male-content, they practise men of their owne humours and dispositions, and fit for their designs: and can cunningly promise cure and help for those vicers and forces which the people of France doe generally complaine of.

These first discontents of subiects, oppressed with insupportable charges, and the impatiency of the Clergy, who see their enemies to enioy a summe and solid peace, which did newly strengthen and close vp that old wound which had lately imbrued all France, made them easily to reuiue the league of Peronne, and vnder two goodly pretexts (religion, and the ease of the people) to discouer the designs which they had long before conceived. All encounters made the way easie both within and without: within, their hearts disposed to reuolt: without, the Spaniards greatnesse, who had now invaded the Realme of Portugal, and by this vsurpation had a great meane to disperse his Indian gold in France. And the Duke of Aniou made war for the Estates of Flanders and other vnited Prouinces, which had called him to free them from the tyranny and domination of the Spaniards. But these discourses belong to the Spanish, Portugall, and Flemish Historiours, and may not enter into this Volume, which inuies vs to an end.

The last Edict (as the former) accorded some townes vnto the Protestants, for hostages and sureties of his word, during the terme of six yeares. Now the King summons them to deliuer them, seeing the time prefixed was almost expired. But the peace had bene so often broken, as so short a time could not quench the fire-brands of warre, nor giue a full execution to the Edict. To content them, the King grants a prolongation for the retaining of these townes for some yeares. This grant serues the Princes of the league for a new motiue of troubles and disobedience. They giue it out generally, That the King fauours Heretikes, and that he will bring in heresie. They consider not, that he could nor but by force (the event whereof was doubtfull) recouer the said places, being strong and peopled with numbers of Protestants. The King of Nauarre sees as farre off, that the heauens are ouer-cast, and foresees that this storme doth threaten his Estate with a horrible tempest: they sollicite him to ioyne with this party: they make him goodly offers in shew, but all was but to lull him asleepe, or to cast vpon him all the causes of the future miseries, and to make him more odious and detestable. He giues the King intelligence thereof, and puts him in mind of the aduertisements hee gaue him in the year 1576, vpon the treaties of the league in Spaine and at Rome. He sees this myne is ready to breake, and that it is now time to think on his affaires. He assures himselfe of the amities and friendships of England, Denmark, and Germany. **E**

But suddenly there falls a new accident, which breaks vp all the banks that restrained the ouer-flowing of the League. The Duke of Aniou, whether his riot in the Low-countries, or grieue to see his designs ouerthrowne, or the wicked practices of *Salcedo* (drawn in peeces since by foure horses) or some other secret attempt against his life, had shortened his dayes; he dies at Chasteau-Thierry. Whatsoeuer it were, such as were employed to see this man tortured, and to discouer the secret intentions of his master, were afterward vnworthily entreated, and ransomed by the chiefe of the league.

This death aduanced the King of Nauarre one degree. The King suffers the Court of Parliament to receiue the Roses in May, that were presented vnto him, (according to the custome of the Princes and Peeres of France) in quality of the first Prince of the blood, and first Peere of France. Most part of the Realme cast their eyes vpon him, as the Sun-rising.

This on the one side doth amaze the authors of the league, and on the other side, it presseth them to trie their fortunes now, whilst the King remains alone of his Line, **XXX** without

The Duke of  
Aniou dies.



1584

without hope of issue, and the King of Nauarre saue off, as it were exiled, and in shew excluded from euer passing the Loire.

They assemble the heads of their House at S. Denis, and presently make the seeds of their counsels to appeare in Picardy, Champagne, and Bourgogne. They make the towns to abhorre the Huguenots yoke, which (say they) the King of Nauarre prepares for them. They talke not of the King but with contempt: they cast forth Libels and shamelesse Pasquils: they disgrace him in companies as a *Sardanapalus*, and idle *Chilperic*, drunk with prodigalities and dissoluteness, and for a third crowne (his deuice shewing that hee attended the last in heaven) they were ready to shau his crowne, like vnto a Monke in a cloister. The people being corrupted and drawne from their obedience, by the disorders of the Court, suffer audacious mutinies to creepe into their hearts. But let vs in few words see the conception, the deliury, and the growing of this league in Paris, which shall cast forth store of branches into all the quarters of the Realme. *Roche-blond* a Citizen of Paris, a turbulent and factious man, the first Tribune of this League, encouraged by some great men, and supported by the chiefe ministers thereof, ioynes with *Preuost* the Curate of S. Seuerin, *Bucher* Curat of Saint Benoist, and *Lanney* a Chanon of Soissons, sometimes a Minister, but fled from Sedan for adultery. These foure Arch-leaguers hauing banded all their wits to ruine the House of Bourbon, and to aduance that of Guise, fow a pernicious seed of rebellion throughout the City, and frame a petty Councell of the chiefe Citizens, who take the charge of the sixteene quarters of the city and suburbs, to practise all they could, and to entertaine them with discourses, grounded vpon the malice of the time, full of chifine, heresie, and tyranny. This petty Councell, compounded of *Roche-blond*, *Compans* a Merchant, *Cruce* a Proctor, *La Chapelle*, *Lanchart* a Commissary, and *Buffy le Clerc* a Proctor, brought their deliberations and projects to the grand Councell, which consisted of Doctors, Curats, Preachers, and other men of marke.

In short time they make a great brotherhood, and finding themselves strong, they aduertise the Duke of Guise, of the affection of good Catholikes of Paris (that is the name which the Leaguers challenged to themselves) and their zeale to the preferuation of Religion, and the rooting out of the contrary, and the ruine of tyranny. Hee conferres with his brethren, and sends both to giue and to take an oath in an Assembly held in Rheims place, at Paris. Then the most factious are sent to the townes and Prouinces of the Realm, with good instructions, to ioine new confederates to their body, vader a pretext to fight against heresie and tyranny. Then might we haue scene the chiefe pillars ouerthrowne that support a Prince, loue and authority: and hatred and contempt to supply their places. The Preachers publicly in all places did tearme the King a tyrant, and fauourer of heretikes. The people did applaud them: and from this deadly hatred which they had conceiued against the King, his Councell and fauourites, sprang that fury which was soone after disperfed ouer all the body of France.

The better to countenance this league, they present it to Pope Gregory the 13, that hee might blesse it, and declare himselfe the Godfather, as made for the ornament and support of the Catholike and Apostolike Romane Church. Gregory was well pleased they should attempt any thing against the Huguenots: but he did not approue those popular rebellions which were made against a most Christian and Catholike King, neither would he be the firebrand of a war which he could not quench. And so hee sent the Deputies backe without any answer. The League impatient to attende the resolution of Rome, layes open his designs, and makes them plausible, causing one of the chiefe Priests of the blood to be an actor, and to cary the bable. They publish, that the King (dying without children) hath no heire nor successor but the Cardinall of Bourbon, a Prince broken in years, without hope of issue, or to suruiue the King, who was found, lusty and young. But they secretly season the simple peoples minds, with that vniuist vsurpation of the *Capets*, vpon the heyres of *Charlemagne*: they print books, cast forth diuers libels, yea some Preachers make it the text of their Sermons. Two principall fire-brands inflame the League. The Assembly made by the King of Nauarre and the Deputies of that party at Montauban, to resolute of the meanes to maintain themselves, if the League (abusing the Kings name and authority) should seeke to offend them. And the voyage of the Duke of Elspemont to the King of Nauarre, to confer priuately with him in the Kings name.

The chiefe of the League presume, that the King meanes to arme, and to employ the

King

Trumpets of  
rebellion.

The League  
presented to  
the Pope.

But not ap-  
proved

Assembly at  
Montauban.

Different  
voyage into  
Spainy.

1585

A King of Nauarres forces against them. They seeke to preuent him, and to that intent they send forth many Commissions: but left any should controule them, they cloak them with the Kings name, wherewith they maintain themselves to be well allowed, as a thing done for his Maiesties seruice. The King in the end of March disauowes them, and forbids all leauies of men of warre. To iustifie themselves and their rising, they publish the moieties of the Cardinall of Bourbon (who notwithstanding serued them but as a cypher) with the Princes, Noblemen, Townes and Catholike Commonalties, to oppose themselves against heretikes. That they had condemned the resolution of the Estates, to make warre against heretikes, and to disannull all Edicts made in their fauour. That the succession of the King of Nauarre (whereof he hath conceiued a great hope since the death of the D. of Aniou) would cause great confusions within this Realme. That preparations were already made both within and without. That by an accord made at Madebourg the fifteenth of December last past, the troops of the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Conde, the Queen of England, the King of Scots, the Count Palatin, the Dukes of Saxony, Pomerania, and Wirtemberg, of the Landgrau of Hesse, the Swisses and other Protestants should jointly enter into France, before the fifteenth of April next following. That the Huguenots would not yeeld vp the townes which they held for the assurance of the last Edict of peace. That there is great abuse in the prouision of offices, in the leauies of money, and in the inuention of excessive imposts.

C Then they complaine of the minions in Court, who abusing the Kings name and bounty, keepe the Princes and Noblemen that were truly Catholike, from all access to his Maiesty, perswading him that it is necessary for the preferuation of his Estate, to diminish their authority: they braue the Nobility, dispose of governments in fauour of their followers, waste the treasure, oppress the people, restrain the liberty of Iustice, ruine the Clergy with tenths and extraordinary charges. And then they declare, That theiust motions, and the suddenesse of the mischiefe had thrust them into armes: the small credit they had with the King, hauing no other meanes to let him vnderstand their complaints: and in the end they protest, that their taking arms was only to restore the Church of God to her true and ancient dignity, vnder the exercise of one Religion throughout the Realme and Commonwealth: To restore the Nobility to their honour and freedome: to ease the people of extraordinary charges inuented since the reigne of Charles the ninth, and not to employ the money leauied thereby but for the Kings seruice: to require the King to provide for his succession against the publicke and priuate calamities, which the pretensions and contentions for the same might cause: and to chafe from Court such as abused his fauour and authority. In the end, they protest and vow, not to lay downe arms vntill their proposition be fully executed: and that his Maiesty had preuented the danger, the feare whereof hath made them to take armes. These false impressions had wonderfully incensed the people: but when as they talke to them of a Synode held at Montauban, and of a Diet in Germany, where they plotted to suade France, and to chafe away both Made and Priests: they take the words of these passionate men for Oracles of truth. They presse to enter into the League, such as demanded nothing but change, bankrupts, men indebted, malefactors, wicked and notorious persons.

To conclude, such as had need of ciuill war to liue vpon the Common, follow the Guisens Ensignes: the double pistolets of Spaine begin to shine, the Capitaines arme and goe to field. But the Huguenots are at Rochel, in Languedoc, Guienne and Dauphine: and they goe to seeke them in Picardy, Champagne, Bourgogne and Provence. Marcellus is surprised the ninth of April, by the practices of *Daries* the second Constall: but suddenly recouered, and *Daries* hanged. *Mandelot* seized on the Citadell of Lions the second of May. Orleans shuts her gates against the Duke of Montpensier, sent by the King, to assure himselfe of the towne. The other townes rise: the factious worke, and the army of the League marcheth towards Paris: every day they are fortified with some new troupee, and every day some towne declare it selfe enemy.

The King in the meantime made no warre but by writing, thinking by mild and gentle meanes, to pacifie them that spake too proudly. Hee shewes by his declaration, the zeale he hath alwayes borne to the Catholike Religion, and the necessity that forced him to a peace, finding all the Estates of his Realme tired with the calamities past: that peace was the only meanes to vnite his subiects in one religion, to establish iustice, to reforme abuses

and

Moieties of  
the League.

The Kings de-  
claration.

1585 and manners, to ease the Clergy, honour the Nobility, and to free the people from oppression: that he giues no benefices but to Prelates indued with learning and piety. The Nobility should be reconciled, leaving their spleene and distrusts. The people freed from deuouring warre, should care their bread in peace: and yet many both impudent and rash, more hypocrites then religious, gather by this peace, that he secretly fauours heretikes: the which neuer entered into his thoughts. That he neuer fauored the succession of a King, who may preiudice the Catholike religion. But to vndertake a quarrell for the royall succession, whilst he is yet aliue, and in hope to haue issue: that were to distrust of Gods bounty, and (as it were) degrade him from the estate wherunto God hath called him. That hee hath honoured (with the greatest and worthiest offices of the Crowne) those Princes that B complain to bee debarred his fauour. (And indeed the Duke of Guise was Lord Steuard of France, Gouvernor of Brie and Champagne, and euery one of the same House advanced to a government.) Then hauing promised to restore the Church to her beauty, to giue content to the Nobility, and to ease the people, he entreats, coniuers, exhorts, and commands all Clergy-men, Gentlemen, Parliaments, and Townes corporate, to separate themselves from that which may hinder so holy an intention, to abandon all leagues and associations, and to vnite themselves vnder his obedience.

The King of  
Nauarres de-  
claration.

Moreover, the King writes to the King of Nauarre, That he should containe himselfe with patience, to the end the people may know whom to blame, as the motiues of these new combustions: assuring him of his loue, and that hee will neuer forget his interest: as more then his owne: against them who (vnder goodly shewes) attempt against his person and Crowne, to make them great with his losse, and the whole ruine of his Estate. The King of Nauarre obeyes, and letting passe all occasions to arme, he protests notwithstanding, That (seeing the sword ready to strike his Lord and Brother) he will prevent the danger.

A great error  
of State.

And whereas he is accused of heresie, he answers; That he was borne vnder the toleration of two religions in France: that hee will caue that wherein he was bred, when by a lawfull Councell they shall shew him another truth then that which he beleues: and therefore he is no heretike, nor yet relapse, seeing he was not fallen from his first opinion. That he is no enemy to the Catholikes, for that when the Edicts had granted liberty of conscience, he presently laid downe armes: that in all places hee maintaines his subiects in the same liberty as he found them after the decease of his mother: that at the pretended accord of Magdebourg, which the Preachers of the league publish in their pulpits, as an imaginary assembly, and fit to be spoken by a Montebank, the deceit appears plainly in that they name (in the extract published by them) the Ambassadors of the Elector Palatine, and of the Prince of Auranges, whereof the Elector was deceased aboue a yeare before the terme they specified, and the Prince slaine at Delfe foure moneths before: that hee hath requested of the King a prolongation of the townes which hee holds for assurance of the last Edict; and will deliuer them before the time, so as the League lay aside armes, and yeeld vnto the King the places they had seized: that whereas they declare him incapable of the Crowne, it toucheth him very neare, yea doth he thinke least of it, hoping that God by his bounty will long preferue the King, for the good of his Realme, and will giue him issue, to the griefe of all his enemies. That those which by their declaration terme him desirous of the Kings death, a troubler of the State, and an enemy to the Catholikes, haue falsely and wickedly lyed, beseeching the King to giue him leaue to end this quarrell with the Duke of Guise, one to one, two to two, or ten to ten: without further troubling himselfe or afflicting any of his people: but no man vndertakes this lye, no man accepts of this challenge. Against this first insolency of the league hee should oppose other armes then a pen; another Cuirasse then a Penitents weeds; another countenance then doubtfull and trembling. The authority of an assured brow, the constancy of a manly courage, a resolution fit for a royall Maiesty, should haue dispersed this warre of Gyants, and suppressed these malicious Legions. But the Queene mother (accustomed to sit in a troubled dreame) winkt at the Duke of Guise. She was well pleased with these broyles: she was contented the Duke should terrifie the King, to make him abandon the Protestants, and to force him to banish his new minions from Court, who had brought her in disgrace with the King her sonne: (he had now sequestered her from a great part of the affaires, he held her as it were confined in her houses without the Loure) to the end she might be fought vnto, to

auoid

A auoid the blowes of him that was ready to strike. Her ambition moued her thereto, rather then any desire she had to aduance the Duke: to crosse both the King and Duke, and to bring disorder and confusion into the State; and to stand alone in the middle of these furious tempests.

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The League might easily haue bene ouerthrowne. In the beginning they had but a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot in field, and the greatest part knowing that these troubles concerne the King and his Estate, retired themselves in time. Most of the townes wauered betwixt obedience and rebellion: some remained in their fidelity, the rest might haue been assured with small force. But Katherine terrifies him most of all. You haue (saith she) to doe with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spaine, the Duke of Sauoy, with some Princes of Germany, with the Catholike Cantons of the Suisse, who renounce your alliance, and with all the House of Lorraine. They number sixe and twenty Prouinces, and great Commanders in this party: your best townes are engaged, all are resolute to hazard goods, persons, and liues, to laue religion from shipwracke. Thus this poore Prince is terrified: hee thinks the Duke of Guise is at his heeles, and holds the Capuchins cloister to be more safe for him then his Loure. He is not the same man that vanquished his enemies at Iarnac and Montcontour, hee wants courage, he desires nothing more then to purchase the Dukes fauour: and promifeth, that for a peace hee will giue them a good part of his kingdom. The Duke of Guise, a Prince of great experience, discreet, valiant, and worthy to be numbred amongst the brasse Captains, knows the King is full of feare, and sees that the lustre of his armes shines ouer all. His courage swells through the Kings childish feare: he continues his course, and begins to hope for more then hee had pretended. He therefore demands much, and his request ioynes his owne priuate interest with the publicke: he beseecheth the King to make an irreuoicable Edict, for the extirpation of heresies, to take away the townes held by the Huguenots by force, to renounce the protection of Geneva, to allow of their armes, and to ioyne his vnto theirs. Which was as much to say, of a King to make himselfe a partizan.

The Duke of  
Guise fortified  
by apace

The King makes a counterfeit peace with them, and by his Edict of the 18 of Iuly, reuokes all other made in fauour of the Protestants: he commands their Ministers to depart the Realme, and to all his subiects within 6 moneths, to make profession of the Catholike Religion, or to auoyd the Country. Hee approves the Leaguers armes, as leauied for his seruice, allowes of their pretexts, and by secret articles concluded at Nemours, contents them in all matters; onely with this condition, To leaue the League, and instantly to lay downe armes: a trap whereby they should in the end be taken. As for their security, they left it to the Kings good pleasure; yet would they haue in their powers, the towne of Chalons, Thoul, Verdun, S. Disier, Reims, Soissons, the castle of Dion, Beaune, Rue in Picardy, Dinan and Concq in Britany: they caused to be payd to the King 200000 crowns, and two third parts for the strangers which they had leauied: they had a discharge for a hundred six thousand three hundred and forty crownes, eight solz, and three deniers, which they had taken vpon the generall receipts. They obtained an hundred thousand crownes to build a Citadell at Verdun: and entertainment for guards on horsebacke for all the Princes of the League.

To conclude, the extorsions, robberies, burnings, profanations, and other insolencies which such armes draw after them, deuoured more flesh in three moneths than this warre continued, wasted more far, and sucked more blood from the poore people (for whose ease they had so often protested to haue taken armes) then the ordinary charges could haue consumed in many yeares. This outrage was the cause of seuen and twenty Edicts, to discharge those millions of gold which this fury had wasted, to the peruerting of Iustice, policy, and the treasure.

A rash enterprise ruines it selfe when it finds resistance, but if the attempters find that they are feared, their impunity growes confident. This peace had made a great breach in the King authority: but they had extorted it by force, not three dayes before hee had proclaimed them rebels and guilty of treason: they might then easily iudge, that he would hatch an egge whereof should spring some notable reuenge. Doubtlesse Henry determined it: but the three brethren, who were the chiefe Architects of this conspiracy, kept themselves apart, and could not be caught in one net: and to maintaine themselves, they had no better expedient then by armes. They make the King resolute to war against

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against the Protestants: they shew him the facility thereof, three mornings (say they) will end it: We have the assistance of all Christian Princes, the Germane forces will march no more for the King of Navarre, a poore Prince, without money and without credit. The Queene of England shall have worke enough to resist the Spaniards attempts (the Spaniard prepared then that great army against England, which wee shall see dispersed with small resistance, like a puffe of winde) and their strongest places will parlee at our first approaches.

Warre against  
the Protestants

Let vs make warre (saith the King) against them in Gods name. I will entertaine three armies: one in Guienne, another about mine own person, and the third vpon the frontier, against the strangers whom the Huguenots expect out of Germany, there wants nothing **B** but money: the charge amounts to foure hundred thousand crownes a moneth. I haue by your aduice broken the peace (saith he to the best of the Clergy, of the Parliament, and of the Citizens of Paris, being assembled at the Loure) assure me now of means to make warre. And afterwards he said to the Cardinall of Guise: The heads of the Clergy are they which haue most importuned me to warre: it is no reason I alone should beare the charge of that which redounds to the publike. I assure my selfe you will not faile to assist me. And to the first President (notwithstanding the Parliament had lately verified the Letters patents, whereby the King condemned the authors of this rebellion as traytors) I haue found so much zeale and affection in you, to cause mee to reuoke the last Edict of peace, as I assure my selfe you will find reasons sufficient to perswade them of your faculty **C** to forbear their entertainments, so long as the warres shall continue. And then to the Prouost of Merchants he said: The city hath shewed it selfe most affectionate to the breach of the Edict: they must be as willing to contribute to the charges of the warre. Good presently, and assemble the body of your city, and make mee an imposition of two hundred thousand crownes.

Without doubt every one of these was very willing to haue warre, but loath to feele the discommodities it brought. They begin to find that the most prejudiciall peace is better then the most triumphant and victorious warre. Yet the League will haue war: and euen they, whose forefathers were wont to carry it beyond the seas into Asia, Africa, and to the end of the world, doe now nourish it in their owne country. But the authors thereof could **D** not stand but in the midst of a generall confusion.

The King of Nauarre seeing this cloud ready to breake vpon his party, complains that the King without consideration of the priuate interest he hath in this last resolt, hath made a peace with his enemies, and hath armed them with his own forces and authority, against his Estate, his blood, and himselfe. He layes open by a publike declaration, the causes which moued the League to take armes, the vanity of their pretexts, the fruits which all France may expect by the treaty of Nemours: & then with the Prince of Conde his cousin, the Marshall *D'Anville* (hereafter Duke of Montmorency, by the death of his eldest brother, and in the following reigne Constable of France) and other Noblemen, Gentlemen, Prouinces, Townes and Commonalties of both Religions, he protests, by a lawfull **E** and necessary defence, to maintain the fundamentall lawes of Families, and the Estate and liberty of the King and the Queene his mother. Was it not sufficient for these Princes to haue the King and League against them, but they must bee charged with a new assault from beyond the mountains? *Sixtus* the fifth, a more violent man then his Predecessor, casts out his lightning against these two *Henries*, King of Nauarre, and Prince of Conde: he excommunicates them, degrades them and their successors from all dignities, namely their pretensions to the Crowne of France, expels them their Countries and persons in prety to the first that should seize on them.

*Sixtus* the fifth  
excommunicates  
the King  
of Nauarre and  
Prince of  
Conde.

The Popes Bull  
declared void  
and of no effect.

The Court of Parliament finds this act to be rash, insolent, strange, and farre from the modesty of former Popes, and sayes vnto the King, that therein they find nothing like to the Apostles successor. The Registers of the Court, nor yet antiquity did not teach them, that the Princes of France were euer to seeke iustice at Rome, or that subiects did euer take knowledge of their Princes religion. Seeing then the new Pope, in stead of instruction, studies nothing but destruction, and that he changeth his sheepe-hooke into a fearful fire-brand, to ruine those vnto whom he should winne vnto the Church, the Court could not admit of this Bull, so pernicious for all Christendome, and derogating from the Soueraignty of the Crowne of France. The Princes likewise protest against the said Bull, **F** and

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**A** and appeal from it, as abusive and scandalous, vnto the next free and lawfull Councell: they will proue (sayd they) that *Sixtus* the fifth, calling himselfe Pope, terming them heretikes, hath falsely and wickedly lyed. This opposition was set vp in Rome the sixth of Nouember. Thus the Parliament grew resolute against this Bull: but it yielded easily in other matters which did but impair the affaires. For the fifteenth of October they allowed of the Kings Declaration, which imposed confiscation of body and goods, against such as without the warrant of the Catholike Princes had opposed their forces against the League: and reuoked the terme of six moneths granted by the Edict of Iuly, to fifteene dayes after the said Declaration.

**B** To crosse this Edict, the King of Nauarre, by a Declaration of the last of Nouember, doth seize, and giues commissions to sell all the fruits, rents, reuennues, mouables, debts, and all other profits whatsoever, of the inhabitants of towns, where the Edict of Iuly, touching the six moneths, and of October, touching the abbreuiation to fifteene dayes, had bene received, published and executed: and likewise of Gentlemen and others carrying armes with the Leaguers and their adherents: as also of the Clergy resident in the said townes, or contributing for their party, and to let out their lands to them that would giue most. His words and deeds were all one: for presently his people lay their hands to work. *Saint Mesmes* keeps the Marshall *Matignon* in breath. *Lanaul* chargeth him in Xaintonge, and raiseth the seize of Taillebourg, where the Ladies of Tremouille (the mother and the **C** daughter) were besieged. The Vicont of Turenne ouer-runes Limosin, and for a gage of his inroad takes the Bishopricke of Thules. The Duke of Mercœur, on the other side, thinks with two thousand men to doe wonders in Poictou: but there must be a proportion betwixt him that forceth, and him that he meanes to force. The Prince of Conde makes head against him, and not only driues him from Fontenay, but also makes him, for his better safety, retire farre into Britany with losse and disgrace. Being freed from this incumbrance, he besiegeth Brouage, and had already brought it to that necessity, as the most resolute were ready to yield when as newes came vnto him, that three Captaines, *du Halot* **D** seruant to the King, *Le Fresne* enemy to the Earle of Brissac, Gouvernor of Angers, and *Rochemorte*, partisan to the King of Nauarre, had seized on the Castle of Angers, one of the strongest places of the Realme, guarded by a Capitaine and twelue fouldiers. The enterprise was well made, well executed, but not so well continued: for *du Halot* came too soone into the towne, protesting that he had taken the Castle for the Kings seruise. They detain him prisoner, and besiege the castle, whither the whole country comes.

The voyage of  
Angers.

At night they demand to parlee with *Fresne*. He as ill aduised as the first, comes forth vpon a little bridge. A Harguebuzier makes an offer to shoot at him: Whereupon hee seeks to returne: but *Rochemorte* with his company, fearing to bee forced by the multitude that came running, drawes vp the bridge. *Le Fresne* hangs by the chaines to pull it downe: but the townsmen cut off his hands, and he falls into the ditch, where he was slain by a Sagge they kept there. *du Halot* was presently executed within the Towne.

**E** These two being dead, they demand of *Rochemorte* for whom hee holds? For the King of Nauarre, said he. Hereupon they cast vp a trench against the Castle, attending the Duke of Ioueuille the Kings brother in law. During these broyles and troubles *Rochemorte* (slumbering one day in one of the windowes of the Castle) was there slaine with a Harguebuzier shot.

The Prince aduertised of the surprize of the Castle, and of *Rochemorte*s answer: but not of that which happened since, leaues Brouage: and to oppose sufficient forces against the League, he marcheth with about eight hundred masters, and twelue hundred Harguebuziers on horse-backe, passeth Loire at Roissiers, betwixt Saumur and Angers, chargeth home to the suburbs, forceth some barricadoes, and spends a whole day in skirmishes: **F** but he hears no newes from the Castle, neither for the alarme in the towne, nor the noise of his troops. No man appears: no answer, no signe is made: the actors were buried in their enterprise, and sixteene fouldiers remaining, had already capitulated. Doubletise too much courage, and too little consideration (a dangerous oversight in any great Commander) had engaged the Prince on this side the Riuer of Loire, amongst many armies of enemies, hauing no bridge at his deuotion, without boats to repasse, or any hope of succour. Then that cheerefull hope which had brought that little army, turns into confusion and disorder: for the Duke of Mayenne had passed the Loire at Orleans, with fifteene hundred

The castle of  
Angers yielded

died horse; Reistres and French, to cut off the Princes way, if he repassed the water. The Duke of Epipertion and the Marshall *Biron* kept Beausse towards Bonneauelle, to meet with him. *La Chabre* had drawne vp the mills and boats, and kept the passages of Loire. The D. of Joyeuse matched at his backe. *Entraques* Gouverneur of Orleans came to crosse him, and all the commons did rise.

On the other side, the Princes troopes were tyred. Hee failes of two or three passages vpon the riuer, whereof he made account, betwixt Blois and Amboise. The amazement encreaseth, and his number decreaseth: such as had friends in Beausse, *Dunois*, *Perche*, *Vendomois*, or *Mayenne*, steale away. The Lord of Rohan (advising him not to thrust himselfe into an apparent ruine) had turned head towards Britany. All the foresaid enemies forced would within few dayes charge him. Being neere to Vendosme, he leaues the chiefe charge of the retreat to *Clermont*, and *Saint Gelas*; ordereth the companies; provides for his household seruants, and at eleuen of the clocke at night, he parts, accompanied with the Lords of Tremouille, Auentigny, and few others. Finally, after infinite toyle and dangers past, he recouered the Ile of Grenzee, lying in the English Seas, and so London, being receiued by the Queene with all honour and fauour he could desire: and then by her commandement accompanied with a good number of the Nobility, and men of warre, in ships well appointed, he repassed the Seas, obtaining a sufficient conquest to haue saved himselfe, and a rich spoile to haue returned with his head to Rochel, rather then to the Greue or the Hales at Paris.

*Saint Gelas*; *Bois-Duly*, *Aubigny*, *la Tiffardiere*, and some others, are commended to haue wisely preferred these broken troops neere to the forest of Marchenoir, diuided into small companies, of twelue, and fiftene, whereof (notwithstanding the townes of Orleans, Blois, Amboise, Tours, and others therabouts, were straitly guarded) many repassed the Loire. *Saint Gelas* and others, taking the high way to Paris, crossed many companies dispersed in Beausse, and hauing wandered long in the forest of Orleans: in the end they passed the Riuer neere to Gyen, and at last recouered Rochel, where the Prince, the chiefe of the army, and the most part of the troops were already in safety.

The lightnings of *Sixtus*, and the second Edict of October had wonderfully moved the King of Nauarre. Now he complains to the Clergy, to the Nobility, to the third Estate, and to the Parliament of Paris, of the breach of the last Edict of peace, and that they had caused the question of succession to a King yet liuing, to be decided at Rome; that they would make a Prince of the blood of France subiect to the Pope; that they suffer the Consistory to giue that which belongs not vnto it; and that the Pope disposeth of Realmes and Principalities at his pleasure. Then he sheweth the miseries which this vnciuill warres will breed: he exhorts them, not to serue as instruments to the Leaguers, to ruine the King and his Realme. And finally, seeing they are so ill aduised, hee protestes as before: That both he and his, will vse all lawfull meanes, to resist the violence of their enemies, and cast all the miseries that shall ensue vpon the authors thereof.

Strangers deale earnestly in the cause. The Princes of Germany make intercession to the King, at the King of Nauarre instance, that he would be perswaded, at the humble petitions of his neighbours, and that opening his eyes at the teares, and his eares at the complaints of his subiects, he would maintaine his owne good, quiet, honour, and faith, his Crowne and reputation, and preserve a body wounded vnto death. But those of Guise kept him in awe.

He speaks not but by the mouth of the League. I make and change (saide hee vnto the Ambassadors) my Ordinances as necessity doth require, for the good and quiet of my subiects: and leaue the care to all soveraigne Princes, to gouerne their people as they shall thinke fit. I haue the feare of God liuely grauen in my heart: neither will I doe any thing against the honour of my confidence, and the fatherly care I haue of my people.

This pleased the League: they are now on horsebacke. The Duke of Mayenne marcheth with about two thousand horse, French and Reistres, twelue regiments of foot, and six thousand Suisses. He must bring the Princes of the blood prisoners to Paris in triumph, their Captaines chained, and couer the fields of Xaintonge, Poitou, and Guienne with their slaughtered souldiers, returne victorious, and bring to the King the conquest of all the places that made resistance. But what exploits? what triumphs? The wrath of God ruines his men in those Countries. Hee besiegeth, batters, and takes some filly places,

The Prince of Conde in rout.

Another complaint to the King of Nauarre.

Intercession of foreign Princes.

The Duke of Mayenne army.

A places, which are scarce noted in the French Mappe, as Montignac, Beaulieu, Gagnac, Castels, and Saint Bazille vpon Garonne: Montegur, Castillon, Puynormand in Periguenx, and the most part by composition, (but badly obserued) leauing behind him Figeac, Cadallac, Cajor, the Houles of the Vicont of Gourdon, Montfort, Bergerac, and Saint Foy, places of importance, all held by the Protestants. The difficulty of passages, the ouer-flowing of Riuers, the vehement cold, the continuall raine, want of money, munition, victuals, and supplies of men, with-draw him from this warre, to goe and winter at Bourdeaux, there (in the midst of his lousies) to make some enterprife vpon the castles, to the prejudice of the Marshall of Matignan. So the most of his souldiers (detained long without either honour or profit) disband of themselves, and the Duke brings from this voyage a more famous spoile, the heyre of *Caumont*, being but twelue yeares old, to giue her to one of his sonnes. He had before time done better in Daulphine, where keeping his faith inuoliable, he had happily preferred his reputation and credit. Indeed hee then liued onely vnder the Kings lawes and obedience, and now he spends much time, labour, and money to effect little in Guienne. In the meane time the Prince of Conde renewed the warre, assisted notably by the Earle of Laual, and *Saint Gelas*, who commanded about foure hundred and fifty men, and by the new conquests of *Dompiere* (a castleneere vnto Saint Iean, belonging to the Marshall of Rez, where the booty repaired the losses late suffered by the souldiers) of Royen, a strong place neere vnto Brouage, of Soubize, *Mornac* in Alleuort, *Mondeuis*, and others, defaced the griefe of the former crosses. In the midst of these prosperities he tooke to his second wife, in Taillebourg, the sixteenth of March, *Charlotte-Katherine* of Tremouille, sister to *Claude* of Tremouille Duke of Thouars, &c. by whom hee had *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Conde, the first Prince of the blood at this present, and first Peere of France.

Within few dayes after, *Tiercelin* with his regiment of about six hundred and fifty men, returned from an enterprife which *Saint Luc* the Gouvernor of Brouage had made (but in vaine) against the Ile of Oleron. The Prince aduertised of his passage, follows him, with *La Tremouille* his brother in law, *La Boulay*, *Auantigny*, and some thirty others: hee chargeth them in the reere, neere vnto the suburbs of Xaintes, and kills thirty or forty of his men: the rest put themselves in battell through the fauour of the hedges and the high way. The Earle of Laual comes gallopping, with about fife and thirty horse of his company, which had bene lodged a little from thence: and seeing the Prince and the rest of his company ingaged in the combat, he goes directly to the Colonels Ensigne, covered with a battalion of pikes: he breakes them, fights with him that caried it, puls it from him; puts him to flight, kills threecore souldiers vpon the place, and chafeth the whole Regiment. *Tiercelin* saved himselfe, carying to Xaintes a hurt in the arme, and many others being maimed. *Tremouille* had a horse slaine vnder him: and some were hurt, but the Earle lost *Sailli* and *Rieux* his brethren. *Tanlay* was lately deccased of sicknesse at Saint Iean: and himselfe surprised of a feuer, and wonderfully grieved for the losse of his three brethren, followed them to the grane within a few dayes after, and all foure were interred within the Castle of Taillebourg.

But what did the King of Nauarre in the meane time? He hath vtill now maintained himselfe vnder the obedience of the Kings commandements: hitherto there hath bin nothing but mutuell writtings, Edicts, Declarations, commandements; directions to the officers of the Crowne, for the execution thereof. Hereafter hee displays other armes then paper and inke.

The Marshall of Matignan had besieged Castles in February: the King flies thither with about three hundred Masters, and eightene hundred Harguebuziers on horse backe: hee raiseth the siege, disposeth of his affaires in Berne: comes to Nerac, and assures the town: F passeth the Garonne at Saint Bazeille (notwithstanding the Duke of Mayenne, who lay within twoleagues of his passage) crosseth Prigord and Angoulmois, and so comes into Poitou, where the Marshall *Biron*, with about twelue hundred horse, and foure thousand foot, molested and troubled the Country neere vnto Rochel, and besieged Marans. The arrivall of the said King, and the resolution of the besieged, commanded by *La Jarrige*, made the Marshall to passe the riuer of Charente, and to leaue Marans to the free exercise of both Religions. The King of Nauarre went to Rochel to visit the army at Sea, and by a palisado, to keepe in them of Brouage.

The Prince of Conde's cond marriage.

*Tiercelin* Regiment defended.

The death of foure brethren of Laual.

1586

The Cardinall of Lenoncourt, and the President *Brulart*, were sent the yeare before A  
from the King, to assure the King of Nauarre of his *Majesties* love : and to exhorte him a-  
gaine to vnite himselfe to the Catholike Church, as well for the good of his conscience,  
as also to make his way to the succession of the Crowne more easie: to shew vnto him the  
causes that had moued him to breake the peace, and to intreat him to yeeld the townes of  
suredty. The time would not suffer these propositions to take effect: but contrariwise, after  
the example of the league (saide the King of Nauarre) we should demand better townes.  
So the Ambassadors ended their charge, beseeching the said King, to enter into some trea-  
tie, wherein the Queene mother should deale to his content, so as he would stay the leauy  
of Reistres, Lanquenets and Suisses, which *Clermont*, *Segur*, and *Guitri*, had procured. B  
He accepted of this conference, the which breeds a truce in the end of the yeare, but with  
protestation, not to stay the good will of such as in so important an occasion, and extreme  
necessity, had gone to field: that (raising the Kings authority troden vnder foot, by the  
breach of his Edict) they might persueue him from the foraine inuasion of the League.  
He was better affected to a good peace, then to a bad truce. But the Queene mother tel-  
ling him that the King would make no peace nor truce with him, vnlesse he would become  
a Catholike, she made this conference altogether fruitlesse. She lets him vnderstand, that  
this change would make his condition more free, more assured, and more fit for his calling:  
that his conseruacion would bring him in grace with the King, leauing to court a Maior  
of Rochel, whom he did not command absolutely. But this Prince had his eares too much  
beaten with this proposition, and could not yeeld thereunto, but by due forme, which  
was by a holy and lawfull Councell. And the Duke of Neuers, thinking to adde some  
more perswasive reasons then the rest of the Assembly: *You cannot (saith he) leaue any im-  
pact there.* (A Prince doth what he will, when as he wills nothing but what he ought. You  
haue reason (answered this Prince, being free and of a quicke conceit) *for me haue no Ita-  
lians amongst vs.*

The Queene  
mothers con-  
ference with  
the King of  
Nauarre.

This conference bred a ieaiousse among the Parisiens. They were more inclined to a re-  
uolt then euer. The Duke of Mayenne aduertised that the Queene mother advanced to-  
wards the King of Nauarre, to mediate an accord, he makes haste to Paris to reproch the  
King, that this negotiation was contrary to his Edict: that such a peace could not be good,  
breeding effects in Religion contrary to the tranquility of Catholike consciences.  
Being ariued there, the six Arch-leaguers impart vnto him their secret articles: to sup-  
presse heresie, reforme the Court, and the insolency of Mignons; and for a fallall wound  
to the Estate, to seize vpon the Kings person. He allows of these Comcells, and sounds  
their desires, but finds the execution difficult. So the Rats in the Fable found this ex-  
pedient to be very good, to be aduertised of the Cats approach, and to save themselves,  
to hang a bell at his eare: but none durst vnder take to doe it. The Queene mother aduer-  
tised of this desperate humour, tooke her way to Court. Her arriuall, with the irresolution  
of the Commanders, left the Parisiens wauering, in the midst of so dangerous an enter-  
prise. The Queenes departure kindled the warre in Poitou. The King of Nauarre goes  
to field, takes Chisay by composition, say say by assault: forceth Saint Maixant to yeeld:  
redueth Fontenay to his obedience: besiegeth Mauleon, and during the battery takes it  
by escalado.

The King of  
Nauarres ex-  
ploits.

Des Diguieres  
in Dauphine.

They of Dauphine seeing all Guienne in armes, would not be the last to make it known  
that they had interest in this cause. *Des Diguieres* perswades himselfe that he shall reduce  
this Province to the King of Nauarres deuotion: with this designe hee caused *Iohn Bap-  
tiste Gentil* (issued from the noble Family of the *Gentils* in Genoua) to come from Fle-  
uerac in Geauadan to *Serres*, a man prompt in warlike conceptions, hardy in enterprises,  
and happy in executions: and commands him, if it might be, to deslowe the Virgin of  
Dauphine. This Virgin was the Towne and Archbishoppicke of Ambrun, for during  
the ciuill warres all the townes of Dauphine had beene held by the Protestants, except  
that, being built on the toppes of a Mountaine, and fortified with a Citadell by the Duke  
of Mayenne. *Gentil* views it by night, and reports that there is meanes to take it. They  
march with three hundred horse and nine hundred Harguebuziers during the longest  
nights of winter, when arising by foure of the clocke in the morning, they find the town  
in armes, and the inhabitants ready to entertaine them, for one of the townsmen had flit  
from the troops, resting that night at Chorges, & giuing aduertisement to *Gessin* gouernor  
of

1589

A of the place. Notwithstanding all this, *Gentil* advanced with *Corbiere*, *la Riviere*, *Masse*,  
*Bagard*, and other Captaines. *Des Diguieres* follows him with Saint Ian his cousin, fifty  
men armed, and fifty Harguebuziers, *Morge* commanding the rest, and *Parbault* the shot.  
The Sentinell hearing the noyse of their armes, cries, Who is there? *It is* (saide *Gentil*)  
Monsieur Des Diguieres that comes to petard you. The Petards worke their effect. And the  
third blow they enter into the base Court of the Citadell, pell-mell with them that are af-  
flicted, they force them to quit the place, and to fye vnto a plat-forme towards their can-  
non. They chase them, kill some, and force the rest to cast themselues desperately  
from the wals into the towne. They of the dungeon defend themselves courageously.  
B *Gentil* threatens to blow them vp with his Petard, the which hee planted at the doore  
of the store-houfe where their powder lay; whereat they grew amazed, and yeelded to haue  
their liues saued. *Gessin* intrencheth himselfe to stop their descent into the towne, but  
day being come, it was forced, and he being retired into a tower of the Archbishops pa-  
lace, made his composition to haue his life saued. Thus the Virgin in Dauphine was  
deslowed.

Ambrun  
taken.

The taking of Ambrun opened the passage of the mountaines of high Dauphine, and  
the towne of Guillestre gaue entry into Piedmont. *Gentil* views it, and vnder takes it in  
the hottest of the inhabitants alarme, hauing made many fires in their dirches and rae-  
lins, to discouer such as should approach. Foure Petards force three gates, and break down  
C a draw-bridge; the townsmen fight valiantly to hinder their entry, they kill and hurt ma-  
ny; *Pranieres* Lieutenant of *Des Diguieres* had a dangerous blow on the head with a stone,  
yet they were forced to receiue a law from the stronger.

Guillestre  
taken.

Saint Iulian a good place in high Viuares was also surprisid by *Gentil* at the instance of  
the Seigneur of Chambauld. Montfaulcon in Vellay was more painful, for their  
guide hauing lost his way by reason of the darknesse of the night, they could not arriue be-  
fore the breake of day, but there happily fell a great mist to couer their approaches. The  
Sentinels were euen then gone downe to assist at the opening of the gate: when as behold  
an vnexpected thunder of Petards taught the townsmen, that a place enuied is in great  
danger when as the guards leaue their wals at the breake of day.

D These happy exploits did winne Capitaine *Gentil* much reputation. From henceforth  
they attempt not any thing but they desire to haue him a principall actor. The Earle of  
Chastillon desired to reuiue that which hee had vpon the towne of Puy in Auvergne,  
whereof he had failed by the bad conduct of Capitaine *Saint Martin* (otherwise called  
*Villaret* of Geauadan) who through indiscretion or otherwise, had left some wax in the  
touch-holes of his Petards, so as they could not take fire at need, yet had hee happily let  
them to without any discovery, so as the Earle being discontented, returned with all speed  
with nine hundred foot, and foure hundred horse. Whilest he treated with *Gentil* touch-  
ing this attempt, he had some lett which stayed him in Languedoc: during the which *Gentil*  
had leisure to goe and view Lions, the capricious inhabitants hauing newly demanded  
E that Citadell: which hauing found pregnable, *Chastillon*, *Des Diguieres*, and *Chambauld*,  
ioyne their troops together vpon a pretext to besiege Nonnay in Viuares, perswading  
themselues to cary it vpon the assurance which *Gentil* gaue them, if the King of Nauarre  
had not commanded Cont *Chastillon* to goe and ioine with the army of Reistres, who  
made preparation to muster vpon the plaine of Strasbourg, and *Gentil* to accompany him  
to open safe passages as should be needfull.

Whilest the King of Nauarres armes prosper in Poitou, and the Duke of Mayenne  
treats with the leaguers at Paris, and the mouth of his mutinous Preachers, disgrace the  
Kings authority with the people: the Duke of Guise continues to make war against them  
of Lametz, the which he had begun against the Duke of Bouillon, from the first beginning  
of the league. *Sedan* and all that principality serued as a retreat for the neighbour Pro-  
testants, and as a port for strangers to enter into France. These are the pretexs wherwith  
he couers his designs, but he had another principall motiue: from *Sedan* the King had in-  
telligence of all that was practised in Champagne and Lorraine, in the yeare 1585. When  
he sees himselfe master of Douzy, Rocroy, and Raucourt, he passeth the Meuze, and en-  
ters into the Soueraignty of Sedan, afflicts the Countymen with all the cruelties that war  
could imagine, whilest the famine presseth them within the towne. To diuert this storme  
which threatened Sedan, the Duke of Bouillon causeth *Schelandre* Gouernor of Lametz,

Duke of Beaul-  
lon chief of  
Germane  
army.



to set vpon Verdun, a towne on the frontiers of Champagne, which had tumultuously run into the league: the Duke of Guise runnes to succour it, and by his absence giues the duke of Bouillon meane to succour Sedan. Thereupon the Queene-mother, at the request of the D. of Montpensier, vncle by the mothers side to the Lord of Sedan, procures a truce for fifteene dayes, betwixt the two Dukes, during the which the enterprise vpon the castle of Iametz, for the Duke of Guise, prouing fatall for the vndertakers, disposed their wils to a second truce of a month.

This fell out happily: for the Germane army, wherof he was named Lieutenant General vnder the Duke *Iohn Casimir* (who substituted in his place the Baron *De Onaw*, the minority of the Elector Palatin nephew and pupill to the said Duke, hindring him from marching in person) prepared to make their musters in the plaine of Strasbourg. So the Duke of Bouillon goeth into Alsacia with foure hundred horse, and eight hundred Harguebuziers to make them aduance: and the Duke of Guise, comes to the King to Meaux, to receiue (said he) his Maiesties commandements, in so great and so important a cause: but in effect, to complaine, that since the reuocation of the Edict of peace, he had followed the warre against heretikes with small fauour, as the King had suffered them in their houses to enioy their goods and estates peaceably: That in stead of selling and employing them to their ruine, he caused the reuenues of the Cardinall of Pelleue to bee seized on (a man borne in France, but Espaniolized at Rome) for that in open Consistory hee had veruiously maintained the iust motives of the taking of armes by the Catholike Princes against the Huguenots: That this warre had more aduanced the Mignons then ruined the Heretikes, and that the money raised by the subvention of the Clergy, serued to entertaine the said Mignons, that neither the Kings Councell, the Parliament of Paris, the inferior Iudges, nor the Prouost of Paris had sworn this last Edict. That the towns which had demanded the extirpation of heresie, and the reuocation of the last Edict of peace, were treated like enemies. That he had caused the Citadels of Lions and Maicon to bee beaten downe, surprised that of Valence, disgraced *Brissac*, *Cruilles*, *Gessan*, *Entragues*, and others, and peruered the assignations, which he had giuen him, to bee repaid the money the which he had disbursed in this last leauy of men of warre.

But the King knew well how to counter-balance these complaints of the League, with their owne breach of the Articles of Nemours. He had well obserued, that their insolent passions aspired to some greater designs then the articles made mention of. Those of Guise had demanded towns of assurance against the Protestants in those Provinces where they were not at all to be feared. The Duke of Aumale had newly surprised Dourlans and Pondormoy, but he had failed of Bouillon through the fidelity of *S. Maria*. They had lodged in their Citadell of Vitri *Le Francois* an Italian at their deuotion, and tooke an oath of many Gouvernours to hold their places for the Duke of Guise.

But the Kings meaning was to liue and reigne: yea though he did buy a good peace to the contentment of both parties. But the contrary designs of the King of Nauarre, and the Duke of Guise, could not bee reconciled: and hee had no meane to subsist betwixt both, but must leane to the one or the other side, nor oppress the one without raising of the other. To conclude, not daring to shew himselfe a King, he suffers all the chiefe of the league to become counterfeit Kings. He exhorts the Duke of Guise, not to expose the Estate in prety, to procure the contentment of his King, the liberty of the Clergy, the dignity of the Nobility, and the peoples ease, by other meane then that which destroys the honour of the Soueraigne, spoiles the Churches, sucks the Gentlemans blood, and driues the people into despaire: and inuires him vnto peace, by promises of aduancement for his House and party. But a warlike mind will haue nothing but war. The Duke could neither endure the search nor the cure thereof. Thus peace is banished. The Duke seeks all meane to ruine the Huguenots: and beseecheth the King to stop the army of strangers, which were euen now vpon the frontier, that they might not returne into Germany, with a victory ouer France, and a triumph ouer the Catholike Church.

Still must this venerable pretext of Religion serue to colour the wicked passions of men. Hee procures many Commissions, especially for his brother the Duke of Mayen in Dauphine, for the Duke of Ioyeuse in Poictou, and for himselfe against the Protestants army.

If the King had not shewed the like care on his part, the people would haue said, that as long

The Duke of Guise complains of the King.

The King complains of the Duke.

The King desires peace.

The Duke will haue warre.

A long rest doth dull the courage of a horse, so since the Duke of Ioyeuzes marriage, the pleasures and delights of Court, and the solitarie life of Vicennes, had much decayed his accustomed generosity. He therefore diuides his forces into three armies. The first at Chaumont in Bassigni, consisting of five and twenty companies of men at armes, twelue ensignes of foot in the Regiment of *Esclapaux*, six of *Ioannes*, six of *Gie*, with many other blanks signed for other commissions, at the will of the Duke of Guise, who encamped this army with foure hundred Lances, and two thousand Italian foot, sent by the D. of Parma; and the Duke of Lorraine, (suffering himselfe as the eldest of the House, to be carried away with the vaine hopes that were giuen him, of a good portion in the pretended succession of *Charlemagne*) held also goodly and great forces vpon the frontier, at the D. of Guises deuotion. The duke of Montpensier commanded the second, at S. Florentin, neere vnto Troyes: the King with his presence honoured the third at Gyen, stretching along the Riuer of Loire, to keepe the King of Nauarre from ioyning with his strangers on this side the Riuer. The duke of Ioyeuzes presuming of an assured victory, lead another army into Guienne against the King of Nauarre, and the other heads of the league, armed euery one of them by himselfe.

The army that came for the Protestants, consisted of five thousand Reistres, five thousand Lansquenets, twelue thousand five hundred Suisses in three Regiments, eleuen cornets of French, ten companies of Harguebuziers on horse-backe, the which in all were about thirty thousand men. The King of Nauarre assembled his forces in Gascony. The Prince of Conde, the Count *Saiffon*, the Vicont of Turenne, the Count of Rochefoucault, the Lord of Tremouille, and others, made great preparations. The Lord of Chastillon gathered an army in Languedoc: *Des Diguieres* held himselfe ready to passe at need.

Thus this poore and miserable Realme, is ready to serue as a prey to people differing in tongue and manners. Without doubt men iudge of the offence by the punishment. The witch-craft and diuination (whereof some make open profession) blasphemy vnpunished, lust, dissolution, prodigality, ambition, discord, and cruelties: but above all, impiety, licentiousness, atheisme, superstition and iniustice, the root of miseries which are crept into France, haue filled vp the measures of her iniquities: and now she is ready to drinke euen vnto the lees.

In former ages the Court was a Schoole of vertue for the French Nobility, now it abounds in dissoluteness, disorder and excess. The most modest grew insolent, the excess of great men breed it in the meanest. And doe wee wonder if the same scourges, whereby the fearful wrath of God iustly kindled, haue ruined more flourishing Estates then this, doe now waste our fields?

The army of strangers euen now enters into Lorraine, whose errors at their entry will cost them deare that commit them. The Duke of Bouillon is young, little respected, and ill obeyed. *Cleruant*, *Guitri*, *Beauvais La Noie*, *Digines*, *Montlout*, *Vezines*, and others assist him, but most of them are more fit to cary an ambassage, then to vndertake a charge. The chiefe of Germany is but a meane Gentleman, valiant out of doubt, but too weak for so great a charge, hauing no reputation but what he hath gotten vnder Duke *Casimirs* authority.

In the beginning of August, discord (a dangerous plague) bred a great confusion in their proceedings: the Duke of Bouillon would haue employed this army to victual the places of his Soueraignty: the General of the Germanes desired to haue a Prince of the blood to march before him: the Reistres, and Suisses lose a goodly occasion at Pont Saint Vincent, to fight with the league, who made a shew to ioyne with them: the Lansquenets are commended to haue resolutely cast themselves into the water, to passe and come to battell. Some would spoile Lorraine, others would cary their reuenge into the heart of France. The Germanes choole the way along the Riuer of Seine, and so to passe into Picardy. The French had more reason: that they must ayme at a passage ouer Loire, and fauour the King of Nauarres approach. In the end, the way of Loire was refused. They fire some villages in Lorraine: the Countries lying vpon the passage are wasted, the army findes neither mills, nor ouens standing, which bred a general discontent amongst the Reistres and Suisses. As the army passed through the country of Barre, and Giniuillois, newes comes that the Lord of Chastillon is beset in Greffille in Lorraine, with

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The Protestants forces.

Errors of the army.

1587

The Earle of  
La Marche dies.

four hundred horse, and fifteene hundred Harguebuziers: the Duke of Bouillon makes halt to vantage him. The Earle of La Marche his brother so toyles himselfe in this action, that hee falls sicke, and dying, leaues the conduct of the fore-ward to the Lord of Chastillon: the army is turmoyled with continuall raine, they want victualls, and the grapes and other fruit being not ripe, breed many fluxes: yet did they surmount all these difficulties, and hauing passed the riuers of Marne, Aube, Seine, La Cure, and Yonne, they approached neere vnto Loire.

The army approaching to ioyne with the Prince of Conde, the garrison of Perreufe being abroad, caried away some Reistres: the Earle of Chastillon sent to demand them by captaine *Geniil*, and vpon refusal, threatens the Towne with the rigours of warre.

The Admirall (said they) was more dangerous then his son, yet passing neere vnto vs with great armies, he neuer had the heart to besiege vs. Poore soules, who trust in the strength of their armes, and the bounty of their walls; and yet haue no meanes to resist the violence of an Engine that is portatiue. *Chastillon* causeth the Regiments of Languedoc to march. The Lords of Mouy, Montlour, Eternay, Lieramont, Rully, Langres, Brofles, and others, doe accompany him. They plant about one thousand eight hundred Harguebuziers at the defences of the ports, to shoot as soone as the Petard had plaied. *Geniil* prepares his rouling bridges and makes fast his Petards through the fauour of the night: they beat downe the ports and draw-bridges, and at the sixth blow they become masters of the towne; where they retire their Reistres, and suppress their insolvency that spake so proudly, teaching the Inhabitants that the law of armes doth bind them to answer for their actions whom they bring for in their guard.

Here the Reistres and the Suisses make a second complaint: the King of Nauarre appears not, the water is low, but the Kings forces are lodged vpon the riuers side, and threaten to fight with the first that shall approach: the ruine of the strangers army was to keepe the King of Nauarre from ioyning with them: and therefore, the duke of Ioyeuze staied the said King with an army, strong with men, munition, artillery, and other meanes. For their first exploits, the King of Nauarre had defeated some companies which had advanced too farre into the country. And *Charbonniers* and *Beri* remaining with their regiments at La Mothe Saint Eloy (being beaten by the fauour of the captaine of the castle, who lent some peeces, to breake their barricadoes: against the oath which he had giuen, not to commit any act of Hostility) were defeated by Ioyeus troops.

The taking of Saint Maixant, was the second of his triumphs: *Touche-Charente* the third: both by composition. But the defeat of the companies of *Pucilhet*, (where some being taken after the fury of the fight, others yelding vpon their enemies faith, were in a manner all insolently slaine in cold blood) together with the foule warre at Saint Eloy, shall bee dearly sold vnto the victors, who hauing added the Abbey of Maillezay to his first conquests, he left *Laurdin* to command the army, and returns to court, to demand a triumph of his victories, and a supply of greater forces, the plague hauing much wasted his army.

In his absence the King of Nauarre defeated three of his companies of men at armes, took their cornets, and many gentlemen prisoners: pursued *Laurdin* vnto La Haye in Touraine: chased the Duke *Mercœur*, and by the conduct of the Vicont of Turenne, tooke all his rich baggage: then at his returne he received the troops which the Cont *Saiffons* brought, and those of Normandy led by *Colembiers*.

This respite gaue the said King meanes (as we haue noted before) to gather together his forces in Gascony, and so to ioyne with his army in Xaintonge. On the other side, the Duke of Ioyeuze, supplied with horse and foot, repasseth the Loire, and with twelue thousand fighting men, comes to encounter the King of Nauarre. The King of Nauarre had two riuers to passe, to come to Xaintonge, Drougne and L'Isle.

The Duke of Ioyeuze, drunke with prosperity of a hasty aduancement, who of a private Gentleman was made a Duke, and of a Duke, brother in law to the French King, and charged (but not so much by the King, as by the League, whereof hee was a partizan, hauing married the *Queenes* sister) to giue battell at all euents, would cut off these passages, presuming that hee which passed first, should haue an aduantage ouer his enemy.

The

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The battell of  
Coutras.

- A The King of Nauarre knew it well: yet, did he not lose any time in curling his haire. The nineteenth of October, accompanied with the Prince of Conde, the Cont *Saiffons* his brother, the Vicont of Turenne, & other good Commanders, he takes his lodging at Coutras, to passe the riuier of Drougne at a ford. The Duke supposing to haue him at his deuotion betwixt two riuers, giues the Rendez-vous to all his forces the next day, betwixt Roche-Chalais and Coutras, and there made choise of his place of battell to his best aduantage, halfe a league from Coutras. Being lodged there, the King of Nauarre commands the Duke of Tremouille to passe the riuier and to lodge at Chareudon two little leagues from Coutras. He doth it, and then sends the Baron of Saint Surin one of his Captaines of light-horse with his company, to learne certaine newes of the enemy. Soone after, he brings him word that he marched directly to his quarter. About midnight, the Duke takes the field which hee had viewed at his going to lodge, whither hee was no sooner come, but *Bellegarde* Gouverneur of Xaintonge (who led the Duke of Ioyeus fore-ward) comes vpon him with five of six hundred horse and 400 shot on horse-backe. He aduertised the King of Nauarre that the whole army aduanced, and by the aduice of *Vinans* Master of the campe to the said horsemen, hee retires slowly, turning fill head towards the enemy, and skirmishing with them in many places. This hee did of purpose; for by this stratagem he kept the enemy occupied vntill eight of the clocke in the morning, and gaue the K. of Nauarre meanes to passe the Riuier with his troops and Cannon, and to make choise of his place of battaille. The King of Nauarre and his souldiers, had sweet more in skirmishes, then in Tennis-courts, and did take more pleasure in the dust of their enemies chafe, then in feasts. The inequality of the number doth not amaze them. He marcheth before: resolues his men to fight, makes them to fall on their knees and pray to God, puts his horsemen into foure squadrons, his owne, that of the Prince, the Earles, and Viconts. The souldiers inflame their courages by mutual skirmishes, and reproachfull speeches: from words they goe to blowes. The King of Nauarres arillerie thunders first, at eight of the clock, and at the first volley sweeps away seuen Captaines of the regiment of Picardy. The Dukes answers him, but without effect. The ignorance or malice of canonicus hauing planted it so low, as it fell vpon a little hill betwixt both armies. The Dukes horsemen led by *Laurdin*, Saint *Luc* and Captaine *Mercœur*, discharge their first fury vpon the Duke of Tremouille as the first obiect of their armes, and being double in number, they passe through them at the first charge, and overthrow *Vinans* Master of the camp (who was fore hurt) with some others, like vnto a violent streame which ouerturnes all that it encounters.
- And whilest that the Duke of Tremouille (hauing rallied his men together) went and planted himselfe before the King of Nauarres troops, who marcht to the combat, they encounter the Vicont of Turenne, who aduanced to second the light-horse-men. They kill his horse with their Lances, and put his troope in disorder. But hee is remounted before the enemy could doe him any more harme, being loth to quit his part of the cake for so light a checke.
- The Duke presuming by this first good hap, to obtaine a totall victory ouer three chiefe heads of the House of Bourbon, aduanceth resolutely, flanked with two hedges of armed men to charge with the Lance. The four Commanders and the Colonell of the light-horse march euery one in the head of his troope, first easily they pace, then they trot, and after in their full carriere. They charge and breake them. This conflict (which consisted for the most part of leaguers) was almost as soone dissolved, as it was resolved on: it beganne at nine of the clocke, and at ten not any of the Dukes men had any offensive armes: some are overthrowne, some taken, and some seeke their safety in flight. The victors pursue them three leagues, and strew the fields with men, horses, and armes. The Duke of Ioyeuze retired towards his footmen and artillery, his horse being hurt in the thigh with a shot, hauing not any one with him but *Breze* who caried the white Corner; wandering thus in the midst of the field where the battell was fought, a Gentleman followed him, with whom another ioyne was. They take him and demand his name; the which hee tels at the first summons. Five or six other men at armes arise as they were leading him to the King of Nauarre, and seeke to take this goodly prize from them. In this contention one of them foreseeing, that if the prisoner were once in the Kings hands, hee should be in safety, and they frustrate of their pretensions; or (as some say) reproaching

The Strangers  
second complaint.The exploits  
of the Duke of  
Ioyeuze in  
Poitou.The King of  
Nauarres  
exploits.

reproaching him with his breach of faith at Saint Eloy, and at Croix-Chappeau, against the company of *Peulhies*, he shoots him behinde with a Pistol through the head, whereof he fell dead to the ground, losing both life and meanes, to try with the rest with what moderation and clemency the King of Nauarre could yfe his victories. It is a pittifull thing for great men to fall into the hands of petty companions, who neither can nor will respect their qualities.

His brother *S. Sauveur*, Breze who caried the white corner, *Rouffay* the younger brother of *Piennes* guidon to the Duke, the Earles of *Suze*, *Gauvelo*, & *Ambieux*, the Lords of *Fumel*, *Neufui* the elder brother of *Perigord*, *young Rochefort*, *Croisset*, *Gurat*, *S. Fort*, guidon to Saint *Lue*, *du Bordet* his ensigne, *de Vaux* Lieutenant to *Bellagard*, *gouverneur* of *Xaintonge*, *Montignis* Ensigne, *Tiercelin* master of the campe, *Pluvial*, *La Brangery*, *Campels* the younger, *La Vallade*, *Baculard*, with many other Capitaines, and a great number of men of account and qualitie, with about halfe of the army, made the battell of *Courtras* famous by their deaths, as the most memorable of all that have beene giuen for religions cause in France. Many rich prisoners, and a very rich spoile. All his cornets taken, his Cannon caried away, and his baggage seized on. At their returne from the pursue, thanks were giuen to God vpon the place of battell died with blood, and couered with carcases. But that which honoured the King most: in the midst of this so commendable a moderation of this victory, hee shewed himselfe no lesse milde and courteous to the prisoners and the wounded, then wise and valiant in heate of the fight. Hee caused the dead to be buried, cured the wounded: sent home almost all the prisoners without ransom, gratified most of the Commanders, caused the Ensignes to be deliuered to *Montignis* above the rest, commended him to haue behaved himselfe valiantly in the battell: where-by he began to purchase fauour with the King of Nauarre, and afterwards got great reputation with him for his valour and fidelitie, when as hee vaited both crownes into one.

The Prince of Conde, at the first charge had a blow with a Lance on the side, and being ingaged vnder his horse, it did so preiudice his health, as the griefe thereof did soon hasten him to his end. This is the greatest losse of the Protestants army in this combate, in the which there was a very small number slaine, and not one of account. The K. of Nauarre is now freed from the snares that were laid for him: now he aduanceth towards the head of the riuier of Loire: and giues aduice of his designe to the array of strangers, which then was in Hurepois about the lands of the Lord of Chastillon.

The King camped vpon Loire betwixt Cosne and Neufui, and by aduice of the Duke of Neuers hee cloyes the passages with trees, stones and other hindrances where the horses should passe. The second cause (next to God) of the ruine of this armie, to whom they thought the King at his entry would haue presented a blanke to prescribe what they pleased. The Duke of Guise followed them at the heeles, and the Duke of Mayenne on the one side: and yet both of them could not keepe them from surprising of some small townes to refresh their armie. But when as they see themselves frustrate of all hope to ioine with the King of Nauarre, or to passe the riuier of Loire, that they must either retire, or march forward to meet with the King of Nauarre, or ingage themselves farther within the Realme, to seeke bread for themselves, and forage for their horses, or else march on the left hand and wander into vnkowne countries, they grow amazed, they murine, they faint.

Some Frenchmen attempt La Charité: but their enterprize succeeds not. In the end they lead the army in Beaulieu, where they should find meat both for man and horse. The seuen and twen-tieth of October they lodged at Vimorri, and places thereabouts, neere to Montargis. To take from them this lodging, the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne (taking aduantage of the passages of the riuier of Loing) come at supper time with fiftene hundred horse, and fise thousand foot, and charge the Baron *Donneau*, being lodged in Vimorri with seuen or eight cornets of Reistres: but they had almost verified the saying of the King of the Epirots who vanquished the Romane army; *We are vndone if we get such another victory*, for three hundred horses of baggage, the Barons two Camels, and the death of fifty fouldiers with an hundred seruyants, was not sufficient to recompence the blood of forty braue and gallant Gentlemen, and two hundred good fouldiers slaine vpon the place by the Reistres, who speedily repaired to their cornets, whilst the Dukes

The Germane  
army in Beaulieu

Charged at  
Vimorri.

A Dukes men were busie at the spoile. The Duke of Mayenne received two pistoll-shot on his caske by the Baron, and in exchange, the duke gaue the Baron a wipe on the forehead, with his Courtlas, but with small hurt.

The Duke of Guise failing failed to surprize the Reistres lodging at Vimorri by the Lions force, he now imployes the Foxes subtilty, and the malice of a treacherous man who heretofore had vowed so great affection and fidelitie to the King of Nauarre; who iudging another by himselfe, and not able to imagine that so treacherous and detestable a thought should euer harbour in the heart of a French Gentleman, whose quality should be free from all treason: had sent instructions to the Duke of Bouillon Generall of this armie, touching the seruices which he expected from this Champenois. As the Duke attended newes hourly, behold he comes to the armie, he addresseth himselfe to the Earle of Chastillon, intreats him to giue him access vnto the Duke of Bouillon, and presenting vnto him a piece of a crowne which had been broken for his credit, he grieues that vntill that time he had not meanes to produce any effects in fauour of the King of Nauarre, for whose seruice hee would alway be ready to imploy both his wit and blood; that hauing no meanes vpon the frontier, for that the Duke of Guise would neuer suffer him, nor his company to abandon him; he had now good opportunity to deliuer the towne & castle of Montargis into his hands. If he thought it fit to aduance the cause, the Duke of Guise hauing lodged him with his company in the Castle, and left two companies in the towne to fortifie the Inhabitants. If this (said hee) will not serue, I am not resolued to returne any more, but to retire my armes, my equipage, and some fouldiers of my intelligence, and then come vnto this army and so vnto the King of Nauarre. The Duke of Guise hauing not thought it fit that *Pau* should play his part vpon the frontier, and hauing failed in his enterprize against the Baron of Onaw at Vimorri, heooke the way to Estampes in shew to defend the way to Paris. But hee had purposely plotted this stratagem of Montargis, foreseeing that this place lying conuenient for the Earle of Chastillon being neere vnto his house, he should be principally employed therein: And that as he had ruined the father at the Parisien Mattens, the 24 of August 1572, he would also make the sonne companion of the same fortune.

D The Duke of Bouillon, the Generall of the Germanes, the Earle of Chastillon, and the chiefe of the councill holding it not conuenient to neglect this encounter, they commit the execution to Chastillon. Hee returns *Pau*, and giues him *Saint Laurent* his Steward to goe into the towne and castle to discouer the truth. But the Traytor had giuen order the fouldiers should lie close, if happily they should send any one to visit. *Saint Laurent* reports, that they saw no cause of suspicion, beleueing that *Pau* meant sincerely: and *Pau* for a gage of his fidelitie, promising to remaine in the hands of such as *Chastillon* should please, vntill the place were wholly at his deuotion, they thought he could not giue any greater assurance. But to continue himselfe voluntarily an hostage and caution for a disloyal and treacherous disservice, was it not wilfully to ruine both his life and honour vpon hope of an vncertaine recompence? Thus great men play with the liues of men, as with tennis balls, not caring how to hazard them, so as they will become instruments and ministers of their passions.

The Duke of Guise had instructed him to make all these offers, and to submit himselfe to more if it were required, promising him that he would take so many prisoners and men of quality, as they should be glad to exchange him. *Pau* returns about two of the clocke after midnight with one confident fouldier to bring in them that should be sent to seize vpon the Castle. *Chastillon* giues him in guard to some of his Capitaines, and commands Capitaine *Tessier* of Nismes to goe with 150 fouldiers to enter the Castle, and to seize vpon the ports, as well of that which was towards the fields, as of the other which entred into the towne. The fouldier guides them, and at their first entry they finde many bottles of good wine, and meats fit to procure thirst. He leaues twenty Harguebuziers vpon the Draw-bridge, assures the Castle, and then he sends his Colonell word that hee may come safely. Capitaine *Gentil* (a man suspicious and very distrustfull in such stratagems) had growne iealous of his conduct by a simple fouldier: and being much practised in those policies of warre, the which we must beleue sparingly, hee entreates the Earle not to aduance before he had been within the Castle. I feare (said he) some double practice; at my returne I will tell you if it be safe. Hee goes thither alone, and calls for Capitaine *Tessier*, adding,

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adding, that the Earle of Chastillon approached. But at his entry he obserues the ground A had bin newly remoued: he heares the noise of armes in the Church & chambers of the castle, which were lockt vp, and some armed men which he saw going from a hall into a chamber increast his ieaousie. But the impatiency of a soldier, complaining that *Chastillon* stayed too long, confirmed his beliefe. He suddenly returnes, & passing the bridge, he aduisech *Taisier* to saue himselfe with his men. *Taisier* had not leisure but with three, all the rest being spoiled by the deuices which they had prepared at the entry of the castle. And when as they heard *Gentilvry* into the Earle of Chastillon that he should returne, they presently shoot at him as farre off, hauing left all hope to annoy him nearer. *Pau* seeing his practice not so successefull as he expected, is wonderfully danted. He thinks he is now at the pits brink which he had prepared for another. They lead him to the D. of Bouillon, who resolues to teare him in pieces with horses. The Baron of Onaw holds opinion, that it were better to leade him to the K. of Nauar: and fearing lest the French either through compassion or corruption should yeeld unto the prisoners perswasions, will himselfe haue the guard of him, and doth fo clog him with chaines, as every member shrinks vnder his burthen. Yet within few dayes after he freed himselfe and escaped, verifying, that men vnable to resist the force of wine, are vnfit to guard prisoners or townes.

The Prince of  
Conoy arises  
at the army.

This losse of horses and baggage, makes the Reistres to mutine againe, growing impatient, neither seeing their pay, nor the K. of Nauarre: for a baie, they force Chateau-lan- don, and spoile it. The Prince of Conti's ariall neere vnto Chartres, (where the Duke of Bouillon resigned him the charge and the white cornet) pacified this mutinie. Then the Suiffes treated with the King, by the D. of Neuers meanes: his Maiestie hauing now con- quered them by their alliance with this Crowne, so ferue him, or to retire themselves: some of the Captaines follow the Kings party, others receiving 400000 crownes returne to their country: but some of them at their ariall lost their heads. By this defection, the army is halfe decreased: the toyles of the warre tyre them: the discommodities proue at length inuportable: many of the troopes dis-band: they foresee an apparant danger, if they giue battell. They take Councell the 24. of Nouember, to turne head, and to draw this languishing army vp to the head of Loire. But the Duke of Guise had well obserued from the beginning, that striking the shepherd, he shall disperse the flocke. The Baron lodged at Anneau neere to Chartres, with seuen Cornets of Reistres: but hee trusted too indifferently to a promise made by the garison of the said Castle, not to commit any act of hostility, and to furnish him with victuals for his money. The Duke manned it by night with good store of Harguebuziers: and at the first found of the trumpet, to horse, he enters the towne with all his forces, euen as their Carts stopt vp the streets and gates in the morning. Being thus surprized, and hauing no meanes to recouer the fields, they are forced to returne into their lodgings, and to remaine at the Conquerors mercy, either slaine or taken. The spoile was great, 800 Wagons, great store of armes, Jewels, and chaines of gold. Two thousand horse of combat and of cariage. So as in one night, all the Dukes footmen were in a manner horrid, rich in spoiles, and rich in prisoners. The Baron, with some few others, leaped ouer the walls and saued themselves, through the fauour of the night, and in a marish. He makes a stand halfe a league from Anneau, and rallies them together that escape. The Suiffes that remained come vnto him: all determine to breake. The Prince of Conoy, Duke of Bouillon, *Chastillon*, *Cleruani*, and the rest, become answerable for what is due, so as they will march on. They might easily haue forced through the Duke of Guises armie, but they were surprized with feare, a passion which doth easily vanquish the quicknesse of mans iudgement.

Reistres defeat-  
ed at Anneau.

The army hath now but one wing to fly withall: it is a body without armes or legs: yet the hope of payment makes them continue their course vp against the river. But the disorder was great: feare accompanieth them, many Gentlemen slip away dayly to their houses: and most of them which remained could not easily resolute to fight. They must make long marches to auoid the enemy: they had no guides, no Smiths for their horses, who were spoiled for want of shooes, no bread for the souldiers, no forrage for their horses, their troopes wasted, most of them were without powder, without bullets, and without meanes to recouer any: the Lanqueners are reduced to 2000, and most vnarmed, and the Suiffes haue changed party. The Reistres thinke of nothing but of their returne into Germany: the French slip away hourly. The Duke of Elsermon coasts them with the Kings army,

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A armie, and wisheth they would accept of a capitulation, to disappoint the Duke of Guise of an absolute victory which he did expect. The D. of Guise pursues them, yet is it not fit for the Kings estate, he should wholly vanquish these maimed troopes: the seruant would then presently attempt against the master. Moreover, this army still holding the field, the Realme should be much impouerished: and ioyned with the King of Nauarre, they might effect great matters.

The King offers them a safe conduct to returne, vpon condition that the French should deliuer vp their colours: the Reistres trusse vp their Cornets, and that all sweare, not to beare armes in France without the Kings expresse command. The 8. of December they B accept of this capitulation at Lency in Maconois, and so dis-band. The Lord of Chastillon protests neuer to deliuer vp his Ensignes but to the K. of Nauarre. Hee vnderstands the Reistres threaten to cary him away as a pledge: but he frees himselfe from their mutiny like a gallant Gentleman: And being loth to trust this safe conduct, or to fall into the hand of the duke of Guise his capitall enemy, he resolues to passe through Auvergne with ten or twelve men well mounted, and marching by night onely to recouer Geuandun, and from thence into Languedoc. Capitaine *Gentil* dissuades him, and makes him resolute to take the way of Viarez with the remainders of the shipwrack, assuring him to lodge him within few dayes by the Petard in the towne of Pont S. Rambert. Hee had onely remain- ing forty Cuirasses, thirty Harguebuziers on horsebacke, and 400 foot, with the which C he had come to the Reistres. Some Noblemen and Gentlemen desire to runne the same fortune. *Mony* (being so sicke that he could scarce sit on horsebacke) *Lieramont*, *Rebours*, *Saint Auban*, *Ouinulle*, *Legualda*, *Rouffelle*, *Fereing*, *Bandans* and others. *Gentil* marcheth in the head of the footmen, and couereth them with some ranks of horse, and *Chastillon* is in the reere to make head against them that should pursue them. But as they thought to take Pont Saint Rambert, they were in danger to be taken themselves.

Capitulation  
giueto the  
Reistres.

*Chastillon*  
retreats.

Retreat of the  
Earle of Chas-  
tillon.

*Mandelot*, Governor of Lyonnois, had newly lodged 400 men there by the com- mandement of the D. of Guise, to cut off the bridges, and to fight with the Reistres which they thought would passe that way. *Mandelot*, *Cherrieres*, the Earle of Tournon, *Pelloux* (who commanded a great garison in Nonnay) and all that had any authority come to take from D them all meanes to passe but by force. There is nothing, before, behind, nor of either side, but opposite to his retreat, his sword makes his way: he passeth through all that he encountereth like lightning, and forceth his enemies to fight, or to fly, hee giueth occasion to the children of the country to call it *The battell of turne-tayles*. This passage failing them, *Gentil* takes his way vpon the left hand, and at midnight takes a great village between Lyons and Pont Percier. As they refresh themselves, the neighing of horses which they heare giue them notice that the enemy approaches. *Mandelot* followed them with six or seuen hundred horse, and without a thicke cloud which did then miraculously couer them, they had been exposed to his mercy. The cloud and the rough way vncasie for horses, kept the enemy from approaching any nearer, besides hee feared some ambush. They passe the E bridge at Percier, and who so had charged them in a great plaine beyond the bridge, they themselves confesse, that the place, with watchings, and the toyles of the way, had made them altogether vnable to resist.

*Mandelot* and  
others pursue  
*Chastillon*.

The cloud vanisheth at the breake of day, and *Mandelots* scouts seeing them aduanced in the Plaine, they gallop after to ingage them in the fight. *Chastillon* would haue charged them, but *Gentil* discouers the whole troope, who had come time enough if they had fallen to blowes. They passe the Plaine, and plant their footmen by a riuers side, where through the fauour of some Willowes, they might second their horsemen being in fight. His first enemies appeare: *Chastillon* chargeth them so resolutely, as there remained about thirty vpon the place: The whole troope arises and repulseth him so furiously, as hee is put to rout, and loseth some of his men at armes, who were caried prisoners to Lyons. *Gentil*, *Ouinulle*, *Legualda*, *Rouffelle*, *Fereing*, *Bandans*, and some other horsemen second the footmen, whom the enemy prest, causing them to march on, and to turne head at euery freight and commodious place they came vnto. Night being come, *Mandelot*, who had followed them thirty houres together, went to refresh himselfe, giuing leisure to this tyred troope to lament and bewaile the mischance of their Commander, whom they suspected to be vnterly lost.

He was in the like paine for his footmen, who he thought had been defeated: when as approaching

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approaching neare vnto the mountaines of high Viarez, the Lord of Chastillon, *S. Amban*, Lieutenant of his Company of lighthorse, *Captaine Gache* and some others, comming to ioyne with them, to saue these poore men from a generall ruine, and by their presence reuiue the vigour of these footmen to endure with their accustomed courage three assaults from diuers garisons to the shame of them that charged them, before they could reuenter Rou-touton in high Viarez. *Mandot* went to Court, to giue an account of his diligence, but he receiued reproach both of the King and the Duke of Guise: for that hee had not charged *Chastillon* in that great village, or past the bridge at *Percier* before him, to haue defeated him in the Plaine, The which did also bring him in disgrace with them of *Lions* who neuer after loued him. The strangers thinke to refresh themselves at *Geneua*, but the most part were not able to get thither: and many of the Commanders, either with languishing and griefe, or as the common saying was, with the sweet Wines they drunke with the Duke of *Epemnon*, gaue vp the ghost. The D. of *Bouillon* dyed the 11 of Ianuarie, in the five and twentieth year of his age, leaving *Charlotte* his sister for his heire, married since to the Vicount of *Turenne*, now D. of *Bouillon*, and *Matthell* of France.

Death of the  
D. of Bouillon.

Another troope of Reistres marched towards the French Conté: the *Marquis* of *Pont*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Guise*, pursuing them (against the publike faith) vnto the mountaines of *Saint Claude*, enter the territories of *Montbelliard* and *Hericourt*, where by a lamentable reuenge vpon a poore innocent people, by the burning of 200 Villages, by the forcing of many wiues and maids, and by the murder of a great number of all ages, all sexes, and all qualities, they leaue the markes of the inhumanity, and the brutish fury of the League, and carie the spoiles of their triumph into *Lorraine*.

Assembly of the  
League at  
Nancy.

All the chiefe of the League assemble at *Nancy*, where they resolute to make the last triall of their ambition. The season inuities them, mens humors are well affected. The Catholike consciences, freed from the fury of strangers, confesse themselves wonderfully bound to the Duke of *Guise*: the people extoll the victory of *Anneau*, and the dispersing of this great armie: the Nobilitie of the league looks bigge, the Clergy reioyceth, the Preachers tongues are firebrands of sedition, they speake in derision of the King in their Pulpits, (before time the Pulpits of truth are now become the Chaires of Iuglers: ) they make the King a *Saul*, and the Duke of *Guise* a *Dauid*; *Saul* slew his thousand, but *Dauid* his ten thousand.

They publish generally in their Sermons, that the King had leauied the Reistres, to oppose them against the Dukes holy enterprises, and to expose *Paris* as a prey: but by the Dukes valour and constancy, religion had now triumphed ouer heresie. The Pope sends vnto the Duke a Sword grauen with flames. The King of *Spaine*, and the D. of *Sauoy*, conceiue great hopes. The D. of *Parma* salutes him, and amongst all the Princes of Europe (saith he) *Henry of Lorraine alone deserves to command in warre*. They make bonc-fires in all places, and sing the wondrous woikes of the Duke of *Guise*, to the Kings disgrace. The people of *Paris* especially (possessed with the praises of the House of *Guise*, and the disorders of the King, the dissoluenesse, lecherie and hypocricie of the Court, vnder a shew of penance) leane to the party which they hold almost certaine: they disdain the present estate, apprehend what is to come, and thinke to lose nothing by the change.

*Henry* of *Lorraine* discouers all this, and thinke to make his profit of so goodly an opportunity. He knowes moreover, that *Iouber* and *Miron* haue given their opinion of the Kings disability to haue children. Hee makes himselfe more pleasing to the people, who feare the succession of a *Huguenot* Prince: hee entertaines them with great familiarity, but with an humour aspiring vnto tyrannie. Hee sees the maiestie of his Soueraigne disgraced, his enemies retired to *Rochel*. England ready to be inuaded by a proud army from *Spaine*: he giues care to the counsell of the Arch-leaguers, increased to the number of fixtene, by reason of the fixtene quarters of *Paris*. Hee is crafty, aduised, foreseeing, generous and valiant: but variable, corrupt, a dissembler, secret and patient. Hee will by no means vse his owne name in any thing, yet will hee effect that by another which hee attempts or takes in hand. Hee aduertieth the Cardinal of *Bourbon* (who goes but as hee is led) that this goodly opportunity must not be lost. But the secrets of his heart were contrary to his outward shewes.

This

The disposition  
of the D. of  
Guise.

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A. This assembly at *Nancy* tended chiefly to force the King to make his Will, and to allow the legency vnto them: It was therefore concluded: That the King should be urged to ioyne his forces effectually with the League. To place such a stamp on their Officers as should be named: To bring in the Inquisition of *Spaine*, and to publish the Council of *Trent*; but with a moderation of such things as derogate from the priuileges of the French Church. To confine to the restitution of the goods sold by the Clergie for the Charges of the warre. To giue them lawes to be made and fortified as the time and necessity required. To forsake the *Huguenots* bodies and goods, and to entertaine an armie vpon the frontiers of *Lorraine*, against the *Germanes*, who threatened reuenge for the insolencies committed in the County of *Montbelliard*.

B. But to subiect the Kings authoritie to the designs and practices of the League, what was it, but by this means to aspire to the Crowne? To haue him ruine them hee loued, and that were allied vnto him in blood: what was it, but to make a bush of a Forest, and a desert of a goodly Kingdom? And this word of Inquisition, is it not hatefull vnto all men? It was necessary for the Spaniards, who had no better means to plant and maintaine Christianity. But the tediousnesse and manner of their proceeding is horrible, the malice and calumnyation of their spies and informers abominable; their prisons vnder ground fearful: their racks and tortures intolerable, the yellow gowne without sleeves painted all ouer with *Diuels*, the *Mytre*, and *Corde*: and for the last act of this pittifull Tragedy, the fire had made it detestable to the *Fleatings* and execrable to the French. As for the reception of the Council of *Trent*, the soueraigne Courts of this Realme haue neuer so aduersed our Kings, for the prejudice they should doe vnto the Crowne, and the priuileges of the French Church. To require redemption of the Clergie goods, and to haue the King force them that were benificed to redeeme them, was it not to haue him make warre for the Church, and the Clergy should giue the alarme, and shadow themselves vnder the temporality, whilst that the Nobility should goe to fight, and the people languish? The League had obtained some townes of assurance, and the Parliaments laboured to put downe the *Huguenots*. To conclude, the King had not refused the chiefe of the League any demand that he might lawfully grant, and had yielded them many things which hee D. might by this authority refuse.

Besides the motions of the Kings apprehensions, the first beginning of his misery is, that almost all his Councillors of State are corrupted, they conceal the truth, they fit themselves to his humors, they are fearfull, weak, and inconstant. Without doubt that Prince is miserable (saith an Emperor) from whom they conceal the truth. They perswade him, the D. of *Guise* party is strong, that the Townes and Prouinces looke onely after him: if he enters not into it, he must be subiect both to League and *Huguenot*. Yet he meanes to be master ouer both, but he takes not the safest course. He becomes the head of the *Guifs* party, and talking of nothing but of the voyage of *Poitou*, thinkes to winne the peoples loue, and to stop the murmuring of the League.

The Kings  
Council  
corrupted.

B. The Prince of *Condes* death made the enterprise easie. A great debility of the stomacke, a difficulty of breathing, a great costiuenesse, a continuall vomiting, with an alteration and extreme paine, surprised him the third of May, halfe an houre after supper, and the second day of his sickness, a suffocation of all his vitall spirits, sent him from the bed vnto the graue. He was a Prince indued with all the qualities fit for a great Capitaine, vnder whose magnanimity the Protestants conceived great hopes. The body was opened, and the iudgement of Physicians was diuers. The bottom of his belly was pale & burnt: his bowels overflowed with a reddish water: the stomacke about the orifice pierced through with a round hole, and the vitall parts being viceried, made some suspition, others held that it was the remainder of the potion hee swallowed in the year 1552, which making an impression in the bowels, had by little and little weakened the stomacke, of the paine whereof, as also of his side, by reason of the blow hee receiued at the battell of *Contrai* with a Lance, hee had complained many weekes before his death. The Colledge at *Montpellier* did subscribe to this last opinion.

Death of the  
Prince of  
Condes.

In the meantime the King doth not greatly affect this enterprise against the *Huguenots*: he desires to diuert the warre which the League would make inuicible, but the Commander vnder whom hee assembles his forces, makes him fall from a tower to a precipice. They had long before made the Duke of *Epemnon* an aduancement odious to the people.

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The



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The League made him the only Author of all disorders but the succession of the office of Admirall, and the government of Normandie, wherein the King had installed him since the death of the Duke of Joyeuz, and their disdain for that hee had crossed the Duke of Aumale in his enterprises vpon Boulogne, and other places in Picardy, shall soon discover the violence of an ambitious spirit, who thinks that the very heavens should give him place.

The Duke of Guise finds, that the warre which hee made against the Princeesse of Sedan by *Rosne* his Lieutenant did but blemish his new trophies. Shee had already chased him from Douzy: she had by the Lord of Nueil slain the core of the most resolute of his troopes, almost as many hurt and drowned in flying, and so led prisoners to Sedan. The consideration of an innocent pupill, makes this warre execrable, and makes them odious that attempt to take from another without any iust cause. The Parisiens faint, if hee come not to confirme them. They call him: and he leauing Sedan and Iametz, thinks it is now high time that the King either yeeld or breake, and that now they must shew the effect of the conclusion of Nancy.

Hee comes to Soissons. The King is very iealous of his approach: and knowing the Parisiens humour and deuotion to the Duke, he sends him word by the Lord of Belliere (a man of great and sound iudgement, who for his great employments, both within and without the Realme, was then one of the chiefe of the Kings Councell, and lately the most worthy Chancellor of France) that hee should doe him a pleasure, nor to come to Paris in a time so full of troubles and factions. If hee come against his will, hee will lay vpon him the cause of all the miseries, which his presence shall breed. But to lose all, there is but one hazard: Pompey thinks, that striking the ground with his foot hee shall raise vp an hundred Legions. He comes to Paris at noone the ninth of May, followed onely with eight Gentlemen, not to amaze the King. He lights at the Queene-mothers lodging, and goes with her to doe his dutie vnto the King. The people follow him by troopes with great ioy: every one blesteth his comming, every one makes new wilhes. The Parisiens had long forgotten that ancient and chearefull salutation of, *God save the King*. When they see him passe, they change it into *God save the Guise*, *God save the pillar of the Church*. A doting Gentlewoman sitting vpon a stall, puts downe her maske. *Good Prince* (saith shee) *seeing thou art come, we are all saved*. Hee makes his reuerence vnto the King, but not so assured as hee was accustomed: hee layes open the causes of his comming, and iustifies his actions as well as hee could. Then seeing the King ready to cliche, hee retires to his lodging, and not one Courtier accompanied him as before.

At dinner he growes more resolute. They meet both after dinner at the Queene-mothers lodging. The King full of ielousie and feare: The Duke with a braue and resolute countenance. The people attend the issue of this conference. The next day the Archbishop of Lyons (the chiefe pillar of the League) arrives: the Dukes friends and seruants enter: the fixtreme Tribunes of the Rebels and Conspirators bring and carry away sundry intelligences. To conclude, all now prepare to execute that whereof they failed the last yeare. A notable error of State: for destroying the principall, the necessary perillous of himselfe. The King had sufficient forces to suppress these first insolencies. He had the names & surnames of his enemies: most of them were danted with feare, with their long paces and goings from one to another: others did hide themselves: and some dreamed of nothing but of flight. The multitude is apt for tumults. A chearefull and resolute countenance of the King might easily have dispersed this tempest. But in stead of confirming him, they make him more irresolute: they talke of nothing to him, but of the Dukes practices with the Parisiens, and that by his long delay he will be prevented. He meanes to anticipate the houre, and thinks it sufficient to terrifie them: for the effecting whereof, he commands the Marshall of Biron, to draw his guards of Suisses and French out of the Suburbs into the Citie, and lodgeth them in diuers quarters, to feare the people, if they stirre. Le Goff with his company, held the little bridge neare to our Ladies Church. Grillon, Saint Michaels bridge: the Marshall d'Amont mans our Ladies bridge with Harguebuziers: the Suisses are diuided into diuers places, before the Towne-house, in the new market-place, and at Saint Innocents Church. But either through want of iudgement, or for want of men, they had forgotten the place Maubert. The people grow amazed: the chiefe of League terrifie them with the apprehension of a spoile: they shut vp their shoppes.

Their

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A Their trafficke, tooles, pens and paper, are converted into Halberts, Pertuisans, Harguebuzes and Swords. The shollers come from the Vniuersitie, and ioyning with some multitudes of the people, they seize vpon place Maubert: the neighbours arme, all the Citie is in combustion: some cry out for Barricado's, there is nothing but stopping of the wayes: they flanke them, and man them, they make them from thirty paces to thirtie, euen to the Centinels of the Louure, they draw the chaires: no man passeth without the word, or a Passport from the Colonels or quarter Masters. The Earle of Brisac, *Bois-Dauphin*, *Chamou*, and other heads of the League, charge the Suisses, and kill some: the rest being terrified with this v unexpected fury of the people, without Commanders, without conduct, and without assurance of the Kings intention, chooseth rather to yeeld their pikes, then to charge them in this violent occasion. Without doubt a more manly courage and constant resolution had forced the Parisiens to fortifie themselves in the bottome of their Cellars. Cities begin a mutine boldly, but they execute it faintly, if they see any resistance, vsing still more words then deeds. The consideration of wife, children, and shop, doe easily quaille their first heat. *S. Paul*, (a simple Gentleman, but a chiefe man in this party) causeth the Kings Guards, to retire with their hats in their hands, and their armes downe. They cry out generally against the Tyrant, against the *Huguenots*, against the Politicks. It fares with them in a manner as it did in former times with the English and Bourguignons.

C The Queene-Mother had alwayes made her profit of the variety of Factions: shee is now deceined, the D. of Guise will not employ her in that he hath designed: she takes her Coach, and comes amazed to intreat the Duke to pacifie this tumult. *Belliere* followes to the same end. But the Duke answered, *These are wild buls broke loose, whom I cannot stay*. So great a designe was not attempted to faint in the midst thereof. It was no longer time now to dissemble: the maske vacouered, and the foard founded, they must goe on, and seize vpon his person, without whose ruine their victory would be imperfect, for the effecting whereof ten or twelue thousand men were ready to enter by night at the new gate, to beset the Louure, and to shut vp all the passages. Foure Gentlemen, familiar with the Duke, aduertise the King hereof: yet can he hardly beleue it, but that the people will alwayes willingly yeeld to the Kings clemency. Yet his Councell desired to be out of Paris. They lay before his Maiesty the general reuolt, in the which *Philip* the faire was forced to save himselfe among the Templers: the party coloured hood of red & sky colour, wherewith *Charles* Duke of Normandy, and afterwards King of France, the sist of that name, and surnamed the wife, was hooded, to save himselfe from the peoples insulency, during the Captiuitie of King *John* his father in England: the reuolt of the Mallotins: the mutine of the Caboches: the crosses of Saint Andrew: the deposition of *Salcedo*: the aduertisements of the King of Navarre, and the conspiracies of the last yeare, which now hath broken the bankes, and overflowed all.

His feare increaseth, yet hee settles his countenance. It is reason (saith hee) so provide for these disorders, to assemble the Councell, and to give all men contentment. And the better to disguise his intent, he sends backe the Queene-Mother vnto the Duke, to perswade him to come vnto the Louure, and to assure him, that hee shall retorne with such satisfaction as hee can desire. Shee intreats him in this vrgent necessitie, to make knowne vnto the King, that hee hath more will to preserve, then to ruine his Crowne, & to settle the State which this mutiny hath wonderfully shaken. To intreat an enemy, is to shew that hee feares him. The D. seems cold: hee layes the motives of these tumults vpon the people, to whose assistance hee is drawne, more by the violence of necessity, then by his own desire. It were a great indiscretion (saith hee) for mee, to cast my selfe naked into a suspected place, at the mercy of my enemies. The King vnderstanding by his Mother, the Dukes obstinacie in his designe, resolves for the safety of this person. He goes from the Louure with a small traine, with a shew to walke in the Tuilleries, and from thence he goes to lodge at Trapes. I give thee my curse (saith he, turning at Chalior towards Paris) disloyall and ingratefull Citie: a Citie which I have alwayes honoured with my continuall aboad: a Citie which I have more enriched then any of my Predecessors. I will neuer enter within the compass of thy walls, but by the ruine of a great & memorable breach. Cursed likewise be you all, for whose content I have purchased the hatred of so many.

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O

The D. of Guise  
leaves the war  
of Sedan.He comes to  
Paris.An error in  
State.Barricadoes  
at Paris.The D. returns  
from Paris.

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Speech betwixt  
the Earle of  
Brisac and the  
Ambassadour of  
England.

O Duke! thou hast drawne thy sword against thy Soueraigne: but God hath stayed this arme from striking. It is a folly onely to terrifie him, who may finde meanes of reuenge. Many of his Faction blame him to haue erred in the mayne point, wherein consisted the perfection of his victory, by this attempt hee hath blemished his reputation with all Princes. All Kings are Brethren, one Royall blood summons another, they haue an interest in this cause, they affect troublers of anothers Estate, but they cannot endure them in their owne. Hce therefore thought it good to send the Earle of Brisac vnto Sir Edward Stafford being then Ambassadour for England, to informe him of the subiect of the Barricadoes, who came accompanied with certaine Gentlemen to visit the Ambassadour in his Lodging, to offer him (amidst these popular insurrections) a safeguard, intreating him not to bee amazed, nor to retire himselfe, vpon the assurance and protection of the Duke of Guise. The Ambassadour answered, that if hee had beene a priuate person in Paris, hee would haue cast himselfe at the Duke of Guises feet, to thanke him most humbly for his courteous and kinde offer; but being neere vnto the King for the seruice of the Queene his Mistris (who had a League of amity and friendship with the King) he neither could nor would receiue any safeguard but from the King.

The Earle of Brisac told him, that the Duke of Guise was not come to Paris to attempt any thing against the King or his seruice: that hee was onely forced to defend himselfe, that there was a great conspiracy against him and the City of Paris: that the Town-houle and other places were full of gibbets, whereon the King had resolved to cause many of the city and others to be hanged. Wherefore the D. of Guise intreated him to aduertise the Queene his Mistris of all these things, to the end the whole world might bee informed. The Ambassadour answered that hee would easily beleuee that hee had spoken this vnto him. That great and bold enterprises remaine many times incommunicable in the bowels of the vnder takers, who (when they please) discover them with what colour they thinke fittest for themselves. But hee would tell him freely, that what had past at Paris would be found strange, & of dangerous consequence by all the Princes of Christendom, who haue interest therein. That no cloake, how goodly soeuer, could make it allowable, being the duty of the subiect to continue constant in his due obedience to his Soueraigne. That if there were gibbets prepared, men would easily beleuee it, if the Duke of Guise wil shew them: and admit it were so, it were an odious and intolerable thing for a subiect to seeke to hinder by force the iustice which his Soueraigne would doe by armes. That hee promised him willingly that hee would aduertise the Queene his Mistris being wiser then hee, to beleuee what she pleased. Then the Earle asked him if he had any armes: to whom the Ambassadour answered, if you question with me as one that hath been sometimes a friend and familiar with Monsieur de Cusse your Vncle; it may be I would tell you; but being as I am you must pardon me. Your house will be presently searched, said hee, for they thinke you are armed, and it is to be feared ye will be forced. I haue two doores in my lodging replied the Ambassadour, the which I will cause to be shut and defend them as long as I may, to the end the world may know how vniufully the Law of Armes is violated in my person. After which the Earle of Brisac said, I pray you tell me as a friend, haue you any armes? to whom the Ambassadour answered, seeing you aske me as a friend, I will tell you: if I were a priuate person here I would be armed; but being an Ambassadour, I haue not any but the publique faith. I pray you said the Earle of Brisac, cause your gates to be shut. I will not doe it said the Ambassadour, an Ambassadors house must be open to all commers, and goers: moreover, I am not in France to remaine still at Paris, but neere vnto the King where soeuer he is. This discourse passed betwixt the Earle and the Ambassadour of England, which I haue thought good to insert at large.

Without doubt the providence of God had prepared a strange Catastrophe for the Duke, for the King, and for his Realme: who at this time, by his singular loue to this Crowne, did direct the successe which they expected of this shamefull and reproachfull mutiny. O Paris! King Charles the 8 had in former times made the twelfth day of May famous, by the absolute conquest of the Realme of Naples: and now thou dustiest to haue this twelfth day noted with red letters, and hereafter to be celebrated, for that in the

same

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A same day thou hast presented vpon the Theater of thy rebellions, a King dispossessed of the capitall City of his Realme. Nay rather, what coale can sufficiently note to our posteritie this mournfull and vnforgotten day? What law of forgetfulness, may wipe out the remembrance of thy shame, ingratitude and treachery: what loction can wash away the spots of thy pollution, filthinesse, and villanies? what fire shall ever consume the memory of the rebellions, tyrannies, and seditions, of this fatal and abominable League: O Barricadoes, you are the spring of those floods, which shall for a time drowne this Estate: and the instrument wherewith that inscrutable wisdom would chastise, both the King and the Realme.

B Fatal and cursed day of the Barricadoes, the birth day of our miseries, and the funeral day of our happinesse, which hath broken the bounds to those streames of blood which haue drowned our fields; which hath made liberty captiue; truth criminall; rapine iust; and tyranny and inuasion lawfull: which hath pild a crowne from a Kings head, and the Lawes out of the heart of the Realme: which hath armed a President to mutine the people of his quarter: which hath made cowards courageous to set vpon the Kings guard: which hath made the most wicked insolent, and caused them of the League to triumph through the streets of Paris, as a perfect image of all villany: which hath made the sixteene Tribunes to publish that wretched rebellion, and to qualifie it with the title of iust defence against the King; aduertising all the townes of their confederacy, that God had preferred that holy and religious City from a great massacre, and from a fearful sack; that the Duke of Guise had prevented the councill of the politticks, and especially of the D. of Elpernon, who had so posselt the Kings heart, as he had caused him to resolve to ruine the chiefe and most Catholike families of Paris, to suppress their liberties, and to deprive them of their religion, thinking there was no better meanes to force obedience in a people, then to keepe them vnder, and to deprive them of their wealth, the which made them insolent, mutinous and rebellious.

The Duke of Guise at the beginning of this bold and insolent attempt, writes presently to his most truly friends, to repaire speedily vnto him with armes and horses: but no baggage. I haue ouerthrowne the snuffes (said he) to Entragues Gouernour of Orleans) cut in pieces some part of the Kings guards, and hold the Loure so frailty best, as I will give a good account of what is within it. This victory is so great, as it will be remembered for euer. But oh Duke! is it presumption that bandies thee against the rules of reason, or weaknes which abates thy courage and resolution; in suffering him to scape, who within few moneths shall heape this thy victory vpon thy head, and other bringings a sudden repentance vnto man, and makes him wise too late. Thou seemest, oh Duke! to touch the heavens with thy forehead, and hell with thy foot: but learne, that our Histories are full of the violent deaths of those proud spirits, who seeke their glory and profit with the ruine of their Country, the preiudice of States, and the subuersion of common peace. That great God which reuengeth the injuries of Kings and people, layes publike ruines vpon them that doe them. The slaughter at Vassy kindled the fire of the first ciuill warres. So thy father dyed, soone after the new troubles which followed. Euen so, the like storme threatens thy ruine in the midst of thy violent passions.

Entragues had assembled the Nobility of the League at Baugency: but the 14 of the moneth, he writes vnto them: Our great, could not execute his designe, the King having found himselfe within Chartres: I wish you to retire to your houses, as quietly as you may, making no shew to haue scene any thing. And in the end: I am so amazed, as I know not what to doe. I beleuee him. Kings haue long hands; they catch a farre off, and their blowes are dangerous. So hereafter the King shall free himselfe from the Leagues party; but hee shall be fittle the better. The Duke is no less troubled in minde, seeing the Sunne of the Royall Maiestie eclipsed: hee seems grieved, rebukes the people, causeth outrages to cease, deliues the French companies their armes, and puts them out of the Cities, but in Saint Anthones care, quite contrarie to the way which their Masters tookes. In such mutinies no mind, (be leuee to resolve) continues still constant in one Estate. The D. of Guise fees now, that the greatness of the Clergy apprehends these newe insurrections: their callings haue more grace vnder the beauty of a King, then in the shadow of a Democracy. The French Nobility (at the least of ten parts) will not be drawn into

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to the humours of the Princes of the league, their proper and essential forme is to oppose themselves against the subversion of this Estate. The Gentlemen hold their honours, dignities, charges, fees, and iurisdiccions by homage of the King: and foresee, that a royalte cannot be suppressed, but the Nobility must likewise perish: there is the like reason (but without proportion) of the obedience, and fee due vnto a King, as of a rent due vnto the Lord of a Mannor, he that hath withdrawne himselfe from the first, will likewise free himselfe from the last. Hee sees that the learned and men of honour abhorre this disgrace, lately done vnto the King. The Court of Parliament resolues to abandon Paris. All France is offended with the Kings departure: and without the Kings person, the Tragedy of *Chilperic* cannot well bee acted, nor the instructions of the Aduocate *David* perfectly effected. It is therefore better to play the dutifull seruant, and making vnto the King some shew of respect, seruice and obedience, to labour to returne into Grace, and at the first opportunity to effect their purpose.

The Duke seeks  
to returne into  
fauour,

So the D. of Guise, not able to support himselfe in these high attempts, falls flat down. He protests of his innocency to the King, and of his endeours to checke the peoples furie: he offers to prostrate himselfe at the Kings feet, to iustifie his honour, the which hee sayes is strangely wounded by his enemies, that are about his Maiestie. But on the other side, the glosse doth ill agree with the text: he chooseth a Prouost of Merchants, and Sheriues at his deuotion, receiues the Arcenal, the Bastille, and other places of strength: depose many quarter-masters and Capitaines, takes an oath from such as he inuents: seizeth vpon the Kings treasure, as he had done at Châlons, Reims, Soissons, and through all the townes of his obedience. *And if this chiefest continueth (saide hee) I protest to preserve both the Religion and the Catholikes.*

The Queene-  
Mother im-  
ployed for a  
peace.

Then by the other Letters written to *Bassompierre* a Lorraine. The King leaues forces and so do we. He is at Chartres, and we at Paris. Elsperson is chased out of Normandy: the Kings seruants are imprisoned in many great townes: the lesser send to submit themselves to Paris and so. Whilst the Duke prepares a false for the fore which he had made, and the Parisiens perswade their associates, to maintaine themselves ioyntly against the King of Nauarre, with whom (they said) the King had made himselfe a partisan, to the preiudice of Religion, and the Catholike Church, his Maiestie exhorts his Lieutenants and Gouernours of his Prouinces, to retaine the Nobilitie, and people, within those limits of duty and respect, which tye them to their Soueraigne, and the chiefe cities, not to frame their affections after the modell of Paris. But he speaks no more like a King: his stile is the style of a man that flies, that feares, that intreats. And to repaire this disorder, hee employes the Queene-mother. But how could this turbulent spirit cure the infirmities of the Estate, being irreconcilable in her hatred to the Princes of the blood, and transported in her affection to the children of her daughter, the Duchesse of Lorraine? Shee aduise the King, to passe ouer quietly the insolencies of the league: but there is no likelihood, shee should more regard the profit of her sonne, then the aduancement of the Marquis of Pont her grand-child. She brings to this new common-weale (for the Royalty seemed now to be changed into a Democracy) complaints, and teares against the brauings and force of a courageous Prince, and a furious multitude. And promising effects of greater zeale to Religion, more respect in the distribution of offices, and more moderation in the exaction of Subsidies, shee presumed to give contentment to those who made shew to employ themselves for a generall reformation; and to reduce the most violent to their obedience.

Seuen demands  
of the League.

But this serueth but to breed a second treaty like to that of Nemours. Paris without the King, is a body without forme: the most iudicious finde it, and lament his departure. The late orders of religious men haue great credit with him. They send the Capuchins in procession vnto Chartres, to mitigate the heat of his cholere, & then the chiefe of the city went to excuse the motives which had forced the people to defend themselves, and to beseech him to retire to Paris, where he should be receiued with as great ioy, as his subjects were grieued, to vnderstand of his departure: what hee should finde better seruants, then those which had counselled him to ryme, and then to leave them: and that it would please his Maiestie to grant them seven principal points of their petition: the extirpation of heresie, by the force of his Maiestie, and the holy vniion: the banishment of the D. of Elsperson, and of his brother *la Valtre*: warre in Guienne, by the King in person, and by the duke

A

B

C

D

E

F

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A of Mayenne in Dauphiné: Abolition of the tumults of Paris: Confirmation of officers chosen for the managing of ciuill causes since the Barricades: A restoring of the goodly and ancient ordinances of the Realme: And an abolition of parties, gifts and abuses brought in by *Elsperson*, and *la Valtre*.

The Kings  
answer,

The Queene-mother presents these Deputies, and the King vrged by the League to grant their request, lets the Cardinall of Bourbon, and the other Princes vnderstand: that the peace and warre, the battels wherein he hath so willing exposed his person, and the last ouerthrow of the Protestant Reisters, haue alwayes beene sufficient testimonies of his zeale to the maintenance of the onely Catholike religion within his Realme: to the B extirpation of heresie, and false doctrine: but iacobusies and distrust had prevented him from reaping the fruits of the aduantage which he had ouer the said heretikes. That for a present reformation of affaires, and to prevent the feare the Catholikes had to fall vnder the command of Heretikes, he would call an assembly of the three Estates of France: and resolues presently to reuoke many impositions which oppress the people. As for the private complaints against the D. of Elsperson, and his brother: I will (saith he) alwaies make it knowne in all occasions, that I am a iust Prince, and will preserve the common profit of my Realme, before any other consideration.

The D. of E-  
spersons in-  
sultation.

But the two brethren, *Elsperson*, and *la Valtre*, say: to what end should they make an enterprise at Paris, to take the Duke of Elsperson, who was then in Normandy? and why C made they Barricades, euen to the gates of the Loure, armed the people, and seized vpon all the chiefe places of the citie, to chase *la Valtre* from *Valence*, and other parts of Dauphiné where hee remained? and if the confusions of former ages haue kept other Kings from acknowledging our fathers seruices, and hee hath rewarded his merits in his children, what be those ialous and malicious heads, that enuy our fauours with his Maiestie? what censure? what rigour? what law may keepe a King of France, from aduancing to authority some fauorites, who reuiue in them the vertues of their ancestors? Moreouer, the League makes mention, in what places our fauour hath been employed: the treaties of the D. of Elsperson in Guienne: his being acquainted with *Cleruants* negotiation for the Huguenots of Metz: the enterprises he hath made vpon Cambray: his late fauour to the D Reisters in their returne: his secret conference with *Chastillon*, the consultations of that tumult, which hath lately hapned in Paris: the taking of Valence, Tallard, Guillestre, and other places, from the Catholikes of Dauphiné, and his practices to stay the yeelding of Aulnoye. But we say, would to God we had in the like sort taken, Châlons, Diion, Montreuil, Cambray, and all that are subiect vnto his Majesty within the heart of France. They terme vs fauorers of Heretiks: And yet we haue, in six moneths taken from them by the sword, all their conquests in Prouence (the King, since the death of *Henry* the bastard, and Grand Prior of France, had giuen this gouernment to the D. of Elsperson) which former Gouernours could not doe in twenty yeares. The taking of Sorgues in Dauphiné by vs two, during the frozen time of winter: and the ouerthrow of the Huguenots Suisses, by E *la Valtre*: but especially the last diuision of the Suisses from the Reisters, which made the way for the D. of Guise, to defeat them at Auneau, and the discontent, wherein the Duke of Elsperson left the K. of Nauarre at his departure out of Guienne: are not these sufficient testimonies, that their accusations are as frivolous and malicious, as the sale of offices wherewith folke charge them? for iustification whereof the Duke of Elsperson offers to present his head at his Maiesties feet, if it be proued that hee had euer any such thought in his soule. Contrariwise, who hath during the reignes of *Henry* the second, and *Francis* the second, managed the treasure without control but the House of Guise? whereof the latter follow the steps of their Predecessors? Who hath forced the King to exact vpon his subjects but the warre which they haue kindled and drawne his Maiestie into? what F house did euer from so small a beginning grow to so fearfull a greatness? To conclude: no man shall blame vs for being Pensioners to the King of Spaine: to haue hindred our King from the recovery of the Seigneuries of the Low Countries: nor to haue stolne away the reuenues of his generall receipts. We will no wayes hinder this goodly reformation: we are not in Court, nor in the Kings presence.

Let vs see the first fruits of this so commendable a gouernment. Haue you left Paris? haue you yeilded it to the King your Lord, and natural Prince? Nothing lesse: you haue reuolted Corbeil, Melun, and Pontoise: you haue (with false persuasions) withdrawne the

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Deputies of  
the Parliament  
with the King.The Kings  
answer.

the best Cities of the Realme. But we will (in protesting to bee ready to deliuer into his Maiesties hands, with our liues and honour: all the offices, charges, governments and places which it hath pleased him to commit vnto vs) inuite our accusers to doe the like. And if they will pretend inequality of persons: let them vnderstand, that whatsoever either party holds, it appertaines vnto the King, neither can they keepe it, but at his pleasure. Thus the two brethren iustified themselves, whilest the Court of Parliament makes knowne vnto the King by their Deputies, their griefe for this insolency, which had forced him to abandon Paris. They appeale vnto his clemency and bounty. They present for an humble excuse of his officers, the weakenesse and feare which had forced them to yield to so violent a reuolt: beseeching him to returne into his Citie, and to giue rest and content to his Maiestie, order to his affaires, grace to their purple robes, and authority to their offices: and by his presence, to disperse the mutinies which diuisions had bred.

For answer. I doubt not (said the King) but you would willingly haue reformed this disorder, if it had been in your power: neither of your persisting in the same affection and fidelity which you haue testified to my forefathers. I am not the first that hath bintoucht with such afflictions; neither will I leaue to be a good father to such as shall be good children. I will alwayes intreat the Parisiens with the quality of a father, as children that haue strayed from their duty, not as seruants to haue conspired against their master. Continue in your offices, and receive from the Queene my Mother the commandements and intentions of my will.

This answer was soft and cold: but after dinner, hee adds a sharper conclusion, and calling backe the Deputies. I know (saith hee) wherefore garisons are set, either to ruine a towne, or for distrust of the Inhabitants. But what cause had the Parisiens to presume, that I would ruine a towne, whereunto I haue brought so many commodities by my presence, as ten or twelue townes would thinke themselves greatly benefited thereby? and what distrust could I haue of a people whom I loued? of a people in whom I trusted? Haue they lost a loafe, or any thing whatsoever by means of these pretended garisons? I sought the preservation of my good Citie of Paris, and the safety of my subiects, meaning by a strict search, to put out a great number of strangers, whom I knew to be secretly crept in. They haue offended me, yet am I not irreconcilable; neither haue I any humour to ruine them.

But I will haue them confesse their faults, and know that I am their King and master. If not, I will make the markes of their offence remaine for euer. I will reuoke my Court of Parliament: my Chamber of Accounts, Aides, and other Courts of Iustice. I will take from them the Vniuersities, their Honours, Freedomes, and Priuiledges. I will omit no means to be reuenged. Not that I am reuengefull, or accustomed to vse seueritie: but I will haue them know, that I haue as much resolution and courage, as any of my Predecessors. I am no Vsurper, but a lawfull King by succession, and of a race that hath alwayes commanded mildly. Let them not take religion any more for a pretext. There liues not a more Catholike Prince, nor that desires more the extirpation of heresies, then my selfe. I would willingly lose an arme, that the last Heretick were painted in this Chamber. Returne to your charges, and be of good cheere, I will be for you: and let them vnderstand what I haue said vnto you.

The D seeks  
to make his  
peace.

Now the most desperate Leaguers found, that the absence of the Court made their fare but simple, made their shops without Chapmen, and their traffick cold: the shame to be without a King, made the most audacious mutinies to hang downe their heads: the violence of rebellion quailed: many found the dealing of Paris too audacious. And now Paris studied to returne to the Kings obedience: when as the Duke of Guise fearing the losse of many of his friends and seruants, resolues to make his peace. Hee now speaks of nothing but the Kings seruice, the obedience of his Maiestie, the preservation of the Estate, the reformation of disorders, and the subiects ease, and (by the intercession of the Queene-Mother) seeks his fauour which hee had lost. The Queene-Mother terrifies the King. Those of his Councell, (who for the most part are seruants to the League) keeps him in this humour: and propounds vnto him a generall reuolt of his subiects, with the intelligence, and fauour the League had within Chartres, the which causeth him, for his greater safety to goe to Roan. Finally, they cry out against the Huguenots. My Liege (say they) will you lose the name of most Christian, in winking at these heresies which vndermine

A mine the truth? will you alone among threescore and one Kings, your Predecessors, suffer so detestable a medley of truth and falshood?

This Councell caries him away against them in whom hee should most trust, who lamenting the decay of his authoritie, and the weakening of his forces, see that his intentions inclined to his owne ruine. Hee seemes to be in choller with the King of Nauarres party, to haue the League on his side, (but hee telleth no man, that he pretends to vse their forces against themselves), and draws certaine Articles of the reunion of Iuly, whereby hee frames his Edict, not so much against the King of Nauarres religion, as to exclude him, in fauour of the League, from that, which none but God could take from him. But whilest they finish these accords, hee suddenly surpriseth the Isles of Charon and of Marans.

The King by this Edict admits no Religion, but the Catholike: hee promisseth neuer to make a peace nor truce with the Heretikes, nor any Edict in their fauour. He will haue all his subiects to ioyne with him, that by their common forces they might root out the said heretikes. He binds his subiects to sweare, neuer to yeld obedience after him, to any Prince that shall be an Heretike, or a fauourer of Heresie, degrades from all publicke charges, either in peace, or warre, those of the reformed religion: promisseth all fauour to the Catholikes, so as they shew themselves obedient and faithfull, and depart from all vnions, practices, intelligences, affociations and Leagues, contrary to the vnion which hee made by this Edict: hee declares them guilty of treason, that shall refuse to signe to this new vnion, or shall afterwards depart from it: and finally, hee aboliseth all that was done and past. But (signing this forced Edict) he wept.

The Leaguers are now wonderfully puffed vp with hope: yet this reuerence of the royall Maiestie is so naturally grauen in the hearts of men, as the onely remembrance of the twelfth of May makes their hearts to tremble. They feare the scorpions taylor, and that the King by his great facilitie, should determine against them some mournfull Catastrophe in the last act of the Tragedie. And thereupon two things amaze them suddenly: newes comes, that the fearefull and huge Spanish armie, wherein were a hundred and thirty great Ships, and twenty thousand fighting men, vnder the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had by fortune of sea, after their departure from the Grongne in Galicia, lost three Gallies of Portugall, many were scattered, and many bruised and made vnpromisable for the voyage, and were afterwards so encountered by the Admirall, and Drake the Vice-admirall, shewt of Portland, vpon the English coast, as they forced them to turne head, and to retire in disorder towards the towne of Calais, (hoping there to ioyne with the Prince of Parma) with the losse of one gallion, which caried some part of their treasure, and also the instructions for the order which the Generall should follow, having conquered England.

A bad beginning, for so braue and proud an ostentation, where they promised themselves an absolute victorie. But the progresse and end was yet more fatal. The English Fleet presseth them so neere, as they force them to leaue the Rendezuous in confusion: their General Galleasse pestered with other ships, was cast by the current vpon the sands, neere to the Port of Calais, and remained with the artillerie in the gouernours power: The rest were scattered by the English artillerie. The Spanish army lost twelue ships, and about fise thousand men, who had no other sepulchres, but the vast Ocean, and the bellies of sea Monsters: Finally, taking their course to the North, bending towards Scotland, and Ireland, those seas were no lesse fatal to the Spaniards, for seuentene of their great Ships were sunke, and many others cast vpon the sands and rocks, and the rest of this Armie was so miserably shaken, as of a hundred and thirty ships, hardly thirte arriued in Spaine. Where the Duke of Medina had no other excuse vnto his Master, but the ignorance and treacherie of his Mariners, with the small experience they had of those Northern seas; the want of succours from the Prince of Parma, the tempesty shipwracks, finally ill fortune, but not one word of the iudgement of God vpon this gyant-like attempt, to bring all England slauess to the mountains of Grenada, or to the mynes of Peru.

The second reuolt for the Leaguers is, that the King will not returne to Paris, howe soeuer they importune him. I will prepare my selfe (saith he) for the warre against the heretikes: and for the Parliament which I intend to call, and to giue all Princes that are vntied,

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Edict of  
reunion.Two things  
trouble the  
Leaguers.The defeat of  
the Spanish  
army at sea.The excuse of  
the Duke of  
Medina.The K. refuseth  
to goe to Paris.

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New refolutions  
of the  
League.

ted, contentment and satisfaction. They doubt the Barricadoes haue left much spleene in A the Kings heart: and to prevent all contrary euents, they thinke it not yet time to satisfie the oath which they had made, to renounce all intelligences and Leagues which they had made both within and without the Realme.

They take new Councils and resolutions at Paris, to maintain this authority and credit gotten with so many crosses and disgraces vnto the King, and so to presse him, and to subiect his will vnto theirs, as he shall not see, speake, nor moue, but by the eyes, tongue, and finewes of the League: to haue the Deputies of the Parliament-House of their faction, with instructions drawne out of the Articles of Peronne, Nancy, Nemours and Giniulle.

To vrge the King against the Huguenots, and to sollicite him to ease the people by the discharge of taxes, thereby to make him odious, if he refusethe the first fruits of their vni- on: To make them strong at the Parliament, and to that end to fend for all the Nobility of their owne faction, and their adherents, to assist with their armes. To hold good correspondencie with the Duke of Parma: and to aduertise the King of Spaine, that this accord made with the King, tended onely to effect their common designs. To retaine Piffier Colonell of the Suisses, and Balagny Gouernour of Cambray, with the priuate conuentions passed betwixt them. To prevent lest the Duke of Nevers, whom the King resolved to send into Picardy to suppress the violences of the League, should winne away their most trusty friends. To binde the Citie of Paris vnto the Lord of Villars, gouernour C of New-hauen, for the summe of 30000 crownes yearly, to haue him fauourable to their party.

These new Councils bred new teares. The King cannot containe them in subscribing of these new Articles: but his misfortune forceth him to hazard his estate, to preserue his person. Hee knowes well, that these are but imaginations: that his Edict of reuinion will bee oblerued by none, but by himselfe: or so farre as it toucheth the subuersion of his Crowne. And yet too much bounty, or too great apprehension makes him scrupulous to prevent it. The Protestants offer to try this great quarrell at their owne perils, so as hee will remaine a Neuter, and suffer them to oppose against the mutinies of the League. E Hee reiects this aduice. *For there is lesse danger (saith hee) to remaine with those which pers- D sist in the vniety of our Religion, then with those which are diuided, and become heads of new opinions.*

So whether it were of a good meaning or of purpose, hee returnes to Chartres. Hee sees, imbraceth and maketh much of the Duke of Guise, and there all his fauours and bounties are liberally bestowed on the chiefe Pillars of the League. Hee giues the Duke of Guise the generall command ouer all the men of warre within the Realme. This was not the name and title, but in effect the office and charge of Constable. Hee makes the Cardinall of Guise Legate of Auignon, the which he promisseth to obtaine for him of his Holinesse. To the Duke of Mayenne, a goodly army for the warre of Dauphine. To the Duke of Nemours, the government of Lyons, as his father had enjoyed it: and hee determined to giue the Seale to Peter of Espinac Archbishop of Lion, to winne him vnto him by this great bounty, promising to procure him a Cardinals Hat of Pope Sixtus, by the means of the Cardinall of Gondy, whom he had sent to Rome. Without doubt he had receiued more honour by being Chancellor of France, then in being Chancellor of the vniou. (The Chancellor Hurault Earle of Chyuerny, and the Lord of Belleuere, and Villeroi, had then leaue to attend the Kings pleasure at their houses.) Hee declares the Cardinall of Bourbon the first Prince of the blood, deciding (by a doubtfull speech,) that great question of prerogative, betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew, wherein there hath been so much written, and so much disputed: perverting the ancient order of succession, and making the Cardinall to serue the passions of the League.

They present vnto the King (being but six and thirty yeares of age) a successour, who had euen then passed a Climatrical yeare of threecore and three. Was it not the Leagues meaning, vnder the Cardinall of Bourbons image, to raise vp a stranger, and violently to aduance his tyranny, to vsurpe the royalty? To conclude, the King continues, renues and amplifies his fauours to all such as haue any credit with the League: he doth nothing without them; he opens the very secrets of his heart vnto them, and (for their sakes) causeth every one of their partisans to taste some portion of his bounty, and makes

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The Kings  
Councils  
disturb the  
Court.Troubles a-  
gainst the D.  
of Epseron in  
Angoulême.

A makes show to beleeue, what hee sayeth day to day, but this Council blinds his eyes, so as hee cannot discern what is the duty of a good King: they disguise the truth from him, and study onely to satisfie their ambition and conceits. So as to please them, euen in this, hee himselfe puts out those eyes, whereby hee did see most clearely, and giues them leaue to retire to their houses, where to shew themselves from the conclusions of State.

The Duke of Epseron was out of Court: but hee had laich out from the King, to command in the Prouinces of Anjou, Tourain, Poitou, Angoulmois, & Xantong: Being at Loches, hee is advertised that the League passed with some inhabitants to deliuer them Angoulême. He posts thither, and the people receiue him with great honours. The Kings Lieutenants. Hee publisheth the Edict of reuinion, his words and deeds reuise nothing but a courage resolved to preserue the Catholike Religion. But behold suddenly a strange Catastrophe. Some Leaguers had perswaded the people, that hee meant to draw the Huguenots troopes into the Castle, and so subdue the towne. The Maior (being the head of the Conspiracy) enters into the Castle on S. Laurence day, vnder colour to present vnto the Duke certaine Pistols that were come from Court: he mounts vp to his Chamber, at his entry hee dischargeth two Pistols, and seekes to force the house. The Duke was then in a Cabinet, attending the houre of Masse: where hee read the History of Pierre Guesclin, in old time dearely fauoured by Edward the second King of England preferred before all others in Court, enriched with the Kings treasure, and the peoples wealth, but after banished the Realme, and in the end beheaded at the suite of the Estates.

This slanderous Libell being printed at Paris, not so much against the Dukes honour as the Kings, compared the Duke with Guesclin, and concluded, that vnder Henry the third, hee should end his dayes by the like tragedy. Vpon the first tumult, the Dukes Gentlemen fly to armes, and repulse this armed multitude: the Maior being hurt with the shot of a Pistoll through a doore, dyed within seven houres after. The alarm flies into the towne. The people arme, storme, and make barricadoes. But the Duke kept the Castle: the Citadell was at his deuotion, and might by either of them draw in necessary succours to vngage him.

D The Seigneur of Tagens, the Dukes cousin, advanced with succours: Borders Captaine of the Citadell being prisoner among the conspirators, loued the liberty of his place, more then his owne life: Merc, Messieurs, Masquerole, and Bouchaux, summoning the besieged, found nothing in them but a constant resolution to dye rather then to yield: and the people were willing to capitulate, when as Tagens by his arriuall pacified the sedition: Armes were laid aside, and the prisoners of both parts deliuered. The Duke of Guise hauing made his peace with the King, and disappointed his most faithfull Counsellors: yet one thorne troubled his foot, the Huguenots Estate. Hee therefore ceaseth not, vntill hee sees them assailed in Poitou and Dauphine: and whilst the Duke of Nevers prepared his armie for Poitou, hee sends the regiment of Saint Paul to the Duke E of Mercour, to annoy the Protestants, and not to suffer them to reape any commoditie in the country.

The Duke Mercour goes into base Poitou, besiegeth Montagu, repaired by Calum- biers, whom they of Nants had hourly at their gates. But at the first brute that the King of Nauarre was come out of Rochel to succour Montagu, hee retires straight to Nants, and left the regiment of Gersy, to make the attack, the which was ouertaken, beaten, and defeated two leagues from the suburbs of Nants. On the other side, the Duke of Mayenne marched towards Dauphine, but hee planted the limits of his voyage in Lions. Now are two mighty armies in field, the one vnder the Kings authoritie, the other of all Leaguers: But this is not enough. The King by a solemne oath in the Cathedral Church at Rouen, had sworn the execution of the Edict of vniou: hee hath sent vnto the Bishops, and commands them to presse the Huguenots in their Diocesse, to make profession of their faith, and to abiure their errors in open Parliaments, royall iudiciall sessions, and monasties.

This Edict must be confirmed as a fundamentall Law of State, and the King presb, to assemble the three Estates of the Realme, as he had promised by the Articles of the Peace. Henry grants a Conuocation the 1 day of September at Blois: there (in the presence of the notablest persons of euery Prouince, Senghalsie and Bayliuist, and propoundeth fully the

Conuocation of  
the Estates.



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the complaints and griefes of euery man, but not meddling with any practices, or fauouring the priuate passions of any.

But amidst these Commissions from the King, the League wanted no policy to send secretly (to them that were most affectionate to the aduancement of their desires; and to the most passionate Leaguers of the Realme) Articles and remembrances which they should put into their instructions, and labour to bee chosen of the Parliament. So as in a manner all the Deputies carried the badge of the League, and their instructions were conformable to those which had been sent vnto them. The King comes first vnto Blois: hee gives order for the place, and for the Deputies lodgings. The D. of Guise follows: but it was a great indignation for the Duke to goe to Blois, seeing the King would not come to Paris. The Deputies come one after another: but the King finding not the number sufficient to begin so solemne an act, he defers it vntill October.

In the meane time, the King studies, by the credit which authoritie gives him ouer the three Estates of his Realme, to bring the Duke of Guise into open view, and to receiue punishment for all his offences past. And the Duke assures himselfe, that the most part of the Deputies would countenance his cause, and would serue him as instruments to controll the Kings power. So euery one labours to aduance his designe, and to deceiue one another: but hee which shall be deceiued, will verifie, that there is danger in delay. The 16 of October all the Deputies were ready, for the Clergy a hundred thirty and foure Deputies; amongst others foure Archbishops, one and twenty Bishops, and two Generals of orders: for the Nobility a hundred and fourecore Gentlemen: for the third estate, a hundred fourecore and eleuen Deputies, all Lawyers, or Merchants.

The 17 day, being the first sitting of the prime wits of all France, rauished euery man with hope to heare rare propositions, and resolutions of great affaires for the reformation of the state. The Kings oration being full of liuely affection, true magnanimity, and pertinent reasons, deliuered with an admirable eloquence and grace without any stay, will testifie for euer, that hee exceeded all the Princes of his age in speaking well, and that hee could grauely, pertinently, and very suddenly make answer to the most important occasions that were offered.

Mantelon, Keeper of the Seale, continued his Proposition, commended the zeale and integrity of his Maiesties intentions, promised the Estates, that vnder his happy command, they should reape in this Conuocation, the same effects which had bene tried in diuers reignes: he exhorted the Clergy to restore the beauty and dignity of the Church: The Nobility, to frame themselves after the mould of pietie, bounty, iustice, and other vertues of the French Nation, so much honoured in all histories: The people to reuerence iustice, and to obserue good orders, to fly wrangling suits, swearing, blasphemies, play, lust, vsury, vniust getting, corrupt trading, and other vices, which be the seeds of troubles, and seditions, and the ruine of flourishing Estates. Hee layes open the Kings great debts, his charge and care to root out heresies, his religion, piety and deuotion, ending his speech with a commendation, vnder the Kings obedience, of the vnion and concord, necessary for the maintenance of religion.

Renauld of Beaulne Archbishop of Bourges, Patriarke and Primar of Aquitania, thanked the King for his loue to his subjects, and God, to haue installed on the throne of this Crowne, a King endued from his youth, with the spirit of wisdom, to gouerne his people, who had cast the lightning of the high God, euen vpon the face of the enemies of his diuine Maiesty, hauing by diuers and dangerous voyages, through diuers Nations gotten the knowledge of affaires, who by his onely wisdom and vertue, had lately dispersed a great and mighty armie of strangers, and giuen vs hope, that vnder so good and great a King, we shall see heretofore suppressed, peace confirmed, the seruice of God established, Churches and Temples restored, iustice and peace embraced, charitie abound among men, and by vniuersity of Religion begin here on earth to reigne with Christ, the Idea and pattern of that heavenly kingdome, whereunto we aspire. The Baron of Senefei testified the Nobilities affection to the Kings seruice, confessing, that to him alone belongs to worke those good effects, for the establishment of the honour of God, the Catholike religion, things profitable for the Estate, and necessary for his people, offering in the name of them of his order, the zeale, faith, and duty, which the Gentlemen of France haue alwayes borne vnto their Kings, their armes, meanes, liues, and persons,

to

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A to maintaine the obedience, honor, feare and respect, whereunto the lawes both of God and man tie the subjects to their Soueraigne.

Michel Moreau Prouost of the Merchants at Paris, President for the third estate, first thanked God, who had cast his eyes of pity vpon this Realme, in the extremity of their afflictions: then the King, to haue yeelded to the humble petitions of his subjects, heard their griefes and complaints, shewed a great desire to restore his people to their former estate, Religion to her former dignity, to rule and settle all orders in their ancient forme, being diuided by this iniury of times, protesting that in so doing their most humble and faithfull seruice should not falte vnto the last breath. And so the first sitting ended.

B In the second, The Tuesday following the King at the instance of the Archbishop of Ambrun, the Earle of Bisflac, and the Advocate Bernard, speakers for the three Estates, to content the importunity of the League, did againe sweare the oath of the Vnion, lately made at Rouen, and making his Edict of Iuly last, a fundamentall law of the Realme, to binde him, them, and all their posterity: (yet not derogating from the liberties and priuiledges of the Nobility) he caused it to be publicly read by Ruy Siegneur of Beaulieu his chiefe Secretary of State.

C And to make the memory of so solemne an oath more autentike to posterity, he commanded the said Secretary to make an act, that all the orders of the Realme had sworn in the body of the State, all with one voyce, the Clergy laying their hands vpon their breasts, and the rest lifting them vp to heauen. An oath performed with great ioy, and generally reuiuing of that happy acclamation of God (sane the King, so many yeares forgotten among the French nation: and followed with a singular testimony of the Kings clemency, remitting the Parisiens offence, for the common good of the Catholikes of France, and the ease of his people, whose miseries made him treade vnder foot his iust displeasure. Hold (saith he to the Prouost of Merchants of Paris) this word assured, as from the mouth of your King, and take heed that Paris fall not into a relapse, which will be fallall and not recoverable.

But there was a brute spread ouer all France, that vnder colour of this assembly, they practised an exemplary reuenge against the chiefe of the Estates. Advertisements came D from all parts: this feare went from chamber to chamber, the most apprehensiu desired to be satisfied. The Archbishop of Ambrun makes report vnto the King, I know (saith the King) the liberties and prerogative of the Parliament: they ought to trust in my word: it is as sinne to grow in zealousie of your King: and these reports come not but from such as haue no loue to their King, but seek to make him odious to his people. There shall neuer any cause grow from me to disturbe this Assembly. In the end, the familiarity and shewes of loue from the King to the Duke and Cardinall of Guise, and (for their sakes) to the chiefe of the League, made them lay aside all suspicion of a bloody act, whereof they were advertised from all parts. And without doubt, if the League had not stirred vp the colles of forepassed indignities, the fire of his wrath had not perchance deuoured them. This blast past E ouer, there are other attempts no lesse dangerous. The League sets them on worke that beares their badge, to hit the marke whereoe they aymed. To put the King in disgrace, and to install the duke of Guise in his throne, (for the King of Nauarre is now by this new fundamentall law, excluded from shewing all succession.) But what meane they to doe? The Colloffe they seek to build, shall be their ruine: the fire they kinde shall burne them: the knife they forge, shall be sheathed in their own bowels, and finally, shall keane of this League a shamefull and reproachfull memory. To his pretended marke, they must make the Kings actions odious to all the world, reproach to him his vnreasonable prodigality, his dissembling, the oppression of his people, the creating of new Offices: thereby to bandy against him the most apparent families of the third Estate, wronged in the suppression of them: or else (neglecting to redresse it) they should declare him an enemy F to the people, and a Tyrant ouer his Realme, and so the people should presently resolute to confine him into a Monastery.

They shew before him the wonderfull coldasse of the greatest part of the Catholikes to his loue and obedience, seeing themselves forced to liue amongst them that had burnt their Churches, prophaned their Altars, massacred the Priests, and spoiled their goods. They beseech him to defend the Church, and to prefer the injuries done to religion, before the violences committed against the Seate. They propound vnto him, the excessive

A a a

excessive

The Kings Speech.

Mantelon  
Keeper of the  
Seale.

The Clergy.

The Nobility.

The third  
Estate.The oath of  
the Vnion re-  
newed.Practices to  
make the King  
odious.

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excessive impositions and subsidies, which had already withdrawne most part of his subjects: and the filthy avarice of Strangers, who by continuall inuentions did cruelly impoverish France. They represent vnto him the abuses of the government, in bestowing benefices to all men indifferently, either married, or soldiers: the lust, dissolutenesse, and ignorance of Prelates: the sale of Offices and places of iudgment. They exhort him not to deale in spirituall causes, or at the least to proceed holily, as it belongs to holy things. To degrade a great number, as well of Prelates, as of ciuill Magistrates in Ioueraigne Courts and inferior iurisdiccions, and to punish with death those ministers which by corruption haue crept into the Church, Iustice and government, else he cannot preferre the Estate. In the end, they presse him to reforme the excess and disorders of his Court, the which are odious to so many Noble spirits; fraught with holiness, magnanimity and courage; to so many great and rich minds as be among the Nobility, which being employed, would in few moneths repaire the ruines of this Estate.

Such as finde themselves interested in the cutting off the superfluous number of Officers, and in the buying of their places, diswaide the King from this resolution, but to maintaine them in the honours which they enjoy vnder the countenance of his Maiesty. The third estate exhibit their complaints, of the excess of taxes and subsidies, where with they are oppressed, of the customes, forraigne impositions, rents vpon salt, entries, loane, gifts, increase and decrease of the prices of mony, with many other exactions and furcharges, whereof the King receiued not any benefit, but what was dipt in the blood of his poore people. The Nobility complaines of seruices done without recompence, and indiscreet distribution of the Kings liberality, The Clergy exclaime that mony which hath bene drawne from them, had nothing advanced the cause of religion.

From complaints of the languishing people, grew the suppression of Officers of the new creation, and an intent to ease their subsidies. But oh politike stratagem! The King yielding to haue them reduced to the year one thousand five hundred senenty six, fees himselfe deprived of all meanes to leaue his armies, and to entertaine the greatnesse of his Maiesties estate. If he refused it, an occasion is giuen to mutine the Estates, to chafe away such as are neere his person, and to grieve him a gouernour.

The D. of Guise on the one side, diswaides the King to subiect his authority so much, but on the other side, he prickes them forward to be vehement in their pursuits. In the end, the King passeth this grant of reduction: but hee hopes to make it knowne vnto the Estates, that with so small meanes he cannot maintaine his royall dignity, nor the warre against the heretikes, which they had so solemnly sworne. They deuise of meanes to make vp the stocke, and demand an account of such as had gouerned the treasure, and abused the Kings bounty. But whilst they turned ouer their papers at the Estates, let vs see the progresse of the two armies which wee had left in field. That of *Neuers* consisted of French, Swisses, and Italians, with many voluntary Gentlemen. *Sagonne* was Marshall of the light horse, *la Chastre* Marshall of the field, *Chastaigneray*, *Lauerdin*, and many others commanded the troopes. Mauleon was the first object of their armes. It is a rashnesse to be obtaine in the defence of a place which is not to bee held: but it is a treachery to let intreat them whom wee haue receiued to composition. So this first victory was bathed with their bloods, who trusting in the force of their courages, neglected the weaknesse of their walls. *Montagu* was defended some dayes by *Colombiers*, who at the first saluting the Duke with a furious skirmish, puts him to some losse. But the Cannon hauing both shaken their walls and their constancies, they entred into capitulation, the which was honorably granted the last day of November.

La Ganache, situated vpon the marches of *Bekany* and *Poitou*, annoyed both the one and the other Province. Let vs leaue the army there, to see how the Duke of Mayenne spends his time at *Lions*. The designs too lightly grounded vpon a peoples mutinie are alwaies ruinous. The Duke of Mayenne knows it well: and moreover, there is nothing but blowes to be gotten in Dauphine. Hee desires rather to attend the issue of the Estates in a pleasing and delightful abode: but this stay is a great scourge to *Mandelot*. Hee fears to be dispossessed of his government. It is giuen to the Duke of Nemours, and therefore hee wonderfully suspects the Duke of Mayennes presence. Finally, hee grew so ielous, as surprized with apprehension, with the cholicke, a fever, the gout, and the fluxe, hee carried (the foure and twentieth of November) this testimonie into the

Effects of the  
Duke of Ne-  
uers army.

A the ether world, by the mouth of father *Edmond Auger*, a Iesuite, in his funeral sermon. That he had neuer signed the league, & that he died firm in his religion, & in the Kings seruice.

Whilst the King laboured at the Parliament, to cut off all difficulties which prolonged the war, and the Duke of Mayenne being at *Lions*, suffered the heat of his passage into Dauphine to grow cold, *Charles* Duke of Sauoy foreseeing the dissipation of this Estate, he thought, that as a sonne and husband of two daughters, issued from the blood of France, he should be the first which should set his hand to the diuision. The Marquisate of Saluces is in the midst of his territories, he thinks, that for such a prize he may well break friendship and alliance with the King his near kinsman, who of mere courtesy he had newly deliuered vnto him *Sauignan* and *Pignerol*.

With this designe (seeing the Kings thoughts otherwise engaged then beyond the Alpes) he makes a leaue of men, threatens *Genoue*, makes a shew to besiege *Montferrat*, causeth the Marquis of *S. Carlin* to goe to horse, and on All-Saints night surpriseth the Towne of *Carmagnole*, and then the Citadell, being vnfurnished of victualls, which *S. Siluic*, successor to *la Caste* had drawne forth, with hope (said he) to refresh them: so as in lesse then three weeks he possessed all the Marquisate, leauing a reproachfull suspicion against the Captains of the Citadell, to haue treacherously exchanged the double Canons of that ancient arceual of the warres of France, beyond the Alpes, with the double pistoles of Spaine. This conquest made the Duke proud, and already in conceit hee had

C deuoured both *Prouence* and *Dauphine*. For a colour he writes both to the Pope and King: That the general respect of the Church had made him seize vpon these places, lest *Des Dignities* should make it a retreat and refuge for Huguenots: and the priuate interest of his Estates, which he desires to maintaine in the purity of the ancient religion, vnder the obedience of the holy Sea: and by his Ambassadour he disguiseth this wrong with the goodliest colours that may be. He makes a shew not to hold these places, but vnder the Kings authority: but in time hee vnrups all acts of Souerainety: hee displaceth his Maiesties officers, beates downe the Armes of France, sets vp the Croisse of Sauoy; and in a brauery hee causeth peeces of siluer to bee coyned with a Centaure treading a Crowne ouerwhelmed vnder his foot, and carrying this deuice; *opportune*. The King list-

D ly moued with this usurpation, applies this branch to the body of the conspiracies of the League, here hee solutes now to pacifie the ciuill wars, to attend after forraigne: and euen then he determines to giue the Protestants a peace, and to vlc their assistance against such as make a benefit of the disorders of the realme. Such as respected truly the glory of the French, gaue him to vnderstand that he must appeale both Huguenot and Ligueur, and seeke reuenge of this new indignity: and hunt the Wolfe which breaks into the fold, whilst the Shepheards are at variance. Shall a petty Prince take from a King of France, the pawne which remains to recouer *Naples* and *Milan*: foure hundred peeces of Cannon, which might beat the proudest Forts of the Spaniards to powder: that ancient fee of Dauphine, comprehended in the gifts which Prince *Habert* made to the Crowne of France whereof our Kings haue so often receiued homage & fealty of the Marqueses and haue often seized thereon for forfeiture and treachery?

E All the Kings seruants, all the Courts of Parliament, all the assembly of Estates, iudge that these be the effects of the League, and that this inuasion is not without the intelligence of the Duke of Guise: euen those which fauour his part cannot digest it. But to auoid this common hatred which was ready to fall vpon him, he beseecheth his Maiesty, onely to assure his people, and make them to taste the fruits of contentment; which hee had promised in the oath of the holy vniou, that he would quench the fire which the Huguenots did nourish in this realme, and giue him this Commission against the Stranger, he will be the first that shall passe the Alpes, to make the Sauoyard cast vp his gorge. But could they hope for any remedy from him, who by his continual practice with strangers, had giuen life and motion to the mischiefe? So the King, considering that neither his dict of reuolun, nor the oath to depart from all associations, produced the effects were promised: and that the League (continuing to the perniciou designs of the Stranger) had made the way for the breach of the said vniou, hee thinks himselfe no more bound to the oath of the vniou, and neuer was desirous to be reuenged of all the offences past. In the meane time hee dissembles his discontent.

As the Duke was about to depart from *Lions*, the King of Nauarre (seeing the practi-

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The D. of May-  
ennes stay at  
*Lions* surpriseth  
to *Mandelot*.

The Marquis-  
ate of Saluces  
surprised by the  
Duke of Sauoy.

The Kings de-  
signe vpon this  
surprise.

Duke of Guise  
his dissembling.

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Assembly and  
petition of the  
Protestants.

ces of the League had excluded him, whereas he should hold the first place) held another in the Towne-house at Rochelle, and by their aduice he sent (in the name of the French exiled for religion) a common petition to the Estates, beseeching the King, To restore them the liberty of the first Edict, which they call of January; To appoint a Nationall Councell, where controversies of religion may be mildly disputed, and holily resolved; To grant them restitution, and free enioying of their goods; To suffer their Petition to be enrolled, and the contents thereof granted by his clemency, to the end that nothing may be done to their prejudice.

Nothing lesse. This petition was directly against the principal intentions of the Estates, effected to advance the League. And therefore not satisfied with the oath which the King had made vnto them by the Edict of Vnion, they wrest from the Kings owne mouth a more particular declaration, touching the perpetuall insufficiency of the King of Nauarre, and other Princes of the blood his cousins, adherents (say they) and fauours of Heretikes, to the succession of this Crowne.

The conclusion of this Parliament (should haue beene for the good quiet of the Common-weale. And doubtlesse some small number (whose wills were not tyed to the passions of the Leaguers) wished that remedie which had beene practised in former times against most pernicious heresies: which was a free and lawfull Councell, vniuersall or nationall: but the greater part ouer-ruled both the King and the Estates. The League, to ruine the State, will overthrow the pillars, which be the Princes of the blood, and if the branches of Valois and Bourbon, that is to say, if all the race of Saint Lewis be not degraded, they cannot passe ouer the Crowne to the family of Lorraine. The King by his Edict promisseth to dispose of the succession: but he and the Queene his wife are yet in the vigor of their age, they hope that God will blesse them with heires males. Hee takes no pleasure they should harpe vpon this string: it is a blemish to his authority, and dishonors him before he is ready to sleepe: when as a Prince hath named his successor, his testament is made.

Yet he is content to satisfie the violent appetites of the League. He suffereth them to dispute of the succession, and (in the assembly of all his subiects) to exclude the lawfull successor: he is content they should propound that which most part of the Deputies had already refused. The Clergie had the fourth of Nouember condemned the King of Nauarre for an Heretike, the chiefe of them relapse, excommunicate, deputed of the government of Guienne, and of all his dignities, vniuersity of all successions, Crownes, and Realmes. The Archbishop of Ambrun, the Bishop of Bazas, the Abbot of Cisteraux, and other Clergy men impart it to the Deputies of the Nobility and third Estate: all consent to the first conclusion, and appoint twelue of every chamber to acquaint the King with their resolutions.

But the King of Nauarre had often giuen them to vnderstand, that he was borne during the permission of both religions, instructed and bred vp in one from which hee cannot in conscience depart without better instruction: neither hope nor despaire of a Crowne can draw him to so violent and rash a change: hee should thereby incur the blame of inconstancie, infidelity, and hypocrisie: hee is, and alwaies will bee ready to receiue instruction from a free and lawfull Councell. These submissions are full of iustice and consideration: he defends nothing obstinately, it is the honesty and zeale of his conscience that binds him. There is no reason then (said the King) to condemn him without hearing. Let vs consider with iudgement and fore-sight, whether it be expedient to summon him againe to sweare the Edict of Vnion, & to declare himselfe a Catholike.

The Parliament is not of this aduice. The Cardinall of Bourbon his Vnckell (by the Deputies) hath once obtained absolution for him: the Queene mother hath laboured to win him: the King hath sent Doctors to reclaim him: he is bred vp from his Cradle in this new opinion, condemned by the Councell of Trent and many others. The Consistory hath receiued him into grace, he is fallen into the error which he had abandoned: it is therefore an Heretike: he is relapse, and unworthy of obedience, vniuersity of respect, and worthy to be prayed for. The holy See of Rome hath declared him a Schismaticke, excommunicate, incapable of the succession of the Crowne: the Estates therefore must ratifie this sentence. To conclude, an Heretike cannot raigne in France, it is an incompatible thing with the Coronation and oath which he ought to take, hurtfull to the honor

of

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A of God, and preiudiciall to the good of this Realme, Soft and faire, Nature and the common consent of Nations will, that the accused should be heard, God himselfe, who hath no need to be satisfied by humane witnesses, and is not bound to any iurisdiction, would not condemn our first father before he called him into iudgement, examined him, checked and reposed him, and heard his excuses. Heate then the King of Nauarre, he may say vnto you, that the Pope by surprise hath noted him of heresie: he knoweth not yet any other truth then that wherein the Queene of Nauarre hath bred him. If hee hath at any time yeelded vnto the force and violence of the time, he had not then his will free, and as soone as opportunity gaue him meanes to retire from Court into his Country of Bearne, he stamed his helpe to the modell of that which had bene prescribed him: but protesting alwaies to the Estates and Parliaments of France, that he hath no greater desire in his soule, then to see the seruice of God vntied vnder one religion, by the meanes of a free and lawfull assembly of the vniuersall Church, or a nationall Councell of the French Churches. The Deputies notwithstanding (especially the Clergie) will allow of no reason. They are for the most part transported with passion, and apprehend nothing but what may advance the league. If the King rescindeth this article, the Duke of Guise will dissolve the Estates, and lay all the blame vpon his Maiesty. Hee hath so well provided for his affaires, as he holds himselfe master of the Castle of Blois, and of the Kings person. There is neither gate, hall, chamber, nor cabinet, but the keyes are at his pleasure. He hath great forces ready. He checks them that speake not to his liking: their voyces and consents are forced in the Parliament-house: he puts in, and puts out, & doth what he pleaseth. Those whom the King and Parliaments hold insupportable, finde access and support with him. To conclude, let the first Princes of the blood, the first of the most ancient and most famous house that doth at this day weare a Crowne, the first of that royal branch of Bourbon, which only remains after so many sisters and cousines of Anjou, Angouleme, Berry, Bourgonne, Angoulême, and Orleans, and which only succeeded that of Valois, deputed of the right which nature hath giuen him, without calling him, or hearing his iustifications. The clergie saies, hee ought to be no more cited, his heresie, his incapacity to the Crowne is apparant. The Bishop of Chalons in Champagne deliuereth this conclusion to the Nobility. The Bishop of Cominge, to the third Estate: and the Archbishop of Ambrun to the King, to make a law thereof: and then followed the last and lamentable act of the Tragedy of a dispossessed King.

But oh men! the Eternall looks on you, and laughs at your counsels: he now comes vpon the stage to act his part, and to bring forth effects far from his thoughts. The King is aduertised from all parts of a great conspiracy against his Maiesty. The Duke of Epernon assures him by letters. The Duke of Mayenne (zealous it may be of his brothers greatness) aduertiseth his Maiesty from Lions, by a Knight of honour: and the Duke of Aumale, from Blois it selfe by his owne wife, that the Duke of Guise had very pernicious designs: that the houre of the execution did approach: that they resolved to seize on him and to lead him to Paris.

These aduertisements kindle a new courage in the King, he means to preuent him, and discouers his minde to foure, whom he knowes as faithfull to his Maiesty, as enemies to the damnable projects of the League. He must suppress this new law in the East, whom the people worshipped already. The present necessity will not suffer him to bring him forth in view: the Popes respect retaines him: his oath to protect the Estates makes him irresolute: the troubles which this execution will cause in people disposed to the league, makes him doubtful: yet he must die. He hath no quality in France but of a simple subiect: and yet without the Kings authority, consent or sufferance, he hath built a league, had intelligence with the stranger, leaped men of warre, armed vpon towres, and broken the publicke peace.

He continueth his practices, against the oath of the Edict of Vnion, with the Cardinall Morisne, Legate to the Pope, and Don Inigo de Mendoza, Ambassadour of Spaine. He confirms his priuate confederations with the Governors of revolted towne. He publisheth by his declarations, that he hath not taken arms, but for Gods sake and the Kings seruice: and yet by the surprize of so many towne, hee hath hindered the advancement of the Kings army in Guienne against the Huguenots. The object of his amerie is the safety and religion of the Catholikes, and to deuide the King of Nauarre of all hope of succession

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Objections against the Duke of Guise.

to the Crowne: and in the meane time it appeares, that hee hath fought the loue of the King of Navarre: he hath promised to give him his sonne in hostage, and to meet him with feuentene Princes of his house at the river of Loire, to serve him, and make him King of France. Many letters intercepted discouer, that after his Maiesties pardon of many capital crimes, he renues his designs against the King and his estate. The surprize of the Marquise of Salustiers by his intelligence. Hee disgraceth the Kings actions, hee blames him to haue vnwillingly made war against the Huguenots: to haue sold the said Marquise, that vnder colour of recouering it, he might diuert the war against the Hereticks. In stead of reducing the townes held by the Huguenots, he keeps his Capitaines and men of war at Blois, vpon assurance of a profitable change. He hath caused bookes to be printed in fauor of the lawfull succession of the house of Lorraine to the Crowne:

At the Barricadoes this voice was heard: *It is no longer time to dally, let vs lead my Lord to Rheims.* He hath suffered himselfe to be saluted by the people, with cries and acclamations which belong onely to the Soueraigne Prince. He hath vaunted that he was able to take the King prisoner, or to do worse although he entred but with eight horses into Paris being assured of the force and wills of the Citizens: he hath seized on the places of strength within Paris, made Gouvernors, Magistrats and Officers at his pleasure: he hath corrupted the Estates, as the Deputies speake not but by his mouth: they produce nothing but what hath bene first examined in his Councell. Many cry out that hee flatters C too long before he strikes. Hee speakes no more but in termes of a Soueraigne, with pride, disdain, and threats: he hath refused to subscribe the Edict which the King would publish in cases of treason: he doth already seale Letters-patents with his great Seale: he forbids the Commons to giue victuals or munition to such Companies as the King had sent vnto them. There remains no more but to confirme in his person that ancient greatness sometimes usurped by the Masters of the Palace: and to deale with the King as Charles Martel had done with Chilperic. In the end they represent vnto the King the processe of Saluado, a party in his conspiracie; the counsellors of Nancy, and of Paris in Lent last, whereof the chiefe point was: To seize vpon the King: the instructions of the Advocate David: the letters of the Queen Dowager of Denmarke to the D. of Lorraine D der sonne: the attempt of the Barricadoes, and (to heape vp the measure) the practices, corruptions, and violences done by the Duke of Guise to the Estates. The like and lesse crimes haue in former ages brought more famous heads then the Duke of Guises to the blocke. The leaguers and practices of an Earle of Harcourt, of a Constable of S. Paul, of a Duke of Nemours, haue brought them to shamefull ends.

Pope Sixtus, now liuing, hath of late put to death the Earle of Popoli of the noblest families of Italy, onely for that he had concealed some banished men in his house. The D. of Guise himselfe did of late pursue with all violence the disobedience of the D. of Anjou. His Holinesse hath beleueed, that religion was the onely motiue of the Duke of Guises armes. The Barricadoes, with the vsurpation of the Bastile, and Bois de Vincennes haue made him to change his beleefe. Hee himselfe hath laid vnto the Bishop of Paris, that the fact was too bold, that the Estate is interested, and that the offence is irreconcilable. Hee hath written vnto the King, aduising him to assure himselfe of the Estates, as at what price soeuer: that in such imminent dangers, he must seeke out all extraordinary remedies: and vpon this consideration he granted the King a Confessor to absolve him of all, reseruing the matter to the holy See.

Objections.

Yea, but the Estates are vnder the Kings oath and protection. Without doubt an oath was neuer broken without repentance. But how is the Soueraigne bound to his subiect, who by rebellion hath violated his oath to his Prince? Necessity forceth the law: great punishments of Rebels haue bene often done in great assemblies. The Kings of England and Poland do practise it well, and our Charles hath died his Sisters nuptials with more blood then wine. Moreover, the D. of Guise hath great credit with the people of France. It is true, but his party hath no credit but with the multitude, the which is a very moveable and an inconstant foundation. Men of account, Townes, Governours, and the Kings Officers mutine not, but by means of the multitude, and seeing him fallen that gaue motion to their rebellion, they will containe themselves. My Liege, say they who feare lest this violent counsell which they gaue him in so violent necessity should bee discouered

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A the Duke of Guise will surprize you. They haue already published in Paris, that this is your Climatricall yeare: they shew forth the razor that shall shauo you: they demand how long they shall suffer you to liue in a Cloyster. The lightning goes before the thunder: the guilt of treason is extraordinary in the head: so the punishment goes before the instructions and formes of Iustice. One must punish the offender, and then informe of the offence. The mildest Common-weales, most polittike, and greatest enemies to rigor, held alwayes, *That whereas the estate is in danger, they may begin with the execution.* In the end, the King is satisfied, hauing remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigor of his reuenge, and the mildnesse of his owne disposition. By the Kings countenance, or some words let slip by some one of the foure, they find in danger to continue long at the Estates. But the more the Duke of Guise enters into discoussi, the more the Kings good countenance disswades him. And the Archbishop of Lion attending a Cardinalls haue within a few dayes from Rome: retyring your selfe from the Estates (said he vnto him): you shall beare the blame to haue abandoned France in so important an occasion, and your enemies making their profit of your absence, will some ouerthrow all that which you haue with so much paine effected for the assurance of Religion.

Man doth often lose his iudgement vpon the point of his fall. Aduertisements were come to him from all parts, both within and without the Realme: from Rome, Spaine, Lorraine and Saouoy, that a bloody Catastrophe would discolore the Assembly. The Almaines had well obtruded it: it was generally brayed in the Estates, that the execution should be on S. Thomas day. The eue before his death, the Duke himselfe sitting downe to dinner, found a seroule vnder his napkin, aduertizing him of his secret imbush. But (as ambition blinds those whom she had raised vp to the Pies nest, and the fury of Gods iudgements confounds such as trust in their authority) he wrote vnderneath with his owne hand, *They dare not:* and threw it vnder the table.

The Duke of Guise following the counsell of the Cardinall Mefin, had the one and twentieth of December incensed the King anew, by some bold & presumptuous speeches: My Liege (said he) seeing I find that the affaires decline from bad to worse, and that those things which seemed curable, are growne desperate, I beseech your Maiesty to receiue D againe the charge you haue committed vnto mee, and giue me leaue to retire myselfe. He spake this, to the end that by this discontent he might take an occasion to dissolve the Estates, and bringing the King into an extreme haire with his subiects, he might play the last act of his long fore-plotted Tragedy. The King had the 22 day following, prepared seven of his five and forty (they were Gentlemen whom he had appointed to be next his person, besides the ordinary Archers of his guard) to execute his will, and by many dispatches had assured those townes which he held to be most iurious. The 23 he assembled his Councell somewhat more early in the morning then was usually: hauing a decoration, to goe after dinner, and to spend the holy dayes at our Lady of Clercy. The Cardinalls of Vendome, Guise, and Gondy, the Archbishop of Lion, the Marshalls of Amoult, E and Retz, the Lords of d'O, Rambouillet, Maignan, Marcell and Petreuelle Superintendants of the Treasore, were assembled. The Duke of Guise came, and attending the beginning of the Councell, sends for an handkercher: (the groomer of his chamber had forgotten to put one into his pocket.) Pericay, his Secretary, not daring to commit this new aduertisement to any mans report, eyes a note at one of the corners thereof, saying Come forth and see your selfe, else you are but a dead man. But they say the page that carried it with all speed by S. Prix the chiefe Groomer of the Kings chamber. The Castle gates are shut, and the Councell sits about eight of the clocke.

The spirit of man doth often prophesie of the mischance he doth pursue him so wilfully. F they dispute of a matter propounded by Perreuilles, the Duke seales strange alterations, and extraordinary dis temperatures, and amidst his distrust, a great fainting of his heart. S. Prix presents vnto him some prynces of Brigadoes, and rayns of the Sun. Hee rises, and thereupon the king calls him into his cabinet by the name of the Secretaries of this sitting as it were to confer with him about some lesser or importunite. The duke leaues the Councell to passe vnto the Cabinet: and as he did lift vp the tapestry with one hand to smee they charge him with their swords, daggers and poniards, yett not with compassiollence, but he shewes the murderers the last sentence of an inuincible valor and courage. Thus

The Duke of Guise slain.

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Thus lived, and thus died Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise: a Prince worthy to be in A the first ranks of Princes, goodly, great, tall of proportion, amiable of countenance, great of courage, ready in the execution of his enterprizes, popular, dissembling, but covering the secrets of his mind with his outward behaviour, embracing all times and occasions, politicke in stratagems, making much of his souldiers, and honoring his Captaines. But a Prince who hath blemished the greatest beauty of his praises by extreame ambition, fatious, a great bragger, vaine in beleiving of Sooth sayers, who assured him of his greatness, and of the change of his family into a Royall; proud, not able to submit his hopes, even to those from whom he should hope for his advancement, giving men to understand by his inclination, that he was not borne to obey, but to command, and with this designe he framed the minds of the French, by his first actions, to beleieve that he had parts fit to make a strange alteration in a Realme, But let vs apply that great diuine Oracle, and tremble at the apprehension of the horror of Gods iudgements: *For this cause will I destroy thee in the end: thou wilt put thee out of thy tabernacle, and thy root out of the land of the living. The high shalt scite and feare, and shall laugh at him, saying: Behold the man that hath not taken God for his ayde and succor, but hath trusted to the multitude of his riches, and hath fortified himselfe in vanity.*

At the noise hereof, the Cardinall of Guise (being amazed) recouers the doore to goe away. *Lurcheant* flayes him with the Archbishop of Lion, and lodgeth them in a little chamber about the Kings lately built for *Capuchins* and *Fenitants*. The Cardinall in the heart of this tumult casts forth some words, which hee would neuer have delivered being well aduised: They report it vnto the King. The Kings commands *La Basside* and *Valency*, being both of the five & forty, to kill him. The first excuseth himselfe, the other accepts the charge, and accompanied with sixe others, goes to the Cardinals chamber, to make him a companion of his brothers death: but being ready to doe the execution, I know not what cold apprehension quenched this heat, which had moued him to bathe his hands in the blood of so great a Prelate without respect of his Order.

The Cardinall of Bourbon, the Duchesse of Nemours (mother to the Duke of Guise), the Duke of Nemours her sonne by the second marriage, the Prince *Ginville* now Duke of Guise, and the D. of Elbeuf had at the same instant guards appointed them, to be assured of their persons. *Pericard* being kept prisoner, discovered all the practices of the League, and by the instructions he had in his keeping, he informed the King at large of all his matters designs: The Earle of Brisac, *Bouillon*, and some other Gentlemen (faithfull to the Duke of Guise) the President *Newly*, and Præuost of Merchants at Paris, *Compan* and *Catelanche*, Sherifes of the said towne, and *Le Roy* Lieutenant of Amiens, were put in prison: the rest stayed neither for boots nor spurs to dislodge.

A *Justice* Secretary to the Duke of Mayenne, and son-in-law to *Armonville* Maior of Orleans, had already by speciall posts, aduertised his master of what had past: and so practiseth them of Orleans, as *Entragues* coming from Blois to be assured of the towne, found a generall renouell: Doubtlesse the Inhabitants were inclined to the Kings obedience, if before he would have granted them, at their humble sute, another Governour at his Maisties choice then him, who at the first had hinged them, and afterwards by his wilfulness suffered them to runne into the Labyrinth of Rebellion. It is good to yeeld something to a mutinous multitude, and not to thrust them into despair. The execution done, the King carries newes thereof to the Queene-mother. *Madame* (saith he) *I will hereafter reigne alone, I thinke no more companions.* She answered him, *God grant my sonne it fall out well for you: but haue you given order to shew the towne where the name and memorie of the Duke of Guise hath credit and authority.* This unexpected speech did wonderfully moue the Queene-mother, birth of the Cardinall of Bourbon gave her a deadly wound. *Madam* (saith he, the coming to visit him being a prisoner and sicke) *you haue brought us to slaughter.* She excusing her selfe that she had neither consented nor given countenance to this action, left the Cardinall doubling his complaints, and transported with griefe, he died the six of January following. At night they draw the Cardinall and the Archbishop from their Chamber, to lodge them in a straiter and more obscure place, and to passe the night, whilst that the King (with-held by the consideration of the quality of a Prelate, a Prince of France, Archbishop of Reims, Cardinall at Rome, and President of his Order at the Estates) could either of his execution or free-  
dome

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
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ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

Death of Guise  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

A dome from prison. But Iustice hath no respect of persons: and treason is a worse pre-ident in a Cardinall then in a simple Priest. Moreover, the Cardinall might haue been in his brothers credit, and his threats seemed dangerous if hee liued longer. So the King gives Captaine *Gast* commission to kill him. He craves pardon: but 400 Crowns doe easily find four ministers for the execution. The Archbishop had his life saved, at the humble sute of the Baron of Lux his vncle. The King loved this Gentleman, and pretended to draw from the Prelate all the Quintessence of the league. The punishment of these two freed the King of Nauarre from being the cause of the misery of these ciuill waies, seeing the King had thereby, not the first author of these troubles. But this Prince was neuer seene without a singular constancy in his greatest crosses, nor an admirable modesty in his highest prosperities. He vnderstands of the death of two of his mightiest enemies, and would gladly haue seene the Kings wrath and forces turned against the house of Lorraine, whereby he might make his profit in France by the fall thereof, and apply it to his advantage. But Noble minds neuer looke on their enemies head, but with a heavy and mournfull countenance. He lamented not so much the death but the misery of them of Guise: and yet continues his enterprize which he had vpon Niort, and the 24 of December, vnder the conduct of *S. Gelin*, *Parabel*, *Harambure*, *Ranques*, *Preau*, *Valieris*, and others, he forced & scaled the towne being amazed, and spoiled it, without any slaughter but of five and twenty, or thirty men, no railing of women, nor injury to the Clergy. The same day he receiued the Castle by composition from *Malicorne*, furnished with five great Cannons, and two very long Caluerins; with the which the Lieutenant of the towne, a wicked and a turbulent man, vanted (when they were cast) to salute the King when he approached the walles of Niort. But the great fury of the victors armes, hauing flaine him in the beginning of the fight, was the cause he made not an exemplary compensation for the outrage and the vaworthy speeches hee had vsed against the said King and the Princes of the blood.

The Duke of Nevers, on the other side, battered Ganache, and the fourth of February (having spent 800 cannon-shot) he made two breaches, and gave an assault, with the holle of about 300 men, and growing resolute in this conquest, whilst his honor was engaged, he lets *Plessigette*, Captaine of the place, vnderstand that he had won reputation enough in the defence of so weake a place, that his obsequy should preiudice the King of Nauarres affairs: that the King by the execution done at Blois, had sufficiently declared was against the league, and that he meant to employ the said Kings forces against them. *Plessigette* aduertiseth the King his master: he marcheth to succor him, but his violent trauell on foot to get him heat in an extreme cold season, made him stay dangerously sicke at a feuer at *S. Perre*, as the newes of his death was carried to Court. So *Plessigette* yielded vp the towne, his armes and baggage (sued. But this royall army came to nothing: the Duke went to refresh himselfe at his house, wauncing some months doubtfull of his party: and the king of Nauarre (whom God would vs in so confused a time, to bring him vpon the Theater, nor as a disinherited child, according to the iarent of the Estates, but to reach men that their struing is in vaine against the decrees of his diuine providence) hauing recovered his perfect health, assured himselfe of the places neere vnto Niort, *S. Maixant*, *Maletaye*, *Chastelleraut*, *Loudun*, *Lille Boucard*, *Mirbeau*, *Fumonne*, and others, pretending to doe the King some great and notable seruice.

The King by this blow had amazed, but not suppressed the league. He had begun well for the warranty of his Estate, but he must neede doe things by halves. In stead of going to horse making his armes to glister, shewing himselfe betwixt Orleans and Paris; calling backe his army out of Poitou, to oppose against the attempts of the duke of Mayenne, and (being armed, and the towne amazed at this great effect) to disperse the mischief which oppressed him within few moneths, hee returns to his first remedies, being soft and feartfull, against a mad multitude, hee is content to send wordes, whereas his swordes already entered into sedition: he releases some prisoners whom hee held last dangerous, continues the Estates, renues the Edict of Union, and by a general forgetting of what was past, thinks they will lay downe their armes against him, to employ them against the King of Nauarre. But a multitude grows mad with rebellion, and is remained impotent. The King finds, that in less then six weeks, Towns and Princes are in the hands of those Princes that were under his obedience. And what hee thought to begin at now ceaseth

1588

The Cardinall  
flaine.

Niort taken by  
the King of  
Nauarre.

Ganache  
did to the duke  
of Nevers.

Error in State.



ceaseth to raigne. So God, who laughed at the vaine attempts of the one, will likewise A  
 heape vpon the other, remedies no lesse violent then those he had practised.

Now many awaked from their amazement, began to stir: the people studied of new  
 mutinies and new armes. Orleans shut vp their gates: the towne made barricadoes at  
 gainst the Cittadel: Paris shewed the fury of their mutiny against the Louvrie, they beat  
 downe the Kings armes, imprison his seruants, and swell by their ranfomes and spoile as  
 by a voluntary contribution, they leauy a great sum of money for the war. *Marteau, Gotschall,*  
*Compagnon, Reland* and others (deliuered vpon promises to reclaime the Parisiens)  
 had contrariwise seduced the people. The sixtene Tribunes (let vs know them by their  
 names, euen as they are set downe in an oration made by the Bourgeois of Paris to the  
 Cardinall *Casimir la Bruyere, Cruci, Buffe le Clerc, the Commissary Louchard, Merlier,*  
*Schaals, the Commissary de Bari, Drouart* an Aduocate, *Aluequin, Emennot, Lablier, Mas-*  
*fier, Passart, Oudineau, Tellier, and Marin* a Proctor of the Chastelet (euery one of which  
 had many Agents and followers) like sixtene furies, coming out of hell, sharpened their  
 weapons; and kindled the coales of murder and dissolucence, first at Paris, and then in a  
 manner in all the good townes of the Realme, being seasoned with the leuaine of these  
 furious Tribunes. The Preachers (hire-brands of these furies) came not into the pulpit,  
 but to powre forth reproaches, and iniuries against the King, and by an liade of curses  
 to kindle the peoples minds to rebellion. The people came neuer from their sermons,  
 but hauing fire in their heads, readinesse in their feet to runne, and disposition in their  
 hands, to fall tumultuously vpon such as were not branded with the marke of the league.  
 He was neither a good nor a zealous Catholike that had not a bed-rowle of our-rages  
 to detest and abhorre that execution of Blois.

The porters at the Palace babled nothing, but a cursing of the Kings life: an Elegy to la-  
 ment the calamity of these two brethren; an Oration in memory of the commendable ex-  
 ploits of the Duke of Guise in Hungary against the Turke, at Iarnac against the Prote-  
 stants at Poitiers, at Montcontour against the Reistres of *Thorez*, at Vimory & at Auneau.  
 They cried aloud at Paris that France was now sicke, and could not be cured but by gi-  
 uing her a drinke with the blood of France. And because they haue got the body at their  
 deuotion, those things hee possesseth must suffer for it: his furniture at the Louvre, his pi-  
 ctures are broken, his armes beate downe; his Images dragged vp and downe, his great  
 scale defaced: they call him impietous, vniuill, villaine, prophane, tyrant, damned. The Col-  
 ledge of Sorbonne concludes by a publike act of the tenth of Ianuary, That the people  
 of France are freed from the oath of obedience and fealty which they ought to Henry of Valois:  
 and that lawfully, and with a good conscience they may arme against him, rescine his reuen-  
 ues, and imploy it to make warre against him.

On the other side, *Charles of Lorraine Duke of Mayenne*, dreaming on his brothers  
 death, provided for the assurance of his owne life, & consulted with the Archbishops Of-  
 ficiall, the Lord of Senefall of Lienneois, and some others of the chiefe, whe-  
 ther there were any safety for him within their towne. We are (said they) bound vnto the  
 King before all others. Make no trial (we pray you) of your seruants, in that which shall  
 be contrary to the Kings will. Arme not vpon your selfe against him: without doubt hee will  
 seeke your seruice, when you shall submit the passion of reuenge vnto reason, and will  
 aduance your house to the good of all France, the which trembles with apprehension of  
 the calamities which this warre shall cause. If the people call you, to set them at liber-  
 ty, you shall abandon them to the spoile: and to defend the Monarchy against the King,  
 you shall make your selfe the head of a confused and monstrous Anarchy. God did neuer  
 forget the protection of Kings against their malicious subjects. They bee the Images of  
 God, the children of heauen: and whoeuer armes against them, armes against heauen.  
 Moreover, the winde of the peoples fauour; may for a time fill your sailles, and carie you  
 designs violently to sea, but they are inconsistent, light, and dissolay. And if they haue shak-  
 en off the yoke of dutifull obedience and loue to their King: what shall they doe to a  
 Prince, whom they shall not be bound, but as to the Protector of their mutinies?

They spake truly, for after the trial of all sorts of government, France must in the end  
 returne to her royallty, and the Duke (by a commendable resolution) might haue vnted the  
 wounds which his brother had diuided. But when as others represent vnto him the aduan-  
 tage he should haue to succeed in the fauour, credit, and authority of his brother, and by

Parisians in-  
 fencies.

The Duke of  
 Mayenne  
 counsels.

con-  
 sole.

A consequence his owne hopes: hee reiects the integrity of the first counsell: confutes all  
 the friends of his house to reuenge, parts from Lions on Christmas day: in his passage he  
 assures himselfe of Macon, Chalons and Dijon. The Court of Parliament there, refused  
 to consent to this rebellion, and therefore the chiefe were driuen away, and some impris-  
 oned: others (apprehending the losse of their commodities) did easily submit their neckes  
 to the yoke of a new Democracy. At Dijon he receiued letters from the King, promising  
 to surcease the punishment of forepassed faults, with the death of his brethren; whom  
 (said he) I haue caused to die, to saue my life from the danger whereof you did aduertise  
 me. The Duke (attributing the Kings clemency to some weak and abiection, pro-  
 ceeding from feare, either to haue him his enemy, or to lose his friendship) growes obsti-  
 nate in his resolution, reiects the Kings Officers, giues commission to *Rohé, Saint Paul,*  
 and others, to command in Champagne and Brie, and to seize vpon the best places: hee  
 comes to Troyes, where the towne (long before corrupted by the infected humors of the  
 league) receiued him with as great honor as they could haue done their King: and in all  
 places where he passed, they were easily drawne into rebellion, all townes framing them-  
 selues after the modell of Paris and Orleans.

Three thousand men sent from Paris, to succor the Cheualier d'Aumale (besieged in  
 Orleans by the Marshall of Aumont, with the Nobility of the Court, some troopes of  
 foot and horse, and the Kings guards) had bene defeated neere vnto Estampes, by *Fargu*  
 and *Montigni*: but the Marshall vnderstanding of the Duke of Mayennes approach,  
 raised the siege, and retires to Boigny. In the meane time, the King himselfe in person  
 did view and examine the conclusions of the Estates: but this sudden enterprize of the  
 Dukes, made him to leaue the worke imperfect, and to prouide for the safety of his per-  
 son: and for a conclusion, the fifteenth and sixteenth of Ianuary, he heard the Deputies  
 griefe and complaints vpon the disorders which afflicted France.

The Archbishop of Bourges, President for the Clergy after the Cardinals death, in-  
 tured the cause of our miseries to contempt of Religion, which breaking the bonds that  
 tie vs vnto God, had in like sort diuided the hearts and wils of families and commonalties.  
 He greatly commended the Kings zeale to Religion: insisted long vpon the abuses of  
 the Church, which the corruption of the time had bred: the vnworthy promotion of  
 Prelats: the nomination (to Abbates, and other spiritual dignities) of all sorts of persons,  
 souldiers, ignorant men, suborned men; guardians, slymoniake, women, and children;  
 touching the alienation of the Clergy lands, plurality of benefices, vlturpation of there-  
 uenues of Hospitals, dep rauation of that goodly ancient order, whereby none might  
 come vnto Commanderies of the order of the Knights of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, vnlesse  
 he were a Gentleman of three descents: disorders of Vniuersities and Monasteries, in  
 former times the nurseries of holy Fathers. Then he turned his discourse to the disorders  
 noted in the Nobility of France, who were in former ages the terror of all nations, and  
 from whom neighbour nations confesse to haue learned the exercise and profession of  
 Cheualry: vpon the excesses of men of war: vpon the wasting of the treasure, and other  
 disorders which spring from these first heads: finally, he beseeched the King, to make a  
 good reformation, whereby his people should multiply, Iustice should daily flourish, and  
 peace should be set in the Realme.

*Charles of Cofse Earle of Brissac*, chiefe Panter and chiefe Fauconer of France, newly  
 restored to fauour, and President for the Nobility, (shewes that they be not the hands of  
 Fortune, which enuironed his Maiesties fore-head with this double Diadem. It is God,  
 who hath established him our King, who had before chosen him King of a more remote  
 nation, for the piety, faith, clemency, and magnanimity wherewith he hath bene indued  
 from his tender age. That heresie, schisme, and discord, which are crept into the peo-  
 ples hearts, haue not taken their beginning vnder his reign, whom God hath raised vp  
 amidst the furies and afflictions of France, to be reuenged by him, and aduanced aboue  
 all the nations of Christendome, who draw their strength support from the stability of his  
 Crowne. That the wished victories in France ouer heresie, shall be vnto the King but a  
 continuance of the rout and defeat of that fearefull army of Riches, Lanquenes, Souldiers  
 and French Huguenots, which like so many trumpets, proclaimed in all places the honors,  
 praises, and victories of his Maiesty. That now those vovyes, fasting, teares, and royles  
 of the ancient French, are heard, who seemed to demand vengeance against the sife, fury,  
 and

Letters from  
 the King to the  
 D. of Mayenne.

The Estates  
 dissolved.  
 The Arch-  
 bishop of Bour-  
 ges speech.

The Earle of  
 Brissac.

1589

and rage of those, who (after so many religious ages) have violated the sepulchres of their fathers and ours, and would take from amongst vs that onely religion which the holy fathers have planted in old time throughout the world.

Then having represented the zeale and affection of the Nobility to assist the King, to restore Religion, and the State to their former beauty, following the example and the hereditary vertue of their Ancestors, who had chased and vanquished the Gothes, Vandales, Arriens, Albigeois, Lombards, Sarazins, Turkes and Pagans: and continuing the defence of the faith, and the victories of the French Kings, have left no other limits to the reputation of their valor, then those which the Sunne takes in making of his course about the earth. He beseecheth his Majesty, to fauour the ancient priuiledges of the Nobility, to recompence in them the seruices to their Predecessors: to confirme the military discipline of Kings his fore-runners: not to suffer any by fauour or purchase, to challenge the title of Gentlemen: to maintaine the priuiledges of the Knights of S. Iohn of Ierusalem, to cut off the superfluities in Iustice: to moderate the subsidies: order the treasure, establish the Magistrature, plant discipline among souldiers, reforme the Church, and to punish the enemies thereof. Finally, he wished a thousand happinesse to the King, and peace to his people. But this braue and commendable humor shall not hold him long, but he shall returne to his first party, by a new detection.

The Advocate  
Bernard.

Bernard Advocate of the Parliament of Dijon, began his oration with a solemne thanks for the Kings promise, fully to execute the Edict of the Vnion: he exhorted all the townes and subjects of the Realme, to vntie themselves not only in religion, but also in good correspondency for the Kings seruice, continuation of his dignity, and defence of the estate. He discouered all the other infirmities of this polittike body, the which (besides the vice of partialities) haue strangely corrupted it: as Blasphemies, Adulteries, Vitchecraft, Simony, outrage in souldiers, inuention of subsidies, and new Edicts, executors of extraordinary Commissions, Brokers, and buyers of Offices, who waste the treasure, and bring the people to beggery. An inuective against so many Edicts registered with this Apostill: *By commandements many times reiterated: seeing that in good and iust Edicts, the Soueraign Princes command is not necessary: against the treasure ill employed, and the strange oppressions of France. Then requiring a conclusion of the Estates, he beseeched his Majesty to open the eyes of his wisdom for the ease of his poore people: not to change his godly resolutions: and to dismiss the Deputies, considering the mutinies that were in their Prouinces: to goe and make proofe (said he) of the effects of their good wills. But these wills were for the most part subiect vnto those that (vnder a goodly shew of waire for religion and the publike good) studied of nothing but rebellion, cruelty, treacherie, trouble, and confusion. Thus the Estates ended, and the King fore-seeing the extreme oppression of his subjects, in so great a leauy of armes, abates the fourth part of their subsidies, and sent to all the Prouinces, to assure them of his good intent. But his subjects were too much affected to mutinies, too capable of disobedience, too ready to spoile the wife and the rich. The mourning of the Duchesses of Guise, Nemours, and Montpensier, being set at liberty by the King, to bind them to bee intercessors to his rauenous people: the furious cries of *Boucher, Guarin, Cuzill, Rons, Pelletier, Guineestre, Hamilton, Christin, Lucain, Maulestre, Camolet, Feruand*, and other such Preachers (very fire-brands of sedition) the persuasions of the Proud of Merchants, of the Sheriffes of Paris, and other Magistrates of townes, freely released by the King: had too wickedly seduced them. But the Duke of Mayenne arrivall at Paris, confirmed the Labaranters more in the execution of the foresaid decree of *Sorbonne*.*

The Court of  
Parliament at  
Paris, imprison-  
ned.

This decree (quite contrary to those by which this College hath so often commendably withstood the vnde and violent proceedings of the Court of Rome, against the Estate of this Realme) could not take effect, whilst that Maiestical and reuerent Parliament, the true guardian of this Crowne, had either some authority. So one of the fixtence, *Buffy le Clerc* a poore petty lawyer, lately much honoured, being admitted to present himselfe bare-headed upon his knees before this excellent assembly, followed by some of his acquaintance and companions, and a band of armed souldiers, entered the fixtenth of January, armed with a Cuirasse and a Pistoll in his hand, into the great Chamber, with an intent to carry away the first President *De Harbey*, and the other Presidents and Councellors, who persisting in the fidelity of their charge, might cross the mad and fatal designe of

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A of the league. The whole body ashamed to see themselves dismembred by this insolent and presumptuous attempt, followed their head. *Buffy* then leads them away all, in triumph, two and two, prisoners to the Bastille and Louvre. Such as were Royalists were kept there, the rest (which leaned to this popular fury) preferred their houses from the spoile which this Tribune had pretended, and were sent home. Some aduertised of this new Commission, saved their persons, but not the confiscation of their goods and retenuances. That man was happy that found a friend where to hide himselfe, or that could get away disguised in his seruants weeds, and so march many daies on foot to recover Tours, or some other place of the Kings obedience. All diuine and humane Lawes were subuerted, B. respect of equity abolished, and the reuerence of publike authority defaced. The Officers of the Parliament being enlarged, giue the place of the first President to *Barnabé Brisson*: then they make a declaration in manner of an oath, for the entertainment of the vnion. The Princes of Loraine and many gentlemen sweare vnto it, the fixtence subscribe it, one amongst them prickt himselfe in the arme, to signe it with his owne blood: but remaining lame thereby, he was mockt by his companions.

The people made a general counsell of the vnion, consisting of forty chioise men of the three Estates, the which was confirmed by the Parliament, to dispose of the publike affaires, and to confer with the Prouinces & townes of the League. For the Church, *Brecht* Bishop of Meaux, *Rozé* Bishop of Senlis, *Villas* Bishop of Agen, *Prenost* Curat of S. Seuerin, *Boucher* Curat of S. Bennet, *Aubry* Curat of S. Andrews, *Pelletier* Curat of S. James, *Pignat* Curat of S. Nicolas, *Launay* Chanoine of Soissons, & sometime minister at Sedan: for the Nobility the Marquis of Canillac, the Siegneur of Menneville, *S. Pol, Rofne, Montberault, Hantfort, Saussay* for the third Estate, *Maestranli, Neuilly, Gogucley, Mordorge, Mechault, Bafon, Marillac, Acharie, de Bray, Beaucier, Bryere* Lieutenant Ciuill, *Anroux, Fontanon, Drouart, Crucé, Bordeaux, Halsequin, Soly, Bellanger, Pencher, Senault* and *Charpentier*, all Lawyers or men of trafficke. The great men enter presently into icalousie of this number, whereas the people commanded: so as (by the Dukes importunity and the aboue-named Princes) they add vnto them *Henneguin* Bishop of Rennes, the Abbot of Lenoncourt, the Presidents *Ianis, Yesue, Le Maître, Dormesson, Videnville, D'Ameurs* a Councillor, *Villeroi*, both father and son, *Sermolise, Dampierre, La Bourdaisiere, Le Fay*, and many others, who to carry it away by plurality of voices, called vnto them the President *Le Sueur, Bragelonne* Treasurer, *Romland* a Sheriffe, & others, who assisting one another with their voices, ouerthrow many things which those that were deputed for the people were ready to decree, for the confirmation of their tyranny.

A general  
Counsell of  
the vnion.

The Duke of Mayenne (to settle his affaires) suffers these base companions to play the petty King. Those of the Clergy, exceeding the authority of the Church, doe in their sermons excommunicate the father that knoweth his sonne to be the Kings seruair, and reueales him not to the Councell of the vnion: the sonne that discouers not his father, the wife and the husband that accuse not one another, the kinsmen and friends that discover not the goods of their kindred and friends being absent, to be employed in the warres. The Nobility reapes some profit of the ranfomes and spoiles of the Royalists and Politicks. The people condemne, imprison, spoile and ranfome, of their absolute power, and sell the goods of any that beares not the marke of their enraged faction. This furious combustion of Paris, sets all the Realme on fire: townes and prouinces frame themselves after the mould of the capitall City. Chartres begins the dance: expels *Sourdis* their Gouernour, and receiues *Reclainville* a Gentleman of Beaufe, a partisan of the League. This town imports much for the Estate of Paris, as one of their chiefe graniers for corne. The Duke of Mayenne postes thither, to be assured thereof, and the people receiue him as their Redeemer.

Exceeding in-  
solencies.

F. Being arrived there, *Roman* sends for him. He goes: and in all places as he passeth, they meet him, present him their keyes, and sweare to obey him. Those of Mans murder many of the Kings Officers and seruants, spoile others, seize vpon *Farge* their Gouernour, and send him prisoner to Paris. Angiers was assured for the King: but the Duke of Montmoroux Gouernour of Britan, subdued in a manner all the Pringuite to his party. *Thoyssin* murders *Duranti* their first President (a man who in all the fires hee had formerly kindled, did now shew that hee had any left of a Huguenot in him.) and *Doffe*

Strongly re-  
sists.

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the Kings Aduocate. *Aix, Arles, and Marseilles* plant vp suddenly the Ensignes of the League, and follow the dance with the rest. Lion iumps with them, and growing suspicious of the passage of Colonel *Alphonso Corse* (afterwards Marshall of France, under the title of *Orsino*) to command the army in Dauphiné which the Duke of Mayenne had abandoned, they declare the occasion why they take arms, i. weare to maintaine good correspondence with the Princes, Gentlemen and Inhabitants of Paris, and other townes vnted, and to put in execution all the Duke of Nemours commandements, who was now escaped out of the Castele of Blois. But we shall see this people as easie to mutine against him, as they were now ready to allow him for their Gouverneur. *Châlons* retained almost all Champagne in their duty and obedience. *Rosné* was Gouverneur there. But the whole body of the City, aduertised of this great execution at Blois, let him vnderstand: that seeing the Duke of Guise his master was dead, his authority was extinct, and that acknowledging no other Soueraigne but the King, they would preferre their City from all strange enterprises. Langres deserves an honorable testimony, to haue lesse then all other fostered rebels, and to haue constantly opposed themselves against all the attempts of the league. In other Prouinces the townes bandy directly one against another, and the most modest affecting neither party, keepe themselves from the forme. The King beholds this pitifull Tragedy, acted vpon the Theater of his Estate, and thinks yet to reclaime his subjects by mildnesse. He pardoneth, he absollteth, he forgets all, so as euery one will performe the duty of a subject, and againe promitteth the oblation of his Edicts of vniou, in fauour of the Catholikes, as for the extirpation of heresie. But in the end, patience provoked, turns into fury. He sees that the Princes, the Prouost of Merchants, & the Sheriffs of Paris which were dismissed, doe like vnto *Nes Rages*, they cast oyle in stead of water vpon the fires that are kindled. Seeing therefore, the more he seeks by mildnesse to reduce these strangers to the right way, the more violent they grow in their furious passions, he now vseth his authority, hee makes sundry proclamations, as well against the D. of Mayenne, the Duke and Cheualier of Aunale, as against the Cities of Paris, Orleans, Châtreaux, Rouan, Amiens, Aubeuille and other adherents, pronouncing both heads and members, disloyall, rebels, gully and convicted of the crimes of rebellion, treachery and treason in the highest degree: degrades them and their posterity of all honor, it by the beginning of March they submit not themselves to his obedience. And to ioyne armes to his declarations, he makes a speedy leauy of twelue thousand Swisses, by the Lord of Sanfey, who molested the Duke of Sauoy vnder the Kings authority, about Geneva, where hauing taken the townes of Bonne, Geu, Thonon and their Castles, he besieged the fort of Rapaille, where the dukes succors led by Cont *Martinegnes*, were defeated; *Martinegnes* slaine in battell, with about 2000 men, and the place yielded: in the end hee calls the Nobility vnto him, sends forth many Commissions to leaue fouldiers, transports the execution of Iustice to Tours, which was wont to be in his Parliament at Paris hee commands his chamber of accounts, and all his Officers of the marble table, to repaire presently to Tours, to attend their charges, and deperives from all honors, charges, dignities, E and priuiledges, all townes adhering to these new reboules.

The Dukes attempt.

This did but kindle more the fires of rebellion. The D. of Mayenne armies both herse and foot, practiseth without the Realme, seeks to the King of Spaine, sends out patentes and Commissions vnder a new seale, vsurpes all the parts of Royall Maiesty, goes to field with his troopes, makes choise of the most resolute, and goes to Vendôme with a designe to surpris the King in Tours being ill accompanied. All the great councill was at Vendôme, vnder the assurance and word of *William de Harcourt* Governor of the towne. But the rich ransomes of these Lords were an enticing bait to a dissol and wicked foule. He suffers *Rosné* to enter, and deliuer them all vnto him, to dispose as of prisoners of war: A Treachery added to other crimes which shall cost him his head in the market-place of Vendôme, when the towne is taken.

The league increased daily, and the King had need to vse the King of Nauarres forces, and where could he finde more trusty French men to vnto his duty. To this end he sends to his brother in law, *Duke of Bourbon*, the Duke of Angoulême, his daughter to King Henry the second, and invites him to make a truce betwix them, that by their common forces they may more commodiously withstand the furious attempts

of

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A of the enemies of the Realme, *Peter of Mornay*, Lord of Bahy, Marshall of the campe for the King, and *Philip of Mornay*, Lord of Plestis, *Marsh* his brother, Superintendent of the King of Nauarres house, treat this truce for the two Kings, and conclude vpon these conditions; that the Towne, Castele, and bridges of Saumur should be put into the King of Nauarres hands for the safety of his passage and of his forces. That all matters vntill a firme peace were concluded (the which should be treated of before the end of the year) should remaine in the state they were in: and for a respite for sicke and wounded men, one of the three places which should be reduced by their common forces, provided alwaies it were no head of a Senehawey nor Baylwick: So the King of Nauarres being placed *Du Plestis* gouernour of the Towne, Castele and Senehawey of Saumur, and *Du Faur* at Langeau vpon Loire, heessed all suspicions, and all impressions of distrust which they gaue him to disert his enteruew. He passeth Loire the 28 of Aprill with foure hundred masters, and a thousand Harguebuziers on horse backe, to ioyne with the forces of Normandy, Maine, and other places that attended him; and the last of the moneth doth his duty vnto the King within the park of Plestis les Tours, the one making a great shew of loue, the other of a free and ready resolution (laying alid allieutousie and impressions of distrust, whereby some would haue diuerted this enteruew) and both of a singular and mutual content.

Three dayes were spent in discourse and conference. The King of Nauarres had repassed the riuer, to cause his foot to aduance: and the Duke of Espernon (who was newly armed with foure hundred horse, and two thousand foot) marched towards Blois, to keep the inhabitants in awe: when as the Duke of Mayenne (who stayed at Vendôme) seeing the Kings forces diuided, and trusting in the intelligences he had with some great personages about the King, makes a march of twelve leagues, and the 8 of May appeares with his Vanguard about the suburbs of Saint Symphonian of Tours; whither the King was gone to walke, He was scarce thirty paces from the suburbs, when as a man came running to the towne, and knowing his Maieity, *My Liege* (saith he) *retire you selfe, the league follows me*. So the King mains the suburbs, with the Régiments of his guards of Picardy, of Rouen, of Gerz lately conuerted from the league to the Kings seruice (grieved with that shameful sight hee had made vnder Duke *de Nemours*, being chased by the King of Nauarres vnto the Suburbs of Nanter) hee caused them to make barricadoes, sets the Marshall *D'Almont* at the gate vpon the bridge, and the Swisses of Colonel *Galati* within the Towne. Hee sends for the King of Nauarres, who was at Chinon, and the Duke of Espernon at Blois. The Duke of Tremouille and *Chastillon* Colonel of the King of Nauarres foot-men, arise within few houres. They fight as many barricadoes on foot, then they made the retreat with the Lord of Grillon, who commanded the regiment of the Garde, hauing a Harguebuze shot through the body. Their troopes arie towards the cuning, whom the King caused to be lodged in some islands seere vnto the enemy all night.

The King in danger.

E In the meane time the Duke of Mayenne begins the skirmish, forceth some barricadoes, and kills many fouldiers. *Gerz* (seeing with too braue a resolution to keepe the enemies from taking vp of his har, which was fallen from him in descending his barricado with his pike) lost his life. The Duke comes, and about foure of the clocke winnes the suburbs, and threatened the towne. The Inhabitants trembled, and those with whom the Duke had intelligence studied to effect their designs. As the night gaue some rest vnto their armes, the King of Nauarres troopes arise: the Duke of Espernon did defend him. As soone as the day began to break, the Duke aduerted of these new succours, burnt two great Arches of wood, and the houses at the entry of the bridge, and with a speed equal to his coming, returned the same way, leaving a great suspicion against such as accompanied the King, to haue sought great means to deliuer him without striking stroke.

His Maieity aduised to giue his enemy a free passage to retorne. It were folly (saith hee) with a pleasant countenance) to beget a double Henry against one Carolus; which is the Duke of Mayennes name. It is a horror to thinke of the insolencies, spoiles, murders, wastings, sacriledge, blasphemies, trelligions, which these braue Champions (armed for the defence of the Catholike religion) did practis in these suburbs, even in the Church of S. Symphonian. The Viceroy and the Chaplaine beaten and bound all night, did see the

Succored by the King of Nauarres.

A double Henry is a double duce, and a double in but a penny: i. insolvency of the fouldiers.

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coffers broken, the goods carried away, women and maids (that were fled thither as into a sanctuary) ransomed: and which is worse, they steale away holy things, as Coopes and Ornaments of the Altar, the Robes and Vellments of Priests, & many Chalcies of diuers mettalls, carrying away those of silver, as belonging to heretikes and royalists (as they termed them) and therefore good prize: and the others that were not silver they left behind, being (say they) of the vniion. The Cheualier *D'Aumale* and his people shewed themselves braue artificers in these exploits.

Doubtlesse the vniion hath more disunited the Church, and more ruined the Catholike religion in few yeares, then the Protestants had done in many. We haue seene their soldi- ers (and amongst them many Priests and Monkes that had cast away their frocks) force *Nicars* & *Curats* of Parishes in Lent (with a dagger at their throats) to giue them calmes, sheepe, lambs, pigs, kids, hens, capons, and other flesh, vnder the names of pikes, carpes, barbles, soles, turbots and herings, whilest the College of *Sorbonne*, and their Preachers, thunder out against their lawfull Prince and Soueraigne. The essentiall forme of a zealous Catholike was then, to rob Churches, to ransacke widdes and Virgins, to murder men against the Altars, and to spoile the Clergy, not to be the Kings seruants, which that age held for a crime, but to vomit out against him all the indignities, and all the wickedness, which irreligion and impiety could inuent in mad fouldiers.

We know the Lion by his pawes. The towne of *Arquenay* (three leagues from *Lauall*) had a Church guilt & enriched by the Lords of *Rombouille*, and at that time filled with all the goods of the Inhabitants. *Commerande*, with a regiment of seuen or eight hundred men (hauing ouer-runne and spoiled the Countie of *Aniou*, and the Countie of *Lauall*) comes thither with his men to lodge, in the end of Aprill, who burnt the doores of the Church, sackt it quite, hauing no respect of the feminine sex: they slue a poore man at the foot of the crucifixe, complaining that in the same place they had ransomed his wife: they did their excrements in the holy water stocke; perfumed all the Church with their stinkiness, applied to their owne vices the ornaments of our Lady, sold the coopes, the banner and reliques to the Monkes of *Eurons*: the Chalcies and croisse of silver to them of *Va- gure*: and to heape vp the measure of their villanies (hauing taken the Pire of silver and some foure and twenty of their holy takes in it) one of them attired himselfe like a Priest, D causing some twenty of the fouldiers to kneele downe, and with his hands imbrued with blood and sacriledge, distributed them vnto them, and trode the rest vnder his feet. The like they did within few daies after at *Thorigny*.

It sufficeth amongst so many to haue noted this horrible impiety in particular, that posterity may leaue, that armes doe not edifie but destroy the Altars: and that piety dwells not much among such as follow the campe. The re-union of the two Kings had greatly troubled the Leaguers of Paris. Now they cease not to draw Articles, instructions and aduertisements, both within, and without the Realme: they forget nothing that may confirme the building of their confusion. They send their Deputies to Rome, the Commander *de Dios*, the Councillor *Coguelay*, the Abbot of *Orbais*, and the *Déane* E of *Rheims*: who iustifie their actions to the Pope: demand a Legate, promise the publication of the councell of Trent, beseech his Holinesse, to bee grations and fauourable to their designs, and to the towne of their association, and to contribute to the charge of this common warre, whereof they must beare the chiefe burthen. Indeed they had need of much money, to furnish the expences of so many petty Kings: but some filled their co- fers, others payed their debts, and some bought lands & Lordships. Thus the people are the instruments of great men, and the shelle whetstone all kinde of stormes and tempests doe beate.

Liberty exceeded in all places, and rage against the Kings authority seemed desperate. The fire of this reuolt had kindled the heart and all the corners of the Realme: and generally there was nothing but inroades, spoiles, surprizing and sacking: when as suddenly many checks amaze the League, and giue hope of a speedy reuiuing of the Kings affaires. The Duke of *Montpensier*, assisted by the Lords of *Hallor*, *Creueccour*, *Bacqueuille*, and *Larchant* was in Normandy, with forces for his Maiesties seruice: and for the first fruits, hauing defeated the garrison of *Falaife*, taken three Captaines, curbed off their companies in peeces, and dispersed the rest, they besieged the towne, and had brought it ready to yeeld, when as the Earle of *Brissac* (who of late did wonders in speaking well

The Parisiens courties

Their petition vnto the Pope.

Dioss defends the League.

A at the Estates in the Kings fauor) advanced with about three hundred Gentlemen, and five or sixe thousand foot; whom they called Gaultiers, and made the Duke abandon the siege to encounter them. They lodged in three villages: the Duke forth two, his such as make resistance, and chastise the rest with small difficulty. The Earle with all his horse, leauing a thousand or twelue hundred prisoners, and about 3000 slaine vpon the place, amongst the which were found many Gentlemen.

After this attempt of the Duke of Mayenne, in the suburbs of *Tours*, the King sends the Lord of *Lorges* to discover the enemy: the Duke of *Aumale* hath intelligence there, and sends some troopes to charge him. The Lord of *Chastillon* passeth at *Boisgency* B with two hundred horse, and as many harguebuziers to second *Lorges*, and causeth *Fou- querolles* to aduance with twenty Gentlemen towards *Bonneuil*. They meet with *Re- clainville*, who commanded in *Chartres*. He offers to discover them, they charge him, and kill five or sixe of his men: he retires in haste, and giues the alarm to the troopes of *Picardy*, led by *Sauuise* & *Les Brosse*, who commanded about three hundred matters, and a good number of Harguebuziers on horse backe, and on foot. The two Commanders *Chastillon* and *Sauuise* are in front one against another. No man makes shew to recoyle, and both resolute to fight. *Sauuise* puts his Harguebuziers before, and placeth his Län- ciers in hay; approaching softly without disbanding. *Chastillon* disposeth of his foot, makes two battalions of his horse, and sets *Charbunier* and *Harcumbe* on his left hand, C with their companies of light horse, and then he aduanceth to the charge. *Sauuise* chargeth resolutely. His Harguebuziers on horse backe very neere. *Chastillon* too men re- ceive them in like sort, and with one breath enter amongst the horse that were come to the charge: they kill many horses with their swords, and lose but three fouldiers. *Sauuise* chargeth the light horsemen vpon his right hand, and breaking the first ranks, had vñ horse *Chastillon*, and some eight or ten Gentlemen, but with the losse of five and twenty horse, as these rise and fight on foot, *Harcumbe* and *Fouquerolles* comes in: they charge *Sauuise* & his men, kill about sixscore Gentlemen, ouerthrow the rest, and force through them. Thus broken, without meanes to make a new head, every man flies, every one placeth his fastie in the heeles of his horse. *Chastillon* goes to horse-backe, and D pursues, chasing, beating, and killing about three score more in the right, with all their Harguebuziers. Two Cornets were gotten, and forty Gentlemen taken, most being hurt in the conflict. *Sauuise* caried *Boisgency*, dyed there of his wounds, not able to bee perswaded by any meanes to acknowledge the King, or scarce to aske God forgiveness.

*Senlis* had of late daies, by the meanes of some good Inhabitants, shaken off the yoke of the League. It was a troublesome thorne in the Parisiens feet, being distant but one small daies iourney to come from their City towards *Picardy*. To pull it out, the Duke of *Aumale* goes from Paris, with some troopes of *Salagny*, *Chamou*, *Trémont*, *Congie*, *Men- neuille*, and an army of the Inhabitants chosen out of euery quarter: he besiegeth, batters E it, and makes a breach, but is repulled from the assault.

Now they aduise the besieged to provide for their safeties: when as the Duke of *Longueuille* appeared, being followed by the Lords of *Humieres*, *Bonniers*, *la Noue*, *Girry*, and other Commanders, the Duke of *Aumale* turnes head, and prepares to fight: but *La Noue* (whom the King had especially commanded to assist the Duke of *Longueuille* with counsell in matters of warre) did so wisely make chioice of the houre and opportunity to charge, as the Duke of *Aumale*, *Salagny* gouernor of *Cambray*, and the rest (parting in practice the vic of their long spurre-rowels, lately inuented as a mournfull prediction to the League) saued their persons by the swiftnesse of their horses, and left the field dy- ed with the blood of fifteene hundred slaine vpon the place, in the light and purfuit; ver- fying the saying: Hee that flies betimes, may fight againe. *Chamou*, *Menneuille*, and di- uers others could not run fast enough. The artillery, baggage, and many prisoners remay- ned at the victors discretion, who by the kings commandement went to receive the army of strangers which were come to the frontiers. The Kings meaning was to subdue Paris. The greatest of the *Hidraes* heads being cut off, did weaken the whole body, and gaue hope to his Maiesty by that meanes to find what hee had lost, the tone and audacities of his subjects. To this end he sends the Duke of *Espernon*, to take from the Parisiens the commodities about the citier, and assembles his forces to compass them in with his

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Of the Gaul- tiers.

Of Reclain- uille.

Of Sauuise.

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Thus

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Loffes for the King.

Thus the war growes hot: the Nobility goes to horse on all sides to reuenge the wrong A done vnto the King: but the more his troopes increased, the more bitter his subiects grew against him.

No prosperitie is so great, but it hath some crosses. As the King attends the forces which the Prince of Dombes (now Duke of Montpensier) brings him from Tours, comes comes that the Earle of Soissons (whom he had sent to command in Britan) had beene defeated at Chastaigneron three Leagues from Rennes, and led prisoner with the Earle of Anau-gour, and many other Lords to Nantes: that the Duke of Mayenne had taken Alençon. That the Lord of Aubigni (a younger brother to the house of Gordes, and a partizan of the League) had chased the Colonel *Alphons* out of Grenoble, and seized on the towne. The taking of these Barles caused the King to send the Prince *Dombes* thither, who more happily reduced many places to his Maiesties obedience.

But was it reasonable to neglect the imprisonment of a Prince of the blood, and of the companions of his fortune, seeing that the hazard of armes doth not depend vpon him that leads them, and that God doth sometimes crosse them, to the end that man should not make a buckler of his strength, but acknowledge his owne weaknesse. To loose their liberty, the King commands Captain *Gentil* to make an attempt vpon the towne and Castle of Nantes, and to *Sardini*, to giue him directions, guides, and beates for his descent vpon the riuer of Loire. As they labour in the execution of this commandement; Behold *Sardini* is taken and led prisoner to Gibrour in Aniou by *Hurtand*, *Saint Offange* C and the Abbot of Saint Maur. So his Maiesty reuokes his first commandement, and wils him (being assisted by *Pucharie* Gouernor of Angiers) to attempt to force the Castle of Gibrour by Petard. He views it, and after the discharge of six Petards he becomes Master of the place, of *Hurtand*, and of his companions: but they had already transported *Sardini* to Roch-fort. It did much import his Maiesties service to haue this prisoner set at liberty, so as at the instant pursuit of his wife, the King caused *Pucharie* and *Gentil* to treat an exchange with *Hurtand* and the Abbot, suffering the designe of Nantes surcease, to aduance other executions which they had in hand.

Gibrour taken.

Varennes taken.

*Varennes* in Maine, is situated betwixt Laual, Mans and Sable, by the taking whereof he should giue many strokes with one stone. They did amoy these places which were D held by the factions of the Realme, and the Spanish Partizans, and they made the succors easily for Saint Sufanne and Pichellieres, which were besieged by *Bosdauphin* and *Lasnes*. Five blowes with a Petard forced it, and *Rocheport* did afterwards free those two places from the seruitude which did threaten them.

Gibrour taken.

Nine other Petards did ioyne vnto the former the conquest of Gilbertiere neere vnto Maulcon in Poictou, and this taken by *Gentil*, laid the way open to surprize others who had fortified themselves in an Island of the riuer of Loire, beneath Rochfort, and hindred his descent to Nantes. *Maluier* Lieutenant for the King in Poictou, hauing assisted him with a hundred men armes and 200 Harguebuziers, he passed by night into the Island and clesed Aniou and Poictou of this furnished Vermin. After which he went to view Gan-nache, and as he returned, hauing for his guard fiftene or sixtene horsemen which hee led commonly at his owne charge, with *Pucheries* light-horse and some others; Behold the Seigneurs of Aillon led 400 souldiers to Poictiers, he follows him by the tract, and d cleas them by moone-light. This first exploit performed by *Gentil* in seuen moneths, had made the enterprise of Nantes more easie, if the King had not retained them by him, whom he had commanded to assist him, and called backe *Gentil* himselfe to imploy him in other places during the siege of Paris, to the which his Maiesty did march. Being arised, the King sends him to *Lamet* Gouernor of Couilly, by whose induction he takes Cruse and Monanteuil by petard. Worthy doubtlesse of our History, hauing neuer spared his paines, the perill of his life, nor his expences, in petards, rolling-bridges & other Engines which he had often made at his own charge, in entertaining of spies for his guard-hauing not any one vein, but he had prodigally opened it, nor motion, which he hath not with great affection bided to exploit with happy success the Stratagems which industry had suggested. The successe of the Kings affaires made men to iudge, that the league would soone be ruined, the Kings army increasing hourly. Three hundred horse of *La Chastre* (who presently after the Tragedy of Blois had made shew to iustifie himselfe vnto the King for the strict familiarity he had with the D. of Guise) were defeated by the duke of Montbazon, and the

Varennes taken.

Marquis

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A Marquis of Nefle his Lieutenant, and fifty of his company slaine: the taking of Jargeau, Pluier, Janville, and Blamps, terrified the Parisiens. They call backe the Duke of Mayenne: and he finding the Duke of Longueuille far off, goes into Bry, assures some places, and takes Montreux-saut-yonne, by composition from the Duke of Elpemon: but the Kings approacheried him suddenly to Paris, where (suffering his troopes to lue at discretion in the suburbs) he caused an ill impression to grow in some which could not well digest this confusion in the State.

An army of about twenty thousand men, gathered together by the Duke of Longueuille, ioyning with the Suisses and Lanquesens of Sansty, and Pontoise reduced by force to the Kings obedience: soone after the Kings arriual, all the Kings forces ioyned in one body, being about 40000 men, lodged about Paris: and the taking of S. Cloud, made the Parisiens ready to yeeld: wheras a diuellish Monke, an excrement of hell, a *Iacobin* by profession, *James Clement*, at the age of two or three and twenty yeares, vowes (said he) to kill the Tyrant, and to deliuer the City besieged by *Sennacherib*. Thus resolu'd, he imports his damnable proiect to Doctor *Bourgoing* Prior of his Couent, to Father *Commet* and other Iesuits, and to the heads of the League, to the chiefe of the sixtene, and to the fortie Councillors at Paris. All encourage him to this happy designe: they promise him Abbeyes and Bishopricks: and if hee chance to bee made a Martyr, no lesse then a place in heauen about the Apostles. They caused the Preachers to perswade the people C to patience seuen or eight daies: for before the end of the weeke, they should see a notable accident, which should set all the people at liberty. The preachers of Orleans, Rouan and Amiens, clatter out the like at the same time, and in the same termes.

Paris besieged.

The first of August, the Monke goes out of Paris, and marcheth toward S. Cloud: vpon his departure, they take about two hundred of the chiefe Citizens and others prisoners, whom they knew to haue goods, friends and credit with the Kings party, as a precaution to redeme that cursed murder, in case hee were taken before or after the deed. In his way he was stayed by the Regiment of *Coulban*, which was then in guard; telling them that he went vnto his Maiesty, to let him vnderstand something which concerned his seruice. *Coulban* caused him to be conducted by two souldiers to the Kings quarter, D which was at S. Cloud, commanding them, that (if haply the King were not there) they should bring him to some one of the Councill. They meet with *La Guesle* the Proctor generall, and leaue him with him, hearing of his Maiesties absence. He heares him priuaty in his lodging: the Monke giues him to vnderstand that the first President and o-ther of the Kings seruants had sent him, to aduertise him, that there is a good number of Partizans at Paris, who if it please his Maiesty to giue them a day and houre, will keep him a port open. And to purchase the more credit to his words, he shewes a certaine paper written in Italian Characters, the which hee said was a letter of credit from the first President, accompanied with a passport from the Earle of Briennes, signed *Charles* of Luxembourg: And seignes that he had obtained it to goe out of Paris vnder colour of going to E Orleans. That he had many priuate instructions which hee might not deliuer but to his Maiesty alone.

The Seigneurs of *La Guesle*, conceiuing him to be a spie, examined him when he saw the first President, and of the forme of their faces that were with him; and by what meanes he entred into the Bastile. Hee answered as if he had knowne them well, and added that hee was assisted by the fauer of *Portails* son, the Kings Chirurgion, for the knowledge which he had of his wife. The King being aduertised by *La Guesle*, commands hee should be brought the next day, but he is examined first by *Portail* vpon his pretended acquaintance with his wife, to whom he answered pertinently, and gaue good obseruations. The next day being come to the Kings lodging, they were called by *du Talle* the first Groomer of F his Chamber. At the first *La Guesle* caused the Iacobin to stay neer the doore, and taking his papers he presents them to his Maiesty, who hauing read them, commands the Iacobin should approach, whom he asked what hee would say, to whom he answered that it was a secret thing. Some distrust made *La Guesle* to speake, being betwixt the King and him. Speake aloud (said he twice or thrice) there is not any one here but the King trusts. His Maiesty seeing him make difficulty to speake, commands him againe to approach. The Baron of Bellegarde, master of the Kings horse, and *La Guesle* (who were alone in the Chamber) retired two or three paces. The King bends his eare, but in stead of hearing what



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what he expected, this wretch draws a knife out of his sleue made of purpose, thrusts his Majesty into the bottome of the belly, and there leaves the knife in the wound. The King draws it forth, and with some straining of the Monke, strikes him above the eye. Many ran in at this noise, and in the heat of choller killing this monster of men, prevented the true discovery of this enterprise, and the authors thereof, worthy to bee noted with a perpetuall blot of disloyalty and treason. The Physicians held the wound curable: and the same day the King did write of this attempt, and of his hope of recovery, to the Governors of Prouinces, to foraigne Princes, and to his friends and confederates. But feeling that the Kings of Kings had otherwise determined of his life, he did first comfort himselfe, in foreseeing that the last houre of his crosses should bee the first of his felicities: then lamenting his good and faithfull seruants, who straining should find no respect with those whose mindes had beene so abandoned to mischief, as neither the feare of God, nor the dignity of his person could disswade them from this horrible sacriledge. One thing said he) doth comfort me, that I read in your faces, with the griefe of your hearts, and the sorrow of your soules, a goodly and commendable resolution, to continue vnited for the preservation of that which remains whole of my Estate, and the reuenge which you owe vnto the memory of him who hath loued you so dearly. I seeke not the last curiously, leaving the punishment of my enemies vnto God. I haue learned in his schoole to forgiue them, as I doe with all my heart. But as I am chiefly bound to procure peace, and rest vnto this Realme, I coniure you all, by that inuiolable faith which you owe vnto your Country, that you continue firme and constant defenders of the common liberty, and that you neuer lay downe armes, vntill you haue purged the Realme of the troublers of the publike quiet. And, so farre as diuision alone, vndermines the foundations of this Monarchy, resolute to be vnited in one will. I know, and I dare assure you, that the King of Nauarre my brother in law, the lawfull successeur to this Crowne, is sufficiently instructed in the lawes, to know how to reigne well, and to command reasonable things: and I hope, you are not ignorant of the iust obedience you owe vnto him. Referre the difference of Religion to the conuocation of the Estates of the Realme, and learne of me, that piety is a duty of man vnto God, ouer which worldly force hath no power. Thus spake Henry, euen as the last pangs of death caried him within few houres after from this vnto another world: but (a notable circumstance) in the same Chamber where the Councell was held on that fatal day of Saint Bartholmeu, in the yeare 1572. By his death he extinguished the second Parcell of the third Race of Capets, in the branch of *Valois*, leaving the Crown to the third Royall branch of Bourbons, whereunto the order of the fundamental law did lawfully call him.

The Kings last speeches.

The death of Henry the third being murdered.

His manners.

A mild and tractable Prince, courteous, witty, eloquent and graue, but of easie access, deuout, louing learning, aduancing good wits, aboutfull rewarder of men of merit, desirous to reforme the abuses of his Officers, a friend to peace, and capable of counsell, but weak and yeelding in aduersities, and by that meanes making his enemies ouer-bold in their ambitious desires. Finally, a Prince who deserved to bee placed amongst the worst of this Monarchy, if voluptuousnesse, luxury and excessive prodigality to some of his fauorites (the which might without enuy haue beene diuided amongst many men of honor), had not made him negligent and carelesse of the politike gouernment of his Estate, and so blemished the goodliest graces which nature had planted in his soule.

THE

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God hath appointed thee ouer his inheritance for Prince, and thou shalt deliuer his people from the hands of their enemies that are about them.

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E Hould the Theater of mans life: diuers passions appeare in diuers acts; hatred, rebellion, infidelity, treason and fury shall play a long and tragicke rowle in many Scenes. But as our new Successeur hath eaten the bitter roots in his youth, so in his age he shall reape the sweet fruits of vertue, being honored, feared and respected, both of his own subiects and strangers. God gouerns the being of this world by course and temper of diuers seasons, men reape not before they haue sowed, neither doe they sow before they haue laboured. Thus he gouerns the society of mankind by cetrain degrees; that man

may know, that he deserves not the sweet, that hath not tasted of the sower: and that the force of his wit can no way aduance the happy success of his estate, without the helpe and grace of that great Guardian, who by miraculous meanes preserues Estates from any parant ruine.

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This declaration retained them that were least scrupulous in their duties: and his promise not to alter any thing in Religion, might have shaken many of the League. To cross him, the Duke of Mayenne publisheth an Edit of the seventh of August, in his name and the Councils of the holy Union established at Paris, attending a general assembly of the Estates of the Realme, to invite (said he) all French-men that were good Christians, for the defence and preservation of the Catholick, Apostolike, and Romish Church, and the maintenance of the Royall estate, in the absence of their lawfull King, *Charles* the tenth of that name, for whose liberty he invited them all to armes. But he desired no more the liberty of his pretended King, then our *Henry* did to force Religion, the support whereof serves them for a goodly cloake.

Violent decrease.

Some Parliaments grow incensed at these sudden changes in the State, and seeme to entertaine the people in doubt and feare of the subversion of their Religion. That of Bourdeaux commands all men vnder their Iurisdiction, by a Decree of the 19 of August, to observe inviolably the Edit of Union to the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church: & declarations were thereupon made. That of Tholousa is more violent. They decree, that yearly the first day of August, they should make processions and publike prayers for the benefites they had received that day, in the miraculous & fearful death of *Henry* the third, whereby Paris was delivred, and other townes of the Realme: forbidding all persons to acknowledge *Henric* of Bourbon, the pretended King of Navarre, for King: declaring him incapable euer to succcede to the Crowne of France, by reason (said the Decree) of the notorious and manifest crimes contained at large in the bull of Excommunication of Pope Sixtus the fifth. Without doubt the authority of the Soueraigne Court is much blisfited in pronouncing a Decree, which they must reuoke by a contrary sentence. Thus the league kindled againe the fires which the King had somewhat quenched: the Kings troopes decreased hourly, sickness diminished their numbers, and the D. of Mayenne increased. The King therefore diuides his Army into three: one vnder the command of the Duke of Longueuille into Picardy, the other into Champagne vnder the Marshall *d'Aumont*; and he is aduised to passe himselfe into Normandy, with twelue hundred horse, three thousand French foot, and two Regiments of Suisse, as well to receiue succours out of England, as to assure some places and passages fit for his designs, but with direction to payne at need. In his passage he causeth the Kings body to be conducted and left at Compiègne, and reduceth to his obedience, Melen, Gisors, and Clermont: he receiues from Captaine *Roulet* both the place and the hearts of the Inhabitants of Pont de l'Arche, foure leagues from Rouen, a passage very commodious for the trafficke betwixt Rouen and Paris. He visits Deep: confirms the towne of Caen, forceth Neufchastel to yeeld, hauing by *Halleis* and *Guitry* his Lieutenants overcome the succours that were sent thither, and laie seuen or eight hundred men vpon the place.

The King retires his siege from Paris.

His conquests.

The Duke of Mayenne follows.

All these surprisles could not draw the Duke of Mayenne out of the walls of Paris. But when as he sees the King lodged at Dernerat, a league from Rouen, and the towne of Eu vpon Bethune brought to his obedience: at the instant request of the D. of Aumale, and the Earle of Briſſac commanding within Rouen, he goes to field, with about three thousand horse, and fifteene thousand foot, French, Germans, Italians, Flemings, and Spaniards. He promiseth the Parisiens to pursue, besiege, take, and bring the Beamois prisoner, and makes them already by supposition to hire shops and windows in *S. Anthoines* street, to see him passe in chains vpon the Bastile. He passeth the river of Seine with this mighty army, and recouers Gournay (being lately taken by the D. of Longueuille) Neufchastel, and Eu; and then he aduanceth to stay the course of the Kings prosperitie, who triumphed in Normandy.

This proceeding made the King imagine, they should not part without blowes, and full of that generosity, constancy, and ready resolution which he did alwaies carry in accidents which did seeme dangerous, sends for his Lieutenants, the Duke of Longueuille, and the Marshall *d'Aumont* to approach, for that he perceiues a dangerous fire in the Estate which was very sicke. The King parts from Deep, and marcheth towards the Duke: he lodgeth at Arques, three miles from thence, betwixt two hills diuided by the river of Bethune: at the foot of the one is the Village, and the Castle which commandeth it. He views the situation, and findes it fit to receiue the enemy. And not to lose the advantage

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A rage which time or industry might giue him, he casts vp a trench of seuen or eight foot deepe on the top of one of the hills, raiseth the defences, furnisheth it with artillery, and foure companies of Suisse: provides for the safety of the Village, casts vp Trenches vpon the weakest places of approach: and a thousand paces off, neere to the rivers side where the enemy should passe, hee lodgeth eight hundred French Harguebuziers in an Hospital, to cut off the enemies passage. The Duke (whose army was now about thirty thousand men) chooseth rather to leaue the shortest way, then to fight for this passage: and passing the river above, he encamps on the other hill right against Arques, and three daies after, the 16 of September, marcheth against the Poller, a suburbe of Diepe, where the Lord of Chastillon did fortifie, leauing some number of horse, and troops of foot to guard his hill and lodging of Martinglife.

There is no such policie as to strike first, and to charge the enemy while he consults, being irresolute whether he shall fight or retire. The King knowes it well, his owne experience hath often tried it. He therefore sends to view this army, to discouer their forces, and to obserue their countenance. He leaues the Marshall of Biron to command at Arques, and lodgeth in a mill, which they had entrenched vpon the approach to this suburbe. There they make a furious skirmish. But the Leaguers hauing lost nine or ten Captaines, and a great number of their most resolute souldiers, they had no will to proceed. They leaue the place, and lodge at the nearest village to the Suburbs of Diepe: an open place, without defence or houses. So many commodities were scarce tolerable. *Chastillon* also dislodged them soone, and made them to keepe another quarter.

No able exploits at Arques against the League.

On the other side, the Corps-de-gard (lodged in the guest house) would not suffer the enemy which kept both the hill and the lodging, to approach neare the River side. Being impatient then to haue any such vigilant neighbours, they resolute to charge this Corps-de-gard, and to become masters of either bank, that they might approach more freely to the Trenches at Arques. The Marshall sees them come, and drawing them on by light skirmishes, makes them beleaue they shall haue the better: but suddenly with a furious charge he scatters them, some here, some there: and many seeking to saue themselves from the sight, drowne in the river. So this army is charged in three places at one instant: D at the Mill by the King: at Martinglife by *Biron*, and at the Poller by *Chastillon*. These first amazements whet their courages. They are daunted for this first checke. Battells are variable, and it may be, a second attempt will giue them a more happy successe. Being thus resolute, the Duke leaues that great designe he had vpon Diepe, and propounds to set vpon the guest-house. Three or four volles of our Cannon (said he) will beat it down. They shot, but preuaile nothing: and seeing their attempts vaine, they leaue force to sie to surprizes.

The first charge in three places.

The 21 of September they passe the water in the night, without drum, without trumpet, and without light, they put themselves in battell, and meane at the breake of day to worke some great effect. But they haue a vigilant enemy, who will see all, know all, and doe all: the King causeth a long trench to bee drawne from the top of his hill vnto the guest-house, and mans it with foure companies of Suisse and Lanquenets, and some French, supported by the Earle of Auvergne, (who in this war gaue braue and singular proofes of his valor) commanding three companies of light horse, and three other companies of men at armes, seconded also by the companies of the Princes of Condé, and Conty, and on the top of the trench he placeth the Marshall of Biron with the Companies of *Chastillon*, and of *Maligny*, (afterwards Vidam of Chartres) and a good number of the Nobility.

All these Companies march by the fauour of the Cannon (which played from the Castle to their advantage) and charge the Duke of Mayennes Corner, ouerthrowes *Sagonne* with some horsemen, dead vpon the place, and disperse the rest. But a new supply forceth them to retire. The Suisse of Colonel *Galati* stay their violence. The Lanquenets of the League (degenerating from the ancient constancy of Germans) approach neare the trench, but seeing themselves weake, and engaged with the hazard of their liues, they make offer to yeeld vnto the King. Those within the trench giue them their hands to receiue them. The King seeing them ioyned with his men, runs to charge them, not knowing they had called vpon his name. But seeing his Maieſty, they yeeld themselves, and lay downe their weapons, He receiues them, and assures them of the pay they had gotten in fighting

C c c c

fighting





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*Giury*, into Brie, and passing farther into Beaulieu, takes Issouille by composition, then A from Chasteaudun he sends to invade Vendosme, his ancient patrimony. *Maisne Benhard* commanded about four hundred men of Garison, and eight hundred *Touilles* men armed against their Soueraign and lawfull Lord. The Artillery had no sooner made a hole of four paces wide, but the souldiers, impatient, ste to the assault, take the Castle, and to enter the towne pell mell with the garison, so as his Maiesty seeing himselfe in lessthen half an houre in possession both of Town and Castle, he gave the inhabitants their liues, but the souldiers the spoile.

The treacherous part of *Benhard* to the great Councell, (as we haue said) with the treason of a vassall and subiect, and the seditious preachings of *Iesse the Friar*, were the B cause that these two principall motives of rebellion suffered for the people: the one headed vpon the Pauement, and the other hanged, *Lauerdin, Montoire, Montrichard, and Chasteau du Lait*, became wise by the example of *Vendosme*, and opened their gates to the Marshall of Biron, who entered into the towne with all his Company very peaceably.

The King seeing himselfe neare vnto Tours, goes thither: the people receiue him the 21 of the moneth with an admirable shew of ioy, he giuing the same day audience to the Ambassadors of Venice, who in the name of the *Seignoury*, congratulates his Maiesties happy coming to the Crowne; with offer of seruice and loue to the King, and Crown of France. *Beaulieu, Dunois*, and *Vendosme* being subdued, the Kings army marcheth in to Maine: the Earle of *Brillac* vnderooke to succour Mans, which the King threatened: C to that intent he aduanceth with two regiments, and some horse to *la Ferté Bernard*: but terrified with the noise of the Cannon, he returnes, and contenting himselfe with a pillage of forty horse, and some baggage of his Maiesties Reistres which he met by chance, he proclaimes his victories at Paris. *Bois Dauphin* commanded in Mans, accompanied with a hundred Gentlemen, and twenty Ensignes on foot, who in fewe would die with their armes in their hands, rather then suffer the King to enter. But must they cause the people to spend a hundred and fifty thousand crowns to fortifie the towne and suburbs: burne so many houses without the towne, to yeeld it at the third volley of the Cannon? Let mee, oh ye people! that great men play with you, as with a tennis ball, and bee not wedded to any other party, but that of our Soueraigne and lawfull Prince. You run rashly into a bad action: they fortifie you at your owne charge, and you are the meanes to vndermine your selues.

The taking hereof caused the Castles of Beaumont and d Tontenoyes to yeeld, with the Townes of *Sable, Laual, Chateaugonthier, Mayenne, Alençon, Falaise*, and many others in the Prouinces of Touraine, Anjou, Mayne, Perche, and Normandy. So as in lesse then two moneths, his Maiesty marched with his army (furnished with many Cannons, and a great number of strangers, English, *Suisses*, & Germans) about eight score leagues, hauing achieved many memorable sieges, taken foureteen or fifteene good townes, assured many Prouinces: and in all places as he passed, *He came, he won, and overcame*. Thus our Conqueror made the round of a third part of his Realme, not finding any let to stay the course of his prosperities: when at the Court of *Parliament* at *Rouen*, no lesse violent and presumptuous then that of *Thouless*, pronounced their guiltie of treason both against God and man, and the Estate and Crowne of France, that had opposed themselves against the holy Vnion: and all Royalties and their successors deprived of all prerogatives of Nobility, their offices to be void and not to be recovered: vnnworthy to possesse any offices, benefices, or dignities, and all their goods forfeited. These armes were too weak to terrifie his Maiesties seruants: this decree did little aduaunce the league. And the Duke of Mayenne (seeing the King far off, partly through shame, partly through despair, and importuned by the *Parisians*) was constrained to passe their excommunications by some great exploit: but the taking of *Bois de Vincennes* and *Pontoise* ended all his Conquests.

So many and triumphs did wonderfully make the League, the people grow weary with the burthen of imports, the spoile of souldiers, and a thousand calamities that did oppress them. To diminish them in the hearts of this towne, the monks and corrupt tongues of the Preachers charmed the blinde with an impression of many intelligences both within and without the Realme: by the scope of a false and great sicour from Spain, by the publication of many books, which they most industriously used a brande

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A brands to feed this combustion, and by counterfeite deuices, they made the Kings name and his actions very barefull vnto the multitude.

The King in the meane time, continuing the course of his victories in base Normandy, where hauing taken *Houffleur*, a Port town, he came & raised the siege of *Meulan*, where the Duke of Mayenne had lien fifteene daies, being distant from *Houffleur* about thirty Leagues, where he offered him battell. The aduantage (being twice as many in number as the King) could not draw him to it. The memory of *Argues* was yet too fresh, and the supply of fifteene hundred Lances, and six hundred *Hargobuziers* white hies Duke of Parma sent him, vnder the command of Count *Egmont*, made him forbear. Whilest the Duke goes to ioyne with his strangers, the King takes *Nonancourt*, and then besiegeth *Dreux*.

In the beginning of March the Duke turnes head towards *Monte*, to passe the river eight Leagues from *Dreux*. His Maiesty hath intelligence thereof, and giues him leaue to approach within two leagues. To giue and win a battell is indifferent vnto him. He causeth his army to march towards *Nonancourt*, to view the foard of the river of *Eure*, which runs there: he himselfe treads out the place of battell, he imparts it to the Duke *Montpensier*, the Marshalls of *Biron* and *Aumont*, to the Baron of *Biron*, Marshall of the Field, and to the chiefe Captaines of his army: he makes choise of the Lord of *Vicq* for Serient Maior of the Field: he appointed the rendezvous for his troops at the village of *S. Andreu*, some leagues from *Nonancourt*, vpon the way to *Yury*, and the place of battell in a great plaine neare vnto it. All these old souldiers found the place chosen with so great iudgment and military wisdom as they altered not any thing.

The King hauing deliuered it vnto the Baron to appoint euery man his place, said, *It is we desire of glory, nor motion of ambition, nor appetite of reuenge, that makes me resolve in this combat, but the extreme necessity of my iust and naturall defense, the piety of my peoples calamity, and the preservation of my Crowne. Let vs refer the event of this enterprise to the eternal Providence*. Then afterwards lifting vp his eyes to heauen: *Thou knowest, O God (said he) the secretie of my thoughts. I beseech thee put mee not in the number of those Princes, whom thou hast forsaken in thy wrath, but of those whom thou hast chosen to repaire the ruines of a desolate Estate, and to relieue my miserable people oppressed with the violence of war. O Lord, I yeeld my selfe to the disposition of thy holy and infallible will, and desire not to live, nor to raigne, but so far forth as my life may be to the advancement and glory of thy name, and my authority the raigne of vertues, and the banishment of vices*. These, and such like religious words, moued all the Campe to prayers, and workes of piety, euery one according to his deuotion.

This done, the King disposeth his army according to the plot which he had laid. He diuides it into seuen squadrons, and in euery one 300 horse, flanked on either side with foot-men: the first he giues to the Marshall of *Aumont*, with two Regiments of French. The second to the Duke *Montpensier* with 500 Lanquenets, and a regiment of *Suisses*. The third to the Earle of *Auvergne* and *Giury*, either of them commanding a troope of light horse, and on their left hand four Cannons and two Culterins. The fourth to the Baron of *Biron*. In the fit were five ranks of horse, and sixscore in a front, *Princes, Earls, Barons, Officers* of the Crowne, *Kings of the Order, Noblemen* and Gentlemen of the chiefe families of France, besides those which the Prince of Cony, and *La Guishe* great Master of the artillery brought that day. His Maiesty was in the head of this troope, shining in armes like the Sun amidst the seuen Planets, hauing on the side of him two batrels of *Suisses*, with the regiments of his guards of *Brigneux*, of *Vignoles* and *S. Iohn*. The sixth to the Marshall of *Biron*, with two regiments of French: The seventh were about two hundred and fifty Reistres. These squadrons were all in a front, but somewhat beading at the ends, in forme of a Cressant. There was nothing more terrible then to see two thousand French Gentlemen armed from the head to the foot.

The Duke of Mayenne appeared a far off, and had taken a village betwix both armies: but his Maiesty fortheth them to dislodge, and wearies them with skirmishes, to draw them to fight: and the approaching night leaues our warriors burning with desire to haue the day call them to the Field, to make proofe of their seruice and duties to their King and Country. At the break of day the men at armes were in their squadrons, the souldiers in their battalions, and by nine of the clocke euery man did fight in his gesture, in

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his threats and words. At the same instant the enemy shewes a body of about foure thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, and almost in the same forme, but most glistering with more feathers, more men, and lesse courage, almost like a Cressant. The Dukes Corner was about two hundred and fifty horse, augmented with the like number by the Duke of Nemours, who joyned with him, and was almost in the middle of his squadron as that of the Kings, but flanked with two squadrons of Lances, that came out of the Low countries, who were about eighreene hundred horse marching altogether. On the side were two regiments of Suisses, covered with French foot, then two lesse squadrons of Lances, seven hundred on the right hand, and five hundred on the left, two Culverins and two Bastards.

The Sunne and the wind might have greatly annoyed the Kings army. To prevent this inconvenience, his Majesty advanceth above an hundred and fifty paces; gets both the Sun and the winds, and findes the enemies number greater than hee esteemed. But this multitude serves as a spur to every Capitaine to encourage both himselfe and his men. The King goes to the head of his Squadron, begins his first works by prayer; exhorts and encourageth them with a countenance full of Majesty, ioy, and constancy: Mariants arrives and gives him intelligence, that the Lords of Humieres, and Motuare within two thousand paces of the field. But the King had well observed the point of his happinesse, and with a great noise his enemy that honour to strike the first stroke.

The first charge.

He that begins well, hath halfe ended, saith the Proverbe. He commandeth *La Guisclie* to discharge his Cannon: it pierceth through the thickest squadrons of the enemies, and shoots nine volleys before theirs could beginne; six hundred light horse, French, Italians, and Wallons, advance with a full Carriere to charge the Marshall *d'Aumont* on the one side, on the other side their Reistres charge the Kings light horse. The Marshall joynes with them, and makes them turne their tayles presently: their groue of Reistres is so violently repulged and driven backe, as they run suddenly to rally themselves behind the other troops. Another squadron of Lancers, Wallons, and Flemings (seeing his Majesties troopes separated somewhat from the rest which the Reistres had charged) come hotly upon them. The Baron of Biron makes it good, and not able to charge them in the front, takes them behind, pierceth a part of them: the rest breaks away like a billow against a rocke: the Baron had two wounds, one in the arme, and the other in the face.

A second charge.

Now comes the Duke of Mayenne with his body of horsemen, in the which were the Dukes of Nemours and Aumale, having upon their wings foure hundred Carabins, (which were Harguebuziers on horse backe, armed with Murrions and Plaistrons) who make a furious salley five and twenty paces off upon his Majesties troopes. This done, the King parts like a violent lightning from the head of his squadron, being 600 horse, hee chargeth two thousand of the enemies: hee breaks them, scatters them, and is so engaged amongst the thickest of them, as (notwithstanding the great plume in his Caske, and that in his horses head which made him apparant) he remained a good quarter of an houre unknowne euen to his own people, in this great forest of Lances; amidst a great shower of strokes, giving a good testimony, that if before he could doe the office of a great King and Capitaine in ordering, so could he now performe the duty of a brave souldier, and resolute man at armes in fighting.

A bloody charge.

But above all, of a most milde and mercifull Conqueror: who in this bloody fight, did found forth that gracious speech, *Save the French, and downe with the stranger*. Doubtlesse he is well kept whom God keeps. Some were greatly amazed, others trembled and quaked, having lost the sight of the King. This great body whose foundation was so much shaken, began to waver: those who euen now presented their faces so furiously with the points of their Launces and Swords, doe now shew their heeles, cast away their armes, and trust to their horses. His Majesty being freed from this presse, having with twelve or fiftene in his company, taken three Corners, and slaine the Wallons that did accompany them, and returning to his squadron a triumphing Conqueror, he filled the Army with exceeding ioy, and the Army the ayre with that louing cry of *God save the King*.

The Suisses remained yet whole, but abandoned of all their horse, and laid open. They propound to send the French foot on the right hand, who had not yet fought

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A fought to breake them. But the respect of the ancient alliance of that Nation with this Crowne, made the King to grant them life, and receive them to mercy. Laying downe their armes they passed to his Majesties side, and those French that were with them, enjoyed the like clemency. But the time his Majesty lost in pardoning the Suisses, did greatly favour their retreat that fled, and gave the Duke of Mayenne leysure to passe the river of Eure, to breake the bridge after him, and to recover Manté in safety. The Marshall of Biron stood firme without striking, yet did he more terrifie the enemy then any other: for seeing this troope of rescue whole; they supposed that this old souldier having bene practised in so many batells in his life time, would easily breake them; and make the victory absolute. Hereupon the Marshall *d'Aumont*, the Earle of Clermont, the Baron of Biron, and other Commanders, returned from the chase, gather together their troopes, and joyne with the King. And the King having received his forces that came out of Normandy, makes a body, leaveth the Marshall of Biron with the army to follow him, sends the Earle of Auvergne before, takes the Baron of Biron on his sight hand; and another troope on his left: and accompanied with the Prince of Cony, Duke of Montpensier, Earle *S. Paul*, Marshall *d'Aumont*, the Lord of Tremouille, and many others, pursued the point of his victory, chasing, beating and killing, untill that the broken bridge diverting them a league and a halfe out of the way, to passe at the ford of Auer, and the horses (whose legs the Reistres had cut to stop the way) hindring the pursuit; and the approaching night, ended the victory.

Loss of the Reistres.

The disorder was great in the retreat of the vanquished, and the slaughter great in the fury of the fight: about five hundred horse were slaine or drowned, and about foure hundred prisoners. The Count Egmont, the young Earle of Bruniwicke, *Chastaignery*, and a great number of other Noblemen slaine, *Bois-Dauphin*, *McJausin*, *Cicengne* (who carried the white corner to the duke of Mayenne) *Fontaine*, *Marle*, *Lonchamp*, *Lodoman*, *Falandre*, *Hengestun*: the Marshalls of the field; *Treuxay*, *Castellere*, *Desjumeux*, and many other French, Germanes, Spaniards, Italians; and Flemings were prisoners, whereof the most part being graciously released, did afterwards abuse the Kings bounty by a revolt, who neuer could practice that vncivill maxime of State, a dead man neuer makes warre. There were twenty Corners taken, the white Corner, the great standard of the Generall of the Spaniards and Flemings, the corners of the Colonel of the Reistres, three score ensignes of foot of diuers nation, and the 24 of Suisses which yeelded. All the footmen which yeelded not, or were not drowned, were cut in peeces. All their artillery, all their baggage carried away. Such as fled into the woods found lesse mercy in the peasants, then in the men of warre. The Duke of Mayenne saved himselfe in Manté, and gave the Townsmen this shout for their comfort, that the Bearnois was slaine, or little better. The Duke of Nemours, *Balsompre*, the Vicount of Tauconnes, *Rosne*, and some others took the way of Chartres. To conclude, his Majesty pursues them almost to the gates of Manté, finding the waies (notwithstanding his lers) full of runners away which remained at his discretion. And if those of Manté persisting in their first resolution to keepe their gates shut, had not yeelded to the Dukes earnest request, both he and all his followers hadaine into the victors hands. Thus God poured out his wrath upon this army: thus a handfull of men defeated many Legions: thus the French spoiled Peroueu in France. On the Kings side were slaine *Clermont* of Entragues, Capitaine of his Majesties Guards, *Tich Schenberg* Colonel of the Reistres, fighting then vnder the white Corner, *Lonslainay* of Normandy, being three score and twelve yeares old (an honourable graue for that braue old man) *Crenay* Corner to the Duke of Montpensier, *Requiers*, and at the most twenty Gentlemen more. The Marquis of Nefle being hurt, died within eight daies after. The Earle of Choisy, the Earle of Luden, *de G.*, *Montlouet*, *d'Auvergne*, *Rosny*, and some others were lightly hurt.

Lost on the Kings side

In this battell they obserue three chiefe things. The first, the Kings firme resolution to give battell, with an assured confidence, that the sincerity of his intent, and the equity of his cause should be fauoured with the assistance of heauen. The second, that at the very instant of the fight it seemed that the earth did bring forth armed men for his service: for on the eue and the day of battell, there came about sixe hundred horses vnto him vnexpected. The third, that of two thousand French Gentlemen, only 1200 did fight: twelve hundred put to rout an army of foure thousand horse, fresh, well mounted, and well armed,

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Conquests of  
the victory.

med, and twelve thousand foot. Without doubt the eternall God of armes doth neuer forget the right of Princes, against their rebellious subiects : and a braue resolution, with a wife command giues a happy end to battells.

The next day by the Sunne rising the Vidame of Chartres went to field by the Kings commandement, to get some intelligence of the enemy. In the fight of Mantes he caused David of Villeneufue a Gentleman of Quercy neere vnto Cahors, to aduance, whom he knew to be full of courage & zeale to his Maiesties service, hauing seene him many times in good places, and lately very aduise to pursue the victory without care of bootie, like vnto many others. Gold doth many times cause him to be hated that loues it, and spoiles doe little aduance the spoilers; But goodly actions; leaue a fauour of immortal praise in generous minds. Villeneufue resolves not to returne without some certaine newes. All the Country was amazed, No man appeared. Hee approacheth neere vnto the towne, to talke with the first hee should meete. Some labouring in the Vines, seeing him armed and wearing a white scarfe, they run and giue the alarm at Mantes: The Inhabitants run in heapes to the port with all sorts of armes. Hee heares a great tumulte in the towne, and thereupon takes an occasion to found their wills. Hee prickes on his horse to the towne pike, and cries out that he came from the King to know their intentions: That hee hath his armes open to receiue them with clemency that fauour the Iustice of his cause; and his sword ready to force them that thinke to pul from him the Inheritance which Nature and Law had giuen him.

God blessed his designe, and disposed the hearts of this people to follow the better way. About two hundred of the chiefe Inhabitants, come to him to the port. Hee shewes them the Iustice of his Maiesties armes, exhorteth them to renounce all foraigne leagues, and not grow obstinate, through the persuasions or promises of such as pretend to ransome the Crowne, against all right and reason, and to consider that this warre was merely for state, and that religion was only a maske: witnesse the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats, which say masse dayly in the army, with all liberty. That they should deliuer their resolutions freely, the which being reported to the King they should see the effects, which a people meritis of a most mercifull and conquering Prince.

Being thus perswaded, and seeing the King armed with right & force, all leagely lift vp their hands, and protest to liue and die in the fidelity, which good and loyall subiects owe vnto their lawfull Lord; and that by their true obedience, they would wipe out rebellion whereunto they had suffered themselves to be caried, in the common deluge which had drowned the other people of the Realme. The Duke of Maine being aduertised by a strange Captaine of the garison, of the oath which he had seene giuen by the Inhabitants, from the which he could not diuert them neither by threats nor violence; in stead of assuring himselfe of the towne, as hee might well haue done, hauing many souldiers with him, both horse and foot, considering that to settle his safetie vpon the vacerainty of a popular friendship is to build vpon a quick sand: hee retires by the opposite Port without any trumpet, leauing the souldiers in so bad termes with the Inhabitants, as scarce putting wings to their feet, they followed the fortune of their Commander. Thus by the industry of this Gentleman (worthy doubtlesse to be registred in our History) the towne of Mantes importing much for the bridge which it hath vpon the riuer of Seine, came without charge or losse of men vnder the Kings obedience; who the next day made his entry there with all signes of ioy. Vernon another bridge vpon the same riuer did in like manner plant the banner of France. And the heavens seemed to poure more blessings vpon our Henry, and to make his way easie to an absolute Royalty: for the Earle of Rendan (chiefe of the league in Auvergne) was the same day of the battell of Yury, shamefully chased from the siege of Iffoire, slaine in battell, his troopes cut in peeces and his Artillery taken, by the Lords of Curton, Rosignat and Chafferon.

As they had abused the Mantois with a vaine assurance of his death, whom they durst not looke vpon nor encounter, so with the like practices they must delude the Parisiens. The Duke of Mayenne, his sister of Montpensier, and the other heads of the league, deceived of their hopes, published by printed bookes, and at the first assault at Dreux, the Bearnois had lost about 500 men, that their wounds had made a greater number valiant for their armes: that the Marshall of Biron was wounded vnto death. That in another encounter

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A counter neere vnto Poissy the Vnion had gotten a great victory. That in the battell of Yury, the combat had bene long, and the losse almost equal. That if the Bearnois be not dead, he is little better. But such as (glad to haue saued themselves) came to Paris, married all in verifying the contrary, making the people to hang downe their heads, and to wish for peace by a still and mournfull muttering. The firebrands of hell in their pulpits made the losse far lesse then it was, giuing them an assured hope of speedy and new succours from Spaine; for the restoring of their Estate and destruction of the Mabeulnes, so they then called such as did fight vnder the Kings Ensignes.

And the Duke of Mayenne after hee had made a certaine practice vpon the Towne of Senlis (for the which twelue as well Captaines as souldiers, and many others being engaged in the same conspiracy, past through the hanging mans hands, the third day of Iuly went into Flanders, to the Duke of Parma: that is to say, he went to ruine his honor and reputation, for being a traitor at home amongst his owne Country-men, hee went to make himself a seruant and slave to an ambitious proud man, who hath often in scorn made him attend at his Chamber doore, and lacquay after him, before hee could receiue an answer of any matter of small importance; to the great griefe and disdaine of the French Gentlemen, that did accompany him, who seemed to imbrace themselves to those proud humors. Doubtlesse it was necessary the Duke should try the infidelity of strangers, the better to know the courtisie of the French, and submit his armes and person to the King his Soueraigne and lawfull Lord: the means whereby hereafter hee shall abolish the memory of things past.

Aduersity makes the willfull more obstinate. The Court of Parliament at Rouen, for execution of the former decree, puts to death the seventh of Aprill, some prisoners the Kings seruants: and three daies after they declare all those persons guilty of high Treason both to God and man, that followed the King of Navarre (so spake the decree) and would not yeld to King Charles the tenth of that name, ioyne with the Vnion, and carry armes vnder the Duke of Mayenne. Whilst these threaten by their decree, and the duke goes to beg reliefe, the King being at Manté laboured to reduce the Parisiens to reason by mildnesse. But these trumpets of sedition, imputing this delay to want of courage, perswaded the people, that shortly their sworn enemies should haue worke enough, and that at length he should be ruined, that a little patience would giue them a great victory: that they must not yeld to any Article whatsoever: making impudent allusions to the name of his family, who is now seated in the throne of this Monarchy.

These insolent exclamations brought the King about Paris. Paris is accustomed to see from hand to mouth: the benefit of the Halles, the place Maubert, and other market places, is the cause that most households doe not know what provision meanes. And the chiefe of the League had so filled this former belief in the Citizens mindes, as of a hundred, fourtye and nineteen had added to provide for things necessary to endure the toyle of a siege. So as the taking of Manté Poissy, Pontcharreton, Corbell, Melun, Montreuil vpon Seine, and Lagny vpon Marne, brought Paris in few months to extreme necessity: *Cornpaigne, Credit, and Excrement* hope the riuer of Oise.

But the ordinarie cries of the Preachers: the practices of the chiefe, and the Ladies of the league, and the erroneous decision of the faculty of Sorbonne, giuen the seventh of May in the third General Congregation, held at that end in the great Hall of the sayd Colledge, prohibiting all Catholikes according to the Law of God, fidelity, to receive for King in Heretike or fauour of Heretikes, relation or excommunication, although hee doe afterwards obtaine by an ordinance and generall resolution of his crimes and censures, if there remaine any doubt of dissembling, treachery, or subversion of the Catholike Religion. Condemning all them for Heretikes, forsakers of Religion, and pernicious to the Church, that should suffer any such to come to the Crowne. All these made the multitude more obstinate against the extremities, in which the rigour of a long and painful siege may befall. But when this decision, they had by strong arguments to bridle mens tongues & actions that fauoured the Flour de Luce in their hearts. The French Nobles let Paris to observe the speed and clemency of such as they expected: that is to say, of such as would restore peace, and haue not lost the remembrance of the true Principles of France. And if any one should say, it were good, as was of a while since, that it were a politike and a royalist, that should say, and would, and should, to the Church.

Another battell  
gotten of the  
League.

Siege of Paris.

Erroneous decision of Sorbonne.

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Church. They spoile, imprison, yet put to death, such as doe not applaud this horrible A tyranny.

The Duke of Nemours, in the Duke his brothers absence, commanded at Paris, and for his chiefe Counsellors, he had the Popes Legate, the Ambassador of Spaine, the Archbishop of Lion, the Bishops of Paris, Remes, Placentia, Senlis and others. Panigrale, bishop of Ast, Bellarmine and Tyrens Jesuits, who with diuers processions, fasting, vows and supplications, bewitched the people in their greatest famine: many zealous doctors, curats, priests and monks tooke armes, and the Friars with their Breuitaries in open musters were admired by some, and laugh at by others. The Cheualers *D'Aumale*, with some others, laboured by sallies to annoy the Kings troopes, who content to repulse them, hoped B their bellies would shortly make their tongues to sing a new note. The Duke of Mayenne on the other side courted the Parmesan: and the King of Spaine proceeded so slowly in his succors, as the best iudgments did perceiue, he rather sought to entertaine, then to quench their thirst.

The Parisiens in the meane time had leifure to sharpen, but not ~~to satisfy~~ their appetite. The corne and other prouision of the publike, was wasted the first moneth. Such as had any prouision in their houses, kept it very secret, and others that trusted too confidently to the words of the chiefe Commanders and Preachers, perished of hunger, or at the least indured much, struing against the cruelty of famine. All passages by water were cut off, the taking of Saint Denis depriued them of the plaine of France, and but C for the palpours (which a little fauour or money obtained easily of the Capitaines and Guards) the Citizens had in few weekes bene brought to the Kings discretion, who yeelded good for euill, suffered them to cary victuals for the Duke of Nemours, the Ladies and others who practised his ruine, except *Nitri Gobers*, who by his ordinary sallies had often conference with the King to produce in the end great effects for his Maiesties seruice, and by his returne to the Royall party euaporate the bad fauour of foure thousand Crownes which had caried him to the mutines faction in the greatest necessity of the Kings affaires.

Their misery grew extreme in the third moneth of the siege. There was hundred thousand people dead of hunger, griefe and poverty, in the streets and hospitals, without reliefe, and without pity. The suburbs ruined, beaten downe and waste. The City needy and solitary. The rents of the Towne-houie (being the chiefe linings of many families) were extinguished: their lands about the City wasted and desolate, the Vniuersity forsaken, or serving to lodge peasants, and the Schooles for stables for their cattell: the Palace not frequented, but by some idle persons, the grass growing where as before they could hardly go for presse. The shops either without workemen, or without trafficke. No corne, no wine, no wood, no hay vpon the riuer. Nothing passed but was subiect to the garisons of S. Denis, the fort of Gournay, Cheureuze & Coybell: the Halls were empty, no Merchants in market-places, no means to make money, nor to get meat. To conclude, see this Queene of Cities, this little world, this Paris without Peere, waste, desolate, and at the last gaspe, and (to augment the disorder) many reliques were catched, the Jewels and the crownes of ancient Kings molten, and for a peece of bread, many Wines and Virgins doe willingly abandon their bodies, and their honours to the soldiers.

But all these miseries and horrors can be in picture hard hissed Phantasies. The firste scene, the forty, and the chiefe of the faction, bewitched the people, as it were with a sleeping potion which benums the members, so cut them off by peccie-meale when they be asleep, that hauing sucked the blood, the vital heat, and the hearts out of their bodies, they haue done the filth out off their purses: they might confirme their insolence any, without controule: They force the Parliament being subiect to the houses of Spaine and Lorraine) to publish a doctrine the fitnesse of Ioue, *Forbidding vpon paine of death all men to speake of any conspiracy* with Henry of Bourbon. *And the other the firste scene, you see the effusion of their blood.* And the Preachers still fill them with hope of a speedy deliuerance.

But the badly hath more access, the people are not fed with paper, or with the Duke of Mayennes promises, but with his trumpets. They haue already oxen, dogs, cats, horses, asses, moyles, herbe, reeds, and any thing that might quench the rage of famine, such as became diuision. They went continually to the Court, assembled in the Palace, to re-quire

The misery of  
the Parisiens.

A forced de-  
ceit of the Pa-  
rlament at  
Paris.

1590

A mutiny of  
the people.

Aquire a peace. They prouide for this mutinie by a silly reliefe of eight or ten daies. At the end whereof a great number appeare armed in the same place, and demand a peace, or bread. *Gous*, a Captaine in the towne, steps forth to feede these famished people with words, but no bread, and for his reward he was wounded in the shoulder with a Sword, whereof he died within few daies after. The Cheualier *D'Aumale* flies thither, and followed by a troope of men at his deuotion, thrusts the Palace gates, imprisonns them that were armed, and hangs two, out of the whole multitude, to suppress the like fits of this despairing people. These popular mutinies had confounded the chiefe Leaguers, if they had not preuented it. To this end they assemble with the chiefe of the Citie, and notwithstanding the decision of the Sorbonne, and the Decree of the Court, they resolute to send the Archbishop of Lions, and the Bishop of Paris to the Kings Maiestie, to seeke some meanes of pacification.

Deputies sent  
to the King.

Before they part, they will haue leave from the Legate, lest they incur some Ecclesiasticall censure. The Legate consults with *Panigrale*, *Bellarmino*, and *Tyrens*, whether the Parisiens did fall into excommunication, being forced by famine to yeeld vnto an hereticke Prince. If the Deputies going to such a Prince, to conuert him, or to better the Estate of the Catholike Church, were comprehended in the excommunication of the Bull of Pope Sixtus the fifth: the Doctors answer no. Thus the Deputies come to the King, to S. *Antoine* in the Field. The King heares their speech, tending to a generall peace for the Realme, or a patticular for Paris, if the Duke of Mayenne will not seeke a generall. But what can they hope to obtaine of a King of France and of Nauarre, treating with him but with the simple quality of King of Nauarre?

Your Councell (said his Maiestie) contradicts it selfe, demanding peace of him whom they will acknowledge but for King of Nauarre. I will and desire peace, to caze my people, but not according to your proposition. I loue the Citie of Paris as my eldest daughter, and will doe her more good then she requires, so as she be thankfull vnto me, and not to the D. of Mayenne, nor to the King of Spaine. The brute of the Spanish succours for Paris, do not amaze me. I know the practices of Spaine, and with the helpe of heaven will conuert them into smoake. Paris and the Realme of France are not fit for King Philip's mouth. I will giue the Parisiens eight daies to consider of their yeelding, and of the Articles of peace for the whole Realme. Vpon their refusall, I know well how to vse a Conquerors right against the chiefe motiues and fauourers of rebellion: the constancy of them of Sancer, the despaire and victorie of the Gantois, whereby you magnifie them of Paris, is impertinent: for those of Sancer were prest to these extremities by the violences of such as would take from them their goods and liberties, their religion and liues. Contrariwise I will giue the Parisiens life, which *Mendoza* the Ambassador of Spaine takes from them by famine. As for religion, informe your selues of these Princes and Noblemen Catholikes, if I doe force their consciences in the exercise of their religion or otherwise. The comparison with them of Gant is not good. The Parisiens haue sufficiently shewed their courage, in suffering their Suburbs to be taken. I haue five thousand Gentlemen with me, who will not be intreated after the Gantois manner. I haue likewise God, and the equity of my cause. Make a faithfull report of my words to them that haue sent you.

With this answer, and other speeches testifying the Kings good meaning, and the small feare he had of the League, these Deputies goe to the Duke of Mayenne: and he sends them backe to the King, and giues great hope to incline to a peace. But, *Be not amazed at this treaty* (said he to the Parisiens, by a Secretary of his going after the Deputies) *I will rather die then make a peace.* And being aduertised, that Paris would shortly be forced through want to yeeld vnto the King. The taking thereof (answered he) shall be preiudiciall vnto him: this conquest shall disperse his army, and then we shall preuaile easily. But his Maiesty would neither see nor suffer the ruine of his capital city: and his meaning was not to seize vpon Paris in such sort as his enemies supposed. It grieved him to see so many ill aduised people. And if the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma, comming to succour them, would hazard a battell, he hoped by their ouerthrow to bring the Parisiens vnto reason.

Thus the Duke thought to abuse the King with deuices, and vnder a color of treaty win time, in fauour of the besieged. But the King being aduertised, that the D. of Mayenne was parted from Bruxelles, and tooke the way to Paris, followed by *Saligni*, Captaine

The King goes  
against his ene-  
mies.

1590

The siege of  
Paris raised.The King of  
Ireland battell.Lagay taken  
by the Duke.The Duke of  
Parma retreats.

S. Paul, and other troops, his Maiefty aduanceth with a troope of horſe, and marcheth A ſeuentene leagues to encounter them: and miſſing them but one houre, he forceth them to ſlie into Laon. The Duke fortifies himſelfe there with his forces, and approaching vnto Meaux, he giues a generall hope of chaſſe. The King goes againe towards him: but he finds the Duke fortified betwixt two riuers, attending the duke of Parmas comming: who being come, renews this firſt hope, and with this deſigne he goes to lodge at Clay and Refines, fixe leagues from Paris. The King raiſeth the ſiege, comes to meet him, appoints the Rendezvous for his army: the next day, the thirtieth of Auguſt, on the plaine of Bondy in the way to his enemies, hee chaſſeth their quarter-maſters from Chelles, who began to make out their lodging, and forceth a troope of eight hundred horſe to retire B into the body of their army. The firſt of September, the Kings army is in battell about the village of Chelles, about fix thouſand horſe, in the which were fixe Princes, two Marſhals of France, many Noblemen, more Commanders, more great Captaines then are in all the reſt of the world, foure thouſand French Gentlemen (whom the bare ſhew of a combat doth draw more cheerfully to the place of battell, then to a gallant wedding) and eightene thouſand foot, French & ſtrangers. The Duke of Parma ſtanding vpon a hill to view them, *Be theſe* (ſaid he to the Duke of Mayenne) *the ten thouſand men, which you aſſured me would be ſo eaſily overcome? there appeares about ſixe and twenty thouſand in the beſt order that I haue ſcene.* This Duke made more account to ſaue one of his men, then to kill ten of his enemies. So reſolving not to hazard any thing, they change their ſwords C and lances, into ſhouels and pick-axes, and intrenching themſelves in the Fenne, auoyded the danger, and preſerued his army: neither could skirmiſhes nor alarums make him abandon his trenches.

On the eight day of the moneth, the miſt was great, and the winde being contrary, carried away the noiſe of the enemies cannon. The Dukes laying hold of this occaſion, make a bridge of boats, beſiege Lagay vpon Marne, a weak town, lying behind their backs, and halfe a mile from their campe: they batter it, and take it by force, but not without an honorable and vertuous reſiſtance of three hundred men that kept it, but holding it not guardable they razed it. To draw them out of their fort, his Maieſty makes ſhew of a great enterpriſe againſt Paris: he makes his deſigne knowne, that hee will attempt it by D ſcalado: and the tenth day at night goes from the campe with a good troope. But they keepe themſelves within their Fennes, yet could they not long luſt in this ſtraight, where they endured all wants: and hunger in the end would driue the Wolfe out of the wood. The King offered them battell in vaine: he attended the tryall of the Dukes forces in vaine. Hee therefore mans thoſe places he held about Paris, ſends backe ſome of his troops into Touraine, Normandy, Champagne and Bourgongne, and retaines a ſufficient army to annoy his enemies.

This proceeding drawes the Dukes to field, to free Paris. Parma calls himſelfe a Redeemer: and to make his profit of this advantage, he beſiegeth and taketh Corbeil by force, and kills all that he finds in armes. *Rigaude* (a braue and valiant Captaine) commanded E there, and hauing no time to reſiſt fo great a power, he found there an honourable Sepulcher. For dying at the breach, he performed the duty of a faithfull and vigilant ſeruant to the King. But the Parmeſan loſt the Marquis of Renty, with a great number of men, blemiſhed his reputation, and weakened his army: for whileſt that he waſts time, the King makes new deſignes, which ſhall bring the league into greater difficulties.

Even then the Agents of Philip would haue filled his good City of Paris (for ſo the Spaniard called it) with numbers of Spaniards and Wallons. But on the one ſide the plague was great, and victuals very ſcarce: and on the other ſide, the forces of *Maritie* Earle of Naſſau preuailed in the Low-Countries: the Queene of England ſending great ſuccours thither. And the ſixtene Tribunes of Paris ſeeing themſelves at ſome more F liberty, thanked the Duke of Parma, giuing him to vnderſtand, that his aboad at Bruxelles, would bee more pleaſing and more ſafe for him. His army decayed viſibly: hee ſees himſelfe in the middeſt of an inconfiant multitude, and to diſmember his forces to leaue any with the Pariſiens, were to loſe them, to draw the King vpon him, and to bee in danger of an ouerthrow. So in the end of Nouember hee gathers together his troopes, and makes his retreat, being purſued, tired, and beaten with daily loſſe, euen to the frontiers of Artois, by the King, the Dukes of Neuers and Longueuille, by the Baron of Bi-

100,

1590

A ron, Guiry, Parabel, and others. To teach ſtrangers, that France cannot be taken, nor ruined, but by it ſelfe.

He had no ſooner turned his backe, but Corbeil, and other ſmall places held by them, returned to the Kings obedience: the gariſons placed there by them, repayed the French blood lately ſhed at the taking thereof: and Paris fell againe into new confuſions and like neceſſity. The Duke of Mayenne was greatly troubled to aſſiſt the Parmeſan in his retreat. During the which the Marſhall of Biron tooke Clermont in Beauvoisin for his Maieſty, fixe or fixe other townes, and twenty forts or caſtles poſſeſſed by the Enemy. The Duke of Parma being out of the Realme, the King made his entry into S. Quentin, being receiued B by an honorable entertainment, and exceeding joy of the inhabitants: and the tenth of December, he was aduerſified, that *Humières*, *Beſſiere* his brother-in-law, and *Parabel*, had forced Corby, ſcaled the wals, fought with the gariſon, ſlaine all men of defence, and conquered the towne for his Maieſty.

Corby taken  
for the King.

We haue conducted a mighty enemy out of the Realme: let vs now obſerue ſome particular exploits, for which wee would not interrupt the continuance of our Hiſtory. The Leaguers forces conſiſted of men, who fought their priuate profit in the confuſion of the Eſtate, and by conſequence, wiſhed for nothing but increaſe of diſorders: ſo all their deſignes tended onely to ſpoile and deſolation, to the preiudice of the Kings ſubiects, but to no aduancement of their party. In Dauphine thoſe of Vienne fought in the moneth of C March to ſhew ſome effects in fauour of the croſſes of Lorraine. Thoſe which had the Flower de Luce printed in their hearts, aſſure the towne for the King. The Colonel *Alphonſo* and *Des Diguieres* goe to ſuccour them: and from thence goe and take Pont of Beauvoisin, and S. Laurence du Pont, poſſeſſed by the League.

In the meane time, the Marquis of S. Sorlin, brother to the Duke of Nemours, hath an enterpriſe vpon Vienne. Theſe two Commanders ſpye thither with ſpeed, and repulſe the Enemy. *Alphonſo* deſires to ſee how he carries himſelfe in his retreat: he ſals into an ambuſh laid by the Baron of Senecey, is taken priſoner, and payes afterwards forty thouſand crownes for his ranſome. *Des Diguieres* tooke the townes and caſtles of Briançon and Daxilles, and entred vpon the territories of the Duke of Sauoy. Then in Nouember he beſieged and forced Grenoble a Parliament towne, to ſet vp the armes of France, & to change their affections which inclined to the factions of ſtrangers. So we may ſay that Dauphine was the firſt Prouince of the Realme wholly ſubdued to the King from the League: which was chiefly performed by the valour and diligence of the Lord of *Des Diguieres*. In Normandy the Duke of Montpenſier tooke Honſieur, and forced the Leaguers to leaue the field. Thus the League decreaſed in diuers Countries: and to giue them a mate, the King did ſollicit a leauy of Reſtires in Germany, by the Vicont of Turenne. On the other ſide, *Gregory Sfondrate* lately inſtalled in the Pontificall Chaire, and a partiſan of Spaine, renewed the hopes of the League, promiſing a ſuccour of ſixtene hundred horſe, and eight thouſand foot, vnder the command of *Francis Sfondrate* his Nephew. During theſe E preparations, the Cheuallier *D'Aumale* attempts vpon Saint Denis, ſcales the wall by night, enters the towne without loſſe, and held himſelfe for maſter thereof, when as the Lord of Vicq, a valiant, wiſe, and reſolute Gentleman, comes into the ſtreet, chargeth the Knight, layes him dead vpon the place, kills moſt of his followers, and puts the reſt to flight. This Knight was one of the chiefe of the League, violent, hardy and valiant, but of a ſtrange diſpoſition, inſupportable and diſſolute.

Gregory the 14,  
a partiſan of  
Spaine.

The King tired the Pariſiens with continuall alarums, and new enterpriſes, but rather to terrifie then to ruine them, and to giue them occaſion to open their eyes, and to conſider of their eſtate. They grow ſo amazed, as they wall vp S. Honories gate, vpon an aduerſtment that the Kings troops would make ſome great attempt the 20 of Ianuary. The F Pariſiens feare ſerues the Agents of Spaine for a pretext to draw in ſome regiments of Spaniards and Neapolitanes, attending ſome great ſuccours from the D. of Parma. The hope of theſe new ſuccours from Spaine and Italy, ſerued the chiefe of that faction as a bridle to reſtrain the Pariſiens. But the more to encourage and content the whole body, *Gregory the 14*, aſſiſted by many Cardinals, doth againe excommunicate the King and his adherents: he ſends a Monitory to the Cardinall of Placentia his Legate at Paris, by *Marcellin Landriano* his Nuncio: and for the effect of his purpoſes and promiſes, he begins to arme, to nouriſh (in ſtead of quenching as a common father) the combuſtions of this Realme.

D d d d On



1591

On the other side, the Chastilian having private intelligence with the D. of Mercœur A the Spaniards land in Britany, and fortifie Blauet a port of the Sea: and thereby in a manner dismember the whole Province, united to the Crowne vnder Charles the eight. The King sent *La Noue* to make head against them: and retiring to Senlis, he took the way to Brié, accompanied by the D. of Neuers (who hereafter shall be of the Kings party, vpon the assurance the Cardinall of Bourbon gaue him, that he might without scruple of conscience carry armes for his King, although of a contrary religion) he makes a shew to bessege Prouins, Sens, or Troyes; and then with a sudden change hee giues out, that his meaning was to go to Tours, to redresse some disorders: but he commands the Marshall of Biron (who returned from the conquest of Caudebec, Fescamp, and diuers other places for his Maiesty) to make a shew to passe through Beaufe, to ioyne with him, and that suddenly he should turne and inuest Chartres, before any greater forces should enter.

Chartres be-  
sieged and taken.

Chartres was enuiroined the tenth of February, besieged, battered, and assailed, but valiantly defended almost two months and a halfe. *La Bourdaisiere* commanded there, who having endured some assaults, it was propounded in the Kings Councell to raise the siege: but the Earle of Cheterny (lately restored to the office of Chancellor by his Maiesty) did vehemently impugne it: having an especiall interest in the reduction of this towne, by reason of some lands he possessed thereabout, he aduise the King to giue a generall assault: insists vpon the dishonour and preiudice it would bring to the Kings affaires, and the commodities he should receive by the taking thereof, being one of the keyes of Paris, which might greatly settle his estate, and annoy his rebells. The Lord of Chastillon (comming from raising of the siege of Aubigni, which *La Chastre*, chief of the league in Berry, had besieged) promitteth the King, that if he will make him his Lieutenant on this side the riuer, he will deliuer it into his power within eight daies. His Maiesty giues him this command. He makes a bridge of wood, the point whereof reached vnto the breach, that they might come couered to bandy strokes with the enemy. This new engine amazeth them, and draws them to composition: the which they obtained on good-Friday, vpon condition to yield within eight daies, if they were not relieved. The Duke of Mayenne would not lose the certaine, to run after the vncertaine. He held Chateau-Thierry to straightly begitt, as the Vicount *Pinard* was forced to capitulate with him before the King could come to his succour. So the King lost Chateau-Thierry, and in exchange tooke Chartres, a goodly and a strong place. There came forth about 600 men with their armes, horse, and baggage, and the 19 of Aprill the King made a triumphant entry in armes, appointed a garison, restored *Sourdais* to his gouernment, reduced Aulneau and Dourdan to his obedience, and then went to refresh himselfe at Senlis.

Chateau-  
Thierry taken  
by the League.

Let vs now see some other sinister accidents, which in time shal help to ruine the league. A thousand horse, and eightene hundred Harguebuziers, Prouencals, Sauoyards and Spaniards, seeke to subdue that Province for the Duke of Sauoy. *La Vallette* inuities *Les Diguieres* to doe the King herein a notable seruice: he goes, and both ioyntly charge these troops of strangers and bastard French, they kill foure hundred masters, and 1500 Harguebuziers, take many prisoners, and carry away fiftene Ensignes, win many horses and much baggage, and lose but one Gentleman, and some twenty souldiers. This done, *Les Diguieres* returns into Dauphiné. Being gone, the league recouers new forces in Prouence by the fauour and credit of the Countesse of Saulx: but she had neither force nor vigor able to countenance the factions of Spaine and Sauoy. The Duke of Sauoy, lately returned from Spaine, grows iecalous of some intelligences preiudiciall to his Estate, and sets guards, both ouer her and the Lord of Crequy her sonne. She is cunning, counterfeites her selfe sicke, conceales her discontent, and in the end, finds meanes to escape with her sonne disguised to Marseilles.

In Poitou.

In Poitou the Gouernor of Loches, having taken the Castle of la Guierche, the Vicount of the said place presteth his friends, intreats the D. of Mercœur, assembles all he can to recover his house. The Baron of Roche-pose ioynd with some other Commanders of the country for his Maiesties seruice, comes and chargeth the Vicount, kills a booke three hundred gentlemen, his best footmen, and aboute seven hundred naturall Spaniards that were come out of Britany, to succour the Vicount. The Vicount after he had maintained a little fight, flies to a riuer by, where thinking to passe in the ferry-boate, the presse grew presently so great, as boate and passengers sunke. *La Guierche* with

A with many other Gentlemen slaine or drowned, did almost equall the number of the Nobility which died at Couras.

1591

The Popes  
Bull dissuaded.

Then the Princes, and Noblemen, Catholiks, following the King, did sollicite his Maiesty to turne to the Catholike religion, and had by the Duke of Luxembourg sought to appease the bitterness of the Court of Rome, against the estate of this realme. The dukes returne with small hope: the petitions made vnto the King, to provide for his dutifull subjects of both religions: to prevent the new attempts of *Gregory* the fourteenth and his adherents, to the preiudice of this Crowne, were the cause of two Edicts made at Mante in the beginning of Iuly: the one confirmed the Edicts of pacification made by the deceased King, vpon the troubles of the Realme, and dissuaded all that passed in Iuly, 1585 and 1588, in fauor of the League. The other shewed the Kings intent to maintaine the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion in France, with the ancient rights and priuiledges of the French Church. The Court of Parliament at Paris, resident at Tours and Châlons in Champagne, having verified these Edicts, did presently dissuade all the Bulls of Cardinall *Casians* Legation, and other Bulls come from Rome the first of March, proceedings, excommunications and fulminations, made by *Marcellin Landriano*, terming himselfe the Popes Nuntio, as abusive, scandalous, seditious, full of impostures, made against the holy decrees, Canonically constitutions, approved Councels, and against the rights and liberties of the French Church. They decree, that if any had bene excommunicate by vertue of the said proceedings, they should be absolved: the said Bulls and all proceedings by vertue thereof burnt in the market-place by the hang-man. *Landriano* the pretended Nuntio (come priuily into the Realm without the Kings leave or liking) should be apprehended and put into the Kings prison, and so to proceed extraordinarily against him. And in case he could not be taken, he should be summoned at three short daies, according to the accustomed manner, and 10000 franks given in reward to him that should deliuer him to the Magistrate. Prohibitions being made to all men to receive, retaine, conceale or lodge the said pretended Nuntio, vpon paine of death. And to all Clergie men, nor to receive, publish or cause to be published any sentences, or proceedings comming from him, vpon paine to be punished as Traytors. The declared the Cardinals (being at Rome), the Archbishops, Bishops and other Clergy men, which had signed, and ratified the said Bull of Excommunication, and approved the most barbarous, abominable & detestable Parricide trayterously committed on the person of the deceased King, most Christian and most Catholike, deprived of such spirittual livings as they held within the Realme, causing the Kings Proctor generall to seize thereon, and to put them into his Maiesties hands: forbidding all persons either to carry or send gold to Rome, and to provide for the disposition of Benefices, vntill the King should otherwise decree.

That of Tours added this clause to their Decree: they declared *Gregory*, calling himselfe Pope the fourteenth of that name, an enemy to peace, to the vnion of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romane Church, to the King and to his Estate, adhering to the conspiracy of Spaine, and a fauourer of rebels, culpable of the most cruel, most inhumane, and most detestable Parricide, committed on the person of *Henry* the third of famous memory, most Christian and most Catholike. The Parliament of the League, did afterwards condemne and cause those decrees to be burnt at Paris, which were made against the Bulls and Ministers of the Romish sea. So one pulled downe what an other built vp. During this contrariety of Parliaments, there falls out a crosser to diuide the intentions of the Spaniard, and Lorraine without the Realme, and of the Dukes of Mayenne and Nemours at Paris. Euery one by diuers practices affected this Crowne, and euery one tried all his wits to set it vpon his owne head. But these men had diuided it amongst them, giuing the rest to understand, that they fed themselves with vaine hopes. To cast more wood and oile into the flames of their diuision, and to ruine one by another, matters were so handled, as the fifteenth of August, the young Duke of Guise escaped out of prison from Tours, and not farre from the riuer, found a troupe of horse appointed by the Lord of La Chastre, to conduct him. This escape caused many bonfires, and greatly reuiued their hearts, who held this Prince fit to make a King of the Vnion. But the clerke-fighted thought with reason, that his arrival at Paris would rather ruine then aduance their party, and the deuices and practices of other pretendants, must needs loose kinde an extreme and common iecalousie amongst them.

The D. of Guise  
escapes

Dddd

While

1591

Noyon taken  
by the King.

Whilest these consult with their most trusty friends and seruants, what effects might A grow by this new accident, the King in the same moneth besieged Noyon in Picardy, defeated the succours sent by the League, four times, killed their most resolute men at armes, tooke many prisoners, put the rest to flight, and at the duke of Mayennes nose (who to auydey this checke, which the League was like to receiue, attempted vpon Maistre, fought to force his Maisties Suiffes lodged at Houde, and approached neere to Noyon, but would not fight) heaping chame vpon his enemies, he forced the besieged to yeeld to his obedience: and moreover, went and dared him to fight before Han. Whilest on the other side the Prince of Coutry reduced Sellies in Berri to the Kings obedience, at the winning whereof hee won more honor, being strongly situated in a marish, then *Maher* he did in the keeping of it: for he suffered it to be recouered within two months by him that had lost it.

The army of  
Saucy defeated.

Let vs returne in Dauphiné, to behold the most memorable, and most fatall defeat for the enemies of this Crowne, the most vertuous expedition of armes, which for these many yeares hath most broken their designs vpon Prouence & Dauphine, and most weakened the League in thoe Prouinces which the Sauoisien affected: *Dan Amado*, bastard brother to the Duke of Sauoy, *Dan Olimas* chiefe of the Spaniards, (whom the duke had lately obtained of King *Philip* his father in law,) the Marquis of Treuic and others, conducted twelue or thirtene thousand men, by the plaine of Pontcharra, neere to the Castle of Bayard, in the valley of Grasiuodan. Doubtlesse the place should not ruine the memory of that incomparable Knight, who by the valour of his armes, had in former times wonderfully tyed the Realm: to commend his merits: the Lord *Les Dignieres* meets them, chargeth and defeats them, leauing two thousand five hundred slain vpon the place, carries away many prisoners, and most of the Commanders, takes eightene Ensignes with Red Crosses, and makes booty of all their baggage, which amounts to aboue two hundred thousand Crownes, in chaines, jewels, plate, money, both gold and siluer, horse and armes. Two thousand Romanes and Milanais, which had faued themselves with Conte *Gales* of Bel-joyeuse their Commander in the Castle of Aualon, were the next day at the victors discretion: fixe or seuen hundred were put in peeces, the rest were sent to a place of safety, with white wands in their hands: and then sent home into Italy, with an oath neuer to cary armes against France.

The King seeing, that neither by the taking of Noyon, nor by any other bait, he could draw his enemies to fight, doth presse them yet more neerly. To this end he commands, that Paris should be restrained on all sides, both by water and land, and enioy no commodities, but by the mercy of the neighbour garisons (the which hee entertained, vpon the tributes and customes imposed vpon victuals, which they suffered to passe to Paris: and by this means emptied the inhabitants purses, stript them, and drew out of the City necessary commodities for his troopes,) then with one part of his army, hee marcheth into Normandy, surpriseth Louiers, and then resoluech to besiege Rouan, the inhabitants whereof seeming no lesse obdurate then the Parisiens, whereupon hee made a voyage to Diepe, to provide for all things necessary for this siege; from thence he sent an Ambassadour to intreat the Queene of England to assist him at this siege with foure thousand men for three moneths, and to haue the Earle of Essex, to command them, the taking of which Towne imported very much hee said for the Trade of the English Merchants. The Queene did willingly grant these succours, and the Earle came at the appointed time with foure thousand foot, and a hundred and fifty horse as gallant troopes as could be seene: the King in the meane time was in Picardy attending his Germane army which came vnto him vnder the command of the Prince of Anhalt. The English lay idle and halfe of the time was spent that was limited for their stay: at the last the King sent the Marshall of Biron to ioyne with them with part of his army, who besieging Gournay with their ioynt forces they tooke it by composition, and then vpon the Kings arriuall they went to invest Rouan, where at their first sitting downe the garison made a gallant fall vpon the English quarter, but they repulst them and beaue them into their towne as valiantly, but the English lost in this skirmish Master *Walter Denoreux* the Earle of Essex brother, a gallant yong Gentleman and of great hope. This siege grew long and the inhabitants criet out for succours being reduced to a very desperate estate. So the King of Spaine sends to the Duke of Parma, commands him to leaue the gouernment of the Low.

1591

A Low-Countries to Cont *Mansfield*, to go and free Rouan, and to imbrace such occasions as should be offered. Whereupon hee parts from Bruxelles with 4000 foot, and 3000 horse: and fortified with the succors of Italy, and 3000 Suiffes, hee marcheth, by small iourneys, for he wisely conceived that his master sent him into France for the same considerations, that he would haue given him the conduct of his army by sea into England, and vnder this shew of armes hee practised another designe: to cause the estates of the League to giue the Crowne of France to the Infanta of Spaine, whom the father promised to marry with one of the heads of the party, whom the estates should name.

This passed greatly to the preiudice of the D. of Mayenne, for he was married: and the eldest son of *Lorraine*, with the Dukes of Guise and Nemours were to marry. He is therefore now resolutely determined to crosse the 16 Tribunes of Paris, who with their Champions carried away the peoples voyces, and aboue all others, did feed the Spaniards hopes in this Realme, to whom (inticed by the gold of *Pern*, and his prodigall promises) they had already sold the Capitall City. The 16 growne hatefull through their tyrannous authority, feare to be soone suppressed: they refuse to prevent it, and rather to vnhorse the Duke, the better to aduance their affaires according to king *Philips* intentions: One thing seemed to aduance their designe: they held prisoner one named *Brigard* a Proctor of the Towne-house, accused to haue had intelligence with the King, and for letters written to his Maisty. *Brigard* escapes out of prison: they suspect the President *Brissot*, and the

Division between the Duke of Mayenne and the sixteenth Tribunes at Paris.

C Councillors *Larcher* and *Tardife*, to haue fauored his escape. In this fury the 15 of November, they seize vpon these three venerable persons, hale them to the Chaffeler, caufe them to be strangled in the close prison, and the next day, hang vp their bodies at the Greue, with infamous writings on their breasts. This execrable fact might haue extended farther, and made the like spectacle of any one that should in any thing haue controlled the actions of these homicides. The Duke of Mayenne (who treated with *Parma*) posts to appease this tumult. Hee sends for *Espritel*, *Francis* of Ardilly a Gentleman of Beaulieu who commanded in the Louure in the absence of *Riuande* his kinsman, asking him if there were an executioner provided. This had beene sufficient to amaze the most constant, if he were not assured not to haue failed against the commandement D which the Duke had giuen him at his departure, not to obey any but the Lord of Belin. He offers his hand to *Ardilly*, and commands him to caufe those which hee should send vnto him to be presently hanged. *Crucé*, *Louchart*, *Hameline*, *Auboux*, *Emonnet*, *Rufile Cleric*, and many others of the sixteene which could not be found in the heat, escaped the gibbet. *Crucé* had beene first hanged if the Bishop of Triest had not purchast his pardon from the Duke of Mayenne. *Louchart* had escaped this mischief if hee would haue accepted the honor which the Duke offered him to make him Commissary of the viduals in the army. I will not (said he proudly) goe out of Paris.

You haue men about you, to whom you serue as a buckler; if your presence were not, we would make them change their language. *Hameline* seeing *Louchart* strangled, made a long prayer in French. *Emonnet* a violent man, strugled much with the Hangman that bound him, thinking they would onely terrifie him: but being led towards his companions hee desired to be confessed, protesting before all the assistants, being about forty, that he was not culpable of the President *Brissot*s death: yet that God had worthily punished him for that hee had in a night wickedly slaine a Secretary belonging to the *Chaudier d'Annale*, whom hee had seene receiue two hundred Crownes in gold which hee had. *Auboux* excused himselfe that hee was not of *Louchart*s practise although hee had solicited him, that hee tooke his death in good part, for many other great offences which hee had committed, but he named them not. Thus these foure rascals were hanged in the lower Hall of the Louure, the which they call Saint Louys Hall, and by him, who for that he had made no refusal to put them secretly to death and without any ordinary forme of proceeding, whom the beauty of their Scarlet robes made reuerent and to be respected, shall be hanged within few yeares after with other confederates of that cursed attempt, when as after these furies the capitall City of this Realme shall acknowledge her lawfull Lord, and the Court of Parliament recouer her former dignity, to reuie these miserable wretches opprest at this day by the damnable commands of these Tribunes. The Duke of Mayenne by this execution shortened their number, weakened their authority, and maintained his owne as well as hee could, and to pacifie the people, guilty of this mutinie, he

Execution of Leaders of the sixteenth Tribunes at Paris.

1592

A treacherous  
deceit of the  
Count of  
Rouan.

he published the tenth of December a proclamation of things past in this disorder. The King in the mean time made his necessary provisions for the siege of Rouan; and appointed his horse-holders at Caen, Pont Larche, Ponteau de Mer, and other places. On the other side, the hope of speedy succors from the Stranger, the presence of Henry of Lorraine, eldest son to the Duke of Mayenne, and the arrival of the Seigneur of Villars, with 800 horse, and 2000 Musketers, made the Citizens to persist in their rebellion; and the Parliament, to forbid all men by a decree, in any sort to favour the part of Henry of Bourbon, upon pain of death: ordaining that the oath of the union made the 20 of January, in the year 1589 should be monthly renewed in the general Assembly made to that effect, in the Abbey of Saint Owen, with commendament by the said Court to the Inhabitants, to obey the Lord of Villars, Lieutenant to the said Henry, in all he should command for the preservation of the towne. Moreover, *Baughemere* then first President, prosecuted that all the Inhabitants should swear before *La Londe* Mayor of Rouan, to receive all such as by word or deed should favour the King of Navarre, to be exemplarily punished. *P. Harbaing* got feebly within Rouan, he presently displaced his superior: scilicet his authority, expells all such as he suspected, fortified *S. Katherine's* mount, and did all acts of hostility against the King, annoying his army what he could; the which besides the obduracy of the besieged, waste encounter with the extreme rigor of the winter, sickness, & want of victuals. But they surmounted all these difficulties cheerfully; and the besieged were ready to yield, when as news comes that the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma had taken Neuchastell, (abandoned by the Kings garisons) and were lodged at Franqueville, halfe a daies journey from Rouan. The Duke of Guise, *la Chastre* and *Firry* his Nephew led the forward. The Dukes of Mayenne, of Parma and *Sfondrate* Nephew to *Gregory* the fourth, the battell. The Duke of Aumale, the Earle of Chaligny, brother to the Queene Dowager, *Boisdamphain*, *Bagagny*, and *Saint Paul* the reeward: *Boisempierre* and *la Motte*; *Lorraine*, led the Swisses and the artillery. Whilst that the King made a necessary voyage to Diepe, to frustrate some intelligences of his enemies, the Marshall of Biron draws forth seven peeces of artillery to Bais, a village about Darnetall, plants them in three places, and puts himself in battell, to receive the Duke of Parma, who should come to lodge in the valley on that side, and by this countenance, made them think that he had a desire to fight.

The King arises, continues in battell almost thirty houres, and prouokes his enemy by continuall skirmishes. But he was encountered by a cunning temporizer, who passing with his troopes wide of Darnetall, made the king to devise a new stratagem to draw him on more, and to engage him; as it hapned soone after. The King dismisseth his Nobility, but with charge to be ready at the first command; & by continuall skirmishes kept Rouan from any reliefe, from the 20 of March to the 21 of April. In the end, the Dukes of Mayenne, Guise, and Parma, seize vpon Caudebec, from whence the garison was dislodged, and the same day they come to Rouan, but stay not many houres; neither had they means to victual it. His Majesty seeing that Rouan was not supplied with victuals, passed at Pont Larche, causeth his army to aduance toward Fontaine-le-Bourg, and sends for all his garisons of Louiers, Mante, Meulan, Vernon, and other places neerer; so as fortified with about 3000 horse, and 6000 foot in lesse then fixe daies, he turns head towards the village of Iueter, where the Duke of Mayenne & Guise were lodged, charged their forward, and defeats it quite, chaseth the Dukes about two leagues from *Parma's* quarter, leaving their baggage & plate in the possession of *La Guishe*. The first of May he takes from them another lodging, slaues about 600 Leaguers dead vpon the place, and loseth but few soldiers, and eightene or twenty hurt. All these checks should draw the Dukes to fight, but *Parma* seeks only to free himselfe from the king, and the rest had no desire to make trial of their valors. They held themselves very close intrenched and fortified within their campe, issuing forth no more then they had lately done neer vnto Lagny. The King presseth them and takes from them all passages both for victuals and retreat. They likewise intrench a great wood, and to stop the Kings approach, lodge there 2000 Spaniards and Wallons. In sight of their whole army his Majesty forthwith this entrenchment, and had it not beene for a small number who by great speed recovered the army, had defeated the whole troop. For ten dayes space the King tryed them with continuall skirmishes, during the which he views the situation of their Camp; and the 10 of May he made choise of such forces as he

held

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The King miraculously hurt.

A held necessary, and by five of clock in the morning, chargeth a quarter which the Leaguers held to be most safe; and without resistance kills about two thousand five hundred men vpon the place, castes away about two thousand horse; and wins all the baggage. To conclude, this war brought forth nothing so memorable as that which was done at Caudebec; at Iueter, and at Aumale. But for a proofe of the perpetuall assistance and fauour of Heaven to our King, amidst this thundering of Artillery, and so many showers of shot, his Majesty was hurt with a hurculeuse in the reynes; but yet so miraculously, as the force of the bullet was spent in the emptinesse of the ayre, and lay betwixt his armour and his backe, giving the King this lesion by a diuine aduertisement, *My Lord, Alas had you not beene so bravely, it is necessary for your subjects.* The Duke of Parma escaped all these encounters without a musket shot in the arme; the wound did not compell him to his graue.

In the end, blowes, hunger and extreme thirst, forced these Dukes to take their way to Paris in confusion, from whence *Parma* (carrying no tokens of victory) passed through Brise, recoctred Artois; and so went to refresh himselfe at Bruxelles; then in the end of the yeare he died in Arras, as he returned from the Spaw. His repuration began to decay. He had preailed little in France, and *Conte Maurice* did daily take something from him in the Low-countries. He had beene aduertised by a great souldier, and a man of iudgement, that hauing taken the towne of Antwerp (against the opinion of all the world) in the yeare 1585, he should shake hands with war. Doubtlesse this Prince should haue ended his labors by this great seruice done to King *Philip* his Master, as the most glorious triumph which Spaine had long time seene.

Thus the Duke of Parmas troops by land were weakened, and those he had imbarked were fought withall, some taken, and the rest sunke by the Hollanders. So *Sfondrate* came to consulte his troops in France. Thus France escaped at this time the proud threats of her ancient enemies. Rouan pressed with as great necessity as before, bought come out of *Villars* store-houses, at his owne price; whereby he got an infinite treasure. The King weighing well the toile his nobility had endured; dismissed some, and retyned the most resolute, and to hinder the Parmelan from attempting any thing, he sent the Marshall of Biron to follow him at the heeles. Who loath to remaine idle, besieged, battereth, and takes Elspemay. But Elspemay must be the fatal place to end his labors, and by his death brake off some other designs which his Majesty had; who to stop the entry of another army of Strangers (which King *Philip*, at the entreaty of the chiefe of the League, nothing sory for the Duke of Parmas disgrace, whose side they could not beare) determined to send, vnder the conduct of the young duke of Parma, assisted by the Duke of Ferrara, vntill the coming of the Archduke *Ernest*, brother to the Emperor *Rodolphe*, gaue order for the most vrgent affaires of his Realme: he diuided his forces into the most convenient places, to set vpon the league, where they had greatest strength, and laboured to effect some intelligences he had within Paris. But the period of his happinesse was not yet come. During these practices the Duke of Mayenne surprised Ponteau de Mer; and to get more bags of double Pistoles, he treats againe with the Agents of Spaine, touching the assembly of their estates, to make the Crowne elective, against the fundamentall law of the realme. But he had his designs apart, and the greatest part of the parliament wasted with this hidious confusion; vnder the which their scarlet robes could not appeare so beautifull, as vnder a stately Royalty: and the chiefe of the third Estate inclining to peace, abhorred these tedious furies of the league; the D. of Nemours for his part laid the foundation of a petty Monarchy at Lions, but he built it vpon the sand. He was now installed in the towne which *Mangiron* had sold him treacherously; considering the shew he had made of faithfull seruice to the King, and the towne and Castles of *Vallene* in Dauphiné, the which he had received to the prejudice of the truce, which was then betwixt them of Lions and Dauphiné: Being assured of these good places, hee went to field, but with more brute then fruit: for he did not fortifie his party, but by the taking of *Saint Marcellin*, and *Eschelles*, places of weak resistance; and doubtlesse *Richieu* won more honour in the defence, then the Duke did in the conquest of the last. The Colonel *La Plancha*, and *Les Digniers*, vpon assurance of the truce were far off, the one in Provence, the other in Languedoc, where both opposed themselves against the forces of the league. This breach recalled them soone into Dauphiné; where with their ioynt forces

they

The enemy defeated at Iueter.

The Duke retreated.

The death of the D. of Parma.

The death of the Marshall of Biron.

The Kings proceeding.

The Duke of Mayennes.

The Duke of Nemours.

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Les Digniers.

they recover that which the Duke had taken, not daring to oppose himselfe. In the end *Les Digniers* having thrust the Duke of Nemours out of Dauphine, (who by fauour of the forces of Sauoy, thought to settle himself there) enters into Piedmont in the month of September, fortifies Briqueras, batters and takes the towne and Castle of Cauours, chargeth the Dukes men at Vigon, forceth and defeats them. The Duke of Sauoy posses to Turin, and seekes to take the fort begun at Briqueras by Scalado. Hee is repulsed with dishonour and losse. They charge him in his retreat, but some feare of an ambush made them retire. And *Les Digniers* (having left the Lord of Piët to command in Piedmont) returns to Grenoble, whither the affaires of the Prouince did call him.

Bayonne is  
tempers by  
the Spaniards.

On the other side, seeing the armes of Spaine had preuailed so little on the Land, they must try if some enterprize by Sea would repaire their former losses. The Gouernour of Fontaraby had long practised vpon Bayonne with a Physitian named *Blancpignon*, who had intelligence with a Spaniard that had liued long in the towne, and vnder borrowed rearmes of art, did by letter negotiate the surprisall of Bayonne, and the rooting out of all the Kings officers and seruants. Their treason was so well advanced, as a fleet of Ships with an army at land was ready for the execution, when as by Gods permission *La Hille* Gouernour of Bayonne surpris'd the Lacquay coming from Fontaraby with letters of credit to the Traytors, who being taken and beheaded afterwards, discouered soone the whole practice: but the Spaniard chose rather to dye then to write those letters hee was required, to give direction to the attempters, and to lay a plot for his companions.

Defence of  
Amblise.

In October the D. of Bouillon followed with foure hundred horse, two hundred harguebuffiers, before the towne of Beaumont defeated *Amblise* great Marshall of Lorraine, Lieutenant Generall to the Duke, accompanied with eight hundred horse, and two thousand; he slew the Commander, and about seuen hundred others,ooke their artillery, their ensignes, and their Cornets, sent home foure hundred Lansquenets with white wands, and left not one man of marke. A small fish called *Remora* staies a great ship: so a paullry hens roult ruins the league in Languedoc and Quercy. The Duke of Ioyeuse (brother to him who died at Contras (having spoyled the Countrey about Montauban with fix hundred masters, and foure thousand foot, French and Lansquenets, in the end became Master of Monbequin, Mombartier, Monbeton, andooke *Barre* by composition; but in reuenge of so souldiers he had lost before it, (contrary to his faith) he puts most of them that yielded to the sword. A treachery which caused his brothers death, and for the which the vengeance of God shall soone confound this man. The fort of Saint Maurice came in like sort into his power, & then he besieged Villelmur. The Lord of the place called *Reniers*, commanded about two hundred and fifty souldiers, whom the Lord of *Themines* Seneschall of Quercy (a wife and valiant Gentleman) relieved suddenly with six and forty men, as well Cuiraisses, as Harguebuffiers, led by the Seigneur of *Pedoue*: and then (being ioynd with the Duke of Elpernon) he caused *Ioyeuse* to raise the siege, recovered Mauzac, and some other small places thereabouts.

Themines was  
gritted and de-  
bated.

But whilst his troops sleepe at their ease, after the order and manner of the French, with too great confidence and contempt of the enemy, the Duke of Ioyeuse, sets vpon them with all speed in the night, kills foure hundred, hurts a great number of them, and but for the wildome and aduice of *Themines* had slaine all the rest, and gotten two Cannons of Montauban. This done the D. of Elpernon retires into Prouence. His brother *La Pallette* died in February, & the Estate of Prouence required the Dukes presence, being Gouernour. *Ioyeuse* laies hold of this occasion, and the tenth of September returns and camps before Villelmur. *Reniers* commits the place to the Baron of Mauzac, to *Chambert*, and *La Chaize*, wife and valiant Commanders in war: and goes himselfe to gather together some succours at Montauban. The Seigneur of Desme is happily there with some forces, and without any stay puts himselfe into Villelmur. *Ioyeuse* made his battery of eight Cannons and two Culuerins, when as *Themines* accompanied with sixscore Masters, and 200 Harguebuffiers, marcheth courageously to succour them, causeth his horsemen to light, and sends their horses safely backe to Montauban, and so with great dexterity, thrusts himselfe into Villelmur. And in good time, for the next day, the 20 of September, *Ioyeuse* gaue a furious assault, but it was valiantly defended with great losse to the enemy. At the same instant *Themines* gives an alarm with foure Trumpets which he had brought with him, chargeth *Ioyeuse* fiercely, and defeats a Regiment newly come from

A from Tholouse, with a supply of powder, bullets, pikes and iron forks.

Hereupon the Marshall of Montmorency Gouernour of Languedoc supplies the besieged with some troops led by *Leques* and *Chambault*, who aduertised of new forces, comes to *Ioyeuse*, attends some daies for *Misillac* Gouernour of Auvergne, to ioyne with him. *Ioyeuse* meanes to prevent them, and before they ioyne with the Auernac, to set vpon them. He chargeth them at Bellegard, and finds the beginning successful and pleasing, but the end foule and mournfull: for hee left the Field, and returned with great losse.

Notwithstanding he meanes to amaze the besieged, and by the counsell of *Onoux* and *B. Themines*, polittike Capitaines, he makes many fires in his Campe, as a signe of victory and ioy: but *Themines*, *Leques* and *Chambault* did but laugh at this policy. *Misillac* arrives at Montauban with a hundred Masters, and a good number of Harguebuffiers. *Ioyeuse* hauing his troops then disperfed, some before Villelmur, others in Field against the Kings seruants, all the Commanders resolute to fight with him. *Misillac* leads the forward, *Chambault* the battell, *Leques* the reuerward: & the 19 of October they resolutely set vpon the Dukes first trench, by the regiments of *Clunzel*, and *Montoison*, guarded by two hundred souldiers, and pretently succoured by foure hundred others, they force them and chase them to their second trench, after an houre and a halles fight: vnder their Commander. The rest of the Kings army comes violently vpon them. *Themines* issueth out of C. Villelmur and chargeth them behind. He leaves the place and retires farther off to *Candoumes*, where his Campe and artillery remained. His men seeing themselves pursued, takes this retreat for a flight: they grow amazed, all disband, all fly in disorder, feare makes them to lose their iudgement, and the most part casting themselves into the river of Tar, (the bridge of boats which *Ioyeuse* had made being vncapable of so great a presse) desired rather to try the fortune of the water, then of the victors sword. They cut the bridge, which was in a manner the death of all them which had trusted in this violent Element. *Ioyeuse* disappointed of the vse of the bridge, leaps among the rest into the river of Tar, being full of them that fled, and the Tar swallowing vp his body, as the rest, leaves his foule to seek the place of his destiny. The Victors passe the loard, and charge them D that did swim in the water, pursue them that flye, cut all in peeces they encounter, and of so great a number bring but forty three prisoners.

The death of about three thousand men ruined the league in Languedoc and Quercy. Three Cannons, two Culuerins, two and twenty ensignes, and all the baggage, were the spoiles of this to memorable day. And to make it the more memorable, the Victors loit but ten men, wherof foure being not well knowne, did by mistaking run like fortune with the vanquished. Thus Villelmur hauing endured about two thousand Cannon shot, was fully deliuered, with the losse of seenteene souldiers onely. The Dukes body was drawne out of the water and buried in Villelmur, and the Kings army, consisting of five hundred Masters, and two thousand and five hundred foot, besides those which remained in the place besieged, retired (hauing purchased great honour) to their garisons. Thus the leagues affaires began to languish: the impatency and lightnesse of people (who promise vnto themselves much, and suffer little) did quench their great heat which was lately seene in good towne, and the whole party runs headlong to their ruine. They did no more take for payment the assurance which was giuen them to prouide shortly for this common disorder, and by an assembly of the Estates, proceed to the election of a King, who should raise the pillars of their Estate, and restore the good order and harmony that should be betwixt them. The zeale of the new Pope, *Clement* the eight, moued them very little. The forces and pistolets of Spaine grow barefall vnto them. The actions of the Duke of Mayenne are detested; they abhor the tyrannies which other petty Kings F would practice in their Prouinces, and did well foresee, that the ambition of great men would soone thrust the people into the gulfe of utter ruine, finally euery one begins to lift vp his head, and to desire peace. They speake of ioin in the open Parliament of the league. The chiefe of the City ioyne with them that are desirous of quiet, and in the end procure an assembly of the City of Paris, in the middle of November. They speake very plainly to end these troubles, and to send to treat with the King to that end and purpose: besides (by the death of the Cardinal of Bourbon lately deceased) the pressing & aduancing of this vnto before the nephew, which they pretended, was no more of force.

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The Duke of  
Ioyeuse dis-  
cuss.The league  
declines.

The

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The D. of Mayenne seeing himselfe ready to be disappointed, goes to the town-houſe, A  
increaſes the aſſembly to refer the deciſion of that point to the Eſtates, and to forbear  
to deale therein. Otherwiſe (ſaid he) I ſhall haue reaſon to thinke that the authors ther-  
of are ill affected to our partie, & will deale with them as with the enemies of our religion.  
Norwithſtanding all his threats, it was decreed, that attending a Conuocation of the  
Eſtates, they ſhould ſend vnto the King to obtaine a free traffike betwixt them and the  
Townes of this Realme. The Duke not able to impugn this concluſion, ſeemes to allow  
thereof. This was to recover ſome life after a long numbeſſe and fainting, and to returne  
to the way of obedience: But the Legate of Rome (a penſioner of Spaine, and the chiefe  
of the League) hoping to draw the affaires to another courſe, calling from all parts the  
Deputies of townes confederate, to aſſiſt at the Eſtates at Paris, they ſought all meanes to  
mortifie theſe motiues of charity to their country, which remained in the moſt modeſt. And  
the better to aduance their deſignes, they publiſh a certaine writing in forme of a Bull,  
commanding, and giuing authority to the Cardinall of Placentia to aſſiſt and to con-  
firme the future election of a new King. This doth ſufficiently diſcouer that which hither-  
to they haue concealed and kept ſecret, couering (with the pretext of religion) their wicked  
and damnable conſpiracy, which opened the gates to the ouerthrow and ruine of all  
order and humane ſociety, inſtituted by God, eſpecially of this moſt famous and flouriſhing  
Monarchy, whereof the fundamentall law conſiſts chiefly in the order of the law-  
full ſucceſſion of our Kings.

A ſentence a-  
gainſt Clement  
the eighth his  
Bull.

The Court of Parliament (being removed from Paris to Châlons, by a decree of the  
18 of Nouember, (confirming the requeſt of the Kings Proctor generally) allowed of his  
appeale from the grant of the ſaid Bull, and authority contained therein, the publication  
and execution thereof, & whatſoever was therein contained, they decreed that *Philip* of the  
title of *S. Omphrius*, Cardinall of Placentia, ſhould be cited to plead againſt the ſaid appeal.  
They exhorted all men not to ſuffer themſelues to be infected with the paylon & witch-  
craft of ſuch rebels and ſeditious perſons: but to continue in their duties like good and  
naturall French men, and to retain full the obedience and loue they owe vnto their King  
and country, not adhering to the practices of ſuch as (vnder the colour of Religion)  
would inuade and trouble the Eſtate, and bring in the barbarous Spaniards, and other  
villains.

The Popes Bull  
diſannulled.

They did expreſſly inhibit and forbid the keeping of the ſaid Bull, to publiſh it, to ayde  
or fauour the ſaid rebels, or to tranſport themſelues into any townes or places that might  
be aſſigned for the ſaid pretended election: vpon paine for the Nobles to be degraded  
of their Nobility, and they and their poſterity to be declared infamous and baſe; and for  
the Clergie to loſe the poſſeſſion of their benefices, and to be puniſhed as all other offen-  
ders, guilty of treaſon, troublers of the publike peace, traytors to their Country, with-  
out hope to obtaine pardon, remiſſion, or abolition. And all townes not to receiue the  
ſaid rebels and ſeditious to make the ſaid aſſembly, to lodge, entertaine, or harbor them.  
Moreover, they decreed, that the place where that reſolution had bene taken, together  
with the towne of the ſaid aſſembly ſhould be quite razed, without hope to be reedified,  
for a perpetuall memory of their trechery and treaſon: Commanding all perſons to ſet  
vpon ſuch as ſhould tranſport themſelues to the ſaid towne, to aſſiſt at this aſſembly:  
And to the Proctor generally to informe againſt the authors and procurers of ſuch mono-  
polies and conſpiracies made againſt the Eſtate.

This decree was but laughed at by the heads of the League, and did nothing daunt their  
private hopes. Every one makes his faction apart. Every one deſired to ſit in his maſters  
Chaire: and not one would be a ſeruant or companion. The D. of Guiſe, Mayenne, Ne-  
mours, and Sauoy, the Marquis of Pent, fought by ſundry practices to get the voyces of  
the pretended Eſtates. The inſtructions found in the coſers of the Baron of Teneſſey, after  
his defeat by *Vaugrenan*, who commanded for the King in *S. John de Lanne* in Bour-  
gongne, did ſufficiently diſcouer the high projects which certaine bad Counſellors made  
this young Prince to conceiue. But about all, the D. of Mayenne, ſuppoſing that after  
the death of the Duke of Parma (whom he feared as very oppoſite to this authority) this  
occurrence would giue him meanes to recover his credit, began to play the King within  
Paris, hoping the Eſtates would prefer him before the younger: or at the leaſt, the title  
of Lieutenant general to the King of Spaine, could not eſcape him in the conqueſt of  
the

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A the Realme. For the firſt fruits of his abſolute power, hee forceth the Prefidents and  
Counſellors remaining at Paris, to receiue *Reſne*, one of his moſt truſty friends, with the  
title of Maſhall of the Crowne, and Gouverneur of the Ile of France, dignities fit for  
a Nobleman of a better houſe and quality. And to bribe the Pariſiens who demanded  
peace, he cauſed on Chriſtmas Eue, going vp to the Palace (the City being in armes) the  
foreſaid decree againſt the Popes Bull to be openly burnt, then by a publike declaration  
he inuited all the Catholikes of the Realme to vniſe themſelues, and to forſake the obe-  
dience which they ſhewed to a Prince, whoſe profeſſion and perſeuerance made him in-  
capable, and appointed the conuocation of the Eſtates on the 17 of Ianuary following  
at Paris. There ioyntly to ſeeke (without paſſion ſaid he, or reſpect of any mans intereſt)  
the remedies which they ſhould thinke in their conſciences to be moſt profitable for the  
preſeruation of religion and the Eſtate.

But what Eſtates? Like vnto thoſe of Troyes, where they diſinherited *Charles* the  
ſeauenth, the true and lawfull heire of the Crowne, as Excommunicate. Eſtates, choſen  
almoſt of all the ſcum of the people, of the moſt mutinous and ſeditious: corrupted by  
mony, and all pretending ſome private profit in change and inuouation. A Parliament  
compounded of men, which either enjoyed the benefice, the office, or the houſe of their  
neighbour, or that had ſtolne his goods, or detained his reuenues; or (to conclude)  
that feared by a peace to be toucht for ſome committed crimes, bankrouers, infamous  
and wicked. Eſtates, where there appears not one Prince of the blood, no Chanceller,  
no Maſhall of France, no Prefidents of Soueraigne Courts, none of the Kings Proctors  
generall in his Parliament: few men of reputation, knowne to haue loued the peoples  
good, and their owne honours. No men of marke and account, without whom they  
could not aſſemble, nor hold any iuſt and lawfull Eſtates. Finally, a Parliament where  
they ſee none but paſſionate ſtrangers, gaping after France, greedy of the blood and  
wealth thereof; ambitious and reuenging women: corrupt Priests, licentious and full of  
vaine hopes. No Noblemen of worth, but three or foure, who already had reſolved to  
abandon that faction. All the reſt were beggarly, louing war and trouble, during the  
which they ate the poore mans bread, not able to maintain their trains in time of peace,  
As Italian Legat, and vaſſall to a ſtrange Prince; (who in this quality neither can nor  
ought to haue any place) ſent to hinder the liberty of voyces, and to authoriſe ſuch as  
had promiſed him to doe wonders for the affaires of Rome and Spaine. A Cardinall of  
Pelué, a Frenchman by nation, but pleading the cauſe of the King of Spaine, and the  
rights of Lorraine. The Duke of Feria, and *Mendoza* Ambaſſador of Spaine, had their  
Agents and Aduocats, by whom they gaue them to vnderſtand, that the King of Spaines  
intention was onely, to haue a King choſen that might pacifie the troubles of the realm;  
deliuer them from their enemies; defend them againſt all aſſailants; and reſtore the  
Crowne to her firſt beauty. And repreſenting the voluntary bounty of the Catholike  
King, and the great effects of the ſuccours giuen by him vnto France; wherein he had  
employed about fix millions of gold: he would infer, that none but hee was capable of  
this election: or elſe in regard of him, the Infanta *Donna Iſabella*, to whom the ſaid Am-  
baſſador duſt maintaine, that by the lawes of nature, of God, and the Realme, it did  
belong. Doubtleſſe from the inſolent proceedings and proud deſignes of ſtrangers, the  
ſoueraigne author and guardian of Eſtates cauſed the preſeruation of this Monarchy to  
grow. They commended this Ambaſſage, and receiued it with honour. But the pretenti-  
on of this Infanta were reiecte at the firſt, as a propoſition contrary to the fundamen-  
tall lawes of the realm. His Agents, ſeeing themſelues fruſtrate of this firſt demand,  
they frame a ſecond, vpon the election of the Archduke *Erneſt*, firſt brother to the Empe-  
rour, to whom the King of Spaine promiſed to giue his daughter to wife, when as the  
F aſſembly had declared her Queene of France. But what ſhould become of ſo many com-  
petitors growne vp in France? So this propoſition finding no man willing to entertaine  
it, remained fruitleſſe.

The deſignes  
of Spaine.

Croſſ by ſome  
men of honor.

Now ſome thinking to giue the laſt mate to the Kings good fortune, vrge a third ex-  
pedient: That if they giue this Crowne to the noble Infanta, and to him of the Princes  
of France, comprehending the houſe of Lorraine, when the King of Spaine ſhould  
choſe, they would cauſe this election to be ſeconded with an army of eight thouſand foot  
and two thouſand horſe, and within ſew moneths to be fortified with the like numbers,  
which



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which soone should reduce France wholly and peaceably to these new Kings: that they A would giue a hundred thousand Crownes monthly, so long as the war should last, to entertaine ten thousand foot, and three thousand horse within the Realme. Was not this to feed mens minds with fancies, dreames, and imaginations? But no man giues his voice to this last proposition. Doubtlesse there was no proportion to recompence the succours sent by Philip to the revolted townes, with the Crowne of France.

Contrariwise, many hauing their minds meerely French, knew well that this propo-  
sition was to make matters irreconcilable, and to bring an immortal war into France, and therefore with a feruent zeale and great affection, they opposed themselves against the reception thereof: hoping the eternall providence, who had so often raised France from B most grievous falls of war, and from greater infirmities, would now preuent these latter dangers, otherwise then by the subuersion of the lawes which were made to support it. The declaration which his Maiesty opposed to that of the Duke of Mayenne, did much preuaile to fortifie those good minds in their commendable resolution, and pre-  
pared their hearts generally to conceiue a great hope of a speedy peace. For the King discovering the practices of his rebellious subjects, namely of their heads, and the Dukes treachery, presuming to asseemble the Estates of the realme, which may not be called but by royall authority; and for matter of religion, he protesteth, that besides the Conuoca-  
tion of a Councell, if there be found any better or more speedy meanes to come to the instruction which they pretend to giue him, to diuert him from the exercise of his religion, C to that of the Catholike and Romish, he will willingly embrace it with all his heart, giuing leaue to the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and other Noblemen that did assist him, to send their Deputies to the Pope to deal in this instruction, and to be pleased therewith; and blaming the Leaguers who had hindred the effects, he layed a good founda-  
tion of the obedience which his subjects prepared for him. Declaring moreover, this pretended assembly at Paris, to be attempted against the lawes, against the good and quiet of the Realme: and all that should be treated or concluded therein, abusive and of no force. Terming the Duke and his adherents in that case, guilty of high treason; shewing that he could maintain his authority against all usurpers. But offering pardon to all townes, Commonalties, and persons seduced by the chiefs of the league, and exhorting them D to remember themselves, hee made his subjects begin to tast that great and admirable clemency, whereby he hath won the hearts, and brought the affections of the French to a perfect and most voluntary obedience.

To this declaration of his Maiesty, the Princes and Noblemen, Catholikes, that were about him, added another, which they sent to these pretended Estates, and required that some should be deputed on either part, to resolve of the fittest expedients to pacifie these troubles, for the preleruation of the Catholike religion and the Estate. The Duke of Mayenne and his party accept of this conference, so as it may be done by Catholikes onely, and it began the twenty ninth of Aprill at Surene near Paris. Whilst the good Cardinal of Bourbon liued, he was an instrument for the League: now hee is dead, Religion is their onely pretext. And the more the King giues them hope of his conuersion to the Romish Church, the more violent they are to draw the people from this beleefe.

The Legate seemes to crosse it, and by a publike exhortation full of iniuries against his Maiesty, hee labours to perswade the French, that the King long since dismembred from the body of the Church, was most iustly pronounced incapable of the Crowne. Then opposing himselfe against the decrees of the Parliaments of Tours and Chalons, made against the monities of Landriano, he extolls his Masters praises, condemnes the Parliament which had condemned his Bulls, magnifies the Estates of the League, who reiect an obstinate heretike and relaps, with a resolution neuer to yeeld vnto him; for (saide he) such is the Popes will and pleasure. But why aretaps and obstinate, considering the due submission which our Henry makes to yeeld to better instruction? The Pope himselfe will hearken soone vnto him, and all the Consistory will bleesse his resolution.

Both the Duke and Legate preuaile little in their deuices. Those which held the first place in this assembly, and had no other care but to preferre this Monarchy, found this expedient: that to frustrate the former propositions, they should say to the Duke of Feria and

The Kings de-  
claration a-  
gainst the Lea-  
guers.

The con-  
ference at Sur-  
ene.

Cross by the  
court of Rome

The answer of  
the Estates to  
the Parliaments  
of Spaine.

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A and other ministers of Spaine, that it would be now out of Season, and dangerous to make this election: and that the assembly refused the conclusion thereof, vntill they might see an army ready, by meanes whereof their resolutions might be supported and put in execution. Courage! This calme promisseth that wee shall soone anchor in a safe harbour. And that which advanceth the ship of our estate with a more prosperous gale, That great and magnificent Senate of France remaining at Paris, resumes their credit, and the beauty of their scarle Robs: they exhort the D. of Mayenne to employ his authority of Lieutenant, that vnder colour of Religion, the Crowne fall not into strangers hands, against the lawes of the realme, and to provide speedily for the peoples quiet, and B by a decree of the 28 of Iuly, they declare all treaties made, or to be made to that end, void, and of no validity, as being made to the hurt and prejudice of the Salique Law, and other fundamentall lawes of State.

A decree of the  
Parliament at  
Paris.

This decree did wonderfully incense the Duke of Mayenne and the agents of Spaine, especially against the President *Le Maistre* who deliuered the speeches: who encountering all their chollers, left them to bye vpon the bridle. But see now the fatal blow which runs that third party, by the which Catholikes were ready to thrust the realme into new combustions, and cuts off all difficulties as well in them which made a scruple to fight vnder the ensignes of a King of any other religion then their owne, as in others which had so long time shadowed their mutinies and rebellions with this goodly pretext. The King, C after the taking of Dreux, satisfied in his conscience, by the instruction of the Archbishop of Bourges, of *René Benoist* Curate of S. *Eustache* in Paris, and of some other Doctors, desires to be admitted into the bosome of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church, and the twenty nine of Iuly made a publike and solemne profession at S. *Denis* to the said Archbishop, assisted by *Charles* Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouan, and Nephew to the deceased, nine Bishops, with many other Prelats and religious men: he professed to liue and die in the Catholike religion, swearing to defend it against all men: he made profession of his faith, and performed all ceremonies requisite in solemne an act: and then hee received absolution and blessing with an admirable ioy and acclamation of the people.

The Kings con-  
uersion.

D Presently after this solemne act, his Maiesty sent the D. of Neuers, the Marquis of Pisani, and Henry of Gondy Bishop of Paris to the Pope, to yeeld obedience by them to the holy Sea, and to testifie, that he desired no less to imitate the example of Kings his Predecessors, and to deserue the title and ranke of the first Son of the Church by his actions, then they had beene carefull to get it and preferre it, and to beseech him to allow of his conuersion, and to countenance it with his owne blessing. This is that great action of State which the chiefs of the league most feared: for what could they now object against the King, to contradict his right, & to tearm him incapable of his inheritance? See now by what subtilty they seeke to crosse his Maiesties affaires, and to support strangers. They complain first of his sudden change, and say they may not trust him: that his Ho-  
E lineesse must begin and end this worke. That the King should make all submissions to the Sea of Rome, and attend if the Consistory would declare him capable to gouerne the Realme of France. That hauing command from the Conclauet they would aduice to do what should be reason. Vntill the which were effected they would not treat any more with the Kings Deputies, and till that this change of religion which the King had made, were approved by the Pope, whereof afterwards they would take aduice, for adurance of the preferment of the onely Catholike Religion in this Realme.

The D. of Mayenne hauing (to his great prejudice) so often tryed the proud insolencies of the Spaniards, and since knowne that their practices tended only to feed a perpetuall fire of diuision among the French, by meanes of the election of a new King, whom they promised to marie to the *Infanta*, had often protested, that when he should see the Kings return into the bosom of the church, for the which his religion had excluded him, he would presently yeeld him obedience as his most humble seruant. The Kings conuersion doth now free him of this imaginary scruple. The King himselfe offering him offices and honorable aduancements, seekes to draw him out of those snares from the which hee would willingly bee freed. But hee is so farre engaged as hee can hardly retire himselfe: and some hope that the decisions of Rome, the resolutions of the Estates, the conclusions of the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, and the practices of  
E e e e Spaine,

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The Duke of  
Mayenne feels  
to cross his  
Nephew.

Spaine, would yett worke some good effects in his fauour, doth withhold him from accepting of his Maieities offers.

But on the other side, he cannot digest the aduancement of the D. of Guise, whose marriage with the Infanta the partisans of Spaine did solicit, as being heire to his fathers pretensions. And to ouerthrow it, he seems in generall rearmes to approve for great an honour done vnto his Nephew: but requiring for his owne particular so high and difficult things, he giues them easily to vnderstand, that he will not subiect his will to the appetites of Pope Clement, nor of Philip King of Spaine, neither yett to the decision of the Estates, which that he crosseth the propounded election at the D. of Guise. The conference at Surene giues the subiect meanes to raise the liberty of the fields, and the sweetness of peace, concluding the last of Iuly a generall suspension of armes on either side for three moneths, a meanes which shall soone reduce whole Prouinces withdrawn from their ancient obedience. In the meane time, the more the Agents of Spaine see their practises disappointed, the more vehement they are that the Court of Rome should giue no audience to the Kings submission.

They oppose themselves by the meanes of the Ambassador of Spain at Rome, against the negotiation of the Kings Ambassadors with the Pope. They speake of his Maieities conuersion, as of a counterfeit thing to decieve the Church, and after his confirmation to ruine the Catholike religion. To conclude, to doe their best to quench these coals of charity, which were kindled in the peoples hearts, and cause the Pope to reject this faithfull and willing obedience, wherby the King will shew himselfe a successor of the piety of *Clauis, Charlemagne, and Saint Lewis*, as well as heire of their Scepter.

Execution of  
Peter barriere.

But see one of the most violent attempts of the league, which had almost dissolved this harmony, which was prepared by a generall reconciliation of the French among themselves, and of them to their lawfull and Soueraigne Lord. The 26 of August *Peter barriere* borne at Orleans was taken prisoner at Melun, where his Maieisty was then, by the discovery of a Iacobin a Florentine, to whom he had confessed himself in Lions; (the Priest revealing this crime, incurs no Ecclesiasticall censure) he confessed, that seduced and perswaded by a Capuchin of Lions, and afterwards confessed by *Andry Curate of S. Andreu des Aris* at Paris, by his Vicar, and by father *Parade* a Iesuite, he was come thither expressly to murder the King. And in truth, the wretch was found seized of a sharpe knife with two edges: and for this cause he was pinched with hot pincers, his right hand burnt off, holding the said knife: his armes, legs, and thighs broken, and his body burnt to ashes, and cast into the riuer.

The like treason practised by the Duke of Mercuer, whereof the chiefe were the Marquis of Afferac, of the house of Rieux, the Seigneurs of Crapadant and Bois-marin, had entrapp *Henry* of Bourbon D. of Montpensier (who made war in Britany for the King) and the Parliament of Rhemes, if the discovery in time had not brought these three heads to a publike scaffold, and many others to the gallows.

Reuoluit Lions  
against the D.  
of Nemours.

Whilst the Agents of Spaine labor for this election, and their partisans dotting, will doe as the Frogs, who weary of their quiet King, made choise of the Stork, which in the end deuoured them all: the D. of Nemours made his faction apart, and seeing that by the nomination of these goodly Estates hee should be excluded from his pretensions: knowing moreover that his brother on the mothers side, did crosse all his designs, and bare him no good affection, he resolved to canton himselfe in his government, and by many and sundry forts both on the water and land, to plant his fortunes there. Already the Citadels and Forts he held at Toiflay, Vienne, Montbrison, Chassignon in Dombes, Belluilla, Tify, Charlieu, and else where, threatened all Lionois with seruitude, if the Lord of S. Julian would haue sold him *Quirien* for ready money: whom in the end (thrill on by the perswasions and presence of their Archbishop, sent by the Duke of Mayenne, with this Commission among others) they force into his house, and the eighteenth day of September put him with a guard, into a straight prison in the Castle of Pierre-ancise, from whence in the end disguised, (playing the part of a groomme of the Chamber which carried forth the excrements of his Master) he passed through the guards, turning away his face more for feare of being knowne, then for the ill smell: and escaping from them the three and twentieth of March following, being dispossessed of all his meanes, and expelled from his places, he went and died in Asee, a house of his owne, in the Countie

A of Geneva in Sauoy, not without suspicion of being poysoned at a Feast that was made him.

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This generall surceasing of armes prolonged vnto the end of the yeare, and religiously obserued on either side brought a great quiet to France, and gaue the King leisure to assemble some of the chiefe of the Realme at Manté, to consult vpon sundry affaires, and particularly to heare the complaints of such as stood in doubt of the Kings change in religion, and were grieved at diuers contrauentions of his Maieities Edicts, whereby they suffered many wrongs in all Prouinces: for the partisans of Spaine, for their last refuge, continually exclaimed of the incompatibility of two Religions in France, and many expressed this opinion: That the King ought not to be admitted, but he should promise expressly to banish all such as made profession of any other Religion then that which hee did embrace, or at the least to abolish all publike exercise. But the King employed all his care to vnite his people in accord: and this new change did nothing alter the affection which hee beare indifferently to all, as a common father of his subiects.

Assembly at  
Mante.

Thus armes were laid aside, whilst the Lord of *Des Digueues* hauing beaten the Saouoyard in diuers encounters in Prouence, in Dauphine, vpon the frontiers, and in Saouoy vpon his owne land, conquered many places in Piedmont, & lately succoured Caours, which the Duke had besieged two months, gaue great hope to force this neighbour enemy soone to yeeld what he had lately usurped of this Crown, if he had bene supplied with men, munition and money, and if some priuate seeds of new combutions had not drawn him away, to quench those fires which threatened to consume Prouence.

By what meanes and degrees, the Townes subiect vnto the League, returned to the obedience of this Crowne: and the Spaniard chased out of this Realme.

But courage oh my Country-men! After a long and sharpe winter, wee begin to feelee a pleasant Spring. As the Sunne rising on his horizon encreased in heate and brightnesse, so the people are ready to embrace the French liberty: their naturall affection to their lawfull Prince reuiues: now we shall see them which made the wound, giue the remedy: the French strue now to submit themselves vnto their King, and the king to receiue his subiects with an admirable clemency and fatherly affection. The Lord of Vitry giues the first checke vnto the Spaniard, The sundry conferences hee had had with his Maieisty before Paris and elsewhere, doe now worke a great effect: for deliuering the towne of Meaux to the King as a New-yeares gift, he gaue a plausible beginning to this yeare, and made the way for the Lord of La Chastre, his Vncle, at Shroftide to bring vnto his Maieisty two goodly Duchesses at once, of Orleans, and of Berry. And to summon Monsieur *De Villars* to follow these commendables example, he writes vnto him, I haue giuen a New-yeares gift vnto the King, Monsieur *de la Chastre* hath feasted him at Shrouside: shew you your selfe vnto him on horse backe at mid lent: which letter shall soone take effect. Some townes practised by the heads of the league, demand a continuance of the truce, but it was onely to prolong the miseries of France. The King therefore doth publish a declaration, shewing the wicked and damnable practises of the Leaguers, who vnder the continuance of a truce, would confirme their tyranny. Hee prescribes to all in generall one moneth of respite to acknowledge their lawfull King, and to performe all necessary submissions, to be restored to their charges, benefices, goods, and liberties. He condemnes the Rebels, and reuokes his pardon, the time being expired. The brute of this declaration, and the Kings preparatiues to punish the obdurate, terrified the heads, and the most part of the townes and commonalties, yet he was content to hold the staffe, but not to strike: and the prouidence of God conducted the worke of this restauration, by other then violent meanes. The Duke of Mayenne sought all meanes to auoid this blow, but he found no force able to preuent it. So this vnion cemented together, with so many shifts, oaths and coniurations, is dismembered on all sides: the most obdurate apprehend their totall ruine, if they persist in their rebellion.

Preparations  
of obedience to  
the King.

Meane begin.  
Orleans and  
Bourges se-  
cond it.

Eccca

The

There was one thing very necessary to seale the generall approbation of the Kings lawfull authority. He was not yet anointed, nor crowned, and the want hereof (as if the Coronation were the essentiall forme of a Royalty) ferred yet as a make to many to with-hold their obedience. It is good in some things to please the peoples humour, and doubtelesse the end will shew, that this solemne action did serue as a bright Lanterne to guide them to the Port of obedience, which had refused to yield.

And for that the rebellion of Rheims had shut the gates against him, Chartres was the Rendezvous of this solemne Ceremony, and the Abbey of Marmoussier furnished the Oyle, which they keepe religiously in the holy Voyall, with the like vie and vertue, as in former times. *Raoul* was anointed at Soissons, *Lewis* the fourth at Lions, *Hugues* at Compeigne, and *Lewis* the young likewise at Chartres. Thus was our *Henry* anointed in Chartres by *Nicholas Thou* Bishop of the same place, the 27 of February, in the presence of the Prince Conny, the Earle of Soissons, and the D. of Montpensier, Princes of the blood, of the Dukes of Longueville, Luxembourg, Retz, of Vantadour, and of the Earle of S. Paul. Of the Bishops of Angers, Orleans, Nantes, Maillezais, and Beauvais, The Marshall of Matignon supplied the Office of Constable; the D. of Longueville, of Lord Steward; and the Earle of S. Paul his brother, of Lord Chamberlaine. The next day his Maiesty receiued the Order of the Holy ghost by the hands of the Bishop of Chartres. Let vs now see the fruits of this solemnity. The townes and commonalities of the League begin to tremble, and the most part determine to send their Deputies to his Maiesty being resolved to receiue his commandments.

Mistortune is good for something. The Marquis of S. Sorlin, brother to the Duke of Nemours (being yet a prisoner) afflicted the Inhabitants of Lions with all acts of hostility. The King of Spaine on the other side confirmed his intelligences more strictly with them of his faction: and gave them assurance by the D. of Terra-nova, Governour of Milan, of a leauy of twelue hundred Suffies, the which with other forces he would thrust into the towne, vnder pretext to succour it against the violencies of the Marquis, but hauing drawne them in amongst the Inhabitants, he should through the fauour of the partisans of Spaine, make himself Master of the town. Lions was now ready to fall vnder the rule and tyranny of a stranger: but God thus vp means beyond mans reason. Some good men alwaies well affected to France in their hearts, with the consent of foure Sherifes, resolute to seeke the meanes to draw the towne to his Maiesties obedience.

They acquaint Colonell *Alphonso* with their enterprize, who giues them assurance of his fauour and succour in so good an occasion, the seuenth of Ianuary hee comes to the suburbs of Guilloitiere with goodly troops. And the same day betwixt three and foure of the clock in the morning, *Jaquet* one of the Sherifes, assisted by the Seigneurs of *Liergues* and *de Sene* (followed by a good number of armed men) force a guard placed at the foot of the bridge vpon Saone, and constrain them to leaue the place. The towne is in armes, they make barricados in their streets. Such as were of this enterprize, repaire to the quarters that were assigned them: every man desireth the liberty of France. They seize vpon the Arcenall, and vpon the most factious Officers and Captains of the town. All the people wear white scarfes & fethers. That happy cry of, *God save the King*, sounds in the ayre. They make Bone-fires in all places, they burne the arms and livery of Spaine, Sauoy and Nemours, and the picture of the league in forme of a witch, and set vp the Kings in all places. Hereupon *Alphonso* entred the towne, accompanied with *d'Andelet*, *Chenrieres*, *Saint Forisuel*, *Botheon*, *la Liegue*, *Banne de Mures*, with many other Gentlemen of the Country: and for the finishing of so good a worke, he deposed the suspected Capitaines of the towne, receiued the oath of fealty to the King of such as he did substitute in their places: and afterwards the counsell of the towne did resolute and sweare neuer to admit any Italians, or Sauoyiens to publike charges: Nations which had most nourished the fire of vnciuill rebellion within their city. The like broile in a manner recovered the obedience of the towne and Parliament of Aix in Prouence to his Maiesty. The D. of Epsernon built a Cittadel there to keepe them in awe, with whose humors they

The fruits of his Coronation.

Attempts of the Marquis of Saint Sorlin against Lions, and of the Spaniards.

Lions reduced.

A they could not well agree. Mortouer, he was not in good termes with the King, and seemed to pretend some inuocation to the prejudice of the Kings affaires. The Nobility of the Country grew also in hatred against him, and from their secret discontentes grew to open armes to expell him the country, whereupon they made a protestation for their taking armes against him.

Hereupon they had called vnto them *Les Diquieres*, and the King commands him to goe with speed, and to oppose his forces against the Dukes in Prouence. He wanted men, money, and necessary prouisions, to entertaine that which he had exploited in Piedmont: he therefore furnishesth the places he held, as the time would suffer him, and goes to croise Epsernon, razed the fort he built against the towne of Aix, and reduced the Inhabitants to their ancient obedience.

The miraculous reduction of Paris to his Maiesties obedience.

Amiddest for many happy Catastrophe's for the restoring of this Monarchie, some notable Inhabitants of Paris, which loued the *Flower-de-luce* in their foules, made the way to free it from the rule of Strangers: but many difficulties crossed the meanes they gaue vnto the King, who employed all his designes to recouer the ancient throne of his Predecessors by the mildest meanes he could. Paris was neuer without some Prince of the house of Lorraine: and about foure thousand French, Spaniards, Italians, Lansquenets, and Wallons, kept the City in subiection. Seeing then that of many enterprises, not one could succeed happily, neither might they attempt it by open force, without a horrible effusion of blood, and bringing the City in danger of extreme defolation, a surprize was therefore necessary.

It was now almost ready to be effected, by the meanes especially of the Lord of Belin Governour of Paris, of *Martin Langlois*, Seigneur of Beauprepaire, one of the Sherifes of Paris for that year, and some others, of whom they had assurance for the execution of their proiect, as well of the City, as of the Souldiers practised long before. But the Duke of Mayenne being aduertised that the said *Belin* had intelligence with the King, puts him from his gouernment, and doth substitute in his place the Earle of Brisac: and to fortifie the garison with strangers, he causeth fourteen hundred natural Spaniards to approach. By this displacing of the Lord of Belin, all their first designes are made frustrate: but the Earles humor was found apt to vnite them. Hee sought the means to bring to light the effects which he had resolved to purge the ill opinion of times past. As *Langlois* attended some fauourable opportunity to discouer himselfe to the said Earle, his Maiesty sends him word that he is agreed with him, that he should not feare to open himselfe vnto him touching the meanes he had plotted with *Belin*. He confers with the Earle, lets him vnderstand such as be of the intelligence, and they resolute together, That to bring the King in without effusion of blood, (as he desired) the Eue before the execution they should carry some stuffe to the new gate, that vnder colour to wall it vp, they should draw away the gabions that stopp the gate: that in the night they should cut away the earth which stopp that of Saint Denis, so to seize on the one and the other. That the Sheriffe *Neras* with his children should take S. *Honoriers* gate, whereof hee had the keyes, and draw in a good number of men of war to fauour the enterprize; and that by Saint Denis gate should enter another troope of armed men, as well to seize on the Gate, as on the Rampar of either side, to make a barre betwixt the Spaniards and the Wallons, and keepe them from ioyning. They keepe two guards nere Saint Denis Gate, one at Saint *Ensfacc* Croisse, and the other at the Temple. At the same instant the garisons of Melun and Corbeil should enter by Boate at the Bulwarke by the Celestins, and should be receiued by *John Groslier*, and by the Lieutenant general of the artilery remaining in the Arcenall. And to auoide a popular tumult, a brute should be fyred abroad of a peace betwixt the King and the Duke of Mayenne, whom (vnder colour of the peoples ialousies of the Spaniards, which he had caused to approach vnto Beauuois) they had found meanes to send out of Paris, with promise to cause them to retire. That ouer-night they should glue tickets to the chief whom they knew desirous of a peace, (as for the multitude of factions, and the partisans

Milrable estate of Paris.

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of Spaine, they durst not speake openly vnto them to bring in the King, and some that were desirous of peace, could not rest assured of his clemency and bounty by the which they should be aduertised of the accord, and intreated to arme with their friends, for the bringing in of the Deputies of either part, which should come in the morning to make the publication, and resist the Spaniards that would oppose themselves. So it was decreed, and so executed.

This order being resolved on, it was imparted to those with whom the enterprize had bene long before concluded, by the meanes of the Lord of Vicques then Gouverneur of S. Denis, to whom the greatest honour is due, both for that all the associates did rely vpon him, and daily were aduertised and encouraged by him, and also for that he did carry himselfe so wisely in S. Denis, as he was more gouernour of Paris, then of S. Denis. The 19 of March, the Secretaries of the Lords of Brissac and S. Luke, carie it to Senlis to the King, with a plot of the City, setting downe the places of the strangers guards, and of the Partisans. They are searched going out of the towne, but they remember not to looke into their gloves, where their instructions were written by the hand of the said *Langlois* the Sheriffe. The King gives them aduice for the execution, the night before the two and twentieth day of the month, about foure of the clocke he finds all things ready, and the new gate, and S. Denis gate at his deuotion. He enters with his troops led by the Lords of Humieres, Belin, Vicques, and Fauas, at the same Gate by the which the deceased King parted mournfully out of Paris. At the same instant the Lord of Vitry comes with a troupe of men at armes to S. Denis gate, beats backe the strangers, who made resistance vpon the rampart, enters the towne, lets guards at the gate, and on the rampars, then passing through S. Denis Street, he encounters his Maiesty, whose troops were come to S. Michaels bridge, and before the Palace.

Thus according to the oath which his Maiesty had taken of the Captaines of every company, Not to doe or suffer any inoleny or outrage to any Citizen, but to such as should obstinately make resistance, all his troops enter without disorder, without murder, without spoile, and by their perfect obedience testifie how great his authority is that commands ouer them. The King being seized of the Louure, the Palace, both Chastelets, and other chiefe places of the City, and assured of the D. of Feria and his strangers, he went armed with his Caske on his head, with an incredible concourse and ioy of the people, to our Ladies Church, and there gave solenne thanks to the Soueraigne Protector of this monarchy: who hauing as it were led him by the hand, by such extraordinary and miraculous meanes, into the capitall city of the Realme, gaue him hope that he should soone chase the stranger out of his inheritance, and peaceably enjoy the throne of his predecessors. In the meane time the Earle of Brissac, *John Lhuillier* Master of the accounts, and Prouost of the Merchants, with the Sheriffe *Langlois*, accompanied with the Heraldes, went through the City, proclaiming the Kings generall pardon: causing them to take white scarfes, and gaue tickets printed at S. Denis, containing an abolition of all offences past. So as in lesse then two houres all the City was quiet, every man went to his ordinary exercise, the Shops were opened, as if there had bene no alteration, and the townes-men grew familiar with the men of war. There was nothing but signes of wonderfull ioy and loue: the bitterneffe of the proud and insolent command of the Spaniards, made the Parisiens to taste the sweetnesse of the fatherly rule of their Kings, and these deterf him as an enemy, who lately feared and respected him as a Master.

A happy and famous day, wherein the people (lately so contrary and full of cruelty) reduced to that misery as they durst not sigh in their misery, exceeding glad to see a meane to enjoy their ancient liberty, know not with what acclamations to receive their peacefull and gracious King, who by his wonderfull clemency washing away the blemishes wherewith Paris had bene vnworthily polluted, made the inhabitants, of slaues, Citizens; restores them their wives, children, goods, honours, Magistrates, and liberties, and gives peace to them who lately held it a crime to demand bread onely, and capitall to demand bread and peace together. His Maiesty suffered the Duke of Feria, *Don Diego* with other Commanders and men of war, to depart with their baggage, their marches out, and their armes downe. The Basille made some shew of resistance: but as all was prepared to force it, and that their vittuals (which were purposely kept backe) began to faile them, *de Bourg* hauing the command thereof, yielded it three daies after: and

Abundant  
and  
adventurous  
execution.

Paris obeys  
the King.

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A and his Maiesty to recompence such as had serued him in this enterprize, gaue them great gifts, with many Offices, and aduancements.

He confirmed all the companies of the City, and did annulle the delarations which had bene published in the month of March 1589: hee restored the Lord *d'O* to his government, from the which the generall revolt had expelled him: he appointed him to goe to the towne-house, to take an oath of the Officers in the presence of Master *François Miron*, one of the Kings priuie Councell, Master of Requests, and President of the great Council, Ouer-see of the discipline of the Kings armies, and appointed to assist him. And the Earle of Chateaux Chancelor of France, assisted with the Siegneurs of Ris, Pontecarre, *Miron*, and other Councellors of the Priuie Council, & Masters of Requests of the Kings house, to the number of twelue, went to the palace, and caused the letters of re-establishment of the Court of Parliament to bee read, and at the instance of *Loisell*, appointed in the absence of the Kings Officers, they took the oath of all the Presidents, Councellors, and Officers of the said Court, before the returne of the Parliament, removed to Tours in the yeare 1589. And so in like sort to other companies, the Chamber of Accounts, Court of Aydes, and chamber of the money, to whom Councellors were sent to doe the like as to the Parliament, and to continue their places and dignities, with the other Officers resident at Tours, whom this happy reduction brought within few weekes after to their ancient seat of Iustice. Paris being freed from the command of strangers, and reduced vnder the obedience of their naturall & lawfull King, it was needfull to repara that which the liberty of war had changed, touching the lawes and grounds of the Estate, and the rights and honors of the Crowne. To this end, the court of Parliament lately established, reuokes, and did annuls by a decree of the 30 of March, all other decrees, orders or oaths giuen or made since the 29 of December, 1588, to the preiudice of the Kings authority, and the lawes of the realme, decreeing that as things forced by violence, they should remaine suppressed for euer. And especially they did annulle all that had bene done against the honor of the deceased King, as well during his life, as after his decease: forbidding all persons to speake of his memory, but with honor and respect: commanding to informe of the detestable particide committed on his person, and to proceed extraordinarily against such as should be found culpable.

They reuoked the authority giuen to the Duke of Mayenne vnder the title of Lieutenant generall of the Estate and Crown of France, forbidding all men to acknowledge him with that quality, to yeeld him any obedience, fauor, comfort or aide, vpon paine of high Treason. They likewise enioyned the Duke of Mayenne, vpon the like paines, and other Princes of the house of Lorraine, to acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth of that name, King of France and Nauarre, for their King; and to yeeld him the obedience of faithfull seruants and subiects. And to all other Princes, Prelats, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Townes, Commonalties, and priuate men, to forsake that pretended faction of the League, whereof the Duke of Mayenne had made himselfe the head, and to yeeld vnto the Kings obedience, feruice and fealty, vpon paine to the said Princes, Prelats, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to be degraded of their Nobility and Gentry, and they and their posterity declared base, with confiscation of bodies and goods: and the razing of their Townes, Castles, and places, that should infringe the Kings Ordinances & commandements. They reuoked and did annulle all that had bene done or decreed by the pretended Deputies of the Assembly held at Paris, vnder the names of the generall Estates of the Realme, as void, done by priuate persons, chosen or suborned for the most part by the factious of this Realme, and partisans to the Spaniard, hauing no lawfull power: forbidding the said pretended Deputies to take vpon them this quality, and to assemble any more in the said City, or elsewhere, vpon paine to be punished as troublers of the publike quiet, and guilty of high Treason. They enioyned such of the pretended Deputies as were yet resident at Paris, to retire home to their houses, to liue there vnder the Kings obedience, and to take the oath of fealty before the Iudges of those places. Moreover, they decreed, that all processions and solemnities instituted during the troubles, should cease, and in stead thereof, the two and twentieth day of March should bee for euer celebrated, and the same day a generall procession should be made after the accustomed manner, where the said Court should assist in their scarlet robes, as a remembrance, to giue God thanks for the happy reduction of this said City to the Kings obedience.

A decree against the  
League and  
the Duke of  
Mayenne.

As

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The voluntary  
satisfaction of  
the Vniuersity.

As the Vniuersity by their trecherous decision had before countenanced and supported the Parisiens insolencies and mutinies, so now by their humble and due submission, of their owne proper motion, they seek to repair the crime they had committed. *Lamés d'Ambais's* Doctor in Physicke, chiefe Rector, chosen since the reduction of Paris, the Deane and the Doctors of Sorbonne, the Deanes and Doctors of other faculties, all the members and officers of the Vniuersity, come to the King to yeeld him a testimonie of their loue, and finding him in the Chappell of Bourbon, prostrate before his Maiestie, they acknowledge him their true and only naturall Prince, swear to bee obedient and faithfull seruants to him for euer, and beseech him (as to his other people which submit themselves like good and loyall subiects) to extend his fauor vnto them. The Kings owne disposition did moue him, but the place did inuite him to this pardon. He protefts before God, to be as ready to remit the offences of others, as he desired Gods diuine Maiesty to be mercifull vnto his. So he receiued them, and sent them home graciously, granting them this Edict following.

*The Kings Edict or Declaration, vpon the reduction of Paris vnder his obedience.*

**HENRY** by the Grace of God, King of France, and of Nauarre, to whom these presents shall come greeting: As it hath alwaies beene our desire and intent, (since it pleased God to call vs to this Crowne) to settle a good and assured peace in this our Realme, to the end that the disorders, violences and miseries of warre ceasing, God might be serued according to his holy Commandements, and the authority of the lawes and of our iustice restored, vnder the protection whereof, the three Estates of our Realme may happily enjoy with peace that which doth iustly belong vnto them. To attaine vnto the which, we haue (as euery man knoweth) employed all our meanes, with the hazard of our life, preferring death before the blame and infamy which would iustly fall vpon vs, if wee should suffer the vniuſt vſurpation and diſſipation which some pretend to make of this Crowne. And not to omit any thing which is in the power of a good Prince, for the settling of peace and vniſon among our ſubiects, ſo neceſſary and ſo much deſired of all good Frenchmen, we haue with much patience ſupported & giuen vnto the publike, the offences and raſh attempts of many, who without this reſpect, haue deſerued ſeuere and exemplary puniſhments. Wee haue for this conſideration after diuers victories, pardoned them which haue attempted againſt our life. And for the great compaſſion which wee haue had of the Capitall City of our Realme, to auoyde the ſacke, and ſpare the blood of many good Citizens which did not participate in the wicked deſignes of ſuch as did nourish rebellion, we haue choſen rather to bee fruſtrate of the obedience which was due vnto vs, then to ſee innocent men which dwell there, with the women and little infants, and ſo many goodly buildings, expoſed to the violent rage and fury of ſire and ſword. Hauing moreover, for this conſideration granted in Iuly laſt a generall truce for three moneths, during the which the Deputies of that party which doth not obey vs, did aſſure vs that they would ſend ſpeedily vnto the Pope, to haue his aduice vpon the reſolution which they were to take, in the concluſion of a good and durable peace and reconciliation with vs, who am their King and naturall Prince. Wherein they alſo promiſed to employ themſelves with all loyalty and affection, to ſettle a peace in this Realme, the which made vs more eaſie to yeeld vnto the ſaid truce, although we knew well how much we were preiudiced thereby, & what great aduantage we might haue had by armes: hauing (during the parlee of peace) taken Dreux in view of the chiefe of their party, being aſſiſted by their Protectors of Spaine. At which time we wanted no meanes to preſſe the City of Paris in ſuch fort, as neceſſity ſhould in the end haue aduſed them to ſhake off the yoke of ſuch as had ſo long tyrannized, and inſolently abuſed their miſerable patience. But we yeelded of our authority, to the end the Pope might bee ſatisfied, and truly informed of all our actions, to whom our intent was to haue recourſe to diſcouer our wounds, and to implore his aide, fauor, counſell and aſſiſtance: and to that end wee made choiſe of our deare and welbeloued Couſin the Duke of Neuers, a Prince full of all vertues, wiſdomes, piety, and of great merit: who preferring the ſeruiſe of God, and the good of this Eſtate, before the diſcommodities of his health, and the tediousneſſe of the way, had courageouſly vader-

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A vnder taken a voyage to his Holineſſe. And as for the Deputies of the ſaid party, whom they promiſed confidently to ſend with all expedition; Wee doe not find that during the truce, they made any accompt to diſpatch them. And notwithstanding that ſince the concluſion of the ſaid truce, we haue not diſcouered in all their actions, but deſignes preiudiciall to the publike good of the Realme, with whoſe ſpoiles they pretended to cloath and to enrich themſelves with the blood and meanes of good and loyall Frenchmen: there being fallen into our hands a certaine oath made by the chiefe of the ſaid party, in a manner at the ſame time when as they ſigned the truce, and promiſed to treat faithfully touching a good peace, and to reconcile themſelves vnto vs, and to that end to ſend to Rome to haue the Popes aduice: The ſaid oath containing, that they would neuer treat any peace with vs, wherein they ſuffered themſelves to be ſo tranſported by the paſſions of the King of Spaines Miniſters, as they made no reſeruation of the Popes authority, vnto whom they ſaid they would ſend: wherewith being iuſtly incended, notwithstanding at their great inſtance, and to iuſtifie our actions vnto the Pope, we granted them a prolongation of the truce for two moneths. But conceiuing how little they deſire to ſee an end of the miſeries of this Realme, with the authority they haue vniuſtly vſurped ouer part of it: Iudging alſo by their cunning delayes, that they ſeek nothing but to prolong the miſeries of France, and to aſſure their vniuſt vſurpation: Wee haue therefore with the aduice of our Councell, reſuſed a prolongation of the truce for 3 moneths more, which they required of vs, with ſuch importunity, as wee haue iuſt cauſe to beleue, that this purſuite was not to purchaſe a peace, but rather that during the ſaid time, the King of Spaines forces, being come vnto the frontier of our Country of Picardy, they ſhould haue better meanes to reuiue the warre, to the ruine of our good and loyall ſubiects: the which God by his grace would not ſuffer, cauſing vs to ſee plainly (by the letters which were intercepted) their wicked deſignes to continue the miſeries of this our Realme. His diuine bounty hauing taken the defence of our iuſt cauſe into his protection, moued an infinite number of our good ſubiects to acknowledge their naturall duty, in the reduction of the Townes of Meaux, Lion, Orleans, Bourges, Pontoiſe, and others to our obedience. But the memory ſhall neuer bee loſt of the happy reduction of our good City of Paris, the chiefe of our Realme, which happened the 22 of March, with ſuch mildneſſe, and order, as not any one Citizen can iuſtly complaine of wrong. The peoples ioy and acclamations, which haue ſeene their King ſo much deſired, was not leſſe, then if they had had the ſame ſecurity which is giuen them by theſe preſents, of our grace, fauor, protection, and forgetting of things paſt, with aſſurance that the merits of ſuch as ſhewed themſelves faithfull to our ſeruiſe ſhall neuer be forgotten. The which conſidering, and the ſpeciall bounty wherewith it hath pleaſed God to fauour vs in this occaſion, wee hold our ſelves bound more then any man liuing, to make our actions pleaſing to his diuine prouidence. For this cauſe, acknowledging that there is nothing makes vs more like vnto God, then clemency, forgetting freely all offences paſt: we declare by theſe preſents, that we receiue into grace, the Citizens of our good City of Paris, and of our ſpeciall fauor and royall authority, doe aboliſh all things hapned in the ſaid City, during, and by reaſon of the preſent troubles, the which we will ſhall remaine extinct, and held as if they had neuer hapned.

And to this end, with the aduice of the Princes and Noblemen of his Councell, he ordained, That within the City and Suburbs of Paris, or within ten leagues round about, the Romiſh religion ſhould be only exerciſed. That no Clergie men ſhould be moleſted in the exerciſe of his function; That they ſhould freely enjoy the reuenues of their Benefices, and be reſtored vnto that which belonged vnto their Churches. Moreover, hee reſtored the City of Paris to al her ancient rights, liberties and immunities, to enjoy them as they formerly had done. All matters were remitted which concerned the inhabitants, and had beene committed during the troubles, if within eight daies after publication of this Edict, they came and rooke the oath of Allegiance. All iudgements and ſentences giuen againſt the Earle of Briſſac were reuoked. The Inhabitants which ſhould performe their due ſubmiſſions and take the oath, were reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their goods, offices, dignities, and reuenues: and all grants made to the preiudice thereof reuoked. There were many other Articles tending to the good of the Parisiens, and the ſetting of a quiet eſtate within the City.

Paris



1594

Diuers reductions in diuers places.

Paris gaue example to all the rest of the Realme. And the first fruits of this happy rebellion began to ripen in the hearts of other Townes and Commonalties. So the months of April and May were spent to receive the submissions of diuers Prouinces, and drawing to the Kings obedience, many Captaines, Gentlemen, Noblemen and other chiefe pillars of the league: so as every bird hauing his feather, the Crow in the fable remained in the end naked: The Lord of Villars submits himselfe to his Soueraigne Lord, and yielding him the townes of Rouan, New-hauen, Harfieu, Montiuillier, Pontoile de Mer, and Verneuil: he obtains in exchange the Office of Admirall of France, and hereafter resolves a most obstinate warre against the Spaniard. But a sad accident shall soone frustrate the designes he made with his Maiefty. Abbeville hath bene alwaies called the Citradell of Picardy, lying at the mouth of the sea. *Maupin* the Mayor, and some Inhabitants, had resolved to giue a great checke vnto the League: but the feare of the Duke of Aumales faction restrained them, and the seditious impressions of Preachers, (who throughout the Realme, haue bene the greatest motiues of these last mutinies) made this their good will fruitlesse. The King being aduertised thereof, did hazard *Franc*, one of the Secretaries of his chamber, who was borne at Abbeville, to found and discouer the end of their intentions.

He parts in April, and vnder colour to visit his friends, he behaues himselfe so discretely in his negotiation, that in lesse then eight daies they resolved in open assembly to send their Deputies to yield themselves at his Maiesties feet, who in token of so good a seruice, ennobled *Franc* and his posterity, and augmented the priuiledges of the Towne. In the same moneth, the Inhabitants of Troyes expelled the Prince of Lanulle, and recalled the Lord of Inteuille, their ancient gouernour to the King. The Townes and Prouinces contend, who shall haue the honor to return first to their due obedience, from the which these popular furies had with drawne them. Sens, Poitiers, Agen, Villeneuue, Marmande, and other Townes of Gasconie, and in a manner all that had followed the dance of Orleans and Paris, do now frame themselves to their tune. And all this is done in few weekes. The most factious of the party, did still feed the fire of rebellion in some townes of Picardy: Amiens and Beauuois wauered: the Spaniard possessed Laon and La Fere, places of importance in that Prouince: and the Count *Charles* of Mansfield had euen now besieged and taken Capelle, a small towne, but strong, in the Duchie of Tierache. The King being aduertised thereof, went home to their trenches, to draw them forth to fight: but making no shew to come forth, to get that by force, which he could not obtaine by reason, he besiegeth Laon, defeats the succors at sundry times that come to the besieged, kills about fiftene hundred of their men in sundry encounters, and taking the towne by composition in the end of August, hee ends (by this act) the furies of ciuill warres without hope of reuiving, and then returns triumphing to Paris. Chasteau-Thierry, before the siege; and after the siege of Laon, Amiens, Beauuois, and all the townes in Picardy (except Soissons and La Fere, which the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniard held) did shake off the strangers yoke, and tooke the oath of fealty to the King. Cambray did likewise acknowledge him, and gaue his Maiefty such aduantage, as his enemies remained without meanes to maintaine the war, and without hope to obtaine their peace. The duke of Mayenne in the meane time entertained all his friends and intelligences at Bruxelles: but the supplies of men and money which he drew from thence, were not able to stay the course of the kings prosperities. He therefore retired himselfe into Bourgongne, to assure such places as were yet at his deuotion.

Contrariwise, his nearest kinsmen retiring themselves, left him almost alone to treat with the Spaniard. The Duke of Nemours made his accord at the Castle of Pierre-ascite, but being escaped the 26 of Iuly, as we haue said, death deprived him of the vse of his liberty, as we shall see hereafter. The Duke of Guise did first testifie, that hee desired nothing more then the Kings seruice, and drawing in the moneth of November to his Maiesties seruice his brethern with himselfe, many Noblemen, the City of Reims, and many other places, it did greatly shake this monstrous building, which was now ready to fall to ruine.

The Sect of Iesuits had as chiefe pillars of the League, mightily supported it vnto this day, and by all meanes laboured to aduance the Spaniard in France: they had spread throughout the whole Realme, the furious effects of the fire which they had kindled, and

continued

1594

A continued in priuate confessions (as lately in their Sermons) to disgrace the memory of the deceased King, and the Maiefty of the King now reigning: and to encrease it, the principall of their Colledge, and some others, had lately approued, countenanced, and perswaded that execrable attempt of *Peter Barriere*. The Vniuersity of Paris grounding the renuing of their ancient Proceesse against the Iesuits, vpon these considerations and motiues, demand the rooting out of them. Some great men, & of the chiefe men of Iustice, sue for them: the Cardinall of Bourbon supports them: The Duke of Nemours makes their cause his owne. The respect of their learning, care, and diligence to instruct and teach youth, did moue them: and a very urgent cause must draw the Court of Parliamēt (whose authority notwithstanding they did contemne and reiect) to pronounce and declare this great decree, the which an accursed and detestable attempt, by one of their owne disciples, did in the end extort. They procured that the cause might be pleaded secretly for that (said their Aduocat) to defend my Clients, I shall bee forced to speake some things offensive to many which haue lately turned to the Kings seruice. But these pleadings are to be read in *Armoies* against them, and *Verboris* for them, both graue and learned Aduocates.

By the reduction of so many Prouinces, Townes, Commonalties, and priuate Noblemen, the League (shall be now confined into some corners of Bourgongne, Picardy, and Britany, where the Spaniards (to haue alwaies footing within the Realme) entertained the hopes of the Duke of Mayenne and Mercœur. The first began to fall from them: but the other (grounded vpon some vaine pretensions of the Duchie, where he gouerned by reason of his wife) hoped to preuaile, if not of fall, yet at the least of a good part. The Queene Dowager his sister, laboured to make his peace: but he delayed the time, knowing that in his greatest extremities he should finde grace with the King. The Spaniard being brought into Blauet by his meanes (a fort which the situation of the Country had made almost impregnable, as if they had built a fort neere vnto Croisic, to shut vp the entry of the port at Brest, they had also made another right against it on the other banke) hoped, that being chased out of the other Prouinces, he should yet hold this as a pawne for the money he had disbursed. His Maiefty sent the Marshall *d'Aumont*, and General *Norris*, a braue Commander of the English, to encounter him, who fortified with a Fleet, vnder the command of Captaine *Forbisher*, they became Masters of *Quimpercorentin* and *Morlay*, and then they forced the new fort at Croisic, and slue (but with the losse of men, and of the said *Forbisher*) foure hundred fouldiers, to whom the guard was committed: which seruice was chiefly performed by the English, to their immortal praise.

France grew quiet, yet must they employ the fouldiers, and cary the warre into the Spaniards Country. It seemed this would free the Realme, but seldome doth it bring forth the effects that are expected. Yet for a trial, the King agrees with the Estates of Holland and their confederates, to invade the Duchy of Luxembourg with their common forces. The Duke of Bouillon, now Marshall of France, and the Count *Nassau*, seeke to enter in October, but they find the passages stoppt, and the Count *Charles Mansfield* before them, who by the defeat of the Hollanders troopes, made this attempt fruitlesse. On the other side, the King seekes to keepe the frontiers of Picardy safe from the Spanish forces, and threatened Arthois and Hainault, that if they fauoured the forces of Spaine, which molested Cambray and the Countries thereabout, he would make violent warre against them. The Estates of those Prouinces make no answer to these threats, framing their excuse that they could draw no direct answer from the Archduke *Ernest*, Lieutenant generall for the King of Spaine in the Low-Countries, who soone after perswaded the subjects of the said Countries to arme, and to invade France. The better to know Picardy, and to iudge of what should be necessary against the attempts of this new enemy, the King makes a voyage to the frontier, and then returns to Paris, to celebrate the solemnity of the Knights of the Order of the holy Ghost, and to receiue the Ambassadors of Venice, *Isidore Grandinigo*, and *Iohn Delphine* being sent to congratulate the happy successe of his affaires, and *Peter Dando* to succed *Iohn Mocenigo*. At his arrival he receiues three good aduertisements: That the Marshall *d'Aumont* had taken from the Spaniard one of the places he had fortified in Britanie; That the Spaniards thinking to enter into Montreuil, hauing giuen fifty thousand Crownes to the Gouernour, had bene repulsd with the losse of fixe or fixe hundred

War in Britanie.

In Luxembourg.

1594

The King hurt  
in the face.

hundred men: And that the Marshall of Bouillon had ioyned with the army of Count A  
Maurice in despite of Count Charles.

But oh monstrous prodigy! the only remembrance should make our haire to stare,  
and our hearts to tremble. The 27 of December, the King being booted in one of the  
Chambers of the Louvre, having about him his cousins the Prince of Cony, the Count  
Soffens, and the Earle of Saint Paul, and a great number of the chiefe Noblemen of his  
Court, bending downe to receive the Lords of Ragny, and Montigny, who kist his knee,  
a yong man called *Iohn Chastel*, of the age of eightene or nineteene yeares, the son of a  
woollen Draper in Paris, a Nounce of the Iesuits, encouraged by their instructions, and  
thrust on by a diuellish furie, creeps into the Chamber with the presse, and surprizing  
his Maiestie as he was slooping to take vp these Gentlemen, in stead of thrusting him in-  
to the belly with a knife, as he had determined, he stricke him on the vpper lip, and brake  
a tooth. This wretch was taken, and confessed it without torture. The King vnder-  
standing that hee was a disciple of that schoole. *Must the Iesuites then (said he) be iudged  
by my mouth?*

Thus God (meaning by this cursed and detestable attempt) to countenance the pursuit  
of the Vniuersity of Paris against that sect, *Iohn Chastel* having declared the circumstances  
of his wicked intent, was found guilty of treason, against God and man in the highest de-  
gree, and by false and damnable instructions, holding that it was lawful to murder Kings,  
and that the King now reigning was not in the Church, vntill hee were allowed by the  
Pope, was by a decree of the Court condemned to doe penance before the great doore  
of our Ladies Church, naked in his shirt vpon his knees, holding a burning torch of two  
pound weight, to haue his armes and legs piached at the Greue with burning pincers,  
and his right hand holding the knife wherewith he sought to commit this parricide to be  
cut off, his body to be torne in peeces by foure horses, burnt to ashes, and cast into the  
wind, and all his goods forfeit to the King. The said Court decreed by the same sentence,  
That the Priests, schollers, and all others terming themselves of that Society, (as corrup-  
ters of youth, troublers of the publike quiet, and enemies to the Kings state) should de-  
part within three dayes after the publication of this decree, out of Paris, and other pla-  
ces where they had Collegges: and within sixtene out of the Realme, vpon paine after  
the said time to be punished as guilty of high treason, all their moueable and immoveable  
goods to be forfeited, to bee employed in godly vses, forbidding all the Kings subjects to  
send any schollers to the Collegge of the said society without the Realme, there to be in-  
structed or taught, vnder like paines as before.

The Decree was executed the 29 of the said moneth. *Peter Chastel* the father, and *Iohn  
Gueres* school-master to this murderer, were banished, the first for a certaine time out  
of Paris, and fined at two thousand Crownes, the last for ever out of the Realme, vpon paine  
of death. The fathers house standing before the palace, razed, and a pillar erected con-  
tained (for a perpetuall monument) the causes of that ruine. Amongst the writings of  
one named *Iohn Guignard* of Chartres, were found certaine outrageous and scandalous  
libels against his Maiefty, made since the generall pardon granted by him at the reduc-  
tion of Paris, for the which he was executed the 7 of January following. Experience hath  
often taught, that armes produce greater effects abroad in the enemies Countries then at  
home, and that the goodliest triumph is fought farthest off. Our vnciuill confusions  
were forged chiefly in Spaine, and the Iesuits had bene the chiefe workemen. One  
*Francis Iacob*, a scholler of the Iesuites of Bourges, had lately vnto to kill the King, but  
that he held him for dead, and that another had done the deed. And this horrible at-  
tempt of late vpon the sacred face of his Maiefty, (wherein he was miraculously prefer-  
red) doth witness, that they were the chiefe firebrands. So the King grounding the  
necessity of his armes vpon these considerations, after hee had rooted this Sect out of the  
Schooles, which they held within the Iurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris, hee pub-  
lished a Declaration for the making of Warre against the King of Spaine. Without  
doubt the reasons were very apparent and manifest, and the beginning more fauourable  
then the end.

The Marshall of Bouillon begins this new warre: hee enters the Duchy of Luxem-  
bourg with an army of a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, and at the first puts  
to rout eleven cornets of horse of Count Charles neere to Wirton, kills two hundred and  
fifty

1595

Some Lor-  
raines leaue  
the King.

A fifty vpon the place, makes the rest to leaue armes, horse and baggage, and to saue them-  
selves in the next forest. *Philip* likewise for his part proclaimes warre against our *Henry*.  
The Duke of Lorraine on the other side, hauing taken a truce with his Maiefty, the Ba-  
ron of Aufsenulle, with the Siegneurs of Tremblecourt, and Saint George (who before  
made warre vnder him) now take the white scarf, they enter the County of Bourgongne  
with a thousand horse, and fixe thousand foot, and at the first they seize vpon Vezou,  
Ionuille, and other places.

Behold the fire which threatens two Prouinces: but the Spaniard suffers them not to be  
consumed, as men presumed, that being busie to quench it, he would leaue Picardy in  
B quiet. He commands the archduke *Ernest*, that with the hazard of the Low-countries he  
should transport all his forces into Picardy, and moreover causeth the Constable of Ca-  
stille gouernor of Milan, to passe the Alpes with a great army of Spaniards and Neapo-  
litans, who recovered the places, and forced the Lorraines to dispirite themselves.

The Arreseiens and Hannuyers, fore-seeing the desolation which the continuance of  
this warre would cause, solicited the Archduke to seeke some meanes to quench it: but  
death cuts off the course of his enterprize. The Earle of Fuentes (that is to say, Fon-  
taines) advanced them courageously, causing the gouernour of Archois to enter into Pi-  
cardy with a thousand horse, and fixe thousand foot. Behold rough seas and great storms,  
which violently beat vpon our great Pilot: but in despite of their attempts, hee shall  
C guide his ship to a safe port, and bring his enterprizes to an end. *Vienne, Niuz, Autun,*

Spaniards in  
Picardy.

*Beauue, and Dijon*, did happily assist him: let vs see the successe. The Duke of Nemours  
escaped from prison, assembled a good troope of souldiers, horse and foot, and drawing to  
him 3000 Suiſſes which wintered in Saouoy for the defence of the Country: with these  
forces he pretended to subdue the Prouinces of Lionois, Forest, and Beauueillois, and to  
reuenge the disgrace he had receiued in Lions. For a beginning, he had reduced to his de-  
uotion, Thisi a strong Castle in Lionois, Vienne in Dauphine, Feur, Montbrison, S. Ger-  
mane, and S. Bonnet, towne in Forest: and by this, restraining them both above and be-  
neath the River, he made an account either to bring Lions to some extremity of victuals,  
or to cause some tumult among the people, who should giue him entry into the City.  
D Being ready to effect his designs, the Constable parted from Languedoc, to ioine with  
the King, he resolves in this encounter to doe him an acceptable seruise. He comes into Li-  
onois, followed with a thousand horse, and foure thousand choise Harguebuziers, happi-  
ly for the preferuation of the Country: for he presently stayed the course of the Duke of  
Nemours prosperity, who posting to oppose himself against the constable, (hauing made  
a voyage to the Constable of Castille, with hope to haue authority over these foraine  
forces, and to dispose of them for the execution of his designs) fortifies S. Colombe, a  
small village at the foot of the bridge of Vienne towards Lionois, lodgeth some troopes  
there, and the rest he puts in garison into the towne.

The Duke of  
Nemours  
makes warre  
against Li-  
onois.

And this great multitude of men shut vp in Vienne, makes their victuals grow scant:  
E they likewise want other necessaries and munition for warre. The Constable cuts off all  
meanes from them. The Suiſſes mune for want of pay, and being called home by their  
Colonels, goe to ioine with the forces of Saouy, where the Marquis of Trefort com-  
manded, being Lieutenant general for the Duke of Saouy, on this side the Alpes. To  
curbe Lions more straitly, the Marquis came to winter his men at Moushel, a small  
towne of Saouy, three leagues from Lions. The Constable prevents him, and sur-  
prising the Towne, disappoints the Marquis, lodgeth his men in the towne, and leaues the Sa-  
nouoyen subiect to the iniuries of the aire, and keeps him from attempting any thing  
against Lions.

The Constable aduersified of some discontent betwixt the Captaines of the strangers  
F that were in Vienne, and the Siegneur of Disimieu a Gentleman of Dauphine, who com-  
manded in the Castle of Pipper, the chiefe fort of the said towne, hee praicheth *Disimieu*,  
lets him understand of his due to the Kings seruice, his naturall Prince, his duty to his  
Country, and the profit hee shall bring by the reduction of this Towne, so in many  
people threatned with foraine oppression. *Disimieu* gives ear, and without any great  
difficulty, having passed his word to the Constable, suffers the siegneur of Mogenion  
to enter the Castle with 5000 of Harguebuziers. The Constable parts the force  
and vnto the 10 of April, with eight hundred Harguebuziers, three hundred horse, and  
many

COURTESY

E f f f

A decree a-  
gainst the  
murderer.Warre proclai-  
med against  
the Spaniard.

1595

many Gentlemen, as well of the Country, as his owne followers: and marcheth towards A Vienne. The Marshall of Ornano doth likewise meet him, with 300 Harguebutiers, and two hundred masters. All these themselves about Vienne at noone day. Then *Dismisses* gives the Siegneur of Cheylart, and *Dom Vincentis* Colonel of the Italian foot (that were there in garison) to vnderstand, that being well informed of the finisser practice and charge they had to feize vpon his person, he had resolued to yeeld the towne and castle vnto the King: yet would he not put it in execution, before he had obtained a safe conduct for the and their troopes. *Montoisin* shewes himselfe with his troope, and makes *Cheylart* and *Vincen-* *centio* to accept the condition that was offered them. They goe forth, and take the way to Sauoy, guarded by a company of light horse. *Dismisses* brings them vnto S. Blandine, where the Constable attended him, and there takes the oath of obedience and fealty to the King. Towards night the Constable entered Vienne, and received the towne and castles of Pippet and La Bassie in his Maiesties name. So Vienne, the only Sanctuary of the duke of Nemours, the Rendezuous of strangers, and the Port of Dauphiné to neighbor Prouinces, caused the quiet of all the Country and neighbors about. Since the which, the duke alwaies droopt, being contemned, hated, and frustrate of his attempts: and finally, he ended all his griefes by a mountfull and lamentable Catastrophe.

As all things succeeded happily for the King, the Marshall of Biron hauing taken Beaune in view of this great army of the Constable of Castille, Autun and Nuys in Bourgogne, he puts himselfe into Dijon, being called by the Inhabitants, he chased away the Vicount of Taunnes troopes (who held the Inhabitants shut vp in a corner of the towne) fortified their barricadoes against the Castle, and did beleaguer it, attending his army, which made haste to returne out of the Francke Comté. His Maiesty followinge; that the Constable of Castille being free, after the recovery of Vezou, should be employed by the Duke of Mayenne, to succour the Castle of Dijon, wherein consisted the chief hope of his rising, makes haste to Troyes; gives solenne thanks for so happy a victorie, and takes his way to Dijon, arriues there the fourth day of Iune, carrying with him the execution of a designe, more miraculous then all the rest. Without doubt our posterity may put this History with the fabulous tales of the foure Tonnes of *Aymond*, of *Rowland*, *Oliuer*, and others, if we set not downe the truth; with the chief Circumstances: for it is not a dreame, and enchantment; but a fabulous tale, that foure score Cheualiers, but true French Gentlemen, generous, and well led; have amazed and put to flight, two thousand horse? But what durst not this braue Nobility doe, hauing in the head of them so incomparable and valiant a Capitaine, and a King so well beloued and respected of all?

The Castillian had already passed his troopes and Artillery vpon bridges of boats at Grey: when as the King hauing fortified the Inhabitants with a thousand men, commanded by the Earle of Thorigny, he viewed the Castle of Dijon, the fort of Talon a Cannon shot from the towne: and all the approaches, whereby the enemy might attempt to succor the Castle, made choice of a place of battell fit to stay him, and where to make fort for the restraining of the said Castle: hee resolues to free him of halfe his paines, and to meet him in the mid-way, with a double intent, the one to fight with him at the passage, the other, to giue the assailants time to finish the trenches against the Castle. For the execution hereof, he assigns the Rendezuous at Lux vpon Tillé, & Fontaine François to a thousand horse; and 300 Carabins, whom hee would vte in this rare stratagem; and the same day parts with the only company of the Baron of Lux, and some thirty horse, and comes to Lux, and from thence to Fontaine François, putting a troop of foot into two Castles which are in the village of Saint Seine vpon the river of Vigonne, to stop the enemies passage. It was the directest and best way to come to the fort of Dijon.

A league from Fontaine François, the Marquis of Mirebeau giues his Maiesty intelligence, that he hath encountered with two troopes of three or foure hundred horse, which made him retire in haste; that hee did thinke, to haue sciled some wing of the army behinde, but hee had no leisure to discover them plainly. Hee sake them, for all the Castilians army was assumed to Lux vpon the passage of Saint Seine, a more vantage place less generous then our *Winn*, would presently haue resolued to make an honorable retreat: but this did kinde his courage, and increased his desire to stand their countenance.

Wonderful  
effects of the  
Kings armes.

877

1595

A tenance. He sends the Marshall of Biron with the company of the Baron of Lux, to discover if it were the army, or some other troope that went to the war, and himselfe followed the Marshall a good pace. A hundred paces beyond Fontaine François, the Marshall discovers about three score horse vpon a hill, mid-way to S. Seine, situate at the foot thereof on the one side, so as the villages cannot see one another. The Marshall resolues to chase them, to see what the enemy did behind. He sees the enemies army coming to the said village, and neere vnto a wood fast by, about 300 horse, which had beat back the Baron of Aulonville, whom his Maiesty had likewise sent before with a hundred horse, to see if the enemy marched or stayed.

B These (supported by their whole army, which followed them at the heeles) put forth one troope on the right hand, and another on the left, who make a shew to charge the Marshall, that they might obserue what forces followed him. To frustrate their expectation, hee causeth the Marquis of Mirebeau to stretch forth at large on the one hand, and the Baron of Lux on the other, and then assured that the enemies army followed, hee began to make his retreat towards the King. The enemy perseth him, taking this retreat for a kind of flight: But he retired only to charge more furiously. The Baron of Lux sees a troope, which aduanceth before their army, and enters so hotly amongst them, as his horse being slain, he remains engaged in great danger, if the Marshall had not salued him with so rough a charge as they were constrained and forced to turne their backs. Hereupon C issue forth from the woods, many troopes of horse, which in all, with them that marched before, made about twelue hundred. The Marshall (discouering them) retires more speedily, as well to aduertise his Maiesty that all their army followed, as also to tell him that he had means with his horse to fight with theirs before their foot could arriue. Before he could deliuer this vnto the King, the troopes of the Baron of Thianges, *Thenifsey*, *Pilliers*, *Houdan*, and a company of Carabins ioyned with him, whom he had chased, and force him to turne head, but with twenty horse only, for the great number of enemies at the first view had amazed most of them which followed the Marshall. Hee charged, and ouerthrowes the first he encounters. But two wounds, one on the head, with a sword, the other with a Lance which razed the skinn of his belly, made the victory for D a while doubtful. Without doubt his braue resolution and wife command encouraged many that were amazed, and confirmed that, which in them tended to ruine. The only feare which they had, least he had more men in the village or thereabouts, then hee had made shew of kept the enemy backe, and made them to attend the rest of the army which aduanced: in the meane time they put them into five equadrons. His Maiesty sees himselfe engaged to fight, and hath small means to make it good, for the troopes followed easily, and the houre of the Rendezuous was not yet come. The King notwithstanding aduanceth a troope of horse which newly arriued. But discouering this great cloud of enemies ready to charge them, they retire to his Maiesty.

The widows  
and valor of  
the Marshall of  
Biron.

An aduencu-  
rous charge.

One torch may kinde many lights. If our *Henry* had wanted resolution: if his valour E had not been able to heat these cold and frozen hearts: if numbers had exceeded his courage, he had been wonderfully perplexed. It was a shame to retire, a rashnesse to aduance, and dangerous to make a stand. There was perill to fight, or not to fight. He chooseth rather to exceed the limits of valour, then to be noted of any cowardise. He aduanceth to them that fled, and causeth some to turne and to ioyne with his troope. The Lord of Taunnes arriues with his companie, encreasing his number, which are about two hundred horse, but not yet well ioyned. Hereupon the Duke of Mayenne appears vpon a hill, and sends forth three score equadrons against his Maiesty, which flanked him on the right hand, the one of three hundred horse, the other of two hundred, and the third of a hundred and fifty; and two others against the Marshall of Biron.

F The King aduanceth, with about foure score horse, and chargeth the first squadron so violently, as he giues them no leisure to thinke to fight, ouerthrowes the second, and dispereth the third, with about five and twenty horse, which remained with him (the rest pursued the victory) strikes terror into all, and leaues the vanquished no other safetie, but to die by the hand of so incomparable a Conqueror. The Marshall of Biron seconders this admirable victory with a great resolution, who followed with about fifty horse, defeated the two equadrons that came against him, one after another, within three score paces of the Duke of Mayenne, who stood firme on the hill with his troope

Ffff 2

ef

1595

many Gentlemen, as well of the Country, as his owne followers: and marcheth towards A. Vienne. The Marshall of Ormano doth likewise meet him, with 100 Harguebushers, and two hundred masters. All these fellows comes about Vienne at noone day. Then *Dismisses* gives the Siegneur of Cheylart, and *Dom Vincentis* Colonel of the Italian foot (that were there in garison) to vnderstand, that being well informed of the finister practice and charge they had to seize vpon his person, he had refused to yeeld the towne and castle vnto the King: yet would he not put it in execution, before he had obtained a safe conduct for the and their troopes. *Montosin* shewes himselfe with his troope, and makes *Cheylart* and *Vincentis* to accept the condition that was offered them. They goe forth, and take the way to Sauoy, guarded by a company of light horse. *Dismisses* brings them vnto S. Blandine, where the Constable attended him, and there takes the oath of obedience and fealty to the King. Towards night the Constable entered Vienne, and received the towne and castles of Pipperet and La Bassie in his Maiesties name. So Vienne, the only Sanctuary of the duke of Nemours, the Rendezvous of strangers, and the Port of Dauphiné to neighbor Prouinces, caused the quiet of all the Country and neighbors about. Since the which, the duke alwaies droopt, being concerned, hated, and frustrate of his attempts: and finally, he ended all his griefes by a mournfull and lamentable Catastrophe.

As all things succeeded happily for the King, the Marshall of Biron hauing taken Beaune in view of this great army of the Constable of Castille, Autun and Nuy in Bourgogne, he puts himselfe into Dijon, being called by the Inhabitants, he chased away the Vicount of Tournes troopes (who held the Inhabitants shut vp in a corner of the towne) fortified their barricades against the Castle, and did beleaguer it, attending his army, which made haste to returne out of the Franche Comté. His Maiesty foreseeing, that the Constable of Castille being free, after the recovery of Vezou, should be employed by the Duke of Mayenne, to succour the Castle of Dijon, wherein consisted the chief hope of his rising, makes haste to Troyes, gives solemn thanks for his happy victory, and takes his way to Dijon, arriues there the fourth day of Iune, carrying with him the execution of a designe, more miraculous then all the rest. Without doubt our posterity may put this History with the fabulous tales of the foure sonnes of *Aymond*, of *Rowland*, *Oliver*, and others, if we set not downe the truth, with the chief Circumstances: for it is not a dreame, and enchantment, and a fabulous tale, that fourescore Cheualiers, but true French Gentlemen, generous, and well led, haue amazed and put to flight, two thousand horse? But what durst not this braue Nobility doe, hauing in the head of them so incomparable and valiant a Captaine, and a King so well beloved and respected of all?

The Castilian had already passed his troopes and Artillery vpon bridges of boats at Grey: when as the King hauing fortified the Inhabitants with a thousand men, commanded by the Earle of Thorigny, he viewed the Castle of Dijon, the fort of Taison a Cannon shot from the towne: and all the approaches, whereby the enemy might attempt to succor the Castle, made choice of a place of battell fit to stay him, and where to make forts for the restraining of the said Castle: hee refused to free him of halfe the paines, and to meet him in the mid-way, with a double intent, the one to fight with him at the passage, the other, to giue the assailants time to finish their trenches against the Castle. For the execution hereof, he assigns the Rendezvous at Lux vpon Ylle, & Fontaine Françoise a thousand horse, and 500 Carabins, whom hee would vnto in this rare stratagem: and the same day parts with the onely company of the Baron of Lux, and some thirty horse, and comes to Lux, & from thence to Fontaine Françoise, putting a troope of foot into two Castles which are in the village of Saint Seine vpon the riuer of Ygonne, to stop the enemies passage. It was the shortest and best way to come to the foot of of Dijon.

A league from Fontaine Françoise, the Marquis of Mirebeau giues his Maiesty intelligence, that he hath encountered with two troopes of three hundred horse, which made him retire in haste: that hee did thinke to haue sent some wings of the army behind, but hee had no leisure to discover them fully: hee saies thus, that all the Castilians army was addrested to seize vpon the passage of Saint Seine, a place where the King would be forced to fight, and would certainly haue obtained a notable victory: but the King kindled his courage, and increased his desire to see their countenance.

Wonderfull  
effects of the  
Kings armes.

1595

A tenance. He sends the Marshall of Biron with the company of the Baron of Lux, to discover if it were the army, or some other troope that went to the war, and himselfe followed the Marshall a good pace. A hundred paces beyond Fontaine Françoise, the Marshall discovers about three score horse vpon a hill, mid-way to S. Seine, situate at the foot thereof on the one side, so as the villages cannot see one another. The Marshall refuses to chase them, to see what the enemy did behind. He sees the enemies army coming to the said village, and neere vnto a wood fall by, about 300 horse, which had beat back the Baron of Aulonville, whom his Maiesty had likewise sent before with a hundred horse, to see if the enemy marched or stayed.

B These (supported by their whole army, which followed them at the heeles) put forth one troope on the right hand, and another on the left, who make a shew to charge the Marshall, that they might obserue what forces followed him. To frustrate their expectation, he causeth the Marquis of Mirebeau to stretch forth at large on the one hand, and the Baron of Lux on the other, and then assured that the enemies army followed, hee began to make his retreat towards the King. The enemy prest him, taking this retreat for a kind of flight: But he retired only, to charge more furiously. The Baron of Lux sees a troope, which aduanceth before their army, and enters to hotly amongst them, as his horse being slain, he remains engaged in great danger, if the Marshall had not salued them with so rough a charge as they were constrained and forced to turne their backs. Hereupon C issue forth from the woods, many troopes of horse, which in all, with them that marched before, made about twelue hundred. The Marshall (discouering them) retires more speedily, as well to aduertise his Maiestie that all their army followed, as also to tell him that he had means with his horse to fight with theirs before their foot could arise. Before he could deliuer this vnto the King, the troopes of the Baron of Thianges, *Thensif*, *Sey*, *Pilliers*, *Houdan*, and a company or Carabins ioyned with him, whom he had chased, and force him to turne head, but with twenty horse onely, for the great number of enemies at the first view had amazed most of them which followed the Marshall. Hee charged, and ouerthrowes the first he encounters. But two wounds, one on the head, with a sword, the other with a Lance which razed the skinn of his belly, made the victory for D a while doubtful. Without doubt his braue resolution and wife command encouraged many that were amazed, and confirmed that, which in shew tended to ruine. The onely feare which they had, least he had more men in the village or thereabouts, then hee had made shew of, kept the enemy backe, and made them to attend the rest of the army which aduanced: in the meane time they put them into five equadrons. His Maiesty sees himselfe engaged to fight, and hath small means to make it good, for the troopes followed easily, and the houre of the Rendezvous was not yet come. The King notwithstanding aduanceth a troope of horse which newly arriued. But discouering this great cloud of enemies ready to charge them, they retire to his Maiesty.

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of three hundred horse, whither the run-awaies fled, thinking there to be in safetie.

The King and the Marshall charge them jointly, force them, put them in rout, and pursue them vnto the corner of the wood. Here the King findes their battalions of foot, and great store of Muskets and other shot planted along it, with foure hundred fresh horse, sent to receive the Duke, a hundred paces from their battalions. So his Maiesty makes a stand, and the enemies freed from him, begin their retreat. The Kings horse follow them to the toppes of the hill, and there put themselves in battell. The King hauing taken breath in the place from whence he parted to go to the charge, diuides his men into two troopes, one for himselfe, the other for the Marshall. Here, about a hundred French Gentlemen take the place from sixtene hundred horse, and by this means the King was master both of the enemies bodies, and of the place of battell. His Maiesty gathers together such as were disperfed, to make the better shew. Hereupon arises the Earle of Clermont, *Vitry*, the Kings lights horse, those of *Cesar Monsieur*, the Duke of *Elbeuf*, the Earle of *Chiucny*, the Cheualier d' *Oise*, the Lords of *Risse* and *Aix*, which made about five hundred horse of his bands of Ordinance, all gricued that they had not followed the fortune and valor of our King, to bee partakers of the honour which he had won.

With this supply he turnes to ouertake them that fled, and pursues them two leagues, neere vnto Grey: but not able to follow this shamefull flight, he was content his glory should surmount their shame, and that his valour had vanquished their force: and vying this famous victory with piety, hee let all the world know in his person, that it is not the sword, nor the arme that strikes, nor the number of men, that preserues Kings in the midst of armes: but that high Providence, which fighting with the one hand for the iust cause of lawfull Princes, against the attempts, and violences of vsurpers and Tyrants: and holding victories in the other, decides the quarrels of Souereiganties, by the equity hee finds in Princes armes vnjustly oppressed, and makes it manifest that the admirable euent of battels consist not onely in number or force, but in the free disposition of his fauours, vnto a people whose miseries he will shorten, which the continuance of warre hath bred in a diuided Estate.

The enemy returned to lodge at S. Seigne, and dislodging the next day with feare, they repassed the water vpon their bridges, leaving both the one and the other side of the hill at the Kings deuotion, who without doubt had giuen them a great checke vpon this retreat, if his footmen had bene with him, and the horse lately arriued could haue endured the toyle in the vehement heat of the Sun. The Duke of Mayenne and the Castilian lost in this charge sixscore men slaine vpon the field, threescore prisoners, and two hundred hurt. His Maiesty, onely foure slaine, and one prisoner. But for a notable circumstance, and a signe of the especial care of God ouer his person, hee performed these exploits without any other armes then his cuirasse alone, and was well assisted (to their great commendation) by the Dukes of Guise and Elbeuf, the Lord of Tremouille, and the Marquises of Treyne and Pizany, by the Lords of Inteuille, Roquelaure, Chasteauvieux, Liencourt, Montigni, Mirepoix and others. And in despite of all the furious attempts of the league, the Castle of Dijon, and in a manner all Bourgongne was soone after reduced to the Kings obedience: and now the third time, hee freed his Realme from strangers. The King in the end inuades the Country, forceth one of their lodgings in the view of the Constable of Castile neere vnto Grey, becomes master of the field, takes Alpremont and many other places: he had forced their chiefe forts, if the Suisses had not intreated him to retire his army, and to suffer that Prouince to inioy her ancient libertie.

The Princes absence did imbolden them that were light headed to discouer the rash imaginations of their braines. The Colledge of Sorbonne was not yet so well purged of factious humors, but there remained some leuaine of sedition and scandall. For *Flourentine* Iacob an *Angustine* Monke maintained in his disputation in the Colledge of Sorbonne, vnder *Thomas Blancy* Doctour in Diuinity and principall of the Colledge of Calu: That without doubt all Spirituall and Temporall things depend vpon the successe of Saint Peters Chaire, whereas *Clement* the 8 sits at this day, the great and most souereigne Bishop, Lieutenant to God on earth, for hee hath Spirituall and Temporall power ouer all. And all in generall, Cardinals, Bishops and others of what estate and condition soeuer, ought to obey him, and adhere perpetually vnto him as the members

vnto

A notable  
victory.A shamefull  
flight.

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A vnto the head. And that the Church hauing the power of two swords, grants vnto Kings and Magistrates the vse of the temporall, for the defence of the good, and rooting out of the wicked. But the Court of Parliament, the true seat of Royall Iustice, ready and carefull to maintain the estate against such as would shake it, in that which concerns the affaires of the Crown, declares by a decree of the nineteenth day of Iuly these two Articles to bee false, schismaticall, contrary to the word of God, holy decrees, canonical constitutions, and lawes of the Realme, tending to rebellion and the trouble of the publike quiet: wherefore the Monke being conducted from the prison of the Confergerie vnto the Sorbons hall; the Deane, Sincic, Doctours, Lycenciats and Batchelors, being assembled by the sound of the bell, he declared (being bare-headed and vpon his knees, *Blancy* also assisting bare-headed, but standing) *That rashly and indiscreetly he had propounded the said positions to be disputed off, and maintained by him in his Ordinary Act, for the which he was sorry, and demanded pardon of God, the King, and Iustice.* The questions were torne in peeces, and defences made to all Batchelors to present the like against the Kings power and the obedience which all his subiects owe vnto him, the establishment of the royall estate, and the rights of the French Church, and to the Deane, Sincic and Doctours of the faculty, to receive them; nor to suffer them to be printed nor disputed of, vpon paine to be declared guilty of high treason, and vnworthy to enioy the priuiledges granted to the faculty of Diuinity, by the Kings predecessors to the King now reigning, and confirmed by him. And to eternize the memory, the Court ordained, that this decree should be written in the Registers of the said Faculty, and read every yeare at the first Assembly of the Sorbonne by the Beadle of the said Faculty: enioying the Sincic to certifie the Court of the reading thereof within three dayes after it should be done, vpon paine of disobedience. This present decree was executed by *Iohn Forges* one of the Kings priuy Council, and President in his Court of Parliament, *Stephen Flary*, *Ierome Angenou*, *Ierome Anreux*, and *Prosper Basin* Councillors in the said Court, and deputed Iudges to that end, in the presence of his Maiesties Poetor general, who by a graue and Maiesticall admonition did shew zeale and affection to conuince the error & rashnesse of any one that would attempt to make a breach in the royall and soueraigne authority, to weaken the temporall sword, which God onely did put into their hands for the preferuation of the good and punishment of the wicked.

Whilst the King continues his victories, the Marshall of Bouillon executes a dangerous enterprize, but of importance, vpon the Towne and Castle of Han. Han opened the way for the Spaniard from the frontier vpon Beauuais and Amiens: but this surprize cunningly performed, did wonderfully annoy them, and not one Spaniard of those which had it in guard escaped either death or prison. Sixscore naturall Spaniards, and sixe or seuen hundred Capitaines and fouldiers of diuers nations were slaine, and three or foure hundred prisoners. But all this summe of men could not recompence the death of that braue and generous Nobleman *Humieres*, one of the chiefe actors in the enterprize, as much lamented first by the King, then by the Nobility, and generally of all France, as his vertues and merits had made him commendable and necessary for his Maiesties service. *La Croix* master of the campe, *Maxiges* Lieutenant to *Sunville*, and *Boyencom* Captaine of *Humieres* guard, were companions of his valour, and graue. The Towne was taken for the King, with the death of some twenty other Gentlemen, and about a hundred fouldiers. But the Spaniard soone after reuenged this surprize vpon Castelle, but more sharply vpon the towne of Doullans, for hauing put to rout the succours which the Marshall of Bouillon sent, slaine the Admirall of Villars and many Gentlemen, they tooke the towne by assault (not for want of men or munition, but by their bad order, and the intelligence which the Commanders in the towne had with the enemy) and entred it with such fury, as they had no respect of sex or age: hauing no reason for their horrible cruelty, but the fresh remembrance of their companions. It is (cryed they) to reuenge those of Han.

¶ The Duke of Neuers, the Marshall of Bouillon, and the Earle of Saint Paul, Commanders of the Kings troopes, hauing diuided the charge amongst them, to encounter the Spaniard forces, the Marshall and the Earle went to provide for the places about Bollogne, and the Duke for those vpon the riuer of Somme. Passing by Amiens, hee finds the people and chiefefto amazed, that to assure them, he was forced to lay aside the quality of his

Ffff3

person,

Han surpris'd  
for the King.*Humieres*  
slaine.Castelle and  
Doullans for  
the Spaniards.



1595 person, and to promise to put himselfe into Corbie, foure leagues from Amiens, to defend it if the enemy approached. He enters it the third of August, views it both within and without, takes a survey of the quantity of munition, and of the number of mouths, and provides as time & necessity would permit him, for things necessary for the preservation of the place. The Spaniard had another designe: for the first day of the month he parts from about Dourlans, and taking the way betwixt Peronne and Corbie, seemes to threaten S. Quentin or Cambray. So the Duke leaves Corbie, but doubtfull whether the Spaniard went: yet aduertised by the Vicont d'Auchy gouernour of Saint Quentin, that the Enemy approached towards him, he goes to defend S. Quentin. He is no sooner arrived, but newes comes, that the Earle of Fuentes is lodged about Cambray, to besiege it with sixteen thousand men, and three score and two peeces of artillery. The Lord of Balagny, Marshall of France, by his articles of capitulation with the King, confirms this advice by his letters of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth of the month, and requires to be suddenly released, for the pitifull Estate of Dourlans terrified the people: the towne was ill provided of men, this huge number of Cannons, and this fearfull multitude of soldiers, strooke a general error among the Citizens.

Cambray besieged.

But to reuive their spirits, who were ready to yeeld obedience to a new Lord, the duke of Neuers sends them his only sonne, the Duke of Rethelois, assisted with the valour and wisdom of the Lords of Vicques, Buiy, Trumeler, Vaudecourts, Sugny, Fleury, Chattray, and others, with about three hundred and fifty horse. The Peasants by their bells give the alarm from village to village, & a paltry bridge of wood at Anne, two leagues from Cambray, staying their troope, gaue the Earle of Fuentes meane to put his horse in battell almost directly in the way where the Duke should passe. He auoides it, and going aside encounters a guard of five and twenty Lances, making a stand on this side of a hollow-way: he chargeth them, cuts them in peeces in the sight of their horse, which could not succour them by reason of the said way, and passing on, hee falls into a troope of two hundred & fifty horse, marcheth directly to them, scatters them, goes on his way, & comes to the towne-ditch. The Inhabitants know him and receive him, with much honor and ioy to see so brave succors.

But it was too weak against such a number of assailants: the King was farre off, the Estate of Bourgundy kept him occupied: the affaires of the Province of Lionois required his presence. The Inhabitants of Cambray began to decline in affection: they were male-content with the tediousness of the siege, and the ruine of their houses by the Cannon, and of the constraint to take certaine money made of Copper, and not suffer them to employ it, carrying on the one side the Kings armes, as Protector, and on the other those of the Lord of Balagny, created Prince of Cambray by the Articles of his rendition. On the other side, the enemy made strange attempts, and gaue horrible threats against the besieged. They shut their eares against all persuasions, and make a disloyall resolution to yeeld, and hoping for better vantage and more liberty, they open the gates to the enemy. The Duke of Rethelois, Balagny, Vicques, and others flee into the Cittadell. The Duke would retire his sonne, and makes the besieged despair of any speedy succours. So the ninth of October Balagny signed the capitulation, offered by the enemy: but with so much griefe and sorrow, as the same night hee signed it, his wife being a woman of a great spirit died, not able to endure that so precious a Jewell as Cambray (whereof she was newly created Princeesse) should fall into the Spaniards cruell hands.

Cambray yeelded to the Spaniards.

Thus this ancient member of this Crowne was lost: Thus the onely triumph of a son and brother of the Kings of France was blemished. Doubtlesse had it not bene for the impatience and disloyalty within, the fault of some great men that might haue prevented this mischief, all their attempts had been in vaine: for the Earle of Fuentes was ready to build forts about the towne, rather to vanquish them by a long siege then by assault. And the King hastned his entry into Lions, to come to their speedy succor. The Duke of Neuers died soone after, grieved on the one side for great a breach made to this Estate, and satisfied on the other, that his sonne had shewed himselfe so valliant in the conduct of the succors he put into the towne.

The King seeing the Constable of Castile shut vp into Dole and Grey, being loath to hazard a battell, he went and made his entry into Lions the fourth of September, assured the

A the Province, provided for the troubles of Prouence, nourished not so much by the league, as by the discontentments and partialities of some which had no intelligence with them: he receiued *Bois Dauphin* in his obedience, with the townes of Chasteaugontier in Aniou, and Sable in Maine, and for recompence of his seruice, honored him with the place of a Marshall of France. Then he granted a general truce throughout the whole realme, to the Duke of Mayenne, which after so many storms and so many tempests, shall in the end bring vs to a safe port, so necessary to quiet the diuisions of this Realme.

The King being prest to make a general truce, and cessation of armes throughout his whole kingdom, vpon the assurance which the D. of Mayenne had giuen him to cause it to be observed by all them which doe yet make war, as well vnder his authority, as in the name of the Vnion: his Maiesty desirous to ease his subjects of the oppression of war, granted them certain Articles:

That there should be a truce and cessation of armes for three moneths. That all men indifferently might enioy the fruits of their reuenues, and returne into the possession of their houses and Castles. That no fortification should be made during the truce. That Labourers and husbandmen might with all liberty follow their accustomed workes, and not be molested vpon paine of death. That all men might passe freely throughout the Realme without passport. That all taxes and impositions set vpon Merchandize, should be leauied during the three moneths. That during the said truce nothing should be attempted vpon the places of either party, nor any act of hostilitie done; which if any should attempt, reparation should be made, and the delinquents punished as troublers of the publike peace. That no man might take any place, during the truce, to fortifie. Quarrells and challenges were forbidden for any difference which had hapned during the troubles. These Articles with diuers others were concluded vpon at Lions the three and twentieth of September 1595, and signed by the King, and Duke de Mayenne.

God raise vp a great meane from beyond the mountaines, to make the way easie for a general peace and re-union of people distracted from his Maiesties obedience. The Pope moued in the end to see the eldest Sonne of the Church, and the chiefe Christian Prince prostrate at his feet, shewes himselfe a true father of Iustice, to vanquish the difficulties and oppositions, whereby the Ambassador of Spaine had crost his Maiesties constant and iust pursuit, since the time of his conversion. The 18 of September he opens the freemes of his blessing vpon our Kings head: and all the Colledge of Cardinals, all the people, all the Citie of Rome, cry out with that happy acclamation, *God save Henry of Bourbon, King of France and of Navarre, most great, most victorious, God save the most Christian and the most Catholike, God save the chiefe Sou of the Church.*

The Pope blest the King.

Few daies after the newes of this solemne action, the King went from Lions in post by night, to goe to the succour of Cambray, but the effects were not answerable to his care. The Cambresiens had already conceived some hope of greater liberty: they hoped to get much by the change, and yeilded their necks to a new command. There is neither meane, counsell, nor reason that can stay a multitude, when as a disordered appetite of Freedom doth transport them. His Maiesty finds other worke to employ his forces: hee fought to roote this foraigne power speedily out of Picardy, which held his hands bound and insulted ouer him. *La Fere* is the chiefe and most important fort of the Province; he besiegeth it, and finds therein an obstinate and inuincible resolution. Perseuerance is necessary in all actions of war, but especially in the Siege of townes, and there is no place which the munition and the situation makes impregnable, but time & famine will force, subdue, and bring vnder. Whilest the King leaves the besieged nothing free but the ayre, and drues them to all extremities: the D. of Mayen on the other side (seeing his retreats in a manner all lost, and that he is in disgrace with the Spaniards) fues for his Maiesties fauour, and vpon his simple word he promisseth to come vnto him where-soeuer he pleased. The Marquis of S. Sorlin, now Duke of Nemours by the death of his elder brother, yeelds with the like facility.

La Fere besieged.

Neuer Prince did more easly remit the wrongs done him. The King grew more cold then was requisite in a siege of such importance, to attend the treaties of the one and the other. He commended the first, for the affection he had shewed to preserve the realme entire, hauing not done, nor suffered it to be diminished, but of some places, in the great declining of his estate; and declares that hee had alwayes heard that the

The Duke of Mayenne and Nemours reconciled into grace.

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second had no part in the troubles and diuisions of the realme, by any designe preiudicial to the Estate. This re-vniõ of the Duke of Mayenne, performed at Monceaux in Brie, caused the yielding of Soissons, Pierrelont, Chaalon vpon Soane, Seurre in Bourgogne, and some other places, to the Kings obedience, whereupon the King made an Edict, as followeth.

Henry by the grace of God, &c. As it is the duty of a good King to loue his subjects, as his Children, to intreat them as his owne, and to thinke that their felicity is his: God and men are witnesses, that since it pleased God to call vs to this Crowne, we haue had no greater desire then to free our selfe of this charge. For, hauing found this realme full of factions, war, and diuisions, more dangerous then haue been heretofore, we haue neither spared our blood to defend our authority, nor our clemency to forget wrongs which haue beene done vs: to the end we might soone free our Realme from oppressions and ciuill wars, the very spring and mother of all miseries. Wherein we confesse that we haue beene no lesse assisted by the grace & blessing of God in the one, then in the other. For, if he hath often giuen vs victories ouer our enemies, he hath also giuen vs a will and meanes to vanquish them by mildnesse, that haue made themselves worthy, so as we may say, that we haue no lesse advanced the re-vniõ of our subjects by clemency then by armes. And therein we haue beene chiefly moued by the great loue we beare vnto our subjects, and the compassion we haue of their calamity and miseries, more then with our owne particular interest or advantage. We haue also had a great regard vnto the causes which haue incited many of them to arme, being grounded vpon the care which euery man should haue of his foules health, the which we haue held so much the more worthy of commiseration and excuse, for that we doe acknowledge as a true Christian, that there is not any thing hath more power ouer vs, then this bond. Wherefore hauing often tried by our selfe, that force doth rather fortifie then change the resolution of man, in matter of Religion, and that it is a grace which is infused into vs, not by our owne iudgments, nor by any other, but by the only bounty of the euer-living God, and by the working of the holy Spirit.

As soone as we had any breathing from our great toyles, by the advantages which God hath giuen vs ouer our adueraries, we drew vnto vs Prelates and Doctors of good life, and learned in the holy Scriptures, to instruct vs in the truth of the Catholike religion, whereof God by his grace hauing made vs capable, with a firme resolution to perseuer therein vnto the death: we haue since had no greater desire then to participate in the vniõ and society of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church, and our reconciliation with our holy Father the Pope, and the holy Sea, as all men may see by our actions, and the continuall pursuiues which we haue made: the which haue beene so crost by the ordinarie practices of our enemies, and their power at Rome, as if our constancy and reason had not moued and fortified the vertue and singular bounty of our Holy Father (who like a common father did only regard the good of Christian religion) we had neuer attained to the happinesse of his holy blessing, nor of our reconciliation so much desired, E for the quiet of our conscience, and the better satisfaction of our subjects, moued onely with the zeale of religion. Wherein we haue great cause to praise God, and to magnifie his holinesse and equity, who by his wisdom and bounty hath confounded the infolency and falshood of our enemies: We haue no lesse cause to admire Gods diuine providence, in that it hath pleased him to make the way of our saluation, the fittest meanes to win the hearts of our subjects, and to draw them to obey vs, as hath beene seene soone after our vniõ to the Church, and euer since continued.

But this worke had not bene perfect, nor the peace absolute, if our deare and welbeloued Cousin the Duke of Mayenne, chiefe of his party, had not followed the same course, as he was resolved to doe, when as he saw our holy Father allow of our re-vniõ: The which hath made vs to like better of his actions then before, to take in good part the zeale which he had to religion, and to commend his desire to perseuer the realme, the which he would not suffer to be dismembred, when as he saw the prosperity of his affaires seemed to giue him some meanes: As also since, being weake, hee chose rather to cast himselfe into our armes, and yeeld vs the obedience, which God, Nature, and the Lawes commanded him, then to seeke other remedies which might continue the wars, to the great preiudice of our subjects: The which makes vs desire to acknowledge his good will, and to loue and

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A and intreat him hereafter as our good kinsman and faithfull subiect. And to the end, that both he and all Catholikes which shall imitate him in this duty, may be the better confirmed, and others incited to the like resolution; And also, to the end that no man may hereafter seeme to doubt of the sincerity of our re-vniõ to the Catholike Church, and vnder that pretext stir vp new seeds of dissention to seduce our subjects, and draw them to their ruine: We declare and protest that our resolution is to liue and die in the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish religion, whereof we haue made profession: our intention is also to procure the aduancement thereof with all our meanes, and with the like care and affection, as the most Christian Kings our predecessors haue done, by the aduice of B our good and loyall Catholike subjects, as well of those which haue alwaies assisted vs, as of others which haue since yeelded vs obedience, maintaining notwithstanding the publique tranquillity of the realme.

After this Edict and protestation, his Maiesty granted many things touching the good of the Duke De Mayenne, and those of his party which should submit themselves. The townes of Chaalons, Seurre, and Soissons, were left vnto the Duke for six yeares, as places of surety, and no religion to be there exercised during that time but the Romish, nor any one to be aduanced to any office or publique charge, but such as made profession thereof. All Letters, Declarations, Iudgments and Decrees, made against the D. of Mayen, or any other whosoeuer, that would enioy the benefit of the said Edict, were reuoked, and C the memory thereof suppressed and extinct. All men of what quality and condition soeuer, that did acknowledge the King, and make their due submission, were restored to their goods, offices and dignities, notwithstanding all Edicts, seisesures, sales, confiscations, or declarations formerly made, the which were reuoked, and they put into possession thereof by vertue of this present Edict, vpon condition that they should sweare fidelity and obedience to the King, and presently depart from all leagues and associations. That neither the Duke, or any one which had followed his party, should be called in question for any thing which had beene done during the present troubles, if within the time limited by the Edict, they came and acknowledged their duties: vlesse it were for the murder of the deceased King: which exception should not tend to the Princes and Princes D cesses which had fallen from the obedience of the deceased King, & should now acknowledge their duty. That all men which desired to enioy the benefit of the Edict, might retorne and possesse their houses, goods, and dignities, notwithstanding all letters and decrees to the contrary. That the Duke of Mayen, and all that had followed him, should be discharged of all soms of money, leauied or taken by them for what cause soeuer, and they likewise acquitted which had furnished the same. They were likewise discharged from all acts of hostility, and from any thing attempted contrary to their duties, during the war: with many other Articles for the ease and discharge of the Duke of Mayenne, and those which had followed his party. All that would enioy the benefit of this present Edict, were bound to make declaration within six weekes after the publication thereof, to E the Courts of Parliament, or to the Iudges where they dwelt, and to take the oath of allegiance.

The execution of a decree made by the Court of Parliament, against the Duke of Aumale was furchealed with an intent to suppress the same, if the Duke of Aumale should acknowledge his Maiestie as he ought within the said terme. Moreouer, the Duke of Mayenne was discharged of three hundred and fifty thousand crownes, for the which he and some of his friends and seruants had engaged themselves, which was employed for the war, and not conuerted to his owne priuate vse. The King did also promise to discharge him of all soms of money, for the which he stood bound to the Suisses, Reistres, Lanquens, or any other strangers, and to make it his owne debt. There was other F secret articles granted which were not expressed in the Originall.

This reduction of the Duke of Mayenne serued the Marshall d'Amont as a spur to croffe the exploits of the Duke of Mercœur in Britany. He had lately seized vpon Chaiuze, a place situate betwixt Normandy, Maine, and Britany, and from thence commanded the neighbour Prouinces, stretching out his wings thirty leagues round about, without contradiction. They of Caen did first complaine of it: the Marshall d'Amont aduertised of this prize by the Earle of Montgomery, sends for Capitaine Geniill (whose merits haue giuen vs subiect to make an honourable mention of him else where.) Geniill gets

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gets leave of the King, and goes to view Chateau in a darke night, but he could finde no means to force it, being feared high, environed with steep rocks, a river and two-woodes, having no approach nor entrance, but by two narrow Cawfeys, whose issues must be discovered by light. He returns thither at a full Moore, and finds no other expedient, but to open the wall by the force of his Engines, by the means of a little hole which he found close to the ground. Yet this place is fortified with a double ditch, flanked by the dungeon, and hath but a very narrow cawfey to passe vnto, and to descend into the ditch by Moonelight, in view of a Sentinel set right ouer it. Circumstances able to discourage the vnder-taker, if some inward motion of a diuine assistance had not fauored his designe. He vnder-takes it, moued with the excesse and violences of this insolent Garison, consisting for the most part of Spaniards, and roguish strangers. The Earle of Montgomery, and the Seigneur of Roches his brother, led many of the Nobility thither with sufficient forces. At their first approach the Sentinel giues the alarme: the Garison is presently in armes and man the walls. The first Petard discharged within the hole: all run thither to defend the entry: foure others follow as speedily as their shor. *Gentil* applied a great mortar, when as beheld the wall opens, and giues them means to enter. He calls for a Saillige to scatter them that came thronging to the breach. *Des Roches* brings it vnto him, but he is stricken dead with a Musket shot. *Gentil* cast the Saillige among their feet: it burnes some, lames others, sets fire of their furniture and powder, dischargeth their peeeces, and makes a terrible spoile. *Gentil* casts himselfe desperately into the breach: the Earle of Montgomery seconds him, preferring the publike profit of this victory, before his priuate griefe for the death of his brother. All the troops strive to go in, and pursue their enemies vnto the entry of the Dungeon. The Engines being speedily prepared to force them, ended them to capitulate, every one to depart with a white wand: leaving the place to the discretion of the Earle Montgomery, and to *Gentil* a desire to make other enterprises in Britany, the which he had effected, if the Duke of Mercœur had continued in rebellion against the King.

The hazard and burthens of rebellion, ruined the Duke of Aumale onely: he would be more willfull then all the rest. He therefore grew so incensed against him, as the Court of Parliament at Paris made his preceesse, declared him guilty of treason in the highest degree, his picture to be drawne in peeeces with foure horses, all his goods forfeited to the King, adiudged his goodly house at Anet to be razed to the ground, and for more detestation of this trechery, the trees about it cut off by the waile. But he fought his safety with *Albert* Cardiaall of Austria at Bruxelles, lately come to succed the Archduke *Ernest* his brother.

*Albert* assures the besieged in La Fere, to free them: but hee suffered the succours that should relieue them, to be defeated. And the Earle of Fuentes having manned the towns of this new conquest, went to winter in Haynault, and gaue the King means to dismisle most part of his horse to be ready in the Spring against the Cardinals designs. In the meane time he assembled the Estates of Picardy, Bolognois, Vermandois, and Thierache in Amiens: provided for the estate of the Province, and punished some Capitaines with death, whose couetousnesse had partly bin the cause of the former losses.

Whilest that our *Henry*, assisted now by the Duke of Mayenne in person, brings them of La Fere to be ready to submit vnto his Maiesty, behold the beginning of this new year, sows the seedes which shall bring forth most profitable fruits for the perfect restoring of this Estate. The townes and whole Provinces desire a generall deliury, and nothing daies the effects, but that some gouernors will haue the honour to see the Cannon at their gates, before they treat of their accord: others let their places to sale. A filthy traffike, fit for the confusion of this age, but vnworthy of all good order, vnworthy the duty of good subiects, and vnworthy of the liberty and honour of the French Nobility. The King reducing them by force which will not voluntarily returne to their duties, he willingly giues eare to the mildest and shortest course. He should spend more money to get more honor, but he frames himself after the example & model of *Charles* the seventh, whose two reignes had many conformities. He desires rather to buy a place for money, then to besiege it with much more charge, and great losse of men. The people suffer great losse, and oft times the issue is doubtfull.

The first fruits of this new year are most happy in generall, and most honourable for the

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The D. of Ioy-cuze.

A the chiefe authors thereof. The Duke of Ioyeuze holds the first ranke. It is hee which shall take againe his possession of a *Capuchin*, whereunto he was vowed after the death of his wife: and by the decease of the last Duke of Ioyeuze his brother (drowned neare to Villemur) had left it to succede in the name, gouernment and estate of the deceased. Without attending of any force, he yeelds freely to his Maiesties seruice, and the King opening his armes and heart, makes him partaker of his especial fauours, honouring him with the title of Marshall of France, and one of his Lieutenants generall in Languedoc, in the townes, places, and countries he brings to his obedience: giuing him this testimony, that the onely zeale and profession of his religion had made him take armes, without any other pretension whatsoever. By his example the Officers of the Court of Parliament remaining at Tholouza for the exercise of Iustice, the Capitoulx, and all the rest of the Citizens, together with all other people of the Province of Languedoc, which held the contrary party, vnder the authority of the said Duke, make known vnto the King the desire they haue to yeeld obedience and duty vnto his Maiesty, and their resolution to perseuer therein.

The D. of Guise did second this happy beginning of the year, and did sweeten the sharpnesse of those losses which the Spaniards had caused so largely to suffer. He was still vigilant to embrace all occasions that might settle his affaires in his gouernment of Provence, wherewith the King had newly honoured him, having already with the helpe of the Lord of Les Diguières, reduced Cisteron and Riez to the obedience of this crown, and Martegues, with the tower of Boue, seated at the mouth of the Sea: the towne and citadell of Grasse, with the helpe of the Earle of Carces, and the Lord of Croze: he finds a fit opportunity, to make knowne vnto his Maiesty, that hee had quite forsaken the alliance and correspondency which he had with the Spaniard.

*Lewis* of Aix, and *Charles* of Casau commanded in Marseilles with great authority, violent men, and of the Spanish faction. They bargained with *Philip* to sell them this towne of importance, the port of all the Province, and the key of one of the chiefe entrie of this realme, where the Emperor *Charles* had often knockt, yet could neuer get it open, and for the execution of their design, had already caused some Spanish gallies to approach vnder the command of Prince *Charles Doria* of Genoua. All such as were fled out of Marseilles, propounded some enterprises vpon the towne to the D. of Guise, but all were weake and of small possibility, yet had he purchased some reproch to fall in his seruice to the King if he had not attempted some one. *Peter* of Libertà commanded at Arras: *Réale*, a man of courage, and full of affection to the Kings seruice. He acquaints the D. of Guise with his resolution, either to kill or to shut out these two Tribunes, who every morning at the opening of the gates went with their guards to walke without the towne, that laying an ambush neare vnto the Gate, it would be easie to seize on, to take out of the Port, and to consequently of the Towne. The Duke thinks well of this enterprise: he takes the name of the gate and of the person, for a preface of good fortune: The gate is called Royall, and the liberty which the Predecessors of the vnder-taker had sold, that purchased to the Towne of Calui in Corsica, from whence they came, had defended with a goodly surname of *Libertà*. But the Dukes neare about at Aix, held these petty tyrants in perpetual distrust. To free them of this insolence, he retires from Marseilles, to employ his forces in some place which might breed no distrust in them. Hee doth therefore besiege and take the townes of Hieres, St. Tropez, and Draguignan, blocks up the citadells, vnder-takes the siege of La Garde, a small Towne, but with a strong Castle, which the Duke of Espernon held, being a corporal to the Duke of Guise in the gouernment of Provence: batters the place, makes a breach, and giues two assaults, and when as they held him far engaged at this siege, he rises, sends his Cannon, comes to Foulon the fifteenth of February, giues the head canons to all his troop, at ten of the clocke at night, at Saint Julian, two leagues from Marseilles, he approaches, and sends his Sentinels of horse before to aduertise him of the signall that *Libertà* should giue, which was to shut the wicket after the Tribunes: or one of them to descend towards it was a faire day, when as these Coustards being aduertised that they had discharged fifteen hundred, two hundred pices from the gate: *Libertà* of Aix goes forth, and so doth order them he causeth twenty muskets of his guard to aduertise *Libertà* of Aix, and so doth the wicket and shuts *Libertà* out, and *Casau* within: *Libertà* of Aix doth see the Duke's Sentinels, seeing

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A hardy resolution.

seeing the signe given, sends eight horsemen to charge these musketiers, and advanceth A with the rest towards the gate by another way: the footmen present themselves to the charge, as was resolved, but in stead of good reception, the Cannon and small shot plaies on them from the towne. *Casau* meaning to go forth with his guards to follow his companion, *Peter* of *Liberta* thrusts him suddenly through the body: his musketiers charge *Liberta*, his brothers assist him, the Captaines *Hernien*, *Laurence*, *Imperiall*, and some few others, to whom he had imparted the enterprise, disperse these guards, and set upon the gate, crying; *Liberty by the King*: and by the authority of this name assured many which were uncertain what party to follow. Then with *Liberta* they set themselves to guard the Port. *Lewis* of *Aix* seeing himselfe shut out, and these unknown men coming to charge him, found means to get over the walls, and to enter the towne by a boate which hee found happily, and being accompanied by *Fabio* of *Casau*, the Sonne of *Charles* that was slaine, and five hundred of his friends and partisans, hee comes to force the gate on the town side: but being repulsed, he goes to the Corps-de-garde, that was before the town-house. Here, by some rumour that he hears, he takes an impression of the peoples ill affection towards him. To free himselfe, he makes shew to goe to the other guards, and so goes to Sea with *Fabio* to get Saint Victors port, and to assure himselfe of the rest. Some of his friends march after him, some disperse themselves in the towne, and some begin to cry; *God save the King, and Liberty*. Irrained sore, and the Duke of Guise amazed at this long protraction in the towne, thinking the intelligence had bene double, thought to retire his men engaged in fight, against the musketiers of *Lewis* of *Aix*, when as *Imperiall* and *Laurence* come to assure him that *Casau* was slaine. Then began his troops to march into the towne, and for his better assurance, the President *Bernard* in the open street assembles what honest men he could, and ioynes with the Dukes men, promiseth them that were armed before the Town-house, life, liberty, and freedom: then going to another guard neere to the haven, and to S. Johns Church, where at the first broile about a thousand men were together in armes, by means of the like promise hee easily drew all this multitude, to found forth that happy cry; *God save the King, and Liberty*.

These two troops being assured, they visit three or foure other guards, whose attempts were to be feared, some they change doubting such as commanded, leaving such as they knew desired to be freed from the command of strangers. So as in lesse then an houre and an halfe, they were all dispersed that lately favoured this new tyranny. Thus the Flower-de-luce, which an ynwollesome winde from Spaine had till now blasted at Marceilles, recovered its ancient beauty, and the white scarfes, which feare had kept in their coffers, or made them to reiect, were now put on.

*Charles Doria* grows amazed: he dreames of nothing but of his retreat: but so surpris'd as he forgot part of his company. The haven seemed too little to carie forth their least Cock-boate, feare and amazement had so daunted them. The Captaine of Saint Johns Tower, and that of the Moores head might have staid them, or at the least, hindered their escape: but they were stricken with the like terror, expecting the last act of *Abiss Tragedy*.

The Seignieur of Baufet, Captaine of the Castle d'Is, sought to annoy the stranger with his Cannon, but being far off he did them small hurt. *Lewis* of *Aix* had thrust himselfe into S. Victors Abbey, and *Fabio* of *Casau* into our Lady of La Garde, but so amazed, as they could not think of their own safeties. Twelve hundred Spaniards being along the haven, retired to enter into their Gallies: but this generall terror had so daunted them, as they save themselves, without any remembrance of their men. The D. of Guise charged them by the Baron of Sel, Lieutenant of his company of men at armes, and *La Thiere* Captain of his guards, who slew a great number upon the place, and got above a thousand muskets, hargnbuzes, and pikes, and the onely Ensigne which they had, which feare made them forget to their great shame and confusion. The Duke entering into Marceilles without any troupe, made knowne unto the people the freeness of his affection, and the assurance he had of them: he confirmed all things for the Kings service, disappointed the designs of the factious which remained in the towne, and by his presence did so amaze all the garisons thereof, with the Towers and Forts, as they submitted themselves to his discretion, and obeyed the King.

So doubtlesse this young Duke wonne much honor in this action, namely, that the soldiers

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A diers entered without effusion of blood, and without spoile, restrained by the respect of his presence, they were contented to have the houses of *Aix* & *Casau* for their booty. On the other side, those of La Fere (having nothing free but the ayre, which cannot bee kept from prisoners) suffered (with the hope of succours) the extreamest discommodities which might afflict a place strictly besieged. The Cardinal of Austria (newly come from Spaine into Flanders) promised to delivier the Men supposed this Prince having made no profession of a military life, would find small credit among martial men, who rather follow actions then words, and the example then discipline. But he will teach vs, that the surest strokes come from the head: and if the old Duke of Guise could by a gallant stratagem recover a Towne from the English, most important for the Estate of this Crowne; he in like sort by the like exploit will make himselfe the terror of all Picardy. He departs from Bruxels, and gives it out that he will succour La Fere. For his first fruits, hee finds means to give them some reliefe of men and munition in March. Then in April he caufeth his army (being very strong) to turne head towards Calais, besiegeth, batters, and takes both Towne & Castle by assault, against all the resistance of the besieged, and puts many French Gentlemen to the Sword, being sent to supply the Castle. The Seneschall of Montlimart, commanding the French, and *Aluarez Oserio* the Spaniards in La Fere, having for the space of five moneths endured all the toyls of war, and seen the River within the Towne to rise two or three foot by the labor of men, had the 22 of the said month, by a good composition somewhat recompensed this so notable a losse, if the Cardinal had planted here the limits of his victories. But continuing the prosperitie of his armes, whilest the Kings are weary, and demand rest, after so great a toyle: he goes in the beginning of May, and camps before Arrdes, a very strong Towne, and notwithstanding their great defence, became Master thereof, the 23 of the month, and resolves to people these townes of his new conquests, with strange Colonies, and prepares to add unto them that of Hulst in Flanders. In the meane time the two armies spend the rest of the Sommer in light roads one into anothers country.

In the beginning of September the Marshall of Biron enters Arthois, takes the Castle of Imbercourt, encounters with five cornets of horse, of the Marquis of Varamon, followed by five or six hundred horse of combat, chargeth them, he kills all that seek to withstand the violence of his armes, puts the rest in rout, takes the Marquis prisoner, and afterwards had forty thousand crownes for his ransom: filled the whole country with feare: then invading the County of Saint Paul, hee took and spoiled the Towne, and some other places.

The Cardinall busied at the siege of Hulst, hearing that the Marquis was taken, he sent the Duke of Arfcot to command in his place. As he enters into Arras the French affaile it on the other side, spoile the country about it, and (laden with booty) the Marshall retires safely into the frontiers of Picardy. Being discharged hee returns to Bapaume, spoiles Hebuterne, Beuuller, Courcelles and other places, defeats such as would make resistance, and caries away more spoile then at the first. And seeing the Duke of Arfcot encamped neere to Arras, under the favor of the Cannon, intrenched carefully and loath to hazard any thing, knowing that he was to deale with one of the happiest and most valiant warriors of Europe, they fire all, and revenge as opportunity would suffer them; the Spaniards outrage in places lately taken: they make a road towards Bethune and Therouenne, bring away many prisoners, furnish their places with cattell at the enemies cost, and without any resistance goe and campe in the plaine of Azincourt. The Duke supplied with eight hundred foot, to assist the Regiment of Colonell *Burbank*, parts from Arras the 8th of October, and goes and encamps at Saint Paul. The Marshall leaveth him there, returns into Arthois, runs unto Douay, spoiles all: then returning into Picardy, he gave the Duke of Arfcot means to recover the Castle of Humbercourt: who content with this conquest, dismissed his army, and disposed of his companies into garrisons: Then by the means of the Duke of Bouillon, this alliance was confirmed and sworn betwix the King, the Queene of England, and the united Provinces of the Low Countries. For matters past, there is no remedy, and the Politicians hold that there is no law more vnpassible, then that which tendeth to reform what is past. The King therefore to settle his affaires, and to provide for the future, resolve, not to suffer the new Colonies of Doullens, Capelle, Chatelet, Cambray, Calais and Arrdes, and with the

Calais and Arrdes taken by the Spaniards.

La Fere loth.

Wait in Arrdes

An assembly at Rouen in form of a Parliament.

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new yeare to renew a deadly war against the Spaniard, which might not bee attempted A without a mighty army, nor the army leaued without treasure, the which he could not recouer without the help of his subiects: he assembled, in manner of a Parliament, the greatest and most discreet of the three orders of his Realme, at Rouen the fourth of Nouember, where the Inhabitants of their owne voluntary free will, spent foure hundred thousand Crownes to make his Maiesty an honourable reception, where hee received the Garter (a marke of the Order of England) by the hands of the Earle of Shrewsbury.

His Maiesty desired to deferue these two glorious titles of Deliuerer and Restorer of his Estate. At his coming to the Crowne hee found France, not only in a manner ruined, but almost all lost for the French: but by the grace of the Almighty, by the prayers, by the good counsell of his loyall Subiects, (who make no profession of armes) by the sword of his Princes, and of his braue and generous Nobility, by his paines and labour, he had preferred it from losse. *Let vs see it now from ruine* (said our King, speaking to the Assembly) *participate, my deere subiects, with me in this second glory, as you haue done in the first. I haue not called you as my Predecessors did, to make you approve my will. I haue caused you to assemble to haue your counsells, to beleue them and to follow them: finally, to put my selfe into your hands. A desire which seldom commands Kings that haue white hairs, and are Conquerors. But the loue I beare vnto my Subiects, and the exceeding desire I haue to adde these two goodly titles to that of King, makes me to finde all easie and honourable.* The sharpnesse of winter had laid armes aside, and the excesse of raine caused many inundations, whereof amongst others followed that of the Millers bridge at Paris, which sinking on Saint Thomas night, was the losse of three hundred persons, slaine in the ruins of the building, and drowned in the riuer. Whilst they examine the resolutions taken in this honourable assembly, and that the King prepares for a mighty army to chase the Spaniards out of Picardy, behold the capital City of this Prouince, strong of feat and well fortified, where his Maiesty pretended to make his Arsenall and store-houise for the war, against the Stranger in Arthois, and other Prouinces of the Low-Countries, was surprised in the day time, the people being at a Sermon, without force, and without defence, by the practice of some factions, and the carelessse basenesse of the inhabitants, who standing vpon their ancient priuiledges, had resolved to receiue the Swisses into garison. *Hernand Teillo* Gouvernour of Doullans for the Spaniard, advertised that the Citizens of Amiens (a proud people, and little practised in armes) would not receiue the garison that the King offered them for the preservation of their Towne, halstens the effect of those intelligences he had there, and on monday the 10 of March he attires forty or fifty soldiers like peasants, laden with many burthens, and armed vnderneath with daggers, and short peeces, and marcheth with about seuen hundred horse, and 5000 foot: he takes his ambushes neare vnto the Towne, and the next day sends his disguised Soldiers to the gate of Montreuil, following a cart, which being vnder the Portcullis, one of the pretended peasants cuts the horic trace, and by the great disorder of the horic, hinders the liberty of the gate. The others presently discouer their armes, seize vpon the Corps-de-guard, and give a signe to the ambush. The ambush comes horse and foot, and enter into the towne, and goe directly to the market-place: the troops enter, take the fort, and seize vpon the Arsenall and munition which the King had lately sent thither, and compound with the townsmen for the redeeming of their goods. But at length they had both cloth and siluer, and those of Amiens shall gettist much of the Spaniards command; but the sharpnesse thereof will make them desire the middle of the French. The great bell of Beffroy did ring at the first tumult, as it was their manner, but few were moved thereat. Some heard the Sermon, others slept at their sale, as some were contented to shut their shops and to retire themselves into their houses. The Earle of *S. Paul* was then in the Towne, but seeing the small care and endeavour of the Inhabitants to resist this forraigne invasion, he gets himselfe out of Amiens with all speed, and comes to Corbey. This affront had in shew made the realm without all hope of recovery, and without meanes to assaile, for the best of all the Kings designs seemed disappointed in their beginning. They thought Amiens could not be recovered but by surprise, and that the hope to take it would breed with the enterprize; and now the Spaniard began to think that Amiens should be the bounds of the country of Arthois, as in former times vnder *Philip D. of* Bourgongne.

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A Bourgongne. But when as the affaires require a present remedy, our *Henry* wants neither courage nor counsell. They were hopes built in the ayre. His Maiesty doth speedily besiege it, gives order that no greater forces may come to raise vp these mountaines of pride, which build the honour of their nation vpon the flame of such a losse: he batters it with fise and forty Cannons, makes the Marshall of Biron Lieutenant in his army, besiegeth it on the strongest part, restraines their sallies, keeps them within their trenches, and approacheth in such sort, as by the midst of Iuly, they might hurt one another with stones: then lodging vpon the ditch, and cutting off the besieged daily in their sallies, or other stratagems, he made *Hernand* to hast the Cardinall to his succour.

B. Some place of importance taken from the Spaniard, might in this seruise as a reprisall. Capitaine *Gentil* of Geusaudan, tried all his wits and inuention for this designe, for the effecting whereof hee went by night to view the Towne and Cattle of *Perpignan* in the Country of Roussillon, and found no difficulty but to leaue men without alarm in the country. Languedoc might furnish sufficient being the frontier, but the Spaniard entertained many secret spies. *Gentil* therefore thinks it best to take them in more remote places, 200 horse were to be leauied in Poitou, who vnder a colour to ioyne with the Duke of Guise, take their way by Guienne to Beziers, and should giue no ialousie in regard of their small number. And 2000 foot, leauied in Viarez and Geusaudan by the Seigneurs of Fosseuse and Chambauld should crosse base Rouergue, vnder colour of espousing themselves by the Kings commandment into Bayonne, (whither by the common brute the Spaniard was bringing an army) and by the rocky and hidden waies should defend on the side of Beziers, loone after the taking of *Perpignan*: feigning to take the way to Thoulouze to recouer Bourdeaux, and from thence Bayonne. This resolution being taken, *Gentil* imparts it to the Seigneur of Plessis Moray at Saumur, and to the Constable at Paris, they allow of it, and hee, assuring himselfe to take the Cattle at the first without Petard, during the long nights, he might from the Cattle (being furnished with about thirty peeces of Ordnance) thundring into the enemies trenches, bring his troops into the Towne; and the brute of this vnexpected newes would haue armed 20000 men in Languedoc in 3 daies to invade all the country of Roussillon. The King himselfe held it D feasible, and caused dispatches to be made to *Gentil*, as well for himselfe as for *Fosseuse*, and *Chambauld*. But at the instant pursuit of the Bishop and Inhabitants of Mende, his Maiesty hauing commanded that the Citadell should be dismantled, and *Fosseuse* Governour of the place, pretending recompence for some charges, before hee would suffer the Cannon to be transported. The King commanded the Duke of Vanadour to besiege him within Mende, in the month of August, and to force him to that which hee would not willingly yeeld vnto.

They of *Perpignan* thinke this siege attempted to surprize them, and stand vpon their guards: notwithstanding his Maiesty giueth order for another leaue in Languedoc by the Lords of Spondillan, Conas, Montbasen, Legues, and other chiefe men of that *Clymat*; but whose actions being neare the frontier, could not be hidden from the enemy. Thus *Gentil* seeing his designe anticipated from the longest nights to the shortest in the year, and that those of Languedoc were employed therein, he thought it could hardly be successful. The Marshall of *Ornans* had the conduct of this enterprize. Ten or twelue thousand men follow him confusedly as to a certaine victory. But the most part are thrust on with the glistering of the doubloons of Spaine, and with a desire of spoile. And can we wonder if heauen doth not blesse those enterprizes, where the consideration of private gaine doth march before that of the publicke good? Hee was not come out of Dauphine where he was Gouvernour, before all the neighbour Prouinces were posselt of it: and aduertisements were come out of Spaine to them that were threatened. Vpon their F approaches to the towne, the Marshalls guide wandered in the night. The Petards were brought neare vnto the town gate, but the rolling bridges to ioyne vnto the draw-bridge could not be made ready before day. The towne was barricaded euen vnto the gates, and the Cannon planted. All the whole country did shine with the fires that were made: this enterprize being vnderaken with too much brute, and some of the chiefe commanders, following vp al the best spoiles of an imaginary conquest, learned, that it is a rashnesse to diuide the Beares skin before the bea be taken: moreover, reason would not but the author of a goodly enterprize should haue the principall conduct, to the end

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Effects of the  
war in Britany.

In Campagne.

that he should either reape the honour of his exploit, or the blame of his error. *Gentil* A is knowne to be capable for such effects, and if many during our inciuill wars had performed thelike stratagems both in quality and quantity to him, France had not so long groaned vnder the burthen of her miseries. All France did in the meane time run to the siege of Amiens: all Europe attended the issue, and did iudge that the end thereof would be the beginning of our slavery, or of our liberty. But whilst the plague afflicts the besieged, that many and sundrie exploits of war diminish their numbers, and many remain vnprofitable, by reason of their wounds: let vs wander a little into some other Prouinces both within and without the Realme, whereas their war hath any thing common with ours. The want and dearth of victuals afflicted Britany in the moneth of May, and forced the Marshall of Brisfack in Iuly, to diuide and separate some troops which he had gathered together, to preferue some Parishes about Rennes, which the enemies threatened to spoile. The Lord of Saint Laurence, Lieutenant for the D. of Mercœur in his army, desirous to visit the said Duke, lately come to Chasteaubriant, and to giue him newes of some braue stratagem, takes six companies of men at armes with his owne, the regiment of Tremereue, brother to S. Lawrence, fortie Harguebuziers out of euery company of the garisons of Dinan, and some other troops both of horse and foot, making 600 or 700 men, and comes to lodge at Maure, seuē leagues from Rennes. The Lords of Tremblay, la Troche, Teny, la Courbe, Beaumont, and Pomeray, being lodged at Mellac vpon Villaine, three leagues from Maure with some forces, march by the Marshalls commandment to fight with S. Lawrence: they finde hee was dislodged, follow and ouertake him within three hundred paces, charge the troops led by Tremereue, appointed to make retreat, kill about 60, and force the rest to fly to their maine strength. They presse them in such sort, as they must either suffer themselves to be slain without resistance, or else fight: they turne head, take a place of aduantage in a field well ditched about, and there make some resistance. But seeing Tremereue, brother to S. Lawrence already taken prisoner, *La Pomeray* Capitaine of Dinan, and *Vicins Vile*, slaine vpon the place, with about 150 souldiers, and some members of Companies, all giue way, all fly, all are put to rout, and the most part falling into the peasants hands, finde lesse mercy with them, then they had done rigor with the victors. This was the twentieth of Iuly. On the other side, as the Spaniard had set one foot into Picardy, so did hee long labour to cast the other into Campagne, and had many designs vpon the Townes lying vpon the river of Menze, Medieres, Sedan, Mouzon, Villefranche, Rocroy, and Maubert. Fontaine: but the care and loyalty of the Gouenours, hauing alwaies made frustrate the hope of his enterprises, hee now conuerts his open force into secret intelligences and dishonest practices.

Villefranche is a very small towne, or rather a corps-de-gard made of foure square bastions, built by King Francis the first, to serue as a bar against the incursions of the Bourguignons (so they call all the King of Spaines subiects lying vpon this frontier, and euen those of the Duchy of Luxembourg) and falling into strangers hands, it opened them the gate to enter into Champagne, and gaue them an assured retreat to fauour their inroads. To this intent *Gaucher*, late one of those souldiers which they call of Fortune, being come within ten yeares to some credit by armes, practiseth with some souldiers of the garison, to sell and deliuer him the place. These souldiers giue eare to this trafficke, certaine *Gaucher*, but with as crosse a hope as his name was vntoward and ominous, for they impart the matter to *Tremeler* Gouernor of Villefranche, commanding one company of men at armes, and three of foot. *Tremeler* by this trafficke, pretends a great effect for the Kings seruice, commands the souldiers to deale more plainly with this Captain, imparts it to the Earle of Grandpré, to Rumelin, and to Estuieux Gouernor of Meuzon, Maubert, and Sedan; and draws from them assistance of men, and means to frame a double intelligence. These Merchants treat with *Gaucher*, agree vpon the time & houre to deliuer their ware, they receiue some money in hand, and take his word for the rest.

The fourth of August at night was appointed for the execution, and for a signe a Cannon should be discharged. But *Rumelin* had the night before brought in a supply of men, needfull for the preservation of the place, and with the rest hee lay in ambush halfe a league from the Towne, as *Gaucher* should passe. *Gaucher* approacheth, hee causeth all his troops to light, a quarter of a league from Villefranche, puts a part of them very secretly into the ditch, and followes with the rest to second the first attempt: but at all

aduentures

A aduentures he causeth his horse to be led after him. The first enter by fauour of the souldiers: the signe is giuen, and being giuen, those which thought to surpris, find themselves surpris'd: all are put to the sword, consumed by wild-fire, or drowned in the ditch. *Rumelin* comes out of his ambush at the same time, chargeth *Gaucher* behinde, kills three hundred men vpon the place, and suffers few of his enemies to escape, through fauour of the night: finally, of five or six hundred men which he brought, scarce fifty escaped death or imprisonment, and had it not bene for the horse which *Gaucher* held ready to fauour his flight, he had not escaped the victors hands.

B Let vs passe into Sauoy, and see the progresse of the Kings forces, the taking of places, and victories obtained. This warre shall helpe much for the recovery of Amiens, for they diuert the forces of Sauoy from molesting of the King in sundry places at once: for the managing whereof, the Lord *Les Diguieres* parted from Court in the end of March, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant Generall, gathers together about 600 horse, and 5000 foot, in the moneths of April, May, and Iune: enters into Maurienne, a Country depending on the Duchy of Sauoy, the high way to Piedmont and Italy, surpasseth with much labour and toile the difficulties of the wayes, rocks, and steepe hills: in the end hee recouers the top of the mountaine, finds there a Corps-de-gard of 500 men well fortified, and with his tyred army chargeth them with such fury, as the enemy not able to withstand their force, is constrained to quit the place. Presently the army comes to Saint Iohn of Maurienne, the chiefe towne of the Country, and seizeth on all the valley.

C These conquests as suddenly executed, as wisely attempted, thrust on the Conqueror to goe and fight with certaine Spaniards which were sent into Flanders to oppose against the prosperous successe of *Cont Maurice*; but the bridges being broken, and the waters very great, stayed his passage. Hereupon hee comes, that *Dow Sancho* Earle of Salines, Generall of the Duke of Sauoyes light horse, is about Bragorant with a part of the Dukes army. *Les Diguieres* marcheth thither, chargeth the Earle, makes him to quit the Castle of Saint Michel, and some other villages where he had fortified himselfe, chafeth him by Mont-Senys into Piedmont, and so hotly, as hee most part to make themselves more light cast away their armes. Being thus peaceably possessed of all Maurienne, he fortifies S. Iohn D and the Castle of Saint Michel, and seizeth on all the forts that might serue for the safety of the Country.

To stay the Conquerors course, the Duke of Sauoy passed the mountaines, by the valley of Ault with three thousand Italians, and a good number of horse, and came by Chambery into Tarentaise, where his army remained vnder the command of the Earle of Martinengues, consisting of eight hundred horse, and six thousand foot: he came and encamped beyond the river of Isère (yet vnder the fauour of the Cantons of Montmaison) at the Castle of Saint Helena. *Les Diguieres* continues his conquests, hee approacheth within musket-shot of the Duke, besiegeth and takes the tower of Aiguebelle, the castles of Rochette, of Villars-Sallet a house of the Earles of Montmaison, de L'huile and Chamouisset, and besiegeth the fort of Chamouisset, being defended by *Philippe*, bastard brother to the Duke of Sauoy, places very commodious and profitable for victuals and forage, and which stoppeth the passage from Sauoy into Maurienne.

E Here newes come to *Les Diguieres*, that the Duke hath a fort on the other side of Isère, to assure the passage for his army, and meanes to lodge at Chamouisset, a place of great aduantage, which might greatly annoy the Kings army and the passage betwixt Dauphine and it. This fort was of a triangular forme, made defensib, and raised the height of a pike in one night; it was guarded by 600 choise souldiers out of the whole army of Sauoy, & fortified with many gentlemen of the Chukes Court. *Les Diguieres* viewes it, and propounds it in Councell, & according to their aduise that were about him, saures F it with some volley of Cannon, opens it at one point, sends 2000 harguebuziers, commanded by the Lord of Crequy his sonne in law, who seconded by a troop of horse, entred suddenly into the fort, and in despite of their obstinate resistance, and the force of foure peeces which played incessantly from the other side of the river along the flanks of the said fort, they carried it in sight of the Duke, and kill by the sword and water about foure hundred men, and many of the Dukes Gentlemen, who was in person in his army beyond the river of Isère, and forced the fort. The Baron of Chamouisset borne in the Gornie was slaine there, the Colonell was taken prisoner, and the Castle of Chamouisset yielded

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Gaucher defeated.

War in Sauoy.

Maurienne taken.

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yielded the next day by composition. The towne of Charbonniere, a place strong of situation, which couers Aiguebelle, and might be made fit to annoy Montmelian, seeing their Capitaine and many others slaine with the Cannon, came likewise into the victors power.

The Castle of Aignille remayned yet, a strong place both by nature and art, vpon the side of a mountaine, inaccessible of one side, hauing on the other a double ditch, with a thick rampar betwixt both, yet was it taken after two hundred Cannon shot. This place assured all Maurienne, and that which lies beyond Isere to his Maiesties obedience from *Mont Senys* vnto *Montmelian*. The supplies the Duke expected, caused the Lances of Sauoy to remaine in quiet. Being now fortified with two thousand five hundred Suisse, and as many Spaniards and Neapolitans, he comes with all this army to lodge about Montmelian, and resolues to set vpon the Kings army. To free him of some part of this trouble, *Des Dignieres* turns towards him with his forces, and comes to incamp at Mollettes, halfe a league from Montmelian, the river of Isere being betwixt them. The Duke passeth the river vpon a bridge of boates made neere vnto that of Montmelian, and lodgeth at the Castle of Saint Helena, right against Molette, places some-what high, and within Cannon shot one of an other, separated by a great meadow and a fenne; at the first they salute one another by skirmishes, and if the Sauoisiens had done what they might, they had greatly annoyed our men, who were not lodged nor scarce armed. The night approaching ended the combat, with the losse of a hundred good men, and gaue means to the Kings C troops to take breath, and prepare to be reuenged with vsurie. The next day the Duke shews 15000 foot, and 1500 horse, in bataille, in this great meadow, but with such advantage, as no man might charge them. *Des Dignieres* intrencheth himselfe at the foot of the meadow: euery master of the Camp, euery Capitaine takes his quarter, and by the care of the Lord of Crequi commanding the foot, the Kings campe was in short time out of present danger, which seemed to threaten their ruine. In the meane time they faile not on either side to trie their swords, and pistolls, two to two, three to three, troop to troop, and nothing but a simple ditch, yet deepe and full of water, keeps the two armies from a bloodie fight.

Thus for some dayes these warriors inflamed their resolutions, when as the Duke of Sauoy propounded to his Councell a great designe, for the execution whereof the fourteenth of August by eight of the clocke in the morning, he secretly drawes three thousand men into a great wood, neere to the trenches of the Kings army, lodgeth his Suisse with a battailon of foot on another side, sets his horse in a vallie, and encouraging them by his presence, causeth about two of the clocke a Cannon to be discharged, for a signe of a cruell and bloodie bataille, but fuller of passion then of iudgement. The losse fell vpon himselfe: the Kings troops, both horse and foot, were with a firme resolution prepared to withstand their force. They come to skirmish: the noyse of the Cannon, drownes all other sounds, the fire of the shot inflames the ayre and seemed for fust houres together to dazzle the light of the Sunne: the meadow is couered with dead carcases, the enemies blood dies the brookes, and inflames our men to fight. The Seigneur of Crequi receiues a musket shot in the right arme: but the Lion is chased and stormies at the light of his owne blood. So retrying himselfe apart vnder a tree to be drest, he returns speedily to his companions, and burning with a generous heat of reuenge, shewes that he is a right heire; both in blood and vertue to that braue Lord of Pontdorny, who hath so often heretofore died his sword and arme in the blood of the stranger being enemie to this Crowne. About twelve hundred men slaine or hurt made the day famous, and made the Sauoisien lose all desire to trie any more the firme resolution of our men, grounded vpon the right of a most iust offensive warre.

If all this great armie, neither by the thunder of their Cannons, nor the furie of their foot, neither by the force of their men at armes, could any thing shake the constancie of our men, doth Colonnell *Ambrose* thinke to preuaile more with five hundred naturall Spaniards assailing a Corps-de-gard, placed on the side of a fenne: but he doth increase their shame, in stead of reuenging their publike losse. The Seigneurs of Baume and Poët receiue him with such resolution, as they kill a hundred and fiftie vpon the place, and take many prisoners: the rest they force to cast away their armes, to be the more light to fle. The Duke spent the night to burie his men; and to carrie away the wounded: then he dislodged

The Duke of  
Savoie defeated  
at S. Helene and Mo-  
jones.

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A dislodged the sixteenth, and went to lodge at a village called Barraux beyond Isere, at the entry of the valley of Grisiuand towards Grenoble, and there begins a fort, busying himselfe in the building thereof vnto the end of Nouember. This change of lodging inuited our men to do the like. *Des Dignieres* comes to lodge at Castle Bayard, and his armie at Pont-Charra, halfe a league from the enemie, the river being betwixt them: hee keeps his men in continuall skirmish, to the enemies losse, and by this placing of his campe, makes the enemie doubt that he would attempt the passage to *Echilles*. To crosse him the Duke sends many troopes to enter by the valley of Pragens into the countrie of Briancon, and to shut vp the passage in case hee were besieged. The check hee receiued counterailed the first. The water, the sword, and the steepe mountaines, deuoured a greater number of his men, then the skirmishes of S. *Helene* and *Molettes*.

B Behold a third, which shewes that God doth fauour the iust cause of armes, and makes their effects happie against the iniustice of vsurpers. The eight of September, the Lord *Des Dignieres* (who lets not slip any occasion) is aduertised that *Sanchez* Earle of Salines, (to draw him to succour his owne Prouince, and to leaue Sauoy) goes to spoyle about Grenoble with five hundred masters diuided into two bands of horse.

To adde this victory to the former, he sends two houres before day, the Seigneurs of Baume, Authon, and Saint Iure with two hundred horse, and a hundred Carbins to lie in ambush in an Island in the midst of the river of Isere. At the break of day, the Earle C passeth in sight of them: they suffer him to aduance about halfe a league, then they issue forth of their ambush, and wade through the other part of the river to their sadle skirts, they ouertake the Earle at La Frette, charge him furiously, kill *Dom Iohn de Sequano* first Capitaine of the horse, *Dom Roario*, *Dom Prabis*, with many other Commanders and men at armes, to the number of two hundred; and by the taking of *Dom Evangeliste*, who led the second troope of the Earle of Gatinari, of *Dom Iohn Tac*, brother in law to the Earle, and threecore others, they end the combat, and returne with honour, hauing lost but sixe men in this bold encounter. Some daies after, the Lord *Des Dignieres* passeth the river, with most part of his horse, at Chaparouillon, and there charging a troope of the enemies, which made a good shew by the fauour of some trenches, gaue the Seigneurs of D Crequi and Buille the second honor of this victorie.

The last of October, the Kings armie ill lodged at Pontcharra, rettyred about Grenoble: from thence *Des Dignieres* sent foure regiments towards Barcelonne, and surmounting the toile of the way, being of most hard access to the Cannon, tooke Aliott: then in the end of Nouember, *Saint Genis*, to disappoint the intelligences which the Duke of Sauoy might haue with some ill affected in Dauphine. But a few daies before the Earle of Roche had failed by the means of *Albigny* a yonger brother of *Gordes*, to deliuer the towne of Romans to the Sauoisien: for *Saint Ferriol*, that commanded in his absence, had some ineking: who by the aduertisement hee gaue to the Officers of the Parliament, whom the plague had transported to Romans, hee saued the towne from the rule of a Stranger.

E The Duke wonderfully grieved to haue failed of Romans, retires to Chambery, and the Lord of Crequi with foure regiments to Maurienne, very happily to make his coming famous: for hauing first by the assistance of the Lord of Pasquieres, kept *Dom Amade* the Dukes bastard brother, from passing with his troops on the side of the mountaines, hee made the way open for a braue and generous stragem. The Earle of Carraual would likewise passe with a regiment of twelue ensignes, and two Cornets of horse. *Crequi* parts before day from S. Iohn of Maurienne, marcheth directly towards him, encounters him at Saint Andre, chargeth, defeats, takes him prisoner with all the Commanders, and for a monument sends their colours and Cornets to the King, which hang yet as a trophie in our Ladies church at Paris, to his Maiesties great content. Let vs now see the countenance of them that were besieged at Amiens. If there were valour without to win the wall, there was resolution within to burie themselves in the ruines thereof, rather then to abandon it. The batterie continued with a strange furie. The extraordinary deepe trenches, the sap and mine, the arrival of the Dukes of Mayenne, Bouillon, and the troops which increased daily, gaue hope to the Citizens of Amiens, loone to see themselves vnder the milde command of their lawfull Prince, and to returne to their ancient fortunes. The sickness, plagues, hurts, and other infirmities, had diminished the besieged to the number of two thousand: the diuersitie of nations threatened some new change, the soldiers

At Pont-  
Charra:

At La Frette.

At Chaparouillon.

At S. Andre.

Siege of Amiens.

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diers would no more trust the cunning and vaine promises which *Hernando* gaue them by A counterfeit Letters from the Cardinall: the old and bad drugges killed in stead of curing: finally the Letter of *Hernando* to the Cardinall being intercepted, gines a very sufficient testimonie of the vrgent necessitie which leads him to his ruine. *It is now time (saide he) that we cease to write, for I labour with the souldiers and Burgeses as the rauenin, where within few dayes I attend a continuall battery of the enemy on three parts. Mans reason sayes vs: our hope is in God, and in your Highnesse speedy comming to giue battell, or to receiue it. Wee attend the second causes should worke.*

There is no lesse honour to keepe well, then to make a goodly conquest. To praefise this ancient saying, the Cardinall having assembled foure thousand horse, and fiftene B thousand foot, with eightene Cannons, and fise or six hundred wagons chained together, to serue as a barricado, and to inclose his campe, he marched to vngage or to succour the besieged, publishing in all places, that he would giue battell. But before hee approacheth, he sends to discouer the way which he was to take, and where he might lodge nearest to the towne. This charge he gaue to *Canteras*, Commissary general, who led the troope to *Don Gaston Spinola* and *T. Alfedo* Marshalls of the campe, to *Don Ambros Landriano* Lieutenant general of the Light-horse, *Don John Bracamont*, to *Colonell Bourlotte*, *Nicholas Basso* and other chiefe Commanders of his army. These to giue the lesse alarm, take about 400 choise horse, and make a shew as if they would come but to Dourlans, but they giue order that the troops of horse at Dourlans, Hefdin and Bapaume should bee ready when they passed.

Thus increased by the said garisons, and making a troope of nine hundred or a thousand horse, the nine and twentieth of August they come beneath Saint Quirice, a village vpon the banke of a small riuer, two leagues from the Kings quarter: and begin to view the said lodging. A troope of light-horse and Carabins comming from an ambush which they layed, discouer them, the Seigneur of Heucourt doth aduersely the King at six of the clocke in the morning.

Behold one of the effects of his Maiesties speedy resolution, of his great iudgement in warre, and his exceeding diligence in his executions. Behold moreover a patterne of that happinesse which attended him at this siege, and the earnest penny of an absolute victorie which God prepared for him against his enemies. Two alarms had kept the King waking the rest of the night, and he now began only to take a littlerest. Hee riseth, goes to horse, hauing about him the Master of his horse and some Noblemen: he passeth by the Carabins quarter, commands them to horsehacke with some light-horse, commands the Constable to stay in the quarter to giue order to all euents, and goes directly where the enemy had bene discouered, more with an intent to provide for the places which they might haue viewed, then to fight: thinking they would not haue bene so slacke in the retreat, being neere vnto an army led by so vigilant a Commander. The Marshal of Biron comes posting after him, the Lord of Montigny brings a troope of light-horse. Some Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court post thither in haste, to haue their part thereof.

His Maiefty makes a battaillion 200 horse, and 150 Carabins. Hee pursues them with all speed to Encre, seuen Leagues from his quarter, hee puts his Carabins before, who seeing themselves seconded by his Maiefty, charge resolutely, and so smaze them, as seeing the King followe them, and knowing him very well, they brake, and take their flight diuers wayes, leauing them that were appointed for the retreat, or such as were not well mounted. There were about forty slaine at the first charge, and about two hundred of the best being prisoners, gaue the Carabins meanes to furnish themselves with horse, armes, and apparell.

To make this victory absolute, his Maiefty sends the Marshal of Biron with the Lord of Montigny before, and halfe his troope with them: the other hee keeps with himselfe, pursues them within a League of Bapaume, rithes their troope by the way, and doth not abandon them vntill they came within view of their retreat: he takes two Cornets from them, and kills or takes fise hundred horsemen. The generall ioy thereof in the army brought the newes vnto the besieged, who by a heavy and mournfull silence shewed they had no pleasure therein.

But see, the third of September the death of *Hernand Tiello* slaine with a Musket, at the defence of the rauenin which his Maiefty caused to bee assailed, assisting them with a pub-

The Cardinall  
of Aufrans  
Marshal of his  
camp distressed.

*Hernand Tiello*  
slaine.

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S. Las Joints.

A a publike sorrow, giues the Citizens as assurance of a speedy deliery, and the assailants to conceiue a certaine hope of victory. There is no so great prosperity, but is crossed with some aduersity, and trouble. Two dayes after, the Lord of Saint *Laz*; Gouernour of Brouage and great Master of the Artillery of France, slaine in the trenches, obtained that graue and worthy testimony of his valour from his Maiesties mouth, to haue lost that day a most valiant and faithfull seruant, leauing his people much grieved, and the whole campe lamenting this generall losse to France, as of one of the brassest Capitaines of his age.

In the meane time the Cardinall approached, vinting that he would fight within foure B daies. Yet had hee no inclination to put it in practice. The King to draw him to battell, prevents the policy which the enemy would vse to succour the place: he takes his place of battell on the top of Long-pré, a quarter of a league behinde the inclosure of his campe, intrenched as well to saue themselves from the cannon shot of the towne, and from theirs that came to succor them. And to keepe the enemy from sending in any succors on the other side of the riuer, he leaues the Lords of Montigny, La Noué, de Vicques and Chuseaux, there with three thousand foot, and foure hundred horse.

The fiftenth of the said month, the towne being reduced to that estate, as without succors it must needs yeeld of it selfe, the Cardinall in the morning casts two artificiall bridges vpon the riuer of Somme, where through the fauour of his forces and cannon he C passeth two thousand, fise hundred men, amongst which were eight hundred choise capitaines, so thrust themselves into the towne, and about two of the clocke he shewes himselfe in the view of Long-pré, with an order which in shew did promise a generous attempt. But the diligence of his Maiesties courage without feare, and the wise order hee presently gaue at his arriual, changed their braue countenance into a cowardly and base feare. The King leaues three thousand men to guard the trenches against the sallies of the towne: hee presently marcheth with all his troopes to the place of battell, and plants his Cannon to his best aduantage.

The Cardinall  
approacheth.

The Artillery of the besieged and of them that came to succor them, thunders, but they D passe ouer his Maiesties esquadrons. Our men during this siege haue bene well acquainted with the shot of the Cannon, but they stand firme like rocks. They tyre the enemy with continuall skirmishes, the Cannon mightily annoyes them, the admirable government of the Leader, and the firme resolution of the assailants doth so terrifie them, as at the first attempt they thinke of a retreat, and presently they retire to the quarter where the Kings light-horse did lodge by the riuers side. The foure aboue named Colonels hauing discouered the Cardinals Stratagem, charged them that came to succor the towne, kill, take, & force the whol body to repasse the riuer in disorder, and to abandon their bridges. The King seeing the enemy lodged alongst the riuer, passeth three cannons ouer the water, shootes at them, and doth annoy their lodging, and remaining all night on the place of battell, abates the ioy which the besieged had shewne by the number of fires which E they had made. So the Cardinall seeing all his attempts fruitlesse, in stead of turning head to the towne, or against the French troopes, he begins very early in the morning to retire and to take an other lodging on the mountaine of Vignacourt.

The King follows him with foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot, lodgeth vpon the next hill and a great valley betwixt them, continues foure or fise houres in battell before their army, prouokes them by his Cannon and continuall skirmishes, views all their forces, number, forme and countenance, and seeing them disposed to retire, determines to charge them in their lodging. But it is good somerimes to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy. Moreover, it was a great glory for his Maiefty to haue shamefully chased him away, without raising the siege from so great a towne, and to haue pursued F him with the Cannon three Leagues.

They take a contrary way, and couer the right wing of their army, which lay next to the French, with their wagons chained together: they cause their horse to aduance into the head of the army in forme of a halfe moone, and their foot into battalions, diuided into forward, battell and reuerward: they place their Cannon in the head of these esquadrons, in this sort they place their trooper, and their baggage in safety, making a shew sometimes as if they would charge. But seeing, that to come to the gates of the City besieged, they must force through the Kings army, which being in battell did fight with their

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their countenances and gesture, they have no will to attempt this passage, and by their speedy retreat, give all France an assured hope to be soon freed from this strange nation, which sought to ruine it. The besieged are now forced to yeeld to the victors law. This shamefull retreat hath ouerthrowne their first resolution. Their practices, incantations, engines, their incredible labour to cast vp earth, their many Cannons, their deepe trenches, their continual watching, nor the strength of the place, could not keepe the assaillants from lodging vpon their rampier and ravelin, and so neare, as they came to handy blows. So two daies after, the Marquis of Montenegro, who commanded in the towne after the death of *Hernand*, doth promise to yeeld the place, if within six daies he be not succoured with two thousand horse that should enter into the towne.

Amiens yeelded  
and the  
Spaniards  
depart.

So was it said, and so done. The time inquired the Cardinall, and gaue him leasure, being with all his forces within seven leagues of the towne, but he had neither will nor power to relieue them. And therefore according to the capitulation made the nineteenth, that the souldiers should depart with their armes, their matches light, their colours flying, and drums sounding, with their horse and baggage, and whatsoever they could carry away of theirs: the 2. of the moneth, his Maiesty hauing put his army in battell, sent the Constable, the Marshall of Biron, the Duke of Montafon, and the Lord of Viques to the Port of Beauuois where the garison should come forth, who comming to the gate, the bridge is let downe, and the Marquis comes forth on horse-backe alone, but followed by a hundred and thirty horse, and as many Harguebuziers on foot for the guard of his person. They receiue him, and conduct him to his Maiesty, who attended him halfe a league from the towne: the King was accompanied with his white Cornet, wherein were about seuentene hundred horse, and fise hundred Suisses, hauing about him the Prince of Conry, the Dukes of Montpensier, Neuers, and Nemours, the Prince of Ioinuille, the Marshalls of France, and other Noblemen in great numbers, mounted vpon goodly Couriers with rich carapasons: he doth embrace him most graciously, and then dismisseth him. He goes to horse, and by the Kings commandement, the Constable conducts him two leagues vnto the confines of the King of Spaines territories.

All the Spanish Captaines and others both horse and foot, passing by his Maiesty, light from their horses and kisse his boote, with great humility and reuerence, and follow their Leaders, being receiued by the King with courteous words. After the Marquis and his guard, followed about a 1000 women of base quality, amongst the which some foure hundred of the towne marched willingly, a hundred and threecore waggons, laden with all kinde of baggage, and vpon them about 300 men sicke of the plague, and wounded, fourteene hundred shot, and six hundred corselets well appointed, and in the end ten companies of horse, six of men at armes Lancers, and foure of Carabins, which made in all about fise hundred horse.

The King hauing not by policy, but by the most memorabile attempt, and the greatest glory of armes that might be, pulled this strong Towne out of the strangers paws, without the recovery whereof he was in danger to be lost, and plunged in the gulfes of miseries: he entered the same day into Amiens towards night, triumphant and victorious, as into his owne towne recovered from the enemy, accompanied with a thousand gentlemen on horse-backe, and receiued with a wonderfull ioy and applause of all the people: he lighted at our Ladyes Church, and caused solemne thanks to be giuen to God: hee placed twenty companies of foot, and three of horse in Garison, and gaue the Government thereof to the Lord of Viques. Doubtlesse, O Lord, we haue reason herein to admire the wonders of thy mercy! The surpris of this place seemed late a Charybdis, to swallow vp the greatest part of France. But it is not now alone, that the iudgments of God doe make vs know, that if he puls vs downe with one hand, hee raiseth vs vp with the other; and if we be vpon the brink of our destruction, hee retirers vs by the hand to saue vs. So his prouidence subuerted the designs of the Spaniard, who by this trophie promised to extend his conquests, & recover these places and prouinces which he had lost. So from the trouble bred by the enemies of this estate, grew the aduancement of our quiet, from their pernicious practices, the assurance of the country, & seding of inconstant minds from their vniust attempts & violence: one of the greatest actions that hath been of long time for the good of France, and preservation of this Monarchy. The losse of Amiens was shamefull, but the recovery glorious: the taking strange, but the reduction admirable, at his enemies

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A enemies nose, and in view of his armie. Finally, a reduction, which giues as much consolation as the inuasion brought desolation.

The Cardinall retreat puts the King in hope, that God would doe him iustice, for the wrongs that he and his had done vnto his Realme: with this designe hee marcheth with his troopes, and 18 peeces of Cannon to Dourlans, into the which the Cardinall in passing had put some of the best men of his army, with a great conuoy of victuals and munition of warre. He presents himselfe, and seeks by all means to draw them out of the precinct of their walls. But being loth to aduenture any thing, his Maiesty passeth into Arthois, fills the Country with feare and terrour, goes vnto the gates of Arras, into the which the Cardinall had shut himselfe, discharge thine, and twenty or thirty volleys of Cannon, makes a stand there: and by all the deuices which a generous and warlike mind may inuent, he seeks to draw him to fall forth, and to see some braue exploit of his men at armes.

Roads into  
Arthois.

In the end, his Maiesty not able by any stratagem to heat these cold humors which did freeze their hearts through feare, the rest of his victorious army, after so great toyle, endured in so long and painfull a siege, the raine and the sharpnesse of winter which approached called him backe to prouide for a people, who by the negligence of their owne health, had lately, as it were, enclosed within their walls the destiny of France, and to passe into Britany, to finish that great worke, for the restoring of this Monarchy, that afterwards he might with all his forces, set vpon the common enemy of his Estate, if the negotiation of peace betwixt these two mighty warriours, practised by the Pope, a common father, did not take effect.

The Kings  
retreat.

But before we proceed, let vs see the last acts of the Tragedy that was played in Sauoy. The difcommodities of the lodging of Pont-Charra, caused the Kings army to winter about Grenoble, and the extraordinary Snow stops the passages from Daulphiné into Sauoy. The Duke of Sauoy embraceth the time and occasion, to recover the Country of Maurienne. He parts in February with twelue Cannons, and by the indaction of Albigny, camps before Aiguebelle. At the first brute hereof, *Des Digueres* sent the Lord of Crequy, vnder the authority of Lieutenant general for the King in Sauoy: hee causeth him to passe the rough and steepe mountaines on foot, where through the rigor of the season, appeared no traces of man on the side of *Vsaigny*, to march more safely, accompanied onely with seuen or eight Gentlemen. He arriues happily at S. Iohn of Maurienne, findes that the Seigneur of Pasquieres, commanding in the said place, had fortified the approaches of the bridges of Amefrex and Hermillon with good barricadoes, and finished them with speed. The sixt of March the Duke puts his Cannon in battery, and the next day *Arce* Capitaine of the said place, yeelds it vpon composition not to ioyne with *Crequy* but to returne towards Grenoble. They supposed this place would haue held at the least fixe weekes: and the Sauoisien, to deceiue the Siegneur of Crequy, being lodged but three leagues from him, continues shooting his Cannon into the aire, to persuade him that the place was not yet yeelded. *Crequy* abused by this stratagem of *Albigny*, marcheth with a good troope of foot, to take some lodging from the enemy, thinking that Aiguebelle did yet hold good. But God will haue man to know that he is man, and that his condition makes him subiect to the chances of this world. Hee findes the Duke before him, being dislodged, the eight of the moneth, and thinking it some troope gone forth to the warre, he aduanceth neere, and with a furious charge seeks to open a way through the enemy. The whole army comes vpon him, and as hee thinks to recover his Barricadoes by the sides of the hills, as they gaue him hope, hee findes the snow had stopp the passages, and finally compassed in on all sides, hee is forced to take a Law from the stronger, and by his imprisonment to redeeme the liberty of *Pasquieres*, his Captains and souldiers. The duke proceeds, and taking all Maurienne, by composition, makes great designs vpon the towne of Grenoble, by the meanes of a fort which he had built to couer his Country on the side of Montmelian and Chambery.

*Crequy* values  
prisoner.

The fort was vpon the frontier of Daulphiné, about a quarter of a League within the Kings Country towards Grenoble, vpon the side of a hill about the village of Bariaux, kept by *Bellegarde* a Gentleman of Sauoy, with seuen companies of foot, and furnished with all munition necessary, but made rather by ostentation (hauing as a great wonder that the place should therefore almost to all the Potentates of Christendome) then by any necessity,

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Feet of Saint  
BartholomewTaken by Des  
Diguieres.

city, the place lying neare to Montmelian the chiefe fortresse of Sauoy, from whence he A might commodiously make his designes vpon Grenoble.

Grenoble did wonderfully apprehend this eye-sore, and Des Diguieres having dispersed the Kings army for to winter, framed many designs and enterprizes at Grenoble vpon this fort (the which, for that it was made defensible the eue before S. Bartholomewes day, the Duke called it by that name,) and had attempted it by siege, if he had not bene preffed with the want of the chiefe sinews of war. In the end, vrged by his duty, and moued by the misery of his Maiesties subiects, and preffed with the iust entreaties of the chiefe Officers, both of Iustice and of policy within the countrie of Dauphine, he learns of many souldiers that came forth, the estate of the place, with the forces that kept it, and sends off ten to view it in the night.

He is informed that it may be taken by Scalado in two places, at a corner on the right hand going from Grenoble, and on that side which looks towards Isere, the earth being not yet about two sadome and a halfe high. Hee causeth the troops nearest to Grenoble to approach, makes them to passe ouer the bridge into the towne, and faines that all the rest shall make the same passage, to goe into Maurienne, where the army of Sauoy was. But the fourteenth of March, on Palme-sunday Eue, he secretly puts some petards into a boate, and thirty ladders, necessary for the execution, and at the same instant hee causeth his troops to repass in the night in boats prepared to that end, to take from them of the fort all knowledge that they were on their side, whereby they might haue occasion C to call for supplies from Montmelian or Chambery. Things thus disposed he parts from Grenoble the five and twentieth of the said moneth in the morning, ioynes at a Village called Lombin, with such as he had appointed for this execution, making about three hundred horse, and a thousand or twelue hundred foot, diuided into foure troops, commanded by the Seigneurs of Morges, of *Hercules*, Lieutenant of Des Diguieres company of men at armes, of Auriac, and of Maurieu, ensigne to S. Julian: he calls these Commanders apart, acquaints them with this designe, to set vpon the fort the night following, and arriues there about eleuen of the clocke at night. The Captaines appointed to plant the Petards and the ladders, performe their charge with an incredible resolution, notwithstanding the alarme which those of the fort had taken, by reason of the fires indifferently kindled by their boyes. The Petards worke their effect happily, one at the false gate which looks towards Grenoble, and the other at the principall Port towards Montmelian: the alarm growes hot on all sides, so as they within the Fort knew not which side to guard. They mount to the scalado: some ladders are ouerthrowne, and with their shot they seeke to repulse the assailants, who get vp and come to handy blowes: the weakest must yeeld to the stronger. The enemies fought to make a new head: but after some little resistance they slew a hundred of them, and the rest leaped ouer the rampier where the alarm was least violent. Bellegard and some others remained prisoners: of seuen ensignes five were sent vnto the King, the two others were lost in the heat of the assault. They found there six peeces of battery, and three for the field, with great store of powder, lead, match, and corne, which had bene so many scourges against the vniust viurpations of the Sauoisen, if the reduction of the Duke of Mercœur, and that which remained to conquer in Britany had not laide their armes aside, and aduanced the Treaties which were made for the tranquillity of their estates.

The Kings authority had for nine years been banished out of such places as the Duke of Mercœur held in Britany: This Prouince was a prey for such as enriched themselves with the miserable spoiles thereof: the people hauing nothing left them but their voice, withheld to see themselves freed from the tyranny of many vicious men, and without mercy; and to taht with many others, the effects of the Kings clemency and bounty: and his Maiesty grieved infinitely to see them afflicted, and not able to relieue them, for the urgent necessity of his affaires. But after a storm comes a sun-shine. The Duke of Mercœur had often giuen hope of his submission & obedience; but the places of his command, and the quality of his person, in his opinion deferred a voyage thither. Our Henry is not sloathfull in that which concerns the good of his realme; and the great loue he bare to the ease and health of his subiects, who with a generall voyce giue him that fauourable title of *Father of his people*, and made them willingly to exceede the bounds of modesty.

At the onely brute of his coming, the Lords of Heurtault, and La Hostaye, sent  
fange

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Reduction of  
Britany.

A fange, commanding at Rochefort vpon Loire, knowing that the D. of Mercœur was ready to free himselfe from the Spaniard, and to bee reconciled to his Maiesty, they cast themselves at the Kings feet, beseeching him to receiue and accept of them as his most humble seruants and subiects, & that it would please him in that quality to continue them in the command of the said place: to appoint what garison hee pleased for the good of his seruice: to grant them a pardon for their taking of armes, and all other things which had followed vnder the authority of the Dukes of Mayenne and Mercœur, whom they had acknowledged for the heads of the Vnion: and with that capitulation they bring to the Kings obedience, the places of S. Symphorian and Rochefort.

B Pleists of Cosne at the same instant yielded the town and Castle of Craon to his Maiesties seruice. But the surprize of Dinan by them of S. Malo, one of the strongest places of Britany, in the which the said Duke put his greatest hope, forced him to fly to his Maiesties mercy. There is no cause so bad but may be shadowed with some apparant reasons. The Duke of Mercœur giues his Maiesty to vnderstand, as well for himselfe, as for those that shall submit themselves vnder his Maiesties obedience, that the zeale of the Catholike religion, the respect of the good of the Realme, whereof he had alwaies desired the preferuation, and feared the dismembring, the danger into the which Britany had been brought, when as the King encountered the Spanish violences vpon the frontier of Picardy, the intelligences of the greatest of the Prouince with the enemy, the means they C had to make diuers enterprizes, and to draw in forces to the great preiudice of the Crown and State, had caused him to continue so long in armes after his Maiesties reconciliation with the Pope: and therefore hee beseecheth him most humbly to take knowledge of his good will, and to countenance and vse him as his most faithfull seruant and subiect.

His Maiesty had alwaies wished, that God would giue him the grace, to end the troubles of his Realme, rather by a voluntary obedience of all his subiects, then by force and necessity of armes: that the last come might taste the same sweets, which his bounty shewed to those that had formerly returned to their obedience. So the said Duke of Mercœur, the Clergie, Officers, Gentlemen, and other persons of all qualities and conditions, making their due submission, and taking the oath of fealty, the King made the Edit which followeth.

An Edit made by the King vpon the Articles granted to the Duke of Mercœur vpon his reduction to his Maiesties obedience.

HENRY by the Grace of God, &c. We haue alwaies desired that God would giue vs the grace to end the troubles of this Realme, rather by a voluntary obedience of all our subiects, then by the force and necessity of armes, to the end the last come might E enioy the same fruits of our bounty, which the first which returned to their duties, haue receiued: The which hath so happily succeeded by the reduction of our deare and welbeloued cousin the Duke of Mercœur, (who hath shewed himselfe to willing to yeeld vs the obedience which he owes, with all those that were in armes with him,) as wee haue cause to rest content and satisfied: to approue the zeale which hee hath shewed to Religion, and to excuse our Cousin for that he hath continued so long in armes after our reconciliation with the Pope, and the comming of our deare and welbeloued Cousin the Cardinal of Florence, his Legate into this Realme; hauing giuen vs to vnderstand, that he was kept from making of this Declaration, for considerations which concerne the good of this Realme: whereof he hath alwaies desired the preferuation, and feared the dismembring, especially to preferre our Prouince of Britany from the danger whereinto F it was reduced, when as we were buffed vpon the frontiers of Picardy, to repulse our enemies, by reason of the intelligences which the greatest had in the said Country, and the means to attempt and draw in forces, to the preiudice of our seruice, and of the Estate. By meanes whereof, wee desire to acknowledge his good will, and to loue and intreat him hereafter as our good kinsman and faithfull subiect, inclining vnto the humble request which he hath made vnto vs, as well for himselfe, as for those which shall returne with him vnto our obedience.

H h h h

To



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To this Ediſt the King annexed many Articles, by the which hee forbade the exerciſe A of the reformed Religion in the Towne and Suburbes of Nantes, or within three leagues thereof. He did acknowledge the Duke of Merceur with all that had aſſiſted him and ſhould ſubmit themſelves with him vnto his Maieſties obedience, for his good ſubiects and faithfull ſeruants, taking the oath of allegiance, and making the ſubmiſſion required, after which they ſhould be reſtored to all their goods, offices, benefices, charges and dignities, notwithstanding any Grant to the contrary, all which hee did preſently reuoke. That no Clergi-men of Britany, which had payed their Tenths to the Receiueſſers of eyther party, ſhould be called in queſtion for what was paſt, and ſhould likewiſe bee eaſed for the Arrearages which they did owe. That all officers of Juſtice, or of the Treſure, which had bene made by the duke during the troubles, ſhould bee maintained in their places in taking letters of prouiſion from his Maieſty. That neither the Duke, nor any other which had followed and aſſiſted him, ſhould bee called in queſtion for any thing which had been committed during thoſe troubles, if they came with him to ſubmit themſelves vnder the Kings authority, the memory whereof was ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed. The Duke and all which had aſſiſted him, were diſcharged of all impositions and leuies of money. There were many other Articles for the freeing of the Duke of Merceur, and thoſe of his partie, and for the ſetting of the quiet eſtate of Britany, the which the curious Reader may finde more at large in the Originall.

So our King about all the Princes of the earth, got this commendation, to haue exceſſed in wiſdome, valour and clemency. The whole Prouince, not by a politike neceſſitie C (which diſpoſeth people to the obedience of their Soueraigne Princes) but as it were appointed by God to command ouer them, acknowledged our Henry for their Soueraigne King, proteſted to liue and die in the obedience which loyall and faithfull ſubiects owe vnto their ſupream Lord. And by this milde re-union of the members with their head, of the parts with the whole, forgetting the bitterneſſe of the fore-paſſed warre, he diſperſed the confuſions and diſorders, which threatened to bury him vnder the common ruines of theſe vnciuill troubles.

So in the end, after ſo many labours, which *Hercules* could hardly haue ſurmounted, ſo many toyles, vnder which *Atlas* would haue ſhrunk, the ciuill warre ended, the minds D of the French vnited, their affections mutually conioyned by a ſtriſt bond of loue, vnder the obedience of their King, and all the forces of the chiefe Kingdomes of Chriſtendome, were ready to fall vpon the common enemy of his Eſtate. But you haue fought enough; the blood of your ſubiects, oh Princes, hath bene too outrageouſly ſpilt in your Champion fields: the furies of your armes haue wonderfully amazed your ſubiects. Shew your ſelues hereafter to be paſtors and fathers of nations, which reuerence the beauty of your Diademes. Let the ſeas, riuers and mountaines, which be as a barre betwixt the territories of your Dominions, limit hereafter the greatneſſe of your ambition. Heauen, the Iudge of controuerſies, doth pronounce that ſweet and ſacred name of Peace. A name which cannot diſpleaſe any, but ſuch as take delight in blood, ſpoile, and fire: and (ha- uing nothing of a man but the name) breathing out nothing but impiety, licentiousneſſe, E and iniuſtice. So after a long treaty betwixt the Deputies of both Kings, in the end a peace was concluded at Veruins, as you may read in the following Diſcourſe.

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## CONTINUATION OF THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF FRANCE,

from the beginning of the Treatie of Veruins, in  
the yeare 1598, vnto theſe times. Collected

out of PETER MATHEVV, and

other Authors that haue written  
of this ſubiect.



HE ciuill warres of France being ended, all the Kings rebellious ſubiects, & the reuolted Prouinces reduced to his obedience, God diſpoſed the hearts of the Kings of France and Spaine, to a general peace, for the good of their ſubiects, who had bene long oppreſſed with the ſpoiles and miſeries of bloody warre. God ſtirred vp Pope Clement the eight, who powred balme into the wounds of France, not like vnto his Predeceſſors (who reioyced at her afflictions, and ſought to make them incurable, applying no other remedies but fire and ſword.) Hee (like another *Hercules*) fought to calme the ſtormes which troubled both Land and Sea: he ſhewed himſelfe a common father of Chriſtians, a Mediator of Peace and Vnion, at ſuch a time as neceſſity and the eſtate of their affaires made them to deſire reſt. To this end he lets Henry the fourth King of France and of Nauarre, vnderſtand by *Alexander* of Medicis, Cardinal of Florence, then his Legate in France, and doth aduerſe *Philip* the ſecond King of Spaine, by his Nuncio: that it was now time to lay aſide all paſſions of hatred and reuenge, to reſume peacefull ſpirits, and to ioyne together againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendome, who onely made his profit of their ruines. That their ſubiects had bene ſufficiently drunke with the blood, gall and vineger of diſcord, and that it was requiſite to reſreſh them now with the ſweet wine of peace.

Theſe two Princes were too high minded, to demand a peace one of another. There muſt bee a third perſon, to vnite theſe two extreames. But there muſt be ſome one to make this entrance, and to bee as it were an Interpreter of their intentions. To this end, the Pope makes choyce of *F. Bonauenture Calatagiron*, General of the Order of the Franciscans or Grey Friars, to acquaint theſe two Kings with this holy and charitable perſwaſions vnto peace. Religious men had bene actors in this warre, they are now held neceſſary for the peace. Spirits ſeparated from the troubles and confuſions of the world, are moſt fit for ſuch negotiations, being leſſe tranſported E with violent paſſions.

The King of Spaine did not attend to haue the Pope exhort him vnto peace. He had begun his reigne by war againſt the French, he would now end it by a peace with them. He was now ſeuentie yeeres old, being deſirous to diſcharge himſelfe of the heavy burthen of ſo many kingdomes, and to leaue them quiet to his ſonne. To this end, he muſt marry his daughter *Donna Iſabella*, who remaining in Spaine, without a husband, might contend for the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, with *Don Philip* her brother. He could not giue her leſſe for her dowry, then the Kingdom of Portugall, or the Low-Countries, with the County of Bourgundy. By the one, he did weaken and diuide his Eſtates, and by the other, he gaue his daughter meanes to contend for her portion in Spaine. For it F was impoſſible to reigne long in Prouinces diuided by irreconcilable warre, hauing two mighty neighbours for enemies. And therefore to aſſure Spaine, he muſt marry the Infanta: and to confirme that which hee gaue vnto her in marriage, it was neceſſary to conclude a peace with the French King, and to baniſh thoſe vaine imaginations of the conqueſt of an Eſtate, the which will alwaies grow great, by the encreaſe of Concord: and fortified with armes and inuincible ſpirits, ſupports it ſelfe againſt any violence that ſhall ſecke to ſupplant it. Being thus reſolued of a peace, he deſires to vnderſtand the opinion of his Councell.

H h h h a

The wildome, iuſtice, and piety of Pope Clement the eight. Three Popes in 17. months. Sixtus, the 28 of Auguſt 1590. Pious the 7, the 27 of September. Innocent the 9, the 9 of December. Clement the 8, choſen the 30 of Ianu. 1592. The Pope exhorts the two Kings to peace.

Religious men ſhould be Angels of peace.

He proclaimed warre againſt France in the yeere 1557.

Reasons that moued the King of Spaine to a peace.

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This resolution to haue a peace was iust, and all things shewed a necessity inseparable with iustice. The King of Spaine (to whom this was well knowne) had no need of any other counsell, for that his Councillors for the most part did hold, that his Estates could not continue in peace, vnlesse that France were at warre, and that they must alwaies maintaine a diuision in that Estate, whose forces are so mighty and warlike. Yet would he haue it resolved on in Councell, in the presence of the Prince his sonne, and the Infanta. The Prince transported with the courage of his great and high resolutions, had no other thoughts but to continue his fathers counsells.

The Prince of Spaine re-  
cites the council  
of peace.

This peace being propounded in councell, euery one spake not what he thought the best, but rather to please the Prince (who valued resolution more then wisdom, and the dangers of warlike enterprises, more then the assurance of a happy peace) there is no place whereas dissembling should haue lesse credit then in a Princes Councell. But *Christopher de Mors*, holding it the chiefe and essentiall vertue of a Councillor, to speake the truth, and that it belonged to none but vile and base spirits to lie: hee fortified his opinion with the best reasons he could, to induce the young Prince to like of the proposition of Peace: the which he knew the King held to be iust and necessary, and therein this necessity, wise men found the surest law of their conduct, and the felicity of an Estate. You may read his discourse at large in the Originall. For which liberty of speech, contrary to the Princes humor (who shewed by his countenance, that such as loued peace were not his friends) *de Mors* was disgraced with bitter words, and commanded not to come in his presence: but he was restored againe into fauour by the Kings command, hauing made his excuse vnto the Prince, for that hee had spoken the truth too boldly, for the good of the peace.

*Mors* disgraced  
by the  
Prince of  
Spaine.

The Infanta  
desirous .fa  
peace.

At her birth she  
brought a peace  
to France and  
England 1546.  
And by her mar-  
riage there con-  
ciled France &  
Spaine 1559.

The King of Spaine (to preuent all private passions, which do alwaies corrupt counsels in publicke affaires, being unwilling to haue it treated of in Spain) commanded the Infanta *Isabella*, to aduise *Alberus* the Archduke (then Gouverneur in the Low-Countries, to whom she was promised) to make some ouerture of an accord, and to sound the mindes of the French. Shee (who was Daughter to the generous Princeesse, whom Spaine called the Queene of Peace) inuited the Archduke to imploy his counsell and meanes for the building of this Temple, proceeding with a good intention, and sincerity of zeale. The Archduke (who found no better rampart to defend the Low-Countries, then a peace) makes shew to haue no other thought in his heart, nor any word more ordinary in his mouth, then peace: greewing to see the misery of the warres, and that two of the greatest Princes of Christendome (whereof the one might serue as a sword, and the other as a Target against the power of the Ottomans) should bee so ready to ruine one another.

The Archduke  
applies all his  
minds to a  
Peace.

This conceit, that the Archduke, desired a Peace, did purchase him the loue of those people, ouer whom he should command in regard of his marriage: it confirmed him in the good liking of the King of Spaine, seeing that he did apply himselfe wholly vnto his humor, and did wonderfully content the Infanta, who desired to bee married with a beneficiall peace. All Europe aspired to this general good. Those which were farthest off, held it iust: the neighbours profitable, and such as were interested, necessary: and this interest did not onely concerne the French and the Spanish, but all neighbour States, whom it did much import to see a peace concluded.

The Archduke  
adds armes  
vnto the king.

The Archduke discovers the Kings disposition, by *Monsieur de Sancerre*, Agent at Brussels for Queene *Elizabeth* Dowager of France. Who coming to Montceaux presented the King with rich armes, which the Archduke had caused to bee made for him at Brussels, and withall hee gaue him charge to say vnto the King, that hee lamented to see the continuance of a warre so preiudiciall to two of the greatest Christian Princes, and so profitable to the common enemy of Christendome. That if it pleased him to hearken vnto a peace, his will should bee soone followed by the effect: offering all his vovs and seruice to the king of Spaine his vnkle, to make him resolute to a perfect & assured peace, wherewith *Sancerre* acquainted his Maiesty, after the delivery of his armes, saying "That the Archduke was a Prince full of holy resolution for the general good of Christendome, who lamenting the affaires of Christian Princes, which went to ruine by their discord, had commanded him to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, if hee would enter into any treaty of peace, the onely and last support of Christendome.

The first con-  
tinuance a  
peace.

The

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The King receiued the Present graciously, and hauing a while considered of the proposition (made vnto him by *Sancerre*) he answered, That he had neuer yet tasted the sweetness of peace, desiring greatly to know what it was, not so much for his owne ease, as for the good of his subiects: and although he had alwaies feared war, yet had he neuer refused peace: that he was not insensible of the miseries of this diuision, and had often lamented so much blood vnprofitably spilt, & the weakening of the chiefe pillars of Christendome: That he had not entered into this war but for a iust and necessary defence, all Europe hauing seene the King of Spaine to traisse the greatest forces of the world, yes, and his owne subiects against him, and that there was no war more iust, then to recouer that, which was vnjustly vsurped. Yet notwithstanding, all these considerations should not hinder his inclination to a peace: But he could not easily beleue, that the Archduke had any such desire, hauing so many Spaniards about him, who would neuer counsell him to make any warre but in France.

The King  
Spaine doubts  
of a peace.

This holy resolution was imparted vnto the Archduke, and by him to the King of Spaine, who doubted that a Prince borne and bred vp in armes, hardened in the exercise of warre, and prosperous in his proceedings, would giue eare to a peace: and although the good of his Realme, might draw him to this resolution, yet such as had counseled him to proclaim war against him, when as his affaires were most desperate: euen when as foure or fise Dukes his subiects were in armes against him, would not aduise him now to make a peace, when as all France was reduced vnder his obedi-nce. He therefore commands the Archduke to proceed warily and easily and wisely, and not to doe any thing that might be dishonorable in seeking of a peace.

The Archduke knowing that the Kings inclination to a peace, proceeding from his owne proper motion, and from the best aduice of his seruants (who held a long warre to be as ruinous for France, as a long peace is hurtfull to a warlike nation) continued his first motion, sending backe *Sancerre* vnto the King who was then at Rouan, to speake more openly and plain vnto him, and to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, in what towne vpon the frontiers the Deputies of either side might assemble. This negotiation was not managed by letters, but by instructions, and by one man onely: the which was kept so secret, as on the Kings part, no man was acquainted therewith, but *Villeroi* (the Oracle of the secrets of this Estate) neither would the Archduke trust to any one but himselfe and the Duke of Sora, master of his horse, to the end that Spaine should not know any thing but what pleased him, when need should require. If matters had become managed more openly, they might haue proued lesse successfull. These Princes wanted not spirits of diuision about them which blamed this peace. There were some in Spaine which maintained, that the lawes of Religion and conscience, would not allow them to lay downe armes, vnill that France were reduced vnder one Religion: and that it were dishonorable for so warlike a nation as Spaine, to demand a peace of them which had proclaimed warre against them. In France some cried out that they should make no peace with Spain, without satisfaction for Milan, Naples, Flanders and Nauarre. Those which did second this good worke with their graue and wise counsell, were men full of affection to the publicke good, and capable of the remedies of this diuision. The President *Richardot* was the first to whom the Archduke imparted this secret, and the King would haue *Bellieus* his chiefe Councillor of State acquainted therewith, vnto whom *Sancerre* imparted the order and state of the business. This done, he returned to the Archduke to Bruxelles, carrying with him a resolution of the Kings pleasure: whereupon the Archduke commanded him to conduct the Generall of the Friars into France, being then come out of Spaine.

All agree-  
ments in  
a warlike na-  
tion.

Diuers opi-  
nion of the  
peace.

The Generall acquainted the King with the commandement he had receiued from the Pope: to pisse into Spaine to dispose the Catholike King to a good and holy peace, whereby the forces and wills of all Christian might be waied against the common enemy, who made his profit of this miserable diuision: that the King of Spaine forgetting it well, and lamenting this general delolation, had said vnto him, that he desired a peace: which by this will should be firme and durable for the recovery of that which discord had caused. The Christian Princes would desire not onely to treat a reconciliation of this ship borne betwixt the two Crownes, but also to prevent all occasions of future warre: And to this end, he had given all his power to the Archduke his nephew, who was a Prince dis-  
gustous of peace.

H h h b 3

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The King answered: That he was desirous of a peace, neither would he prescribe him any other conditions, than the honour and justice of his pretensions, the which he held as assured, as no man might call them in question. The Generall of the Franciscans assured him, that the King of Spaine would give him all the contentment hee could expect from a iust Prince. Reason which alwaies finds place in generous minds, and Necessity whose stings (when there is moue) are very violent, made these two Princes lay downe armes, to releue their subiects, tired with miseries and publike oppressions. These first hopes of a peace, did but begin to appeare when as the King was advertised of the surprize of Amiens. This was a froit which nipt all the hope of this first feed, a winde which blew away all the flowers of this young plant. The Generall of the Friars returned into France to assure the King, that if it pleased him, the taking of Amiens should not hinder the peace. The King answered, that hee himselfe wronged in this proposition, that he neither could nor would hearken vnto it: and that hee neuer did any thing by constraint: neither were matters now fit for an accord. *I will not (saith he) that I demand a peace of me in a braverie, I will neuer yield vnto it by force. Wee will talke more, when I haue recovered Amiens, Calais, and Ardes:* and so hee sent backe the Generall of the Friars, to the amazement of the enemy, who did admire the Kings noble resolution, (which like vnto the ancient Romanes) was more admirable in Adversity then Prosperity.

The Kings generous resolution.

The Generall of the Friars returns in despite of a peace.

The proposition of a peace continued.

The first negotiation of Saint Quintin.

A iust peace is due.

Amiens being recovered, and the Pope foreseeing by the continuance of the Kings victories, that it would produce no other effects but a weakening of the whole body, hee coniuers the two Kings anew, by the apprehension of the publike miseries, and the pitifull state of Christian affaires, to agree and to resume their chiefe inclinations to peace. He commands his Legate to dispose them to some conference, whereby hee might discomfite who was to be blamed, and who failed in his affection, for the generall good of a peace. The Legate goes to S. Quintin: the Generall of the Friars comes thither vnto him, and beseecheth him, to be a means vnto the King, to send some man of credit, with whom they might confere of a treaty. The King sent the President *Sillery*, with an expresse commandement, not to consent to any treaty of a peace, but vpon assurance to haue those townes yielded vp, which were held by the King of Spaine. The Popes Legate, the President *Sillery*, and the Generall of the Friars met at Saint Quintin: the greatest difficulty at this first entrance, was for the restitution of places. The Generall of the Friars said, that the King of Spaine would not purchase a peace at so deare a rate. *Sillery* answered, that the King of Spaine did giue nothing of his owne, but did only yield vp that which he could not keepe, the King hauing made proofe by the recovery of Amiens, what hee might expect of the other places. And if they desired a good and a durable peace, they must make it iust: for else it could not continue. That there was nothing more iust, then restitution, nor more honourable then to leaue that willingly which they could not hold by force: That the King had expressly forbidden him to consent to any Treaty, nor to the choise of any place for an assembly, before hee had Assurance of this restitution: that hee held it a wrong done vnto the dignity of so great a Prince, to the honor of his commandements, to the equity of his cause, and to his good fortune, once to hearken vnto the difficulties they made to yield him vp that which was his owne: That whoseuer should treat with this prejudice, deserved to be punished as the authors of Treaties, that were dishonorable to their Masters.

The Generall of the friars (who could not get any other resolution at his hands) returned twice into Flanders, to let them vnderstand, that among all the reasons of the Treaty, that of restitution was inuincible: that it was in vain to demand a peace of the French, if they did not restore all. That this restitution was the soule of the Treaty, without the which it was a fantastike body, without any natural proportion and substance: That in the end, desiring too much, they should haue nothing: and thinking to hold all, they would lose all. The Archduke doth aduertise the King of Spaine, that there was no means to come into the Temple of peace, but by opening of the gates of Calais, Ardes, Doullans, and other places (taken in warre) vnto the French King. God inspired the heart of the King of Spaine, against the opinion of his Councell of State, to yield vp all his pretensions for the good of a peace, rather then to leaue the world in this perpetual discord and confusion.

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A He did consult with his Councell of conscience, vpon the necessity of this restitution. They answered him, that he could not liue with a quiet soule, nor die in the integrity of his religion, if he did not restore those places. The King of Spaine followed this aduice, aduertising the Archduke, that he would not, for that which hee had gotten from another, lose the means to leaue a peace to his owne subiects. Vpon this resolution, the Generall of the Friars returns into France, and passeth his way vnto the Legate and *Sillery*, for the restitution: In as after an infinite toyle of two months, these three made all things ready for a Treaty.

The King of Spaine resolves to yield all the places.

*Sillery* returns to the King, leading with him the Generall of the Friars, as well to let him vnderstand from the Kings owne mouth, what hee had said vnto him by his commandement, as also to haue the Generall tell the King what hee had promised, and propounded on the Archdukes behalfe. The Legate remained at Saint Quintin, as gardian of the words and intentions of two Princes, being assured of eithers faith, they agree vpon a place for the Assembly of the Deputies, and to conclude the treaty. The Towne of Veruins (being vnder the Kings obedience, and neare vnto the Frontiers of Artois) was found the most commodious, and was presently furnished with all things necessary to receiue the Ambassadors. The King deputed *Compans* of Belicour Knight, Lord of Grignon, the chiefe and most ancient of his Priuy Councell, and *Nicholas Brulart* Knight, Lord of *Sillery*, Councellour of State to his Majesty, and President in his Court of Parliament, for the King of Spaine and the Archduke, there came *Iohn Richard* Knight, President of the Kings Priuy Councell, and of his Councell of State: *Iohn Baptiste Taxus* Knight, Commander of *los Santos*, of the military order of Saint *Lamer*, and Councellor of State, and of the Councell of warre: and *Lewis Verriken* Knight, Audiencer and chiefe Secretary and Tresurer of the Charters of the Councell of State, men of great experience and approved fidelity. The Cardinal *Medici*, Legate of the holy Sea, assisted by the Bishop of Mantoua, was as it were an Vproer of all difficulties in this good and holy reconciliation. The Kings Deputies arrived first, and those of the King of Spaine presently after, where hauing saluted one another with their hearts full of ioy and incredible content, they promised to treat roundly, sincerely and mildly, communicating their commissions one vnto another, and reforming those errors which they found, that they might begin to treat more safely and freely. After much question, and many protestations made by the Deputies of the King of Spaine for the precedence, in the end they yielded vnto the French Kings, to take what place they pleased, after the Legate, and the Popes Nuncio. At their first sitting, the Legate exhorts them to shew their fidelity and integrity in this action which their Masters desired, whereof he assured himselfe by their experiences, as of those which had happily managed the greatest affaires of Europe, more then any other men: wishing them to consider, that hauing the honour to counsell two of the greatest Princes of the world (who submitted their wills vnto their counsels, as the most diuine thing among men, when it is purged from ambitious passions, violent thoughts, and preiudicate opinions) they should omit nothing that might regard the contentment of their good intentions, and not to doubt, but that God, who hath an especial care of Kings and Kingdomes, would infuse the light of his Spirit into their most secret thoughts, and threaten them with the severity of his Iustice, if they did not apply all their endeavors to his glory, and the good of the Christian Common-wealth.

Veruins chosen for the conference.

The Precedency yielded to the French.

The Legate exhorts the Deputies.

Then they entered into treaty with a mildness fit for men of that quality, and the merit of the subiect. It was managed with such secrecy, as nothing was knowen before that all was concluded. The chiefe point of difficulty was, for the restitution of places. Many reasons were propounded on either side, but the Kings Deputies had great advantage: the force of reason; the prosperity of affaires in the recovery of Amiens: and above all, the fauour of the time and passions. The King of Spaine would not dye but in peace: he desired his Sonnes might reign in peace, and that his dearly beloued daughter might be married in peace. The Archduke languished with a desire to be satisfied: & fearing lest the promise which hee had (in taking this) during the life of the King of Spaine, the conditions would be made worse, he pressed *Richard* and *Taxis*, not to proceed in this negotiation after the Spanish manner, but to remember, that they must not prolong their consultations, nor protract an action, the praise whereof depended vpon the conclusion. So after they had balanced all matters in the Treaty, to reduce them to a iust proportion

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proportion of reason, all controuersies betwixt two Kings were reconciled and ended.

During this Treaty the most Christian King was at Nantes, he pacified Brittany, discharged the new garrisons, and some *Imposts*; and placed for Governour there, *Caspar Meunier* his base sonne, now Duke of Vendosme, who was betrothed to the only daughter of the Duke of Mercœur. Hee then granted the *Edicts* of pacification to them of the reformed religion within his Realme, as we shall shew hereafter. A peace being concluded at Veruins betwixt the two Kings, there was nothing yet agreed vpon for the Duke of Sauoy. It seemed the King of Spaine had forgotten him, and that he did not acknowledge him for his Sonne-in-law. The French King held him neither for kinsman nor friend, so long as he should detain the Marquisate of Salusses. The Marquis of Lullins (who was there Agent for the Duke) assured the Deputies, that the Duke had no other intention; but to give the King more contentment hereafter, then forepassed occasions would give him means. Vpon this assurance he entered into the treaty, the which by his occasion was in a manner broken off, three dayes before the conclusion. For, the King was resolved, not to thinke of any accord with the Duke; but by present effects: without deferring the satisfaction of that which was due vnto him. It was not likely (that drawing by the execution of the treaty, out of the hands of so great and mighty a King, six places in Picardy, and a Port of great importance in Britany; which was harder to take then the Marquisate of Salusses) the King would conclude a peace with the Duke of Sauoy, with lesse honourable conditions then he had done with the King of Spaine; and bring his indubitable right in question. But the Pope (feeling that this Marquisate of Salusses would proue an *Aetna*, to fire all Italy) prevailed so with the King, as he preferred the public good before his own particular interest, being content (for the finishing this building of peace) that the Dukes interest, and his right should bee put to compromise.

It was agreed, that the Pope should be the only iudge of this discord, touching the restitution of the Marquisate of Salusses, and that within a yeare. So a Peace was concluded, and signed by the Deputies: but it was not published till a Month after: only a generall suspension of Armes was proclaimed. The King being at Rennes in Britany, came Post to Tours; and so to Amiens, for the better execution of the peace, which was comprehended in thirty eight Articles.

It was concluded, That the treaty of Peace, made at the Castle of Cambresis, in the yeare 1598, should remaine in his full force, but what should be expressly derogated by this present Treaty. That there should bee a firme and stable Peace betwixt the said two Kings, their heires, successors, realmes, countries, and subiects. That there should be free trafficke and commerce betwixt them, and all Letters of make or reprisal suspended, and none to be granted afterwards, but vpon deniall of Iustice. That the Townes, Subiects and Inhabitants of either Country, should enioy the priuiledges and liberties which had beene granted them by precedent Treaties. That the subiects and seruants of either side, notwithstanding they had followed a contrary party, should returne into their offices and benefices which they did enioy before the end of the yeare 1588: provided that they should first obtaine leave and Letters-patents vnder their Maisties great Seale for the same.

It was also concluded, That there should be a reall restitution, one vnto another, of all which had beene taken and held by them, or any other in their names, in one another Country. That the Catholike King might carry away all the Artillery, powder, bullets, victuals, and other munition of war, which should be found in those places: he was to restore, with all their moueable goods; yet they might not exact any thing of the inhabitants, nor carry away anything belonging vnto them. That the most Christian King should furnish the Souldiers which were in Blauay with shipping; for their speedy returne into Spaine, and the transport of their Ordnance, baggage, victuals, and other munition of war, giuing caution for restitution of the Ships, and return of the Mariners within a prefixed time. That the French King hauing ratified the treaty, there should bee foure Offages deliuered vnto him, such as he should chooseth out of the Catholike Kings Subiects; vntill restitution were really performed, and then to be presently set at liberty: and if restitution were made of the six places in Picardy, then two of the Offages should be deliuered, and the other two remaine vntill Blauay were restored. That there should be Arbitrators deputed on either side, to decide certaine controuersies contained in this

Treaty

The Duke of the Sauoy desires to be comprehended in the Treaty.

The King prefers the public good before his priuace in article

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A Treaty of Cambray, but not executed. That all prisoners of war on either side should be set at liberty, paying their charges, without ranfome, velleffe it were already agreed vpon. All others subiect to the said Kings, and detained in their Gallies, should be released without delay, and without demand of ranfome or charges. All rights, actions and pretensions were referred vnto the French King, velleffe hee or his predecessors had expressly renounced them, to make his pursuit by law, and not by armes: the like reservation was made for the Catholike King, and the Infanta his eldest daughter. It was decreed, that the Duke of Sauoy should be comprehended in this Treaty of peace, vpon certaine conditions to be presently performed, and some other controuersies betweene the Christian King, and the said Duke, were referred vnto Pope Clement the eight, to be decided within one yeare after the date of these presents.

Thus I haue briefly set downe the chiefe points of the Treaty, the which you may read more at large in the Originall: after which they come to comprehend their allies, as followeth in the thirty fourth Article.

34. In this peace, alliance and friendship, shall be comprehended by the common consent of the said Kings, if they will be comprehended: First, on the behalfe of the said most Christian King, the Pope, the Apostolike Sea, the Emperor, the Princes Electors both Ecclesiasticall and secular, the townes, commonalties, and estates of the sacred Empire, and namely the Count *Palatine* Elector, Marquis of Brandebourg, Duke of Wirtemberg, Landgrau of Hessen, Marquis of Hanspach, the Earles of East-Frizland, and the Sea townes, according to their ancient alliances. The King and Realme of Scotland, according to the ancient Treaties, alliances and confederations, which are betwixt the Realmes of France and Scotland; the Kings of Poland, Denmarke, and Sweden, the Duke and Seignury of Venice, the thirteene Cantons of Suisse, the Seigneuries of the three Cantons of Grisons, the Bishop and Seigneuries of the Country of Valais, the Abbot and towne of Saint Gal, Toubembourg, Milans in the country of Neuf-Chastell, and other allies and confederats of the said Cantons: The Duke of Lorraine, the great Duke of Tuscane, the Duke of Mantua, and the Common-weale of Luques, the Bishops and Chapter of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the Abbot of Gozze, the Lords of Sedan, and the Earle of Mirande; provided alwaies, that the consent which the said Catholike King giues to the comprehension of the Earles of East-Frizland, shall not prejudice the right which his Catholike Maistie pretendeth vnto their Countries: As also there shall bee a reservation against the defences, rights and exemptions of the said Earldomes, with a declaration that the said Catholike King may neither directly by himselfe, or any other, molest any of them which haue been formerly comprehended by the said most Christian King. And if the said Catholike King pretends any thing against them, he shall pursue them by Law, before competent Iudges, and not by force in any manner whatsoever.

35. And on the behalfe of the said Catholike King shall bee comprehended in this Treaty, if they please: first of all, the Pope, the holy Apostolike Sea, the Emperour of Romans, the Archduke, his brethren and Cousins, their Realmes and Countries, the Electors, Princes, Townes and Estates of the whole Empire obeying him, the Duke of Bauaria, the Duke of Cleues, the Bishop and Country of Liege, the Sea townes, and the Earldomes of East-Frizland. And the said Princes doe renounce all Practices, promising hereafter not to make any; neither within Christendome nor without, that may be prejudiciall to the said Emperour, nor to the members and Estates of the said holy Empire; but shall with all their power, procure the good and quiet thereof, so as the said Emperour and Estates cary themselves very respectfully and lovingly vnto the said most Christian and Catholike Kings, and doe nothing to their prejudice. There shall bee also comprehended the Seigneuries of the Cantons of high Germany, the Grisons, and their allies, the Kings of Poland, Sweden, Scotland, & Denmarke, the Duke & Seignury of Venice, the Duke of Lorraine, the great Duke of Tuscane, the Common-weales of Genoua and Luques, the Duke of Parma and Placentia, the Cardinall of Ferneze, his brother, the Duke of Mantoua, the Duke of Vrbino, the chiefe of the houses of Colonne and Vrsins. The Duke of Salmonet, the Lord of Monaco, the Marquis of Finall, the Marquis of Massa, the Lord of Plombin, the Earle of Sala; and the Earle *Colonne*, to enioy the benefit of this Peace, with expresse declaration that the said most Christian King

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King shall neither directly nor indirectly by himselfe or any other, molest any of them, And if he pretend any thing against them, he may pursue it by law before competent Judges, and not by force in any sort whatsoeuer.

36 And there shall be also comprehended in this present Treaty, all others that shall be named by the common consent of the said Kings, so as within six months after the publication of the said treaty, they give their Letters declaratory, respectiue as it is in such case required.

37 And for the better assurance of this Treaty of peace, and of all the Articles therein contained, it shall be verified, published and enrowled in the Court of Parliament of Paris, and in all other Parliaments of the Realme of France, and in the Chamber of accounts at Paris: as also it shall be verified published, and enrowled in the great Council, and other Councils and chambers of accounts of the countries of the said Catholike King, and all according to the form contained in the Treaty made in the year 1559, whereof the expeditions shall be giuen of either part within three months after the publication of this present Treaty.

38 Which points and Articles, together with all that is contained in euery one of them, haue beene treated, concluded, and past betwixt the said Deputies in their names, the which by vertue of their authorities haue promised, and doe promise vpon bond of all the present and future goods of their said Masters, that they shall be inuolubly obserued and kept, and to cause them to ratifie, and to giue authentike Letters one vnto the other whereas all this present Treaty shall be incerted, and that within one month after the date of these presents, in regard of the said most Christian King, Cardinal, Archduke, and Duke of Sauoy: which Cardinall shall promise to cause like Letters of ratification to be giuen within three months by the Catholike King. They shall solemnly sweare vpon the Crosse, the Holy Euangelists, the Canon of the Masse, and vpon their honors, in the presence of such as they shall please to depute, to obserue and accomplish, fully, really, and faithfully the contents of the said Articles: and in like manner the Catholike King shall take the same oath within three months after, or when hee shall be required.

In witness of which things the said Deputies subscribed the Treaty, at Veruins the second day of May, in the year 1598.

All which Articles contained in the Treaty: and all that had beene concluded, agreed, and passed by the said Deputies in their Masters names, they promise shall be inuolubly obserued and kept, and to cause them to ratifie them, and to deliuer one vnto another authentike Letters, signed and sealed, containing the whole Treaty, and that within one month after the date of those presents, in regard of the most Christian King, the Cardinall, Archduke, and Duke of Sauoy: and that the Cardinall should promise, to procure within three months after, the like Letters of ratification from the Catholike King, Archduke, and Duke of Sauoy: They should solemnly sweare vpon the Crosse, the holy Euangelists, the Canon of the Masse, and by their honors, in the presence of such as they should depute, to obserue and fulfill really and faithfully, all that was contained in the said Articles: and the like oath shall be taken by the Catholike King of Spaine, within three months after, or when it should be required. In witness whereof the Deputies subscribed the Treaty, at Veruins, the second of May. 1598.

He that desires Peace cannot buy it at too deare a rate, no though he pay as much as King Antigonus did vnto the Romans. The King of Spaine, who desired a peace at what rate soeuer, found no condition in this Treaty of Veruins, that might dissuade him from ratifying it: although his Council held the restitution of townes, to happily taken, and so hard to recover, dishonourable and preiudiciall. He prest to haue it sworne and executed, witnessing the contentment he received in his soule, for the good which Christendome should receive by the concord of these two Crownes. The Archduke, who did second his desire, sent Deputies to assist at the French Kings oath, the D. of Alsot, the Count Artemberg, the Admirall of Arragon, and Lewis de Pelasco, being followed by foure hundred Gentlemen Spaniards, Italians, Bourguignons, and Flemings. The Count S. Paul received them vpon the frontiers. The Constable feasted them at Amiens, and pacified some quarrells growne among them for place. The Marshall of Biron, with a great and goodly troope of Noblemen and Gentlemen, appointed by the King, received them

Ambassadors to  
swear the  
peace, and Ho-  
nors for the  
restitution of  
the places.  
They arrive the  
18 of June.

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A them a quarter of a league without S. Denis gate, conducting them vnto their lodgings, which were prepared in S. Anthonies quarter. The next day they went vnto the Louvre, with all their traine, in rich and stately equipage, to kisse the Kings hands: who receiued them graciously, giuing an attentive eare vnto the discourse which Richardot made vpon the merit of this action, and the common profit and necessity of a peace, the which, hee said, was to be preferred before a iust war, and al hope of prosperity. The King answered, That he had desired peace, not for that he was tired with the discomforts of war, but to giue all Christendome meane to breathe: That his armes fell out of his hands when as they represented vnto him the teares which fell from the Popes eyes, for their reconciliation, which might greatly aduance the quiet of the Church of God: That he should neuer be taxed to be ill affected to the preservation of the peace: as he neuer wanted zeale nor iustice to seeke it, hauing alwaies preferred it before the vndoubted assurance of all the good successe, which the happinesse of his armes, and the reason of his defence promised him: belesuing the aduice of them which hold, that we must neuer for the hope of any fauourable successe, refuse a good peace, and ground the expectation of the euent vpon the apparance of present things.

The most solemne forme of a treaty is, the oath which binds them that treat. It was not sufficient, that the Princes had signed it, and engaged their faithfull promises to maintain it: they would make the God of heauen the Iudge and witness of their intentions, C engaging their faith in the hands of his Iustice, for an assurance of their promises. And therefore the King did sweare the obseruation of the peace, in our Ladies Church at Paris, in the presence of the King of Spaines Ambassadors. The Archduke did sweare it in the name of the King of Spaine, in the great Church at Bruxells, in the presence of the Marshall of Biron, Belleuere and Brulart, Councillors to the King and his Ambassadors. The Duke of Sauoy did also sweare it at Chambéry, in the presence of Guadagnus, Lord of Bourtheim, Knight of both Orders. The Oath was minisired in this manner: We promise vpon our faith and honour, and in the word of a King, and sweare vpon the Crosse, the holy Euangell, and the Canon of the Masse, for that which concerns vs: That we will obserue and accomplish fully, really and faithfully, all and euery point and article contained in the treaty of Peace, reconciliation and amity made, concluded, and determined at Veruins, the second day of May last past, &c. and will cause all to be obserued, maintained and kept inuolubly on our part, without any breach, or suffering it to be broken, in any sort or manner whatsoeuer. In witness whereof we haue signed these presents with our owne hands, &c.

The King would haue the sincerity of his intentions knowne to all the world, and Paris a witness of the oath he should take, to obserue the peace as religiously, as hee had made war iustly. The ceremony was performed in our Ladies Church at Paris, with great pompe: Monsieur de Villeroy did read the articles of the Peace, the King did sweare the obseruation thereof, signed the Act, and embraced the Ambassadors of the King of Spaine, wishing his Brother a long life, that he might long enjoy the fruits of this peace. E This ceremony was ended with great ioy and acclamations of the people. From thence the King went to dine at the Bishops Palace, where he feasted the Ambassadors, the Duke Montpensier supplying the place of Lord Steward. The feast was royall and magnificent, and all things were answerable to so great a Ceremony. That ancient custome of drinking to the health of Princes, which came from that of the Greekes, who offered to euery one of their gods a glasse of wine, and since hath beene vsed, to shew our deuoted affection to great personages, was not forgotten. The King dranke twice to the health of the King of Spaine. This ioy was continued at night at the Louvre, in dancing, and the daies following in feasting at diuers great mens houses, by the Kings command.

All this did not hinder the execution of the Treaty, neither did the Deputies forget the interest of priuate persons. The Spaniards intreated the King for the returne of some that were absent, especially for the Duke of Aumale. The King answered them, That if they restored vnto Antonio Perez his children and goods, he would giue the Duke of Aumale contentment, whereby he should enioy the fruit of the peace: the Spaniards replied, That Perez, who was then out of Spain for matters concerning the Inquisition, might not be equalled with the Duke of Aumale, who was absent but by reason of the troubles. Euery one was content, either with that which was done, or with that which reason did not allow to be done.

The Kings answer.

The King of Spain did signe and sweare the peace the 12 of July 1598. His Sonne did not signe it till the Treaty of Sauoy 1601.

The forme of the oath.

After



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After that the Ambassadors of Spaine had obtained what they desired for the execution of the Peace, and admired the Kings houses, and the wonders of Paris, they returned with a remembrance of his Maiesties bounty, who gaue them Jewells, and Cupbords of plate. There remained foure principall men as Hostages, for assurance of the restitution of the townes, as it was concluded by the Treaty. All should bee performed by the second of August: they began by the townes of Picardy so faithfully, as the King (without expecting the full satisfaction of the Treaty) sent backe the Hostages, relying onely vpon their word.

It was also concluded by the Treaty, that the Archduke (who had approued the peace in the name of the King of Spaine) should also sweare the obseruation thereof in the same name, and in the presence of such as it should please the King to send: His Maiesty would not employ any other then such as had serued him so worthily in the conclusion thereof, as *Belieure* and *Brulart*, two of the chiefe of his Councell, and him whose valour in the recovery of Amiens, had much advanced the end of this war. This honour was accompanied with another, that was greater and more durable, vpon the chiefe of this Ambassage. The King doth neuer forget to recompence great and generous actions, he would haue the Marshall *Biron* as well a president of his fauours, as of the loyalty of his seruice: and therefore he erected his Barony of Biron into a Duchy, and made him Peere of France. He was receiued in the Parliament with a general applause and testimony of all the Assitants, that these honours, although they were great, did not equal the greatness of his merits. He made a solemne feast for this new dignity. The King went from Saint *Germaine* to honour him with his presence: witnessing that this was not the end nor period of the honours wherewith he would reward the perseverance of his seruices, and the constancy of his affection. At that time there was nothing in him that was lesse to be admired then imitated. Slander could not cause any corruption in a body inspired with the life of honour and valour (as fies breed not wormes but in dead bodies) and hee that had spoken ill of him, should haue gotten no credit. He had not yet receiued that pestilent infection which corrupted his blood, and deprived him of all iudgment. Reprehension had no power ouer him: but when as he spake vneruenously of the King, one of his Friends was then the Oracle of his fortune, who told him plainly, That if he did not forbear his licentious speech, he would repent it. What can they doe, answered he: The other replied, That which you feare not. And pressing him to speake more plainly: his friend (knowing that Princes are very apprehensieue and sensible; and that the offences which they dissemble most, they pardon least) said vnto him, halfe in choler, & halfe in iest, That the King would cut off his head. This threat was so vnlkely, as he made a iest of it. The bad intentions which began to seize vpon his soul in this Ambassage of Flanders, haue verified the prediction. Nothing could make him vnhappy, but the excess of his happines, which deprived him of all government and modesty. If he had beene less fortunate, he had beene more wise. It was no strange thing, to make the sonne of the Marshall *Biron*, Marshall of France. An ancient house might well be honoured with the title of a Duchy, a great Captaine, who had to doe great a share in the restauration of France, deserved the honour and title of a Peere, but this was to recompence him in the midst of his course, for all that he might expect at the end of his carriere.

The first seruice the Duke of Biron did after this new dignity, was the voyage of Flanders. He made his assembly at Peronne, from whence he went to lye at Cambray. In the mid way, the Earle of Sore, Lieutenant Generall of that Country, met him, who (after he had saluted him with a long and respectiue discourse) told him, That he had commandement from his Master to doe him seruice in that voyage, and to accompany him vnto Bruxelles. They of Cambray feasted him in their Towne-house. He had the like entertainment at Valenciennes and at Mons. Being arriued at our Lady of Halle, three leagues from Bruxelles, he found a Steward of the Archdukes, and fifty of his guard to attend him. The next day (which was the first after his departure) hee was met vpon the way to Bruxelles, by the Earle of Mansfield, the Duke of Anmale, and the Prince of Orange, with about two hundred horse in the Archdukes name, and so conducted through the city vnto his lodging.

Hee rested the Friday, and the next day hee went to haue audience of the Archduke. Hee was accompanied by Count *Mansfield*: *Belieure* by the Duke

Deputies sent from the King to the Archduke to take his oath.

Charles Gontault of Biron created Duke of Biron, and Peere of France.

A feast made at Paris by the Duke of Biron, 28 June.

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A Duke D' *Anmale*, and *Brulart* with the Prince of Orange. Thus they entred into the Arch-dukes chamber, whom they found alone without any one but the Bishop of Antwerpe, and the President *Richardot*. The D. of Biron began to discourse, and *Belieure* continued it halfe an houre after. On the Sunday following, the Duke of Biron went to the Cathedral Church, the Arch-duke hauing sent him twenty Carosses for himselfe and his traine: There did the Arch-duke solemnly sweare the obseruation of the peace in the name of the King of Spaine. From thence the Duke of Biron went on horsebacke to the Archdukes palace, where he dined. At the Arch-dukes table sat the Duke of Biron, *Belieure*, *Brulart*, the Count *Mansfield*, the Duke of Anmale, the Prince of Orange, and the Bishop of Antwerpe. At another table were some twenty French Gentlemen, chosen by the Duke of Biron, and eight or ten Spaniards and Wallons. After dinner the Arch-duke caused them to see a gallery full of goodly pictures of the country, and from thence hee led them into the Parke, in the midst whereof is the house whereas the Emperour *Charles* the first retired himselfe, when as hee resigned his Empire and other Estates. The next day the Earle of *Mansfield* inuited the Duke of Biron with some dozen of French Gentlemen to dinner: after dinner they put themselves in a round, euery one with a glaiffe full of wine in his hand, and in this order, the Earle said: Seeing we haue begun our follies in wine, it is fit wee should leave them there: and so he spilt the wine, and brake his glaiffe, the which was imitated by all the rest.

C So after some dayes spent in feasting, the Archduke hauing presented the D. of Biron with two faire horses, gold, plate, a rich iewel, and a rapier, with girdle and hangers set with precious stones, (all which were esteemed at ten thousand crownes) hauing also giuen to *Belieure* and *Brulart* rich futes of Tapistry, and chaines of gold, and to euery one of the French Gentlemen, a rapier blade, and a paire of Spanish gloves, they returned home very well satisfied. But the Duke of Biron did not so much respect what was giuen him, as the esteeme they made of his valour, if hee would employ it for the King of Spaines seruice. *Picott* did first infect him with this poison, (which caused a fever, and proved incurable, but by that shameful effusion of his blood) whereof the King was presently aduertised by a true-hearted Frenchman, who remained at that time in the Arch-dukes Court. The Duke of Sauoy, who enjoyed the same benefit of the Peace, was bound to the obseruation thereof by the like forme.

The King sent to *Mons. de la Guiche* Gouverneur of Lions, that he would willingly haue giuen him that charge, but that he feared his absence might somewhat prejudice the good of his affaires, and his indisposition not suffer him to performe the voyage. Hee therefore commanded *Guadagne* Seneschall of Lyon, and Knight of both Orders, to undertake this charge. The oath was taken in the Friars Church of Chambery, on Sunday the second of August, where the Duke was assisted with all his Knights of the *Annunciado* and to witness the content which he had of this peace and reconciliation with his Maiesty, hee said vnto *Guadagne*, that hee held this day the happiest of all the dayes of his life, and that all which remained, should be to maintaine and honour the memory thereof. That it were not onely an indiscretion, but a blindness and a madnesse for him to change the felicities of peace, for the miseries of warre. The D. gaue vnto *Guadagne*, and to the chiefe Gentlemen of his traine, iewels, horses, chaines of gold, and to all, so many good words, as there was not any one but did wish him more profitt by this peace then hee could. Hee refused not any thing that was demanded of him in the execution of the Treaty, for the deliuerie and ranfome of prisoners, but onely the liberty of the Admirall *Gashillon* wife. He made answer to the instance which *Guadagne* made in the Kings name: That the respect he bare vnto his Maiesties commandements, was so great, as to please him hee would restore her goods, and giue her some more liberty, whilst that he might giue his Maiesty to understand the iust causes of her restraint.

F That whatsoever had beene decreed at Rome, for her absolution, was rather in honour of his Maiesty, then for any reason, for that he was seized vpon books and writings that were execrable and damnable. The afflictions of this Lady did moue the hearts of the chiefe Officers of this Crowne, and of many great Noblemen of the Realme, her kindnes and allies. The King had commiseration of her: for her misfortunes, her imprisonment, losses and disgraces deserved pity. She was so transported with the good desires of the Kings affaires, that although she wrote among her captiues, yet the best of her actions could

The Archduke sweares the Peace.

The Archdukes presence to the Duke of Biron.

*Mons. de Bassieu* aduertised the King of the D. of Birones practices.

The D. of Sauoy sweares the peace.

*Jeannine* Countesse of Antremont, wife to the Admirall, was prisoner at Lyons, and there dyed.

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The Confable  
the Cardinal of  
Joyeuse, the D.  
of Joyeuse, and  
M. Dandelot  
intreated the  
Legat to do her  
justice.

The Count  
telle of An-  
tremontis  
Letter to  
Peter Ma-  
thias.

Custome  
makes af-  
flictions  
easie.

Complaints  
from the towne  
of Geneva.

The Duke's  
pretensions.

After the peace  
in the year  
1559, and in the  
year 169.  
The saying of  
armes forbid-  
den the 4.  
of August 1598.  
published in  
the Court of  
Parliament 13.

could neither be smothered vnder the ashes of affliction, nor vnder the fume of dissimulation: If she could have done that whereof they accused her, shee would have made as sudden alterations on the earth, as Henry King of Sweden did in the ayre, and as admirable: as her will was absolute to desire that the King might overcome his enemies, and have satisfaction for Nice and Saluffes.

Vpon this hope that this peace should give her some content, and that the Kings commendation by his Ambassador should give some truce to her miseries, she wrote a Letter of the pitifull course of her misfortunes, whereby appeared the excellency of her spirit, in these words: Although (saith she) the comparison be as different as betwixt an Elephant and a Gnat, yet are they both vegetative and sensitiue creatures: My fortune, and that of my house, hath alwayes followed that of France and the Kings: for as since his marriage, I have alwayes scene my Estate declining, euen vnto the period of a totall ruine, by the ill successe of his affaires: so now when as God hath powred his blessings vpon him, that hee hath reuenged him of his enemies, euen by his enemies; and that against the conspiracies of the wicked, and the iudgement of the good, hee doth enioy his inheritance, I will hope there shall be some change in my condition. I desire it may be good: but if it prove otherwise, I will not alter my resolution, to receiue both good and euill as from the hand of God. I haue this aduantage ouer fortune, that hereafter her iniuries how violent and sudden so euer, shall not be strange vnto me. I am inured to my afflictions, as a gally-slave to his oare. Necessity teacheth me to suffer constantly, and custome makes my sufferance easie.

The King also gaue *Guadagnes* charge, to let the Duke vnderstand, that he had receiued three severall complaints from the Citie of Geneva; that his troopes which hee entertained thereabouts, vsed insupportable hostilitie, tooke prisoners, chopt and changed them, and that his Maiestie desired the towne might reap the fruit and safety which the common good of the peace did promise them, and that the Dukes troopes might be retired, to the end all ieaousie and distrust might cease. The Duke would not answer heretofore by writing, lest (saith he) he should prejudice the pretensions which hee had to that towne, for aboute foure hundred years: saying onely, that he did not thinke it had been comprised in the Treaty of peace, for that all other townes and Prouinces had been particularly named, and not that of Geneva. That he could not see his neighbors from feare and distrust, but in retiring his troopes that were about the towne, to refresh them in Lombardy, he should take away the cause, hauing no intention to prefer warre before the happinesse of peace. He therefore commanded *D. Iuan de Mediniza* a Spaniard, to draw his regiment, which consisted of 1200 men, out of the territories of Geneva, and to passe to Milani.

A peace being proclaimed in France, the King applies his thoughts to reforme all disorders, and to administer Iustice to all his subjects: and for the better assurance of the publike tranquillitie, hee did as his predecessors had done in the like occasions: prohibiting, by the aduice of his Princes, Officers of his Crowne, and Lords of his Councell, the carriage and vse of Harguebuzes, Petronels, Pistols, Pistolers, and other weapons, which carried fire, vpon confiscation of Armes and horse, and two hundred Crowns fine for the first offence, and to be kept in prison vntill the money were payed: and for the second, losse of goods and life, without hope of remission. Allowing all men to stay and arrest all such as should carrie such prohibited armes eight dayes after the publication of the Edict. None were excepted, but the foure hundred Archers, and the foure Companies of horse of the guards of his Maiesties person, when as they waited in quarter, the Archers of the Prouost of his household, of the Constable and Marshalls of France, and they of the company of Light-horse belonging to the Duke of Vendosme, who by the Edict might carrie Pistols when as they were in service. And to free his subjects from the oppression of Builders, and to accustom them to obedience, to whom it is troublesome in the securest peace, hee cut off the companies, as well of horse, as of the regiments of foot: but this restraint was onely that which they might well forbear. It is dangerous to leave an Estate long without armes: A disarmed peace is weak. The King therefore reduced the places vpon the frontiers, which remained still fortified with ordinary guards. The guards appointed for Gouernours and Lieutenants generall of Prouinces were suspended, and the companies of men at Armes were reduced to a lesser number. Such whose spirits could

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A could not liue in the cessation of armes, and which were good Captaines in the time of warre (like vnto *Marins*) but ill Citizens in peace, and leaue to goe seek the exercise thereof in Flanders and Hungary.

Peace doth change the exercise of Warre into hunting: the King made it his dayly exercise. Being one day hunting in the great Forest of Fontainebleau, there was heard about halfe a League off, a great cry of hounds and the winding of hornes, and suddenly all this noise which seemed to be fatte off, came (to his iudgement) within twenty paces of his care. He commanded the Count *Suffons* to set out, to see what it was, thinking that no man durst presume so boldly to interrupt his sports: the Earle aduancing, heard the noise, yet could not discerne whence it came. A bigge blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, crying out, *Dee you vnderstand me*, and then hee suddenly vanished away at those words. They which were discreet, thought it great indiscretion to stay longer there hunting. The Heards-men thereabouts say it is a spirit, which they call the great Hunter, who hunts in this Forest: others hold, that it is *S. Huberts* chaine, the which is also heard in other places.

Many Noblemen, and Gentlemen retired themselves now vnto their governments and priuate houses: the King hauing said long before, that hee would force euery man to liue of his owne, and not to importune him any more. Neuer any Edict was better obserued then this speech, for euen then hee resolved to employ the remainder of his reuenues in publike necessities, and not in the prodigalities of *Villains*, nor for the enriching of priuate men, saying, that he would ease the poore, & give example vnto the rich to content themselves with little, and to liue accordingly. The Constable went to his government of Languedoc, hauing obtained of the King a reuerfion of his government for Henry of Montmorency his sonne. The King in his wisdome, thought he could not sufficiently grace a house, which hath brought forth so many Gouernours, Admirals, Marshalls, and Constables: and which vnder the name of *Montmorency* comprehends that of Horne and Laual, which hath giuen viues to Kings of France and Dukes of Britany. The Letters Patentes were read and registred in the Court of Aydes at Montpellier, the Duke of Vantador being President, and the Bishops of Agde and Nismes assisting.

The order which the King did take for the affaires of his house, was a president to all France, shewing the religious desire which hee had to see his subjects enioy the fruits thereof. His iustice would not suffer them to be charged and surcharged with impossible duties, seeing that the violence of the warre had left them nothing but their tongues to complain, being like vnto a stone laid vpon a dead mans bones. Yet notwithstanding they were forced to pay the publicke charges for the time which they had not gathered. And therefore the King did vnto his subjects, as *Constantine* and *Gracianus* did vnto them of the Empire, by a general discharge of the remainder of their Tacke and Tributes. He also sent, according to the resolution of the Estates held at Roan, many great personages, as well of his Councell, as of other companies, to examine the necessities of his people, to order the Taxes and Tributes, and to protect the weak from the oppression and violence of such as during the ciuill warres had scene no light of iustice, but through the flame of Harguebuzes: hauing so abused the time, as to enioy the priuiledge of Nobles, they would be esteemed rather by their shew, then by the vse and seruice of the sword: and when as the Law (which doth chiefly binde Noblemen by reason of their tenures and titles of Nobility to the duties of Armes) hath conuired them to succour the necessities of their Prince and Country, they haue thrust themselves among the people, liuing idly in townes, or in the delights of their houses, so long as fire and danger was in field. Men unworthy of the name of men, of Gentlemen, and of Frenchmen. The Commissioners forced these kind of gallants to pay, who by pretended Letters of their Gentry, and abuse of the Priuiledges, had laid their Taxes vpon the people.

While the King labours to reforme all abuses, and to root out disorders: the Deputies of the Clergy of France (being assembled together at Paris, with the Kings permission) beseech his Maiesty to reforme the disorders of the Church, which speech was deliuered with great reuerence before his Maiesty, by the reuerent *Francois de la Grosse* Archbishop of Tours, accompanied with many of the said Deputies of the Clergy. The Summe whereof was:

That it would please his Maiestie, that the holy Councell of Trent might be receiued

liii 2

and

The King hunting in the Forest of Fontainebleau.

Our minister vnto.

Proposition of singulitie.

Mitellius in 8 months consumed as millions 50000 Crowns. Tail

Nere 400 yeres since Mathew of Montmorency Constable of France, left two sisters: the first came that of Montmorency, the second bore the name of Laual which was his mothers

Taxes required.

The Clergy of France petition vnto the King.

1598 "and published in France, with such necessary qualifications as concerne the French liberties, the Immunities of Churches, and the priuiledges of Parliaments. A

"That his Maieſtie would not charge his conſcience with the nomination vnto Biſhoprickes, Abbeyes, and other Benefices hauing charge of ſoules: for that hee ſhould one day giue an account of the ſoules that periſhed for want of inſtruction, and for want of adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments.

"That lay-penſions giuen in recompence to Noblemen and Gentlemen vpon the ſaid nominations, may be reuoked.

"That Clergy-men may bee ſuffered to enioy their liuings quietly without charge, but only to doe their duties in the ſeruiſe of God and the Church.

"That Churches may not be prophaned, nor the Incumbents houſes ſuffered to goe to ruine, but to be well and duly maintained, to the end they may not pretend any iuſt cauſe of non-refidence: and to ſeparate them from the common and licentious conuerſing with the people, for the auoiding of ſcandals which doe often follow.

"That all reuerſions of Benefices may be taken away, as well for that it is againſt the Canon law, and the holy Conſtitutions of Councils, as alſo for that it is a cauſe to ſhorten the liues of the Incumbents.

"That the contracts before-time paſſed betwixt their Maieſties and the Clergy, may be confirmed without breach, or ſuppoſition, for the Subſidie granted vnto his Maieſty by the Clergy.

"That it would alſo pleaſe his Maieſtie to provide them conuenient remedies vpon the complaints which they had preſented vnto him.

The King with the reſpect which his predeceſſors haue alwayes borne to the firſt of the three Orders of his Realme, thinking that the honour which is done vnto the Clergy, hath a reference vnto God, and that Biſhops, although they be his vallaies and ſubiects, are no leſſe then the Miniſters and Ambaſſadors of the liuing God, and Interpreters of his holy will, he anſwers them in this manner.

"I confeſſe that what you haue ſaid is true, but I am not the author of theſe innovations: theſe miſchiefs were brought in before my coming. During the Warres I haue run to the greateſt fire to quench it. I will now doe what is needfull in time of peace. I know that Religion and Iuſtice be the foundations and pillars of this Eſtate, which is maintained by piety and iuſtice. But if they were not, I would plant them by little and little. I doe all things. With the helpe of God I will ſettle the Church in as good Eſtate as it was an hundred yeares ſince, as well for the diſcharge of my conſcience, as for your content: but Paris was not all built in one day. Let the people be as much perſwaded by your good examples to doe well, as they haue been heretofore diſſwaded. You haue exhorted mee of my duty. I doe admoniſh you of yours: let vs all doe good. Goe you one way, and I will goe another: if we meet, wee ſhall ſoone haue done. My predeceſſors haue giuen you Words, but I with my gray ſacklet will giue you Deeds. I am all gray without, but I am all of gold within. I will write vnto my Council to ſee your complaints, and will provide for you as fauourably as I may.

During theſe admonitions of the Clergy, the Cardinall of Florence moued the King for the reſtitution of the Jeſuits. The 7 Article of the Treaty of peace at Veruins did ſuffer the ſubiects and ſeruants of either ſide, as well Clergy-men as Lay, to retorne and enioy their Offices, Benefices, and Reuenues, obtaining permiſſion and Letters Patents vnder the broad ſeale from the Prince. Many thought that the Jeſuits ſhould be comprehended in this Article, and that if by this peace the Spaniards were held Allies, and as it were couſin germanes to the French, thoſe whom the Kings Aduocate had the yeare before in open Parliament termed *Emiſſaires* to the King of Spaine, ſhould now retorne to their Colledges, from whence they had been expelled by a ſentence giuen in December, in the yeare 1594. But the light of peace ſhines not vpon them. The new world which it doth produce hauing caſt the cinders of Warre, Rancor and Reuenge into the aire, allows them no retreat within the iuriſdiction of Paris. The Decrees which had baniſhed them, are grauen in Marble, the Water of Prayers, Favour and Teares, although it pierceeth ſtones, preuailes nothing. Their enemies had taxed them with the making of certaine writings which offended the Court, whoſe authoritie is alwayes wronged in the offences which concerne the Princes honor. This made them reuiue the firſt reſtraints not to find any

The Kings  
anſwer to  
the Clergy

The Jeſuits  
ſeek to be  
reſtored.

A any youth to the Schooles of their Order, as to Tournon, to Pont-au-Mouſſon, and other places, both within and without the Realme, and to declare, that ſuch as ſhould bee inſtructed & taught in their Colledges, ſince the Decree made the 29 of December 1594, ſhould not enioy the priuiledges of Vniuerſities, as incapable of the degrees thereof: Neither might they by vertue of any Degrees obtained, teach publicly, nor be aduanced to any Offices or Benefices, fir for Graduates; nor receiued Aduocates in any Courts or Seates of Iuſtice.

The Court had giuen commandment to the Earle of Tournon to expell them his country, vpon a great penalty contained in the Decree, and for that he had not performed it, his goods and Iuriſdiction were put into the Kings hands, and his Office of Senefhall of Auvergne declared void. But although the Parliament of Paris may terme it ſelfe the only Parliament of France, and the Court of Peeres: that it is the fountaine, and the reſſe but little riuers, yet her Decrees preſcribe no lawes to other Parliaments: That of Tholouſa prohibited the Earle of Tournon to obey that of Paris. The Jeſuites are yet there, their Colledges are frequented, their retorne deſired, and the exerciſe of Sciences as famous as euer. The defences to goe thither haue but augmented the number. The Kings Aduocate pleading vpon this ſubiect, ſaid they were the Authors of ſome execrable Pamphlets which he named nor. It was a booke printed in Flanders, for the apology of a miſerable Parricide, a prodigious Affaſſine, and a wicked Martyr, written with a pen of ſteele, and with inke of blood. Some ſay, the Author hath aduowed it, and iuſtified the Jeſuits. When they ſaw that this new ſtorme began to threaten them in the calme of publike tranquillitie, and that they had obtained letters from the Parliament of Bourdeaux, to chaſe them out of all Guienne, they had recourſe to the Kings Iuſtice: there is nothing that doth more aduance the greatneſſe of the Soueraigne, nor aſſe of greater reuerence, then to demand Iuſtice. Many things may be obtained from others, onely Iuſtice comes from the Prince. One equall may doe good to another, but the Soueraigne onely can doe iuſtice: wherefore in demanding iuſtice by their petition, they ſaid it was a right due vnto them; yea, were they the moſt guilty men in the world, it ſhould bee granted them ſo much the more freely, for that their Iuſtification concerned the good and reputation of the Realme.

D Since that time they haue been incountred both in Verſe and Proſe, and they haue defended themſelves learnedly. The more they fought to make them ſeeme unworthy of their retorne, the more they defended the iuſtice and neceſſity of their re-eſtabliſhment.

At the ſame time was concluded the marriage of Madam Katherine Princeſſe of France and of Nauarre, the Kings only Siſter, with the Marquis of Pont, Duke of Bar, and Prince of Lorraine, after many iourneys made by the ſaid Prince vnto the moſt Chriſtian King: in which accord there were great difficulties, as well by reaſon of the diuerſitie of Religion (the ſaid Princeſſe reſuſing to leaue the reformed, wherein ſhe had been bred) as alſo for that the could not be perſwaded to goe out of France. She had beene formerly fought by many great Princes, to whom ſhe would not conſent, for the one or the other of theſe two cauſes, and ſometimes for both together. Francis Monſieur Duke of Alençon deſired her in the yeare 1582, but the difficulty was then greater for matters of Religion. And before that, King Henry the third coming out of Poland did aſſe her: and it was thought, that if he had ſeene her at Lyons at his retorne, he would haue married her: but Katherine de Medicis the Queene-mother deſcribed her to bee a dwarfie (the which was moſt falſe) for ſhe was of a meane ſtature, and of a good countenance. It is true, ſhe had one legge ſomewhat ſhorter then another (which is a marke of the houſe of Albret: for ſo had Alain Lord of Albret, Father to King Iohn, great Grandfather to the ſaid Princeſſe Katherine.) The Queene-mother did this good turne for her God-daughter, ſeeking to diſgrace the K. of Nauarre, whom ſhe hated from his youth, vpon an imagination, being told by an Italian South-layer, that he ſhould ſucceed her children. Then the D. of Lorraine (who ſince was her father-in-law) fought her. The Prince of Conde loued her. The K. of Spaine ſent to ſee her, in the yeare 1580, promiſing great aduancement to the King of Nauarre.

F This failing, the Duke of Sauoy ſent twice in the yeare 83, promiſing no way to impeach her religion. His Agent being reſuſed, he went into Spaine about his marriage with the Infanta Catherine Michelle. In the yeare 86 the King of Scotland ſent Maſter William a Scottiſh-man, and others. The Prince of Anhalt being come to the ſuccour of the King her brother, at his firſt coming to the Crowne of France, demanded her hand for his

Decree againſt  
the Earle of  
Tournon.

Jeſuites make a  
Petition to the  
King.

The Kings only  
Siſter ſuſtained  
to the Prince  
of Lorraine.

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person : but through the necessity of the Warres which were dispersed throughout all France, he returned as he came, with some discontent. During these warres, two Princes of the blood affected her, the Earle of Soissons, and the Duke of Montpensier: but the nearness of blood, the diversity of Religion, and the difficulty of affaires, hindered the effect of their desires. So as in the end he enjoyed her to whom God had appointed her. The ceremonies observed at this marriage, we will shew in the following year.

The King at the conclusion of the Treaty of Veruins, was desirous that his good Sister the Queene of England should be comprehended therein. But it was an accord which the King of Spaine would make apart : for the effecting whereof, the King did offer the Towne of Bouloungne for an interview of the Deputies; where they met of both sides : but the Ceremony for Precedence made it fruitlesse. For whereas the Deputies of England would not give place to them of Spaine, they returned without doing any thing : neither was there any of them that thought it reasonable, to purchase a peace with such prejudice to his Princes service : They say, that the peoples health is the Soueraigne law : but that which concerns the respect of the Prince, and the ranke which hee is to hold before others, is alwayes immutable. There are some lawes mortall, and others which neuer dye. Those have their continuance according to the time : Necessity makes the other alwayes durable, for the perpetual good they find in the obseruation, as *Lucius Valerius* said, pleading against the Oppian law. Of the condition of these mortall lawes is the right of Precedence. He that shall suffer the diminution, as not worthy of the increase.

During this dispute for the Precedence, the King was at Monceaux to take the diet. The Physicians had given him so great liberty to eat Melons of Chénouay and Lyons, as he felt it, and paid dearly for the taste of his delights : for the third day of his diet walking in his doublet in his gallery at Monceaux, a fever took him, which turned his diet into speedier remedies, and brought him to that estate, as many built their hopes upon the despaire of his health : and there were posts attended, ready to carrie thee bad newes. But the dignities of troubles and fashions dyed, when as they saw him recover his former health. The Duchesse of Beaufort served him in this sickness, with an affection and care equal to the love which makes the lover feeble the same griefe that the beloved doth. It was the same time when as he hoped to beas well *Queen* of France, as he reigned in the Kings heart. They said that our Dauphins should be *Cesars* or *Alexanders*, and that that which had bin but a sport or pleasure, should now be made a contract of necessity. Being recovered, he came to *S. Germain* in Lay, there to end the yeare, and to resolve upon his expences. Hee would have the aduice of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, to acquaint them with the estate of his affaires, to the end that if every man did not obtaine what he demanded, he should impute the cause vnto necessity. The great tables charged with vnknowne superfluities (more esteemed for the price and rarenesse, then for the taste or necessitie) were then cut off by the Kings example, which hath alwayes more force, then either law or correction. Excesse was conuerted into frugalitie, so necessary is an Estate, as the Romanes were no lesse bound to the Figs and Carrots of the *Fabritii* and *Curi*, then to their swords.

Then was there scene a new order in the disposition of the Kings Treasure, by the care and industries of the Marquis of Rhoeny, vnto whom his Maiestie gaue the charge of Superintendent. From the first day he let them know, how hard it was to draw money out of the Kings coffers: and for so many dealers in it as were wont to be, there should now be but one. His humour seemed strange: he cared not for all the petty gods, so as he pleased *Aspulus* saith. He refused many things to the end that the grant might be referred for the King, and all fauours receiued from his Maiesties onely hand, and not from any other, the which hath purchased him many enemies, who enuying his prosperity and condition, desire the ouerthrow of his happinesse, and yet are constrained to admire the force and soundnesse of his vnderstanding. Those who raised to the Sollicite of these greatnesse, must consider, that Princes fauours are alwayes perillous. It is a difficult thing to stand long firme vpon this Ice: and the fall, how gentle so euer, will neuer suffer him to rise againe: the which is proued in *Tiberius* to *Seianus*, *Charles* the sixth, to *Iohn Montaigne* and many others.

I have learned of a great perfonage, Ambaffador to a Prince of Germany, three words which hee caried grauen in a clocke. Hee faid them once a day, and did thinke of them

**Treaty at  
Boulogne.**

*Suprema lex  
salus populi.*

The King sick  
at Monceaux.

**Frugalitas**  
maintaines that  
which valour  
hath gotten.

out all A

**C**

**D**

**E**

con-

**A** continually, *Favour may turne into disfaueur, and grace into disgrace,* But he that serues his master according to his owne heart, that doth nothing against his conscience, and that gouernes his intentions according to law, iustice, and cquity, and neuer abandons the helm, although the wind beat his Barke, he needs not to feare any thing. Fortune must alwayes yeeld vnto Vertue.

They talke of nothing at Court but feasts and triumphs. The King maries in the end of the last moneth of the yeare, and *Katherine* his only filter, had bene promised to the *Marquis* of Pont, Prince of Lorraine, and Duke of Barr, The Contracts were made in the presence of the Duke of Lorraine, who came into France. The conditions were, That the said Prince should be entituled *Duchesse* of Albret, Countesse of Armagnac, and of Rhodiz, Vicountesse of Limoges, and should haue for her yeerely portion an hundred thousand crownes : and in case she had any children, they should cary the same titles, and be provided for. And in case she did suruiue him, she should enioy the Duchy of Barr in Barrois, with a yeerly pension, taken out of the reuenues of Lorraine. This done, the ancient alliances which had bin betweene these two Houses, were renewed, and the marriage was consummated : but there was first some question touching the Reformed Religion, in the which she had bene bred, the which she would not change, by reason (as she saide) of her deceased mother, *Queene Ioane* of Navarre, whose life and actions were held worthy to be imitated. She did with all her heart affect that which did concerne the liberty of conscience throughout all France, beleeching the King often to let her see the assurances thereof whilest he was in France, and not to suffer his Edicts to remaine without execution being proclaimed, & without a durable obseruation being executed. She was daughter to a mother who preferred safety of conscience before assurance of honours and greatnessse, yea then life it selfe, being accustomed to say to them of her part, that armes should not be layd downe, but with these three conditions, either an assured peace, an absolute victorie, or an honest death. Moreover, she apprehended the reproach of inconstancy at that age, if she should change her religion, hauing returned vnto it after shee had bene a while Catholicke: yee she promised her future husband to suffer her selfe to be instructed and to doe what he pleased.

D The King seeing his sisters resolution, did what he could to reclaim her by mildness, propounding unto her his own example, and giving her to understand by some words, that the most otherwise looker for no favour at his hands. Seeing he could not prevail, before he signed the said contract (which was at Monceaux, a Castle belonging to the Duchess of Beaufort, whom the King loved) the common brude was, that shee did greatly presse this marriage, by reason of her pretensions: about the end of the year, the King told her, that his meaning was not to force her, neither for her religion, nor for her marriage. He assured his future brother in law to doe his dutie, and so discharge his conscience: He also advertised him of one expedient, which was, to remove certaine women, and other persons, from about the said Lady, for that her traine consisted of Catholics, and others.

E And amongst those others, there were some willfull and contentious, in whom the said Lady trusted much, for that they had bene bred up in her service from her cradle: bural

The said Prince of Lorraine accompanied with his brother the Earle of Vaudemont, and other Noblemen of Lorraine, with three hundred Gentlemen well appointed, a little before January, this year 1599, arrived at Paris, in which month the King had appointed the day of the marriage. He entered by Saint Denis gate, the King doing him the honour to enter with him, having met him in the field as he came from hunting. The King led the said Duke his brother in law (calling him commonly brother) to the Louvre, where they supped together, and Madam his sister with them. The time was spent in dancing, and other exercises of recreation and pastime among the great Princes. The Kings sister for her part shewed all the contentment that might be, as she had good reason, having assumed to that which she was accustomed to say, *Grata superueniet que non sperabitur hora*: the said Lady being well instructed in the Latine tongue: and she did the more apprehend this Latin verse, for that some had given it forth: she would never be married.

According unto that which the said Lady had promised, to suffer her selfe to be instructed in the Catholike religion, it was resolved by his Majesty, that there should be a conference betwixt some Catholike Doctors, and some Ministers of the Reformed religion.

1599

The Kings sister  
married to the  
Duke of Barr  
the 31 of Janu-  
ary, the con-  
tract p<sup>st</sup> at  
Montceaux  
the 5 of Au-  
gust, 1598.

Why she would not change her Religion.  
*Lease of Albrecht*  
*Queene of Na-*  
*uarre* caused twelve medaillies to be made at Rochel with this inscription, *Paix assuree, victoire entiere, mort a homeie.*  
 The King desires his sister should be a Catholike.

**The Prince of  
Lorraine arrives  
at Paris.**

1599

in the presence of his sister: but they prevailed nothing for her conversion. The King foreseeing some inconveniences, resolved (as well to satisfy her conscience, as to avoid scandal) to have this instruction deferred until another time. And in the mean time they should proceed in the marriage. Hereupon there were some practices by the Ministers of the pretended reformed Religion, who would have the honour (said they) that the Kings only sister should be married by them: and that the Prince of Lorraine should seek his Spouse where she was, and that it was not convenient she should seek him in his Church. In truth this was plausible, and it seemed the Lady had a great interest in it. But the Prince on the other side, protested never to be married by a Minister: so as there was much arguing in what forme they should be married. But the King, by his accustomed wisdom, shewed the effects of his authority.

The thirtieth day of January being Sunday, in the morning, the King having advertised his sister over-night of his intention, and entreated the Prince of Lorraine to be ready, he goes and takes his sister at her rising, and conducts her by the hand into his cabinet, where her future Spouse was already. He commanded the worthy and reverend Archbishop of Roan his natural brother, to marry the said Marquis, Prince, and Duke, with the Princess and Duchesse his Sister, by words of the present. Whereunto the said Archbishop at the first made some refusal: saying, *That the accustomed solemnities must be therein observed.* Whereunto he replied most learnedly, *That his presence was more than all other solemnities, and that his Cabinet was a sacred place.* And therefore having commanded the said Archbishop to go on, notwithstanding all difficulties, he proceeded then to the nuptial blessing of the said parties present, that were there conjoyined in marriage, even as if they had bene in the greatest Church in Paris, which done, every one went to his devotion. Afterwards the King commanded his Sister to attire her selfe like a Bride: and so the feast was solemnly celebrated. All the great Officers did assist and serve there in their degrees, with all the grace and honour the King could devise to give unto the Prince of Lorraine his brother in law. This marriage was honoured with all kinds of sports and dancing.

About the end of February, the said Princess went with her husband into Lorraine, whereas the Duke gave her the greatest entertainment he could devise, embracing her as his own child. There had bene great heart-burning and discontentment, by reason of the diversity of Religion. The Kings intentions were, to drown the remembrance of the bitterness of fore-past reignes, in the mildness of his government, and that the common feeling of so many miseries which they had suffered, and which had continued, should persuade them to grow familiar and friendly together, and to have no more occasion to remember things past, then his Majesty had meaning to remember his owne wrongs. Warre is not dead in an Estate whereas consciences are divided: it doth but sleepe, a small matter awakens it: there is nothing more apprehensive, or that doth pierce more violently into the persuasion of men, to bandy them one against another, then religion. Every man thinks his owne the better, and so judgeth of it, more by his owne zeale and passion, then through knowledge and reason.

The King, during the warre, had runne to those things which did most presse him, and to the dangers that did most import: he had deferred to reconcile this division, being grieved in his soule that the impiety of the warre would not suffer him to make shew of the fruits of his piety.

They of the reformed Religion, made many and great complaints, that the Kings Edicts were not observed nor kept: that they were not provided of all things necessary for the exercise of their Religion, the liberty of their consciences, and the safety of their persons and fortunes. They said moreover, that they desired not that the order of government of State should be changed to their profit, or of any foraine Prince: nor to have the State torne in pieces, to please the ambition of some few men, but only to enjoy their consciences with peace, and their lives in safety. That so many iust requests granted unto them by the Edicts of Kings, predecessors to his Majesty, demanded and defended by himselfe, with so great zeale and vertue, had not bene hearkened unto vnder his reign, when and vnder whom they should best hope: and had it not been for the affection which they had unto his Gracemajesty, and the foundation which they layd on his good will towards them, they might lawfully and profitably have practised the wayes which they were forced to hold vnder Kings his predecessors. But they could not despair any thing of him, whom

Complaints of  
them of the Re-  
ligion.

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A whom God by the protection of his Church had brought unto the succession of the Crowne, nor obtaine lesse then liberty and life, having spent their bloods so freely for him. They complained, that Preaching was banished from his Majesties Court, to banish them consequently from his House, where they could not serve him without serving of God. No good man might remaine there, but he was daily in danger of murdering, or to be hurt, without hope of comfort, or assurance of grace. That they practise daily to exclude them of the Religion from all charges and offices in the State, Iustice, Treasure and Policy, which they did neuer greatly affect, as his Majesty can best witness. They beseech him to iudge, if it be reasonable they should doe wrong unto their children, to deprive them of their dunelstee, to be held in future ages for Lewes within the Realme, in stead of the honourable ranke which their progenitours had left them, and which their service done unto his Majesty should have purchased them. That it was more tolerable to live vnder the truce of the deceased King, who was an enemy to their profession, yet he did grant unto them the exercise of their Religion, both in his army and in his Court, allowed the Ministry at his owne charge, and gave them a towne of refuge in every Bayliwicke.

His Majesties good servants knew not what to answer to these generall complaints, knowing that it is more trouble some to be deprived of that which is promised and allowed, then of things but hoped for, which makes troubled minds go passe from the hope of good, to the expectation of ill; from long and fruitlesse patience, to seeke for remedy. They knew well his Majesty was not without alarme: that he would take no delight to see a Protector, and would be ieaalous they should address themselves to any other but himselfe. This Petition ended with bolder speeches then were fit for an obedient Estate, and for men that will seeme moderate and faine, who desire nothing but what shall please the Prince, and who should referre all their wills to his discretion. We cannot speake too humble, too reverently, to Kings. We must use words of like, as *Parifate* said: Sir, will you take from them all desire to have a Protector, free them of the necessity, to open one to them your selfe, continue over them this first care, this first affection, prevent their supplications by a full motion, their iust demands by a voluntary grant of necessary things. When they should see you have care over them, they will not have it of themselves. But pardon him that should tell you, that they all doubt whether you have enough of your selfe. You know what hurts them, and what helps them: the petitions you presented for them to Kings your predecessors, for their liberties and safeties, take them now to your selfe. Doubtless since that time they have left nothing of their doctrine, they have done you great services, and should have purchased an increase in your authority, who may both report and fully satisfy their iust demands, and without any Deputies, and with more thanks, if you please, be both Iudge and Advocate.

Such were the discourses where with the King was daily importuned. The disposition of men, be above all of men of that sort, of Franchment of that Religion, is to have againe spurne which are hardly stayed: to day a complaint, to morrow a petition, after that a word: This publicke agitation profits them: they assemble, and dissolve not their Assembly before they know where they shall assemble againe.

The end of all these assemblies, was to obtaine an Edict from the King, so cleere and plaine, concerning all their necessities, as they should not be constrained to see for any other: as they did not cease until the King had signed it, being at Nantes, where he had reduced that Province unto his obedience, containing a Declaration of the Edicts of Pacification; and of the troubles growne in France for matter of Religion: the which was not allowed in the Court of Parliament at Paris; until the 15 of February this year 1599, by reason of many oppositions and difficulties that were made. At Saint Germain in May, Berhier, one of the Agents for the Clergy, made many petitions unto his Majesty, and did greatly importune the Lords of the Councell to consider of them. In like sort, the Bishop of Mompas, who was then the Popes Nuncio in France, dealt in it, beseeching the King to take care for his subjects that were gone astray, as the honor of God might require, and the Church receive no prejudice: in so doing, his Holinesse would endure all things for the peace of France.

Berhier demanded, that his Majesty would not suffer the Ministers of the reformed Religion, to have any other liberty on this side the river of Loire, but to live quietly, and not

Exclusion from  
public charges  
is shameful.  
No man is held  
a Christian if he  
be not a member  
of the house  
of the City.

Honour of  
them of the  
Religion.

The last Edict  
for Religion  
at Nantes in  
April 1598.



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not to be sought after. That the Catholike Religion should be generally restored in all places, and Churchmen doe their offices without any danger. And thirdly, that the Clergy-men should be wholly freed from the vexations which they had suffered vntill that day, in townes and places held by them of the Religion, where they had taken away their pensions and reuenues, and in some prouinces had forced them. His Maiesty granted the second and third Article: and as for the first, the King not being able to make any such prohibition without some trouble, it was let alone.

Contention  
working their  
Synods with  
strangers.

There was also great contention in particular, betwixt the said *Berthier*, and some of the Reformed religion, touching the assembly of their Synods: the which they would haue free, without demanding leave from his Maiesty: maintaining that they might goe freely into foraine countries, and assit at their Synods and other Ads: and in like sort receiue strangers into theirs, the which the Marshall of Bouillon had managed with some, who perhaps had not foreseen the danger: but *Berthier* contended it so vehemently against the Marshall in the Kings presence, as his reasons being heard, and the importance of the thing considered, that it was a meane to continue their Leagues and Intelligences with strangers, to be ready to take armes at their pleasures, the which could not be but with the ruine of the State. The King hauing heard their contentions, and finding of what importance it was, he presently caused that article touching foraine Synods to be razed: forbidding them expressly to goe to any Assemblies without his permission, vpon paine to be declared traytors.

The Rector for the Vniuersity of Paris was also a sutor vnto his Maiesties Councell, that none of the Reformed religion, nor their Schoolemasters and Tutors, might be admitted into any Colleges of the Vniuersity: but to be excluded from all schollers. Whereupon there was great debate, especially for the faculty of Physicke. But it was answered, that they should not be admitted to teach: And as for the humane and profane faculties, they should be admitted as the rest. And although the difficulties were great, and the conditions in some cases more beneficiall then in the first, yet the common quiet of all France, shaken and almost ruined with the tragique violence of Schismes and Diuisions, hath made all to be held necessary that was for the quiet and continuance of the State. Although it were to be wished, that there were but one exercise of Religion, for that in this vniuersity all are of the same Religion, and the Church is the work of God, as well as the building of it, we must be content with that which may beget and leaue the triumph and conquest of soules, to his eternall victory. A wise man alone makes and frames the heart as he pleaseth, and giues the signe vnto many soules that are gone astray, to make them enter into salvation, being impossible for man to impose any necessity to things which God hath left in liberty as the conscience, the which should be as free in Estates as in our thoughts.

Our contentions  
should be free.

The Church hath alwayes detested Heresies, but they neuer employed the rigour of their iudgements, but against the Arch-Heresikes, and but when they had shewed themselves obstinate in their errors: their punishments were more shamefull then cruel, more medicinall then mortall, desiring rather to see their faces blush for shame, then sweat with blood. Neuer Prince well-advised, did put his subjects to death to force belief, destroy his Prouinces by Warre, to intrude their consciences by the sword: knowing well that Religion is an act of Vnion, of Concord, and of Instruction; and Warre is nothing but Sedition and Destruction. And those which in this world haue troubled both heauen and earth, to force their subjects consciences vnto one Religion, haue in the end been constrained and forced, to suffer them to liue free and in rest, receiuing and refusing the aduise of those bad Physicians, who applied nothing but Antimony and Phlebotomy to all diseases.

Our contentions  
should be free.

By these reasons,  
the Prince  
is forced.

By these reasons, the King (in whose person God hath done so many miracles, and poured forth a sea of blessings) seeing that the continuance of the warre had produced no other fruits but the ruine of Iustice and Pietie, which be the two vertues which doe canopie Princes, the two Pillars vpon whose firmnesse great *Clouis* was assured of the continuance of this Estate, he doth now confirme the Edict of Pacification of the troubles for matters of Religion, and wils that which he may, lest he should incur the note of such as seek to correct things that are incorrigible, and shew that the sore is greater then the remedy, that some things haue taken such deepe root, as they cannot be pulled vp. Time,

Truth

1599

The Court of  
Parliament  
against  
the Edict.

A Truth and Reason haue proued, that this Edict was most iust, most necessary, and most profitable. Yet the Court of Parliament could not allow of this fraternity and communication of Offices: saying, That they should not be transported with the ambition of honours, but content themselves with the tranquillity of conscience: that it is not convenient in one estate, to haue great offices executed by men of diuers Religions, being a thing vniust, to haue the new increased as well as the ancient. They found a great difference betwixt this Edict and the Precedent, and refused to allow it. The King sent for the chiefe of them, and spake vnto them in this manner.

The King  
speaks to  
the Court of  
Parliament.

B You see me in my Cabinet, where I come to speake vnto you, not attired in any Royall ornaments, nor with cloake or rapier, as my predecessors: nor as a Prince that comes from receiuing of Ambassadors: but apparelled like a Father of a Family in his doublet and hose, to speake familiarly to his children. That which I haue to say vnto you, is to desire you to confirme the Edict which I haue granted to them of the Religion. That which I haue done, is for the good of the peace. I haue made it without, I desire to settle it within my Realme. You ought to obey me, if there were no consideration but my quality, and the bond whereby all my subjects are tied vnto me, and you especially of my Court of Parliament. I haue restored some to their houses from whence they are expelled: and others to their credit, which was lost.

C If obedience was due to my Predecessors, there is as much or more deuotion due vnto me, who haue settled the State. God hath made choice of me to put me in possession of the Realme, which is mine owne, both by succession and acquisition. The Iudges of my Parliament should not sit in their seats but for me. I will not bragge, but I dare boldly say, that I haue no example to imitate, but my selfe. I know there haue beene factions in the Parliament: that they haue stirred vp seditious Preachers. But I will take good order for such people, and will not attend your pleasures. In former times they haue punished them with great severity, that haue preached lesse seditionously then they doe now. It is the course they tooke to make the barricadoes, and by degrees to murder the deceased King. I will cur vp all these factions by the roots: and will shorten all them that shall nourish them. I haue leaped ouer towne-walls, I will easily passe ouer barricadoes. They should not obiect vnto me the Catholike Religion, nor the respect of the holy See. I know the duty which I owe the one as the most Christian King, and the honour of the name which I carry, and the other as the first sonne of the Church. Those which thinke themselves to be in good termes with the Pope, are deceived. I am more then they. When I shall undertake it, I will make you all to be declared Heretikes for disobeying of me.

A Prince  
giues no  
reason of  
his Edict.

The Maiesty of Kings is alwayes wronged by the contempt of their decrees: but the offence is alwayes greater, when it comes from them that should see them to be obeyed. Those which deny the execution of my Edicts, desire warre. I will proclaim it to morrow against them of the Religion: but I will not make it my selfe. I will send them: I haue made the Edict, I will haue it obserued, my will should serue for reason, the which is neuer denied of the Prince in an obedient State. Their wils should be put in execution, and not interpreted: And yet I say vnto you, that necessity and profit hath drawne mee into it. I haue done it by the aduice of all my Councell, who haue found it good and necessary for the estate of my affaires, and the good of my seruice: to settle concord, and to disperse all the miseries which discord doth bring forth.

Necessity  
the first  
reason and  
essentiall  
cause of  
the Edict.

Some haue complained, that I would make leaues of Suiſſes, or of other troops. If I did, they must thinke it were to some good end, by reason of all my actions past. Witnesseth that which I haue done for the recovery of Amiens, where I haue employed the money of the Edicts which you would not haue passed, if I had not come my selfe vnto the Parliament. Necessity hath forced me to make this Edict: by the same necessity I haue here tofore played the souldier.

F They haue talked at their pleasures, and I haue not seemed to regard it. I am now a King, and speake as a King. I will be obeyed. There is not any one of you that finds me not good when I haue need of me. And there is not any one but hath need once in the year, and yet you are bad to me that am so good. If other Parliaments (for that they haue not met my will) haue beene the cause that they of the Religion haue demanded new taxes, I would not haue you the cause of other innovations, by your refusal. In the year 1598, and 99, when I sent vnto you a Declaration vpon the Edict, for the provision of Offices, I did

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"did then promise, that I would not advance any one of the Religion to offices in the Court of Parliament. Since time hath altered the affaires, we must accommodate our selves thereunto: and yet I will be well assured of such as I shall advance to those charges, that they shall governe themselves as they ought.

400 pound sterling.

"Take not so much of the Catholike religion. To all these great criers, Catholikes and Ecclesiastikes, let mee give to one a thousand crownes a yeare in Benefices, to another foure thousand Livres of rent, they will not speake a word more. I have the same opinion of all others that shall speake against the Edict. There are some which hate the sinne for feare of punishment, but the good hate it for the love of vertue. For Gods sake let me know that you hate sinne for the love of vertue, or else I will chastise them that hate it for feare of paine: and afterwards they will thanke me, as the son doth his father. The Preachers deliver words in their Sermons, more to nourish, then to destroy sedition, yet no one of you saith any thing: these faults which concerne me, are not regarded. But I will foresee that this thunder shall bring no storm, and that their predictions shall prove vaine. I will not vse their remedies, which being out of season, will but increase the euill. Consider that the Edict whereof I speake, is the deceased Kings Edict: it is also mine, for it was made with me, and I doe now confirme it. I will say no more, but aduise you to imitate the example of the obedience of the Duke of Mayenne. Being perswaded to enter in some factions against my will, he answered, that he was too much bound vnto mee, and so were all my subiects, amongst the which he would be alwayes one that should expose his life to please me, for that I had restored France in despite of them that sought to ruine it. And if he that was the head of the League, hath spoken in this manner, how much more ought you, whom I have restored to the place from whence the League had expelled you, yeeld vnto my request, that which you would not doe for threats: you shall have none of mee: doe that which I command you, or rather what I intreat you, you shall not doe it only for me, but for your selves, and for the good of the peace.

The Kings sister pursues the establishment of the Edict.

This speech was well understood by the Parliament, and the difficulties which were found in the allowance of the Edict, were held tolerable, by reason of the Kings will, and the necessity of his affaires. Yet they continued forty dayes after, before they would resolve. The Duchesse of Barr, the Kings sister, would not depart out of Paris, before it was confirmed. She had shewed her selfe burning in zeale and affection in that matter, as in all other affaires in that nature: and it was not without reason, that after the Kings entry into Paris, when as the Deputies of the Churches of Poitou beseeched his Majesty for something depending vpon the execution of his Edicts: hee said vnto them, *Address your selves vnto my Sister, your Estate is now fallen vnto the Disaffaite.* The Articles and Edict are as followeth.

#### Edict of Pacification.

**H**ENRY by the grace of God, &c. Amongst the infinite blessings which it hath pleased God to bestow vpon vs, is that the most remarkable, to haue giuen vs vertue and courage not to yeeld to the fearfull troubles, confusions, and disorders, which wee found at our coming to this Realme, the which was diuided into so many parts and factions, as the most lawfull seemed to be the least; and to haue so fortified vs against this storme, as in the end we haue surmounted it, and doe now touch the gate of this Estates rest: whereof the glory belongs to him, and to vs the bond and thanks, that hee would vse our labour to finish this good worke: wherein it hath bene visible to all men, whether we haue done that which was our duty, and in our power, yea somewhat more, the which it may be in another season had not bene so fit for the dignitie which wee hold, hauing not feared to expose our life often and freely therein. And in this great concurrence of so great and dangerous affaires, not being able to pacifie all at one instant, wee haue bene forced to hold this course, to attempt those first which could not be ended but by force, and suspend the rest for a time, which ought and might be treated by reason and iustice: as the generall differences betwixt our good subiects, and priuate grievances of the founteyne part of the State, which we held, might more easily be cured, the principall cause being taken away, the which was in the continuance of the ciuill warres.

This hauing by the grace of God well and happily succeeded, and all armes and hostilitie

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A *hostility ceasing throughout the Realme, we hope our successe will be no lesse in other affaires, which remaine yet to compound: And that by this meanes we shall attaine vnto the establishment of a good peace and tranquility, the which hath alwaies bene the end of our vowes and intentions, and the prize which we desire of so much paine and toyle; wherein we haue past the course of our age. Amongst the said affaires, to the which we haue bene forced to give patience, and one of the chiefe, haue bene the complaints which wee haue receiued from many of our Prouinces and Catholike towne, that the exercise of the Catholike Religion was not vniuersally restored, as it ought by the Edicts heretofore made for the pacification of the troubles by reason of religion; as also the supplications and remonstrances, which haue bene made vnto vs, by our subiects of the pretended reformed religion, as well vpon the not executing of that which hath bene granted by the said Edicts, as vpon that which they desire should bee added for the exercise of their said Religion, the liberty of their Consciences, and the surety of their owne persons and fortunes: pretending to haue iust cause, to haue new and greater apprehensions, by reason of these last troubles, whereof the principall pretext and ground was made vpon the ruine. Wherefore not to ouer charge our selves with too much businesse at once, seeing that the fury of Armes cannot agree with establishment of Lawes, how good soeuer, wee haue from time to time deferred it.*

C *But now seeing it hath pleased Almighty God to give vs some rest, we haue thought we could not better employ our time, then in that which might concerne the glory of his Holy name and seruice, and to provide that he may be worshipped by all our subiects: And if it hath not pleased him that they should bee all of one forme and religion, yet at the least of one intention, and with that order, as it might breed no trouble nor tumult amongst them: and that both wee and this Realme may enjoy the glorious title of The most Christian King, which hath bene by so many merits long since purchased. And by the same meanes to take away the cause of trouble, which may happen for matters of Religion, which is the most sensible of all others. For this occasion knowing this businesse to be of great importance, and worthy of good consideration, hauing receiued the complaints of our Catholike subiects, giuing also leaue to them of the pretended reformed Religion, to assemble by their Deputies, and to make their remonstrance, and hauing thereupon often conferred with them, and viewed the precedent Edicts; we haue now thought it necessary, to give vnto all our said subiects, a generall, plaine, and absolute law, by the which they may bee ruled in all differences which haue heretofore happened amongst them, and which may happen; wherewith all our subiects may haue cause to rest contented, according to the quality of the time.*

The cause which makes vs to enter into this deliberation, is the onely zeale wee haue vnto the seruice of God, and that it may be hereafter duely performed by our subiects, and to settle a good and durable peace amongst them. Wherein we implore and attend E the same protection and fauour of his diuine bountie, which he hath alwaies imparted to this Realme since the first beginning: And that of his grace he will make our subiects conceiue, that in the obseruation of this our Edict, consiste (after their duty vnto vs) the chiefe ground of their vnion, concord, tranquility, and peace, and the restoring of this Estate to her first beauty, wealth, and force. And wee for our part, promise to cause it to bee exactly obserued, without suffering anything to be done to the contrary.

For these causes, hauing with the aduice of the Princes of our blood; other Princes and Officers of the Crowne, with great and notable personages of our Council of State, being neare vs, well and diligently weighed and considered all these businesse, we R haue by this perpetual and irrevokable Edict, said, declared and ordained; and say declare and ordaine:

That there shall bee an abolition and forgetting of all things past on either side. That the remembrance of all injuries shall be suppressed, and that they shall lye lowly together like brethren and fellow Citizens. That the Romish Religion shall be restored in all places of the Realme where it hath bene intermitted, and that no Clergie-man shall be molested in the celebration of Diuine Service, but shall enjoy the fruites and reuenues of their benefices, and haue full possession of whatsoever hath bene detain-

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ned from them. That all houses built vpon land belonging to the Clergie shall be purchased of them. That no Clergie-man, or any other, shall demand any ground which is employed for the fortification and reparation of Townes and places, but when they shall be ruined by the Kings Decree. That they of the Religion may liue in all the townes and places of the Realme without feare, vexation or molestation, nor be forced to do any thing in matter of Religion contrary to their consciences. That Noblemen and Gentlemen hauing high iustice, may haue the exercise of the reformed religion in their houses. That they may continue the exercise of the religion in all townes & places where it had been publickly vsed in the years 1596 and 97. That they might not vse the exercise of the reformed Religion, but in such places as were allowed by this present Edict. It was also forbidden in Court, or beyond the mountains, within the Citie of Paris, or within five leagues thereof: notwithstanding they which dwelt there, should not be molested in their houses, nor forced to do any thing contrary to their consciences, carrying themselves modestly according to this Edict. That they should not haue any publicke exercise of the Religion in any army, but in those quarters where the chiefe Commanders were of that profession; except that where the King should be lodged. That they might build houses for the exercise of the religion, in all Townes and places which were granted them. That all Preachers and Readers should carry themselves modestly, and not speake any thing which might tend to sedition. All men of what quality soeuer were forbidden to take any children by force, and against the will of their parents, to haue them baptised or confirmed in the contrary religion. That they of the reformed Religion should not be molested for any aburition, promises or oaths which they had formerly made. That they should be bound to obserue the Feasts appointed by the Romish Church, and not worke vpon those daies, nor sell or detaile any thing in open shops. That no bookes concerning the reformed religion should be printed or sold, but in those townes where the exercise thereof was allowed. That there should be no distinction in regard of religion to receiue Schollers into Vniuersities, Colledges, and Schooles, and the poore into Hospitalls. That they should be bound to obserue the lawes of the Romish Church, touching marriages in degrees of consanguinity and affinity. That they of the reformed religion shall be forced by all due means, to pay their Tythes to Clergie-men, or any other to whom they shall belong, according to the custome of the place. That excommunications or deprivationes made in hatred of religion should be void. That all they which made profession of the reformed Religion, should be capable to exercise all estates, dignities, offices, and publicke charges, and be indifferently admitted vnto them. That they should haue prouision made in all townes and places of the Realme for the interring of their dead. That the Kings officers should foresee there should be no scandall committed at the same, and should bee bound within fifteene daies (vpon request) to provide them sufficient place for their burials, and not to exact any thing for the conduct of their dead, vpon paine of concussion. That there should be a Chamber erected in the Cour of Parliament at Paris, consisting of one President, and sixteene Councillors, and called the Chamber of the Edict, which should not onely take knowledge of the causes and suits of them of the reformed religion, which shall bee within the iurisdiction of the said Court, but also in the limits of the Parliaments of Normandie, and Britany, vntill there should be a Chamber erected in either of them. That there should be two Chambers erected for the Parliaments of Grenoble and Bourdeaux, as there was at Castres for that of Thoulouze: and for the reception and entertainment of all the Presidents and Councillors of the Religion, which were to be admitted vpon these new erections, there was prouisions made at large by the Edict.

All Sentences, Iudgments, Seizures, Sales and Decrees made against them of the reformed religion, aliu or dead, since the death of King Henry the second, by reason of the said Religion, were reuoked and disannulled, and to be taken out of the Registers of all Courts, and the marks and monuments of the said executions against their persons, memory and posterity to be defaced and taken away: And generally he reuoked all proceedings and informations made for enterprises pretended to bee treason, ordaining that they of the same Religion, and others which had followed their party, and their heires, should returne into the actual and reall possession of all their goods. That all proceedings, Iudgments and Decrees giuen during the troubles, against them of the Religion

- A Religion which had borne armes, or gone out of the realme, or into other townes and countries held by them, should be void, and they restored to the same estate they were in before, and be put into their possessions, notwithstanding any decree. That all sentenced giuen in Courts of Parliaments in matters whereof the knowledge did belong to the Chambers, appointed by the Edict, since the year one thousand five hundred seuen tyen, in the which the parties haue not proceeded willingly, shall bee void and of no force. In all enquiries for any ciuill cause, if the Inquisitor were a Catholike, the party should be bound to chuse an assistant of the reformed religion, and the like should be practised if the Inquisitor were of the reformed Religion. All soueraigne Courts, and others within the realme, were forbidden to take knowledge of any causes belonging to them of the religion, the which by the Edict, are referred to the said Chambers, if the reuoy be demanded. That all tides, papers, instructions and documents should be restored on either side to them to whom they should belong. That the children of such as had retired themselves out of the realme since the death of King Henry the second, by reason of the religion and troubles, although they were borne out of the realme, should be held for naturall Frenchmen and Denizens, and not be bound to sue for any letters of naturality, vpon condition that they should returne within ten years after this Edict, and liue within the realme. That all townes and places within the Realme should enioy the same liberties, priuiledges, freedom, faires, markets, iurisdiccions, and sears of Iustice, which they did before the troubles begun in March one thousand five hundred eighty five, notwithstanding all letters to the contrary. That all prisoners detained by the authority of Iustice or otherwise, yea, in the Gallies by reason of the troubles, or of the said religion, shall be set at liberty. That they of the reformed religion, should not be overburthened with any charges, but according to the proportion of their goods and faculties. That they of the said religion, or any other which had followed their party, and which had remained in any townes or places held by them, and had contributed vnto them, should not be pursued for the payment of any taxes, subsidies, or other charges imposed during the troubles, and before the Kings coming to the Crowne.
- D. That all Commanders, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations and Commonalties, and all others which had assisted them, should bee discharged of all such sums of money as had bene taken and leauied by them and their appointment, as well of the King, as of Townes, Commonalties, and priuate persons, and of all other things, tending to benefite of any other nature, taken by them by reason of the troubles, begun one thousand five hundred eighty five, vntill the Kings coming to the Crowne: And they were also discharged of all acts of hostility, leauies of men, coyning of money, casting of Ordnance, making of Gunpowder, building and dismantling of Townes and Castles, enterprised vpon them, burning and ruining of Churches and houses, and generally of all which had bene done and negotiated during the said troubles, since the death of King Henry the second.

That they of the Religion should also be discharged from all general and provincial assemblies held vntill that day, and also of the Councils erected by them throughout the Prouinces, with the orders made in the said assemblies and Councils, touching the maintenance of the war, and generally for allich which had bene done, resolved and ordained by the said assemblies and Councils. That they of the reformed Religion should praiuely desist from all practices, negotiations and intelligences, either within or without the realme: and the said assemblies and Councils made within the Prouinces to be presently dissolved.

That all prizes at Sea during the troubles, and those which had bene made or lost vpon the contrary party, should remaine suppressed vnder the benefite of the Edict, and for the which there should be no pursuit made. That they of the reformed Religion should not be called in question for any opposition they had made since the troubles, so the execution of any decrees, made for the reestablishment of the Romish religion, in diuers parts of the Realme. That all execrable facts should bee exempted out of the general pardon, as the forcing of Widues and Virgins, burnings, murders, and rebellions; done by treachery, and not in the face of warre, and such like. That crimes committed betwene persons of the same partie, should be punished, if they were not in the

ned from them. That all houses built vpon land belonging to the Clergie shall be purchased of them. That no Clergie-man, or any other, shall demand any ground which is employed for the fortification and reparation of Townes and places, but when they shall be ruined by the Kings Decree. That they of the Religion may liue in all the townes and places of the Realme without feare, vexation or molestation, nor be forced to doe any thing in matter of Religion contrary to their consciences. That Noblemen and Gentlemen hauing high iustice, may haue the exercise of the reformed religion in their houses. That they may continue the exercise of the religion in all townes & places where it had been publicly vsed in the years 1596 and 97. That they might not vse the exercise of the reformed Religion, but in such places as were allowed by this present Edi& It was also forbidden in Court, or beyond the mountains, within the Citie of Paris, or within such leagués thereof: notwithstanding they which dwell there, should not be molested in their houses, nor forced to do any thing contrary to their consciences, carrying themselves modestly according to this Edi& That they should not haue any publike exercise of the Religion in any army, but in those quarters where the chiefe Commanders were of that profession; except that where the King should be lodged. That they might build houses for the exercise of the religion, in all Townes and places which were granted them. That all Preachers and Readers should cary themselves modestly, and not speake any thing which might tend to sedition. All men of what quality soeuer were forbidden to take any children by force, and against the will of their parents, to haue them baptised or confirmed in the contrary religion. That they of the reformed Religion should not be molested for any aburition, promises or oaths which they had formerly made. That they should be bound to obserue the Feasts appointed by the Romish Church, and not worke vpon those daies, nor sell or detaile any thing in open shops. That no bookes concerning the reformed religion should be printed or sold, but in those townes where the exercise thereof was allowed. That there should be no distinction in regard of religion to receiue Schollers into Vniuersities, Colledges, and Schooles, and the poore into Hospitalls. That they should be bound to obserue the lawes of the Romish Church, touching marriages in degrees of consanguinity and affinity. That they of the reformed religion shall be forced by all due means, to pay their Tythes to Clergie-men, or any other to whom they shall belong, according to the custome of the place. That exheredations or deprivations made in hatred of religion should be void. That all they which made profession of the reformed Religion, should be capable to exercise all estates, dignities, offices, and publike charges, and be indifferently admitted vnto them. That they should haue prouision made in all townes and places of the Realme for the interring of their dead. That the Kings officers should foresee there should be no scandall committed at the same, and should bee bound within fiftene daies (vpon request) to provide them sufficient place for their burials, and not to exact any thing for the conduct of their dead, vpon paine of censure. That there should be a Chamber erected in the Court of Parliament at Paris, consisting of one President, and sixtene Councillors, and called the Chamber of the Edi& which should not onely take knowledge of the causes and suits of them of the reformed religion, which shall bee within the iurisdiction of the said Court, but also in the limits of the Parliaments of Normandie, and Britany, vntill there should be a Chamber erected in either of them. That there should be two Chambers erected for the Parliaments of Grenoble and Bourdeaux, as there was at Castrés for that of Thoulouse: and for the reception and entertainment of all the Presidents and Councillors of the Religion, which were to be admitted vpon these new erections, there was prouision made at large by the Edi&

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- D. That all Commanders, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations and Commonalties, and all others which had assisted them, should bee discharged of all such sums of money as had beene taken and leauied by them and their appointment, as well of the King, as of Townes, Commonalties, and priuate persons, and of all other things, tending to benefit of any other nature, taken by them by reason of the troubles, begun one thousand five hundred eighty five, vntill the Kings coming to the Crowne: And they were also discharged of all acts of hostility, leuies of men, coyning of money, casting of Ordnance, making of Gunpowder, building and dismantling of Townes and Castles, enterprised vpon them, burning and ruining of Churches and houses; and generally of all which had beene done and negotiated during the said troubles, since the
- E death of King Henry the second.

That they of the Religion should also be discharged from all general and prouinciall assemblies held vntill that day, and also of the Councils erected by them throughout the Prouinces, with the orders made in the said assemblies and Councils, touching the maintenance of the war, and generally for al which had beene done, established and ordained by the said assemblies and Councils. That they of the reformed Religion should praisely desist from all practices, negotiations and intelligences, as well within as without the realme; and the said assemblies and Councils made within the Prouinces to be presently dissolved.

That all prizes at Sea during the troubles, and those which had beene made at land vpon the contrary party, should remaine suppressed vnder the benefit of the Edi& and for the which there should be no publike made. That they of the reformed Religion should not be called in question for any opposition they had made since the troubles, so the execution of any decrees, made for the reestablishment of the Romish religion in diuers parts of the Realme. That all execrable acts should bee exempted out of the general pardon, as the forcing of Virgins and Virgins, burnings, murders, and rebellions; done by attachment, and not in the public manner, and such like. That crimes committed betwene persons of the same partie, should be punished, if they were not in the

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commanded by the heads of either party, according to necessity, and the order of the war: And that all exactions of money, carrying of armes, and other exploits of warre done by private authority, should bee prosecuted by course of law. That Townes demanded during the troubles, might be repaired at the Inhabitants charges. That all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others of what quality soever, of the reformed religion, and others which had followed that partie, should effectually enjoy all their goods, rights, honours, and actions, declaring all judgments made to the contrary to be void and of no force.

That all purchases made by them of the reformed religion, by any other authority then from the deceased Kings, his predeceffors, of land belonging to the Church should be of no force: and that the said Clergie-men should presently enjoy the actual possession of the said lands so alienated, and not be bound to yeeld any value for the same.

That all former Edicts, secret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Decrees, and Records made heretofore by himselfe, and the Kings his predeceffors, concerning matters of religion, and the troubles past, should be void and of no force, expressly declaring, That this Edict should be inuiolably kept and observed by all his Officers and Subjects, notwithstanding any thing which might seeme contrary.

And for the better assurance of the obseruation thereof, his pleasure was, That all Gouernours and Lieutenants of Provinces, with other inferior Magistrates and Iudges, should sweare to cause it to be kept and observed, every one in his iurisdiction: and that they should cause the chiefe Inhabitants of their Townes, to sweare the obseruation thereof, presently after the publication.

This was the substance of the Edict of Nantes, containing ninety two Articles, besides some other which were secret.

And for the resolution of many other difficulties, for the chiefe government of them of this Religion, by the which many things were granted, whereof it is not lawfull for subjects to demand the reason, being most certaine that the Prince doth not any thing but for the good of his people. It sufficeth that they know it which deserve to know it. But the more the secrets of an Estat: are lookt into, the more carefully they are to be concealed. This Edict which heretofore hath bene the cause of ciuill dissensions, is now the true ciment of peace, the which shall poure forth from all parts streams of heavenly blessings. But as it is made for publike and generall respects, so must it haue priuate effects, in smothering all seeds of partialities and factions: and that we may finde among the French, that which the Emperour Maximine desired vnto the Romans, a forgetfulness of things past, and assurance of loue to come.

The Edict was made at Nants in April 1598, but it was not verified by the Court of Parliament at Paris, vntill February the yeare following.

The Edict was sent, by the care and diligence of the Kings Attorney General, vnto all the Bayliuicks depending vpon Paris: and yet his Maiesty had deputed in euery Province, certaine Commissioners for the execution thereof. The exercise of the Catholike Religion was restored in Rochell, and in aboue a hundred walled Towns, and a thousand Parishes and Monasteries, where the said exercise had bene interdicted aboue fiftene yeares: and in Beame for the space of one and thirty yeares.

This yeare death stricke a great stroke among men and women, who shewed their generous resolutions against the feare and terrors thereof. Peter de Pinac the last of that name, Primate of France, Archbishop and Earle of Lions, died in the beginning of January: whose life was so famous, as it deserves to bee briefly set downe in this History. The reputation which he had gotten at the Estates at Blois, made King Henry the third his great Prince, as well in ludging as in recompensing of good wits: to call him to his Council, after the death of Morlus Bishop of Valentia: whereas he shewed himselfe to be of that judgment, as he was in short time employed in the greatest affaires in Council. At that time the Court was in a manner all Gascon, there was no entry into the Kings iadours, nor bounty, but at the Duke of Elpermons pleasure, who was the Hephestion of that Alexander. Peter de Pinac heart could not submitt it selfe to that of John Bala of Nogaret, he was too much his owne to be any others mans: and the thought, that if he must needs serue, it was enough to be the Masters, and not to submitt himselfe to the will of the seruant.

The Death of  
M. de Pinac  
Archbishop of  
Lions.

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A He did not affect the tedious serpnide of the Court, nor did much care for that forced kinde of life. Writing vnto his friends, long before the trouble of the League, he said: That amidst the greatnesse and honour of charges, wherein the King did employ him, he did not leaue to desire the content of a happy retire. But things fall out contrary to what he expected. The League burst forth in Champagne. The King sent him to pacifie the Duke of Guise. In this negotiation he had a quartell with *Espermon* vpon certaine words which blemished both their honours. He had written a Poeme against the Mignons, wherewith the King was offended, commanding him to leaue the Court: so as he retired himselfe to his owne house, after the treaty of peace made at Nemours. But as the Kings blowes were but threats, so knowing well that this Prelate was not so stolidely in a corner of the Realme, and that this great deligne of the League (like vnto a deluge of snow) did encrease in many rownes, whereas the Kings obedience was grown cold, and that the Princes enemies to this Crowne, prepared to gather the Flower-de-Luce, he neuer ceased vntill he had called him againe to Court.

This returne was the beginning of his miserie. Many others before him hauing fallen into disgrace with the Prince, haue not bene raised againe but for a greater fall. It is scene in the Courts of all Princes, such Tragedies are viall. Hee was presently called to the helme of affaires, and was followed and respected more then any other Noble man in Court. But as we may not iudge of the day by the morning, nor of the felicity of man by the good daies of his life, this happinesse was but the entry to misfortune, which did attend him. He embarked himselfe in the same Ship with the Duke of Guise, the which being broken at the Estates of Blois, he had no other meanes to saue himselfe but through the fauour of the Baron of Lux his Nephew. He was giuen in ransom to *Gast*, who kept him seuen or eight moneths in the Castle of Amboise, and then set him at liberty for thirty thousand Crownes. He went to the Duke of Maine, and seeing that the affaires of his party tended too much to confusion, and to a popular government, he perswaded him alwaies to retaine the forme of a Monarchy, to the end he might oppose a kinde of Royalty against the King, and not be blamed to haue broken the bonds of the Estate. So through this aduice, they made Officers of the Crowne, and gaue him the D Seales. He neuer engaged himselfe vpon the promises of Spaine, but said alwaies, that he was a true hearted Frenchman.

The faction of Spaine knowing him to be such, hindred Pope Sixtus the fifth from giuing him a Cardinalls-hat: and they disuaded Clement the eight, who had said, That at the first promotion he would remember his merits. He requited them well: when as the Spaniards came to Paris to propound the Coronation and mariage of the Infanta Isabella of Spaine, letting them know that the Flower-de-Luce could not split. He returned to Lions, leauing the Duke of Mayenne, intending to settle his affaires, and to accommodate himselfe with the peace and generall good of the Realme. At his returne grew that tumult against the D. of Nemours, the which he fled ill, for his wildestone did not second the occasion. Great vnderstanding failes sometimes in the perfection of judgment and discourse. He saw himselfe forced to depart the City, and neuer to returne againe, vntill the King made his first entry. The King (who had shewed effects of his bounty and clemency to his greatest enemies) could not loue him, hauing this impression in his soule, that he was the onely instrument to crosse his fortunes. Speaking one day of the peace of Nemours, in the yeare 1586, he said vnto him, That in that negotiation he had giuen good testimony that he loued him not, and that he had done him bad service. "My Liege (answered he) I could not doe better for the seruice of the King my Master: I had done otherwise if I had bene your seruant, as I am now. When as the Duke of Elpermon returning out of Prouence, went to visit him at his Palace, amongst other speeches of the remembrance of things past, he said vnto him, That he did not thinke there was any one in France whose Fortunes had bene so crosse as theirs: the Archbishop answered him, As for mine, it was neuer crosse but by you. After the reduction of the City of Lions to the Kings obedience, this great spirit borne to adon, grew discontented to see himselfe no more in the honour and reputation that he had bene. Hee then resolved to apply his minde onely to the affaires of his charge, to chooseth the time most convenient for the tranquillity of the house vnto hee approached. When as the Duke of Nemours had said his escape vnto

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Pierre.



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Pierre-anize, he said, that he would not vse his liberty well: he writes vnto his friend A in this manner.

Remember that I haue alwaies said vnto you, that *Monsieur de Nemours* will find himselfe much entangled with the Spaniards, who haue led *Monsieur de Maine* into an inextricable Labyrinth, and will bring *Monsieur de Nemours* vnto a miserable Estate: and I dare in a manner prophesie, That in the end the Duke of Sauoy will finde himselfe deceived as well as the rest. The Spaniards shirte is nearer vnto him then his doublet, and hee will rather seeke to preserve his owne, then to vsurpe an other mans estate for an other.

The King sent for him to the Estates of Roan: but the necessity of his affaires would not suffer him to goe. He said, That he was not fit for this age, and that he was like vnto the Adamant, which serueth not for all seas. In the end of his last yeare, he complained vnto his friends of the shortnesse of his life, saying, That he was not to liue about ten or twelue yeares, when he liued not twelue daies. His Physitians disagreed vpon the cause of his griefe: he had bene long troubled with the Emoroyds, the which had so emptied his body, as there was no blood found in him when he was opened. His lights were much altered. And for that his Physitian said vnto him, that his griefe was the gout, hee replied, Is it possible that any one should die of the gout without a fever? I see well what it is: seeing men vnderstand nothing, wee must haue recourse vnto God. The third day of his sicknesse his body was called to the earth, and his soule to heauen. He withstood C the terrors of death with as great a courage as when it was presented vnto him at the Estates of Blois. Foure or five houres before his decease, a Capuchin came to visit him and to comfort him, exhorting him to free this last passage courageously, and to let him know that the issue of this life is equall. Death disrobing man of his titles and dignities, as Stage-players doe their attire: he called him simply by his name: when as hee vnderstood this new manner of complement, and that they called him *Peter de Pinac* without any other ceremony, he lifted vp his head and eyes, to say vnto him that spake, What art thou? They found that this speech did somewhat amaze him, and that he did take it as a watch-word of his departure, which was about midnight.

The D. of Biron did see him in his sicknesse, and assisted at his Funerall. No man liuing did better iudge of the nature of men by the consideration of their vilages: he did diuine of the Marshall *Birons* fortune by his countenance, and the proportion of his visage, for hauing considered it somewhat curiously, he said vnto his sister after his departure: He hath the worst Physiognomy that euer I obserued in my life, as of a man that would perish miserably.

The Archbishop of Lions had profited so little by the troubles, as had he liued longer, necessity had forced him to feele great discommodities: his Sisters estate was engaged, the fruits of his benefices were seized on, and yet his table was as sumptuous as in the best daies of his prosperity. The Leagues had cost him fifty thousand crowens, the Doubtles of Spaine had left him nothing but Doubles.

Those which haue read the publike actions of this Prelate, may iudge of this doctrine, but no man can represent the grace and force of his action but those which haue seene them. He had in him a concurrence of all things necessary for an eloquent discourse. A grave pleasing countenance, a goodly personage, a facility of words, and an action that did charme his Auditors. The Duke *Ioyeuse* Marshall of France, being at Paris in March, hauing heard father *Laurence* Sermons in Saint *Germain L'Auxeroise*, being moued in confidence, after that he had taken his leaue of the Ladies and some other friends, he returned againe to the Capuchins: where being receiued by the fathers he did a hard penance, and submitted himselfe to all the duties of a religious man. All men were amazed to see him returne the second time to his couent, being plunged (in shew) vp to the eares F in the delights of the world: but his confidence tied him to returne by the bond of his vow, perswading him, that it were better not to vow, then not to keepe a vow made freely, without constraint or compulsion in his maiorty. The first motiue of being a Capuchin came into his heart by inspiration, when as the deceased King *Henry the 3* went on foot in procession to Chartres to haue issue, if it pleased God. He was then called Earl of Bouchages, he made choise of this order among all others, the better to doe his penance. And the rather, for that hee vnderstood that he was dedicated by his deceased father,

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A to be of the Church. When he was first a Nouice, hee applied his study with so great a courage, as he was blamed for his great diligence, wearing the haire continually. Hee had his shoulders all torne with wounds.

In this Estate he continued vntill the hottest of the late miserable warre: when as after the death of his father, his younger brother, who was a Knight of Malta, and Grand-Prior of Languedoc was called Duke of Ioyeuse, for the Duke of Ioyeuse, brother-in-law to King *Henry the 3* deceased, his eldest brother, who was slaine at the battell of Coutras with Saint *Sauueur* his youngest brother, died without children, the said Duke of Ioyeuse being acknowledged by them of Tholouse, Narbone & others of the league, B for their head, he made an enterprize vpon the towne of Villemur in Lauragais, where hauing planted the siege, for that it was held by the Royalists, euen as he thought to haue forced the towne, the Lords of Themines, *Chambaut* and *Missillac* came to relieue it, who charged him with such aduantage, as they put all this army to rout, so as the said Duke retyring to the passage of a riuer, he was drowned with many others. By this meanes the house of Ioyeuse was reduced to the Cardinall of Ioyeuse his brother and to the Earle of Bouchage a Capuchin (whom then they called father *Angelo*) the Tholousains and Nobility of their party being much amazed, had recourse vnto the Cardinall, whom they intreated often to take the charge of leading them: the which hee would neuer accept. And in the end, at their instant sute, that in raising his house, hee would succour them by C the meanes of the Earle of Bouchages his brother, who was then more then capable of such a charge: but he was a Capuchin. This difficulty was propounded to the countell of the Diuines, who concluded that by reason of the vrgent necessity they should withdraw him from thence: the which was propounded vnto himselfe, and he refused it. But after that hee layd before him the example of his owne father, who being Grand Prior of Languedoc was yet dispenced withall to marry and to raise his house, the which remained onely in him, and whereof God had approved his blessing by the effect, so many braue Noblemen being borne of that marriage, hee consented to returne vnto the world, vpon two conditions. The one was, that it should be with the consent and leaue of the Generall of the Order. The other by the dispensation of the Holy Sea, and that he might D returne againe when God should send rest to the Church and State. This obtained from the Pope and his Generall father *Angelo* is againe of the world, and doth all acts of a worldling, of a Captaine and of a souldier, applying himselfe to the humours of the time.

After that hee had pacified many popular seditions in Tholouse, and bene a meanes to reduce it to the Kings obedience, being at Paris, hauing with the Kings good liking and pleasure married his only Daughter to the Duke of Montpensier a Prince of the blood, hee be thought himselfe of his bond contained in his dispence, and went and yielded his obedience vnto the Holy Sea and Order, whereas hee is now one of the chiefe conductors, hauing referred all his domestically affaires to the Cardinall his brother, and to the Duke his sonne-in-law.

E His mothers teares preuailed much for his returne. Shee was more afflicted for this change, then for the death of all her other children, and neuer ceased vntill she had drawn Friar *Angelo* (for so the still called him) out of the delerets of Egypt, to Mount Caluarie, and that hee had seene him in the habit which hee had left. These bee mighty effects of grace, which reformes that which is deformed, and conformes that which is reformed, confirms that which is conformed, transformes that which is confirmed, and makes the soule to liue more in Heauen, whither it aspires, then in the body, where it breathes. The King went to visit him, and commended his resolution, saying that hee did sometimes thinke to speake vnto him of it: and had done it, but he doubted that hee would mistake his meaning and think hee did to berid of him. Dying one day in a place whereas there F was only his Maiesty & three other Noblemen, hee said vnto them, that in the world there were men of all conditions & qualities to be found, but they should hardly assemble foure so different, and that in these foure whereof he was one, there was a finner conuerted, a Leaguer repented, a Capuchin diuerted, and a Huguenot peruered.

This amazement in Court for the Duke of Ioyeuse, was increased by the sudden death of *Schemberg*, who was taken with an Apoplexie returning from Conflans, whereas *Villeroy* had seafed the King and all his Councell. It gaue him no respite to speake French nor Dutch. Warre dying, had left no quarrell in France, but for the Marquise of Salices, which

The second of Ioyeuse drowned at Villemur.

He leaues the Capuchins habited by the Pope dispensation on the leaue of his Generall. He mediates the reduction of Tholouse to the Kings obedience.

His Mother desires his returne to the Capuchins.

The King commends his resolution.

That is to say, the King, the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Ioyeuse, and L'Espligueres.

*Schemberg* died the 17 of March, 1599.

Angelo omnes eius impioris magnam partem mortuam. See. Epist. 39.

A Doublet is the first pair of a peny.

The D. Ioyeuse returns to the Capuchin.

Modie why he became a Capuchin.

1599

which the King demanded as depending vpon Dauphine, and the Duke of Sauoy fought to vaite it vnto his house, from the which he pretends the Dauphines had wrested it. The difference of this restitution must be determined by the Pope, who was named Arbitrator, by the treaty of Veruins. It is the most important sute that hath bene long time in Rome. The parties send their Ambassadors to Rome, to sue vnto the Arbitrator for Iudgement. President Brulart goes for the King, and the Count d'Arconas for the Duke of Sauoy, and they come to Rome in the beginning of the yeare. In the meane time the Duke beseecheth his Maiesty, that he will giue him leaue to visit him. The King answered, that he would gladly see him: but refusing to accompany his sister when she should goe into Lorraine he should not make any long aboad in any one place during the rest of the winter, and therefore hee desired him that hee would deferre his voyage vnto the spring, thinking that hee should not bee troubled to seeke him any farther, then in the City of Lions, where he meant to be about the same time. They pursue the Arbitrement at Rome: the Arbitrator (the best of good Popes) shewes as great integrity, as the parties did passion.

He was free from all affection that was contrary to Iustice, and would do nothing contrary to his conscience. He was carefully instructed by either party, concerning this controuersie. You may read the whole processe at large in the Originall. The Duke of Sauoy (hauing kept the Marquise of Salusses some yeeres, whilst that France had turned her own armes against her selfe) considered, that so soon as the King should overcome his other affaires, the recovery thereof would not be the last of his enterprises, for the restoration of that to his Crowne. He was therefore one of the first that sought to reconcile himselfe vnto the King: and the first propositions were made by *Sebastian Zemet*. The King could hardly beleue that the Duke of Sauoy would separate himselfe from the designs and counsels of the King of Spaine (who had alwaies a body of an army in France) being so strictly tied vnto him. He therefore sends to *Syluery*, his Ambassador in Switzerland, to enter into conference vpon this matter with the Dukes Ambassador there, and to sound his intention. The Duke had sent the Marquis of Aix into Spaine, to know how he should treat with the King. At the same time they surprized a Pacquer coming from Spaine, the which being deciphered, they found the Duke desired to treat in good earnest: for his Ambassador writing from Madril, lent him word, that touching the forme of the accord, for the which he desired to haue counsell, the King of Spaines Ministers would neuer tell it, but with many conditions, and secretly, although it were a thing which they desired, that they might retire their forces, and employ them in Flanders, where as all things went to wracke. That if his Highnesse, whom it did import, could find the means to effect it, he was assured in the end they would find it good, as they had done many other designs, reiected by them in the beginning, and afterwards allowed, according to the successe, many conferences were made concerning this cause, before the peace of Veruins, but nothing could bee concluded. His Holinesse being made Iudge and Arbitrator of all controuersies, betwixt his Maiesty and the Duke, the parties produce all their pretensions. The Ambassador of France demanded restitution of the possession, saying: That it ought to bee iudged before the Propriety, and that the possession of aboue a hundred yeares, should serue for a good title to France, if they had nothing else. The dukes Ambassador answered, That power may giue possession without right, and that his Master had preferred his interest with the possession.

After many difficulties and much dispute, the French that were resident within Rome, gaue it out, that they had pleaded too much: that there was no reason the Pope should overthrow the right of a great King, to please a petty Prince: that they must end this quarrell with the Cannon in the plaines of Piedmont. As these men braued it in words, the others published their reasons in writing, shewing that the rule of the law which will haue the dispossessed restored to his possession, is not practised among Princes, nor for principalities. The French insist vpon the contrary, and vrge an end of this businesse with great vehemency, desiring rather to be presently dispatched, then to languish in the tediousnesse of the remedy. The Spaniards delayed the decision of this processe all they could, holding the dispute more available to them then the resolution, & the disease more profitable then the cure.

The time appointed for the Arbitrement was almost spent in tedious difficulties, as vnto the

The Duke of  
Sauoy seeks to  
be reconciled  
to the King.

Julius fieri pro-  
hibentur qua  
samen iudice  
tenent.

Brauerie of the  
French.

1599

A pleading vnto the Pope as to the French. And although hee had no lesse zeale to maintaine concord, then he had shewed affection and care to suppress discord, yet would he gladly haue bene freed of this Iudgment, for the bad effects which hee did apprehend, and whereof the coniectures were easie by the consideration of things past. Hee desired not that the Iudgment which he should pronounce, should giue any cause to the one or the other, to complaine of his Iustice, being troubled what hee should pronounce, for that it was a thing without example, and was dangerous to determine of that which had bene decided. In these two extreames, either to iudge the possession of the Marquise to the King, or to ioyne to the Petitory to content the Duke: hee finds a means to haue the Marquise sequestred into his hands as a Newter, to remaine in *deposito*, vntill it should be iudged vnto the one or the other. To this end *F. Bonauenture Calatagiron*, Generall of the Friars, and newly made Patriarch of Constantinople, was sent into France with *Roncati* the Dukes Secretary: vnto whom the King not onely granted (against the aduice of his Councill) that the Marquise should remaine in *deposito* in the Popes power, as one who had no pretension nor title vnto it: but also a prolongation of the Arbitrement for two moneths. The Duke was well pleased, that this sequestration should maintaine the hope of his possession. The French desired rather a definitiue sentence, then a sequestration: for although they had no cause to doubt of the Depositors fidelity: yet through too much trust, men do often fall into great inconueniences. The Kings Ambassador freed them of these apprehensions, and managed this Sequestration so politickly, as they found it in better estate, then the Kings Councill did expect. Hee caryed himselfe herein like a man of great Iudgment, neither could he serue his Master meanly, in a subiect of so great import. The Duke grew in some ialousie of *Arconas*, for that he was a Milanois, beleueing that hee did rather follow the Spaniards intention, then his: whereupon he called him back to Turin, vnder colour to send him into Spaine. Hee that succeeded *Arconas* in that charge, marched all, receiuing the Instructions that were giuen him too lightly, and delusiuing them too indifferently: for visiting the Cardinals, which he thought did fauour the intentions of the King of Spaine, and the Duke his Master, he drew nothing from them, but that the issue of this businesse would not be as he expected. The rest of the Cardinals which had other designs, blamed the Dukes councill, who had engaged him in the expectation of a Iudgment both doubtfull and of small honor: that the best hee could hope for, was the haue of a great Prince, who would alwaies remember this iniury: and that they had caused him to plead so long for his owne. The French vsed other subtilties, to make them counsell the Duke to breake off the Arbitrement. And for that this engagement in anothers hands, was not pleasing vnto them, they held it little for the reputation of France, to follow such tedious formes by the way of Iustice, seeing there was a more speedy course by the way of armes.

They gaue it out, that the Depository would hold things in that Estate, as when it pleased him he would make it knowne, that the thing engaged belonged vnto himselfe: that he behad good correspondency with the King, and that his intention was to make one of his Nephewes Marquis of Salusses, and Feudatary of France. This feare, or rather indifferency of the Ambassador, imbarqued him so farre in this realousie, as hee holds the Iudge for suspect, and sends to his Master, that hee should dislike of the Depository, as much as of the King. And although the Popes intention was not to bee corrupted, yet hee beleueed it to bee true by the Popes coldnesse, and hee did not onely beleue it, but thinking it a vaine to dissemble it, and treason not to speake it, hee told the Pope. That his Masters Highnesse did expect an assured Iudgment from his Holinesse, to bee maintained in possession of the Marquise, as a thing which he held of his Predecessors, whereof hee had bene spoiled by the violence of the stronger, and had recovered it by the good hap of an occasion. The Pope said vnto him, that hee desired not to leaue these two Princes long in this dispute, nor to breake the course of happinesse which their subiects promised themselves by the continuance of the peace. But the Ambassador, who was transported, added: That if his Holinesse gaue sentence in fauor of his Master, hee should dispose of the thing adjudged, and make thin as hee would of it as any other, to second his intentions, when it should please him, to haue the Marquise for one of his Nephewes. The Pope who marche vprightly being offended at an order so contrary to the integrity of his intention, said vnto the Ambassador, that hee neuer had any

A Proposition  
of sequestra-  
tio.

Indifferency  
conuincit and  
troubles it  
selfe.

such

1599

such thought, and to free him from all feare, hee would desist from the Iudgement; and A  
deale no more neither with the Arbitrement nor Sequestration.

All men thought at Rome, that the Arbitrement was broken, and the content for the  
Sequestration revoked: the French cared not, & the Duke was content that things should  
passe by other formes then those of the Consistory. The Ambassador of Spaine residing  
at Rome would not have the duke of Sauoy doe his businesse alone, nor the controversie  
for the Marquitate of Salusses, to remaine at his disposition: the King his Master was in-  
terested therein, it was reasonable he should be the first Mouer of all his motions. Hee  
therefore intreated the Pope, not to leaue things imperfect, and not to refuse to end a  
worke so happily begun for the generall good of all Christendome, greatly interested in  
the concord of two Kings, who could not long continue, if all occasions of warre, that  
might grow vpon this question for the Marquitate of Salusses, were not taken away. The  
Duke had already found in many occasions, that the counsels of Spaine were not alwaies  
put in execution to his content: that he fastened his hopes to a rotten cable, trusting to  
their resolutions: and that their deccits (though couered with goodly shewes of loue  
and affection) were so much the more odious vnto him, for that he which deceiues va-  
der the name of friendship is more to be blamed, then he that is deccieued. He therefore  
propounded to do his busines without them, and from many great discontents, he tooke  
a resolution to goe into France: so as from that time he neuer slept quietly, vnill hee was  
assured of the Kings word.

The Duchesse of Beaufort had alwaies fauored his intentions, and desired to assure her-  
selfe of such a Prince, who offered vnto her all his meanes to support her fortune, hauing  
sent vnto her the goodliest Jewell that was in the cabinet of Madam Marguerite his Mo-  
ther. She also considering, that whatsoeuer is done by men, may be vndone by them a-  
gain: that Princes fauours are inconstant, and that humane things haue nothing firme  
nor constant, no more then the Sea; shee willingly gaue eare to the promises which hee  
made her for the good of her hopes. Hee could not haue found a better sollicitor: but  
death tooke her away. She parted from Fontainebleau in the beginning of the week before  
Easter, to come to Paris, and there to passe the feasts. The Diuiners, whom idleness and  
curiosity entertaines commonly at the Court, said, that a child should hinder her from at-  
taining to that whereunto shee did aspire. Shee had heard something, and in this apprehen-  
sion, shee tooke her leaue of the King at her departure, as if she had been assured neuer  
to see him more, recommending her children vnto him, the finishing of her house at Mon-  
ceaux, and the rewarding of her seruants. This recommendation of her children did  
chiefly concerne the Duke of Vendosme, whom shee loued deely, and whom shee intended  
to bring vp in the most perfect imitation of vertue.

Being at Paris, shee went on the Wednesday to S. *Anthones* Church to heare the Mas-  
sick; where shee was seized with extreame paines, which neuer left her vnill that life had  
left her. They killed the Infant in her, and tormented her with such cruell conuulsions,  
as they drew her mouth to the nape of her necke. Shee was first lodged at *Zanetti* house,  
neere Saint *Anthones* gate: but being fallen into this extremity, shee was carried to the  
lodging of Madam de *Sourd* her Aunt, in the cloister of Saint *Germain l'Auxerrois*, where  
on the Saturday shee ended her life. Vpon the first aduertisement of her sickness, the King  
went from Fontainebleau to see her. The Marshall d'*Ornano* met him, and beseeched him  
to returne, for that fight could not prolong the life of the sicke, and would but increase his  
griefe. Presently after attired *Belieueur*, who brought the newes of her death, into whose  
Carrosse the King went, to euaporate more at ease his sighes, the which hope of recovery  
had somewhat restrained. Words are not able to charme such sensible blowes: and it is  
an error to thinke, that griefe is driven away by exorcismes, that it regards words, or is  
slayed by discourse. Yet this first violence of the Kings affliction, was calmed by the wife  
and graue admonitions of this *Nepheue*, who said, that France had acknowledged him for  
her *Hercules*, and as he had bene like vnto him in many labours equally glorious and ad-  
mirable, so now hee should be vnlike him in that hee did abandon the Argonauts, for the  
griefe hee had for the death of *his* whom hee loued.

This death did much trouble the Court, for the sorrow and lamentation which the  
King made for her. Her beauty and good behaviour had moued the King to loue her,  
for the long absence of *Queen Marguerite* (whose place shee was in hope to possesse ab-  
solutely)

The King of  
Spaine re-  
pairs all.

The Duke com-  
plains of the  
Spaniards.

Gabrielle de  
Tiffrey Marquis  
of Monceaux,  
and Duchesse  
of Beaufort.

Death of the  
Duchesse of  
Beaufort.

1599

Absolutely) Shee left him three children: *Cesar Monsieur* Duke of Vendosme, *Alexander  
Monsieur*, who was named Earle of Armagnac, and at this time is appointed Grand  
Prior of France: and one Daughter. Shee was more lamented of priuate persons, then  
of the publike, who found her hopes more insupportable then her catiage. Shee offend-  
ed few, and bound many vnto her. A great personage said: That shee was of such an  
humor, that seeing the King must needs loue, hee could not loue an obiect, whose loue  
would be lesse preiudiciall to himselfe, nor to his people, so as shee continued in the first  
condition of her birth.

This great beauty, neere vnto the which the most esteemed beauties had no light, (as  
great bodies seeme small in respect of greater) vanished in an instant. This flower against  
the order of others which last vnto the seuenth day, and sometime twice as long, did wi-  
ther, dry, and fell downe dead within two or three houres. Shee died too soone for them  
that had made triall, that her fauour was a step vnto the Kings: many did write vpon her  
death, which shewed that shee had offended few, & bound many vnto her. Death took her  
at such time when as those that desire to be reputed faire after their death, should desire  
to dye, before the failing of their beauty. For when as they dye old, and that there re-  
maines nothing in the vessell but lees, they remember no more what they haue been, and  
speake no more of them, but as of a torch which falls to ashes, when as all that intertaineth  
it is molten and consumed: or as flowers which the more pleasing, liuely, and well grow-  
ing they be, displease and stinke the more, when they are gathered, withered, and haue lost  
their colour. Shee was one of the three beauties, which being seene together, they said of  
the first, that shee was faire: of the other, that shee had bene: and of the younger, that shee  
would be.

The Duke of Sauoy was much grieved for her death. But as Domestically afflictions,  
which chance to Princes, although they be separated from the publike, are not lesse feeling  
and violent; his griefe to see his affaires so crost on all sides, was augmented by the death  
of D. *Philippin* his bastard brother, whom *Creguy* slue in combat: It is a great paine  
to purchase honor, a greater to preferre it, but greatest of all to recouer it when it is lost.  
Speaking of honour, I meane the reputation of goodly and virtuous actions, whereof  
honour is the recompence, and the sweetest nourishment. Of those things which doe  
blemish the lustre of honour, the first and most base is, to speake or doe any thing for  
feare of death. The second is, to endure and suffer a word of contempt, injury or af-  
front. The third is a lye: This rigorous obseruation of the point of Honour, doth now  
countenance a Combat, as memorable for the condition of the persons, the forme and  
circumstance of the combat, and the cause of the quarrell, or any other of this age. Quar-  
rels haue not alwaies reasonable grounds: this had nothing but desptight, which D. *Phi-  
lippin* had conceived, being told him that *Creguy* had wanted hee had gotten his carcase,  
at the taking of the little Fort, built by the Duke of Sauoy, neere vnto Chamouffet, to fa-  
uour the passage of his army. D. *Philippin* some moneths after, thinking that this was

E spoken to the preiudice of his honour, sent him a Challenge. *Creguy* comes to the place  
appointed by the appeale; but the appellat was kept backe by the Dukes commande-  
ment. The Earle of Brandix (who seemed alse to haue a desire to fight) sent word to  
*Des Digueires* General of the army, that if hee had any minde to see the combat betwixt  
D. *Philippin* and *Creguy* his sonne-in-law, hee should not returne without his part of the  
sport, but hee should find one to exchange a thrust with him. Hereupon *Creguy* was ta-  
ken prisoner going to succour Charbonniers. During his imprisonment the quarrell  
grew that point, as if he had bene at liberty, it had bene ended at Turin. After that  
the Treaty of peace had sent him home into Dauphine, D. *Philippin* sent to challenge  
him at Grenoble, and they met neere vnto the Fort at Barrault, where the appellat was  
F thrust through the thigh. This combat, which had bene sufficient to haue ended this  
quarrell, was the cause of another, for it was told the Duke, that *Creguy* had wanted, that  
hee had of the blood of Sauoy. Wherewith hee was offended, and gaue D. *Philippin* to  
vnderstand, that he would esteeme him no more as hee had done, nor euer see him more,  
if hee were not auenged of those words. Whereupon, another challenge was sent, the  
which was accepted as cheerfully as the first.

The prohibition which the King had made of single combats, vpon paines not onely  
preiudiciall to their Estates, but shamefull to their reputations, would not suffer them to  
fight

The little Fort  
of Chamouffet  
was taken by  
Du Digueires  
in July, 1597.

This challenge  
of Brandix  
was taken by  
Du Digueires  
in July, 1597.

One writes that  
he was thrust  
through the bo-  
dy, and begged  
his life of Cre-  
guy.

The second  
Combat.

1599

The conditions  
of the combat.

fight in Dauphine: that the example of the Gouvernours son-in-law should not draw others to the contempt of the Law. It was therefore resolved, that they should fight in the Duke of Sauoy's Country, vnder S. Andrew, a place belonging vnto the Countesse of Antrémont, vpon the banke of the riuer of Rhofne, on foot, and in their shirts, which is the most resolute kind of combat. That they should fight with Rapier and Dagger: That the Baron of Attignac should second D. Philippin, and la Buiffe should second Creguy. That none but they should come into the field, and they should not part the combatants, vntill that one of their deaths had ended the combat. That there should be 12 Gentlemen on Dauphine side, and as many on that of Sauoy, who should be ready to receive the body of the vanquished, or to resist any violence that should be offered vnto the victor. That the 12 of Sauoy should be so farre from the place of combat, as they of Dauphine might passe the water, and come at the same instant to the place of fight. It was long disputed whether the Seconds should fight: for la Buiffe said, that he would not be one, vnlesse he might giue or take, and that he which goes in such actions to be a simple spectator, wants affection or courage. But the Combatants thought it good that the Seconds should not meddle with the decision of their fortunes.

The day appointed being come, all came vnto the place. De Morges passed the Rhofne, and scoured vp and downe the fields, to see if there were no ambush nor greater assembly then was set downe in the Accord. The Seconds visited the armes of the two Champions, and searched them, if they had any Charmes or Enchantments about them. La Buiffe did importune D. Philippin much to part, saying, that he had a desire either to drue it off till night, or to defer the triall till the next day. He told D. Philippin by the way, all the braueries he could of Creguy's valor, to the end he might dant him: and seeing Creguy a far off in the meadow, he cryed vnto him, *he is ours: but Philippin carying an eye without trouble, and a heart without feare, said vnto him: why haue you so bad an opinion of me? Not so, replied La Buiffe, I know you are braue and generous, but you haue to doe with one of the most furious men at armes in France, and that makes me foretell your losse. La Buiffe forgot nothing in this action, that might shew the office of a friend. And it is well known, that if Creguy had not returned, la Buiffe would haue stayed to haue slaine D. Philippin and D' Attignac, or to haue bene slaine by them. Du Belier his brother, knowing his humor, and that hee had too much courage and honour, to returne without his friend, was vpon the banke of Rhofne, attending the issue of the combat, meaning to passe through the riuer on horse back, and to haue had his part of the glory or perill of this action. When as D. Philippin entred the field, he had his iudgment so cleare, as obseruing his enemies guard, and the aduantage which he had, turning his backe to the Sun, hee said Monsieur de la Buiffe diuide the Sunne: and seeking himselfe to make the partition, he thrust at Creguy with such violence, as the lookers on doubted of the issue of the combat, seeing him still in his danger. This first fury did but thrust Creguy out of the meadow, and Philippin out of breath. Creguy being resolved to thrust, not according vnto the iudgment of choller, but of occasion, attended vntill this fury were past, thrusting him into the body with such force, as he ouerthrew him, and nayled him to the ground. He then willed him to take his life of him: but he was not in case to humble himselfe to that demand, neither was it in Creguy's power to giue it him: for his wounds were mortall, and all those that were of this side cryed to him: Dispatch him; neither did Attignac's request preuaile any thing. Creguy repayed the Rhofne with the twelue Gentlemen which came to fetch him, leaving D. Philippin vpon the place. The Duke repented of the commandement which hee had giuen, or it may be his religion (by the aduice of his Confessor) counselled him to reuoke a commandement, in the execution whereof there was hazard of two liues, and the losse of two soules. He sent a post to forbid them to fight, but hee arriued two houres too late. Creguy thanked God for his victorie, and would not suffer his friends to vse their accustomed congratulations, intreating them to speake no more of it, although the glory were great, to haue vanquished his enemy in a forsaigne Country. D. Philippin was caryed to his lodging. The Religious of Pierre-Chastell refused to bury him according to the holy Constitutions of the Church-gouernment, which holds them that dye in this sort desperate, and murderers of themselves, and makes the paine to continue after death, that the shame which followes them to the graue, might diuert them from this liberty.*

The difficulties  
which D. Phil-  
ippin found in this  
Conditions,  
stayed them 2  
or 3 houres.Resolution of  
two brethren.  
The second  
combat betwixt  
D. Philippin  
baronet of Sauoy,  
and Creguy,  
the 20 of Iune,  
1599.Attignac de-  
mands D. Phil-  
ippin's life.

As the Kings enemies at Rome laboured that he could haue no reason of the Marquise of Saluiss, so there wanted no practices to hinder his affaires in Suifferland. It is a long time since the King of Spain discouered his ieaousie for the generall alliance of the crown of France with the thirteene Cantons, hauing long practised to haue his share. Our Kings hauing alwayes hindred it, he could neuer get any footing there, as King of Spaine, but hee hath had an hereditary alliance for the reuenues of the House of Austria. So in the reigne of King Charles the ninth, when as the King of Spaine demanded to bee receiued into alliance, Belieure Ambassador of France, seeing the Catholike Cantons almost perswaded to prefer new amities before ancient, laid before them the great succors they had receiued of the Crowne of France for the setting of their libertie: whereas contrariwise the House of Austria had done all they could to suppress them. That they should be wary, not to trust in the alliance of a House offended, in the which the wounded did yet bleed, by the death of three Princes defeated by their armes. That hee was not ignorant, that the K. of Spain, as descended from the House of Austria, had hereditary delignes vpon them, by reason whereof, the greatness and prosperity of his affaires should bee suspect vnto them: for as we ought neuer to feare nor suspect the prosperity of friends, so must we alwayes doubt that of enemies. These admonitions were of such force, as for that time the Ambassadors of Spaine returned as they came.

But since the troubles of the last ciuill warre in France, the King found himselfe charged with so many affaires within the Realme, as he could not possibly prouide for all abroad. His owne subjects did so trouble him, as he could not answer the hopes of his allies. This was a goodly occasion for the King of Spaine to worke his will with the Suiffes, and to winne the game, seeing that no man played against him. And as mercenary friendship vaniseth, when as money failes, the French Crownes appearing no more in Suiffe, the enemy caught his ducats to be dispersed among the petty Cantons, so as they choaked all the first seedes of the Flower-de-luce. Then might you see in France, Suiffes against Suiffes, and Cantons against Cantons, the one shewing their duties vnto the King as his allies, the other armed against his seruice, as hirings to the King of Spaine. When as they see that they were not payed their pensions, and that their Captaines and Colonels receiued no thing of that which was due vnto them, the free petty Cantons tyed themselves more straitly to the King of Spaine: and Colonell Pflister, who had great credit among them, taught them not to cast their eyes but vpon the Sonne which riseth at the Indies. The greater Cantons continued still firme in the Kings friendship. The wildome of Brulart shewed it selfe in this bad season, as good Pilots are best knowne in the greatest tempests: for hee entertained the Kings seruice beyond all hope, in the greatest of his troubles, when as the King had for his Scepter a Lance, for his Loure a Tent, and for his credit, hope, and the lawfull right of a Kingdome. It may iustly be sayd, that he did great seruice to France in this charge, and the wisest haue wondered, how he could maintaine the affections of this people, when they were entertained onely with the words of his wisdom, and how he could so long continue this hope amidst the common despoire of the affaires of France.

But when as the Suiffes did see that all France was reduced vnder the Kings obedience, their patience was turned into complaints, and they gaue it out, that if they had not effects for words, wherewith they had bene fed so long, as they law the King could giue them nothing else, they had courage enough to come and demand it themselves. During the siege of Amiens, there was a Captaine of one of the petty Cantons, who desiring to make his profit of the time, and of the extremity of the Kings affaires, proposedd the bold counsell to get their pay.

The Realme was yet so full of trechery, the King so full of fear of his subjects, the forces of Spaine so great, and so farre entred into France, as if they had done what he propounded, our Caesar had not sent them backe with so good a composition as in former times he had done what he could to giue them money. The Court of Parliament had confirmed certaine Edicts, the profit whereof was appointed to content them: as that of reuision of the Registers to the Reuenues, that of the sealing of Lether, and the Companies of handicraftsmen. Whilest that the Captaines and Colonels laboured for the execution, the Ambassador entertained the rest with good words and great hopes, which serued much to temper the impatience of the most violent, and the languishing wearied of Artois.

1599  
The estate of  
the Kings af-  
faires in Suiffe.The Princes of  
the House of  
Austria de-  
feated by the  
Suiffes.The petty Catho-  
licke Can-  
tons allied to  
Spaine.Monsieur de Sil-  
lery Ambassa-  
dor in Suiffe.

1599

The King sends money into Suisse the first of June. 1599.

dants. He imparted vnto them the Kings counsels for the re-establishment of his affaires, A and the payment of that which was due vnto them.

The King sent them money : but as there was not so much as they expected, and that the greatest part was appointed for such as had served in the last occasions : so it did but increase their discontents and complaints of the rest; so as in the beginning of this year, *Montaigne* the Kings Ambassador left his charge to come into France. Such as thought to make their profit of this retreat, gave it out, that it was forced : but it was freely of himselfe, who thought it expedient for the Kings affaires to make offer of this voyage, and to charge himselfe with their demands : but the *Suisses* stayed nor long to demand his returne, after the which he died, and was solemnly buried at *Solleur* in a rich tombe. B The King doth husband the peace well. He employs all his thoughts for the profit of his subjects, to restore them to those commodities whereof war had deprived them. And therefore considering that a great multitude of his people remained vnprofitable, for that they were not employed in trades and occupations most necessary for trafficke : for that the workes which should be made within the Realme by Frenchmen, were bought and sold by strangers, namely, silkes, and cloth of gold and silver : hee did therefore forbid by an Edict, the entry into his Realme of all *Ruffes*, made of silke, gold, or silver, pure or mixt, vpon paine of confiscation : to the end the French might be employed in the making of all those merchandizes which were forbidden to be brought in.

As the Merchants of *Tours* did sollicite these prohibitions, so they of *Lions* made great C suite to hinder it. They alleged, that prohibiting the entry of Merchandize made by hand, they must of necessity be made in France, the which being well planted, would yield sufficient commodity to nourish 500000 Frenchmen, and the gold and silver which goes out of the Realme *in specie*, in great abundance, should continue there still. Those of *Lions* did shew, that this prohibition made the King to lose halfe of his Custome at *Lions* : that it would ruine the *Payres*, and this ruine would draw after it the ruine of the City, the which had bene built for the commerce and trafficke of all Europe, and was neuer seene more flourishing then since strangers frequented it, by means whereof, it did for a time so abound with money, as our Kings have found great succours in the necessity of their affaires, and sometimes were indebted six or seven millions of gold, as well to the inhabitants, as to Merchant strangers. That the whole State was interested in her preservation, being out of the bulwarks of the weakest part, and lying open to the enterprises of his enemies. That many strangers, being ready since the peace, to come and make their bank at *Lyons*, were held back vpon the brute of the prohibition of strange wares, and if the citie should continue dis-inhabited of Merchants of that quality, it would be dangerous to leave it in the hands of poore Artisans, who are insolent in the time of peace; impatient in troubles, and alwayes desirous of innovation; having nothing more vs leading vnto them then the present. Norwithstanding all these reasons, the King would have the Edict passe, and the Duchesse of *Beaufort* was greatly affected to it. The deceased King would have done it, and it was found reasonable by his Council : but in the end, time didles him know, that it was no time to vse such prohibitions, and that before they hinder the entry of *foreign* *Ruffes* made of silke, they must haue wherewithall to make it within the Realme. And therefore this Edict was reuoked at the Quenes entry into *Lions*.

This year there was a notable imposture, which ministred matter of discourse to the Kings Council, to Preachers in their Pulpits, and to the Court of Parliament. A young Maid of *Romorantin*, named *Martha Brosier*, having curiously read ouer the Discouerie of the deuil of *Leaon*, she was so transported with the imagination of that which theread, as imitating the motions of her folly, she seemed to haue the fits and passions of one that were possessed with the deuil, although nothing be so hard to counterfeit as the deuil. *James Brosier* her father, a man of himselfe busie and factious, desirous of new things, ha- F ving observed in his daughter furious motions, with such a stupidity and feare, as it did moue commiseration and dread in the most resolute and feare in the weaker, hee seemed to beleue that which he would haue the people beleue; who came running to see this new deuil, publishing euery where, that his daughter was possessed with an euill spirit. He presented her to the Theologall of *Orleans*, who beleued something; & seeing that this designe grew into credit, he led her to the most famous place of all the Dioceffe for deuotion : so all the people beleued certainly that she was possessed : which must be verified by the

They of Lions hinder the purchase of them of Tours.

The King in fauour of the Quene reuoked the forbidding of the entry of silkes.

Martha Brosier possessed with a deuil.

A the iudgement of the Church. But the Bishop of *Angiers*, a graue and wise man, disco- uered her to be a counterfeit, and sent her away, threatening to punish her, if she returned into his Dioceffe. The Official of *Orleans* did also find out her imposture, forbidding the Clergy of the Dioceffe to exorcise her, vpon paine of suspension. After that shee had runne fiftene moneths vp and downe the Country, and being growne perfect in her counterfeit trickes and deuillish motions, her father thinking shee knew enough, and that it was now time to present her vpon the great Theater of France, he conducts her to Paris, and leads her to all the Churches to gather almes : the people cry out presently to haue the deuil consured, holding it an impiety to suffer one of Gods creatures to be so tyrannically tormented by the Deuill. The Bishop assembles the learnedst Diuines and Physitians of the Vniuersity of Paris, to haue their aduice about the consuring of this deuil: the Physitians say plainly, that it was but counterfeit. A Capuchin grieued to see the incredulity of the Physitians, said with some passion, if any one beleene not : if he will but stay her, the deuil will carry him away. *Marcesot* fearing not to be carried away by this kind of de- uill, answered, that he would abide the hazard : and setting his knee vpon *Martha's* breast, and his hand to her necke, he commanded her to be quiet, whereupon she stirred not, say- ing, that her deuil was gone.

The Court of Parliament seeing that all the people did runne after *Martha*, and fear- ing that superstition (which goes before, and is alwayes the fore-runner of impiety) C should diuide their opinions and affections, and cause some dangerous sedition, they com- manded that *Martha* should be deliuered into the hands of the Lieutenant Criminal. The Clergy said, that those that were possessed, did not belong vnto the temporall iurisdiction, and that the Church had power to iudge thereof. Yet she is committed to prison. They haue recourse vnto the King, who commands that the Parliament be obeyed. So as by a decree of the great Chamber, and the Tournelle, the Lieutenant of the short Robe was in- ioyned to conduct *Martha* with her sisters, and *James Brosier* his father to *Romorantin*, forbidding her to depart out of the towne, without leaue from the Iudge of the place. And so the deuil was condemned by a sentence.

Another deuil possessed the soule of a miserable wretch, who made an execrable attempt D against the Kings person. A Capuchin of *Milan*, called *Father Honorio*, gaue intelligence thereof, and the party that was described in his letter, was found and apprehended at Pa- ris. The King did thanke this good religious man by expresse Letters, and did witness by his Ambassador resident at *Rome*, that he would preferre the remembrance of so good a turne, to make it knowne vnto all his Order, that he had bound him vnto him. God would not call a Prince so necessary for the earth, so soone into heauen, before hee had settled his people in that rest which their long paines and calamities had deferred. It was the Kings only care to settle euery thing in his order, with the aduice of the Princes of his House, and the Lords of his Council. They found that the subjects could not fully enjoy the benefit of the peace, nor be eased of their charges, so long as the Crowne was indebted, E and that that which should serue to maintaine his royall Estate, was not sufficient to pay the rents and pensions, which amounted to two millions of gold: the fees of Officers came to eightene thousand crownes, and many other charges, which were not discharged for lesse. This extreme necessity made them to seeke out many rights and duties belonging to the crowne, the which had bene morgaged and aliened during the last troubles, which suffered all that could not be amended.

This was most apparent in *Languedoc*, whither the King sent *de Maiffe*, one of his Council of State, and *Refuge* a Councillor of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*. And al- though it be a hard thing to draw a multitude compounded of mutinies and factions vnto reason, yet through their persuasions, the country did grant vnto the King the summe of F two hundred thousand crownes, to be paid in foure yeares, with an increase of the Ga- belle or Custome vpon Salt vnto two Crownes, which came to fifty thousand crownes a year at least, more then the King received. So as the assured succours from that part, encreased the Kings treasure a hundred and fifty thousand crownes yearly. But it encreased much more by the continuance of the imposition of a Solz vpon the Liver, the only re- medy to supply the Kings affaires, the ground whereof is necessity, which makes that seeme iust which is profitable to the Common-weale. The Commissioners appointed to establish this levy of a Solz vpon the poore French, were not received without opposition,

1599

Martha Bi- shop of Angi- ers discouers Martha to be a counterfeit.

Marcesot said, if he will but stay her, the deuil will carry him away. Marcesot fearing not to be carried away by this kind of de- uill, answered, that he would abide the hazard : and setting his knee vpon Martha's breast, and his hand to her necke, he commanded her to be quiet, whereupon she stirred not, say- ing, that her deuil was gone.

A Decree of the Court, 24 of May, 1599.

An attempt a- gainst the King discouered.

The Kings de- sire to settle his affaires.

Rents, fees of officers, pen- sions, garisons, and men at armes, cost the King yearly al- most six mil- lions of crowns.

A Liver is vno- shallings.



1599

Disobedient  
causes  
complaints  
against imposi-  
tions.The Merchants  
of Lyons com-  
plaints of a new  
Customs.

nor executed without murmuring, vsuall in such innouations. There was no towne which found not it selfe ouer-burthened, to few that they were not able to beare any more. This body was growne so weake with this long disafe, as euery little thing, how light soeuer, did seeme to oppresse it. But they complained not alone of this imposition : other Subsidies were the cause of more ordinary grieuances, and grounded vpon more reason. Traffike is one of the Elements of a Realme: when that ceaseth, the subiect feelles it presently: nothing hath so much hurt it, as the augmentation of Customes and Imposts, nothing hath made it so contemptible, as the couetousnesse of such as had the charge to gather it, and no man hath more felt the difcommoditie of it, then the Merchants of Lyons, who complained chiefly, for that they had erected a new Custome-house in the towne of Vienne, B which stayed all Merchandize that came out of the Leuant. These complaints were so common, and so often reiterated to the Gouvernor of Lyons, as hee thought it good to send some one, when as the twelue townes in Dauphine should assemble their Estates, to intreat them to take away this Custome, which made the Merchants to keepe from Lyons, lest they should come neere vnto these Gulphes. The Deputy made an excellent speech vnto the States of the Prouince assembled at Grenoble: The which I haue thought good to insert.

Peace is vni-  
uersally good.

If things (said he) which are vniuersally good, are better and more perfect then those which are good but to some, the good of peace must bee esteemed so much the better, and the more perfect, for that it is common and generall to all men, for that it hath restored to France her soule, and made it a new body. But this good is not so disperfed ouer the whole body, but there remains some members tired, the which during the fainting and generall convulsion, did not feele the mischiefe so violently as at this present. For although the Prouinces be discharged of fouldiers, and that euery one finds both in Towne and Country that order and safety which he desired, yet the liberty of traffike being not restored, and merchandize lesse fauoured in peace, then in the violence of iniustice, and the liberty of warre, this good remains vnperfect, if I may not say vnprofitable. Wherefore the towne of Lyons finding it selfe deprived of the fruits of this peace, by continually lets in the liberty of their traffike, would not let passe the Assembly of your Estates, without coniuring you by the inseparable interest to the good of both Prouinces, to seeke with her D the perfection thereof. She hath giuen you heretofore to vnderstand the increase of this mischiefe, you know the excessse, I am now onely come to intreat you to seeke for the remedy. This mischiefe is the continuation of a Subsidie imposed vpon the riuer of Rhofne, and the passage by land from Vienne. The cause was first the publike good, which since hath degenerated into a priuate interests the effects, the ruine of traffike; the remedy, to obtaine abolition from the King.

This Impost was first erected for the reduction of the Towne of Vienne, and for the considerations which were so much the more iust, because they regarded the Kings seruice, the which precedeth all others, and for the common good of either Prouince. And although the towne of Lyons did then foresee the dangerous consequence of this erection, E with the ruines and difcommodities of the leauy, yet did shee the more willingly consent thereunto, for that she thought the yeares whereunto the continuance thereof was limited, would passe insensibly, and that they should sooner see the end, then any occasion to complaine. Moreouer, the Princes will, being a Soueraigne Law, they could not take that ill which pleased that great King, whose valour exceeds admiration, and admiration surmounts all praise, hauing drawne France out of the bonds of tyranny, as *Pursh* did *Andromeda*, and hath in his heriocall actions made vic of his seruants goods to assure them the possession, as *Scipio* in opening the publike treasures, was the cause they were shut againe.

Timetugments  
or diminisheth  
euery thing.

But as things which in the beginning seeme sweet and easie, in time grow sharpe and F intolerable: this Impost passing from one extreme to another, is growne a sheefe against the which no man strikes but he suffers shipwracke. It hath had its birth growing like vnto that of the Crocodile, and in few dayes is growne a terror to them that goe by water, and the ruine of Merchants which trauell by land. The yeares of her continuance are past, and now it begins to grow perpetuall, hauing like vnto the ancient customes, her Farmers and Committees, and retaines nothing of the cause of her first institution and ordinance, but the pretext and the apparent semblance.

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A The Farmers are so rough and seuerer, in exacting, not that which is ordained, but many times what please them: that as it is the nature of men to loue that which profits them, and to abhorre that which hurts them, the Merchants flee from it as from a sheele, and speake of it as of a snare which strangles them. They cause them to languish whole weekes before they compound for the paiement, and cease not vntill they haue scene the bottome of their packes and purses, so as that which in a lesse corrupted age, and not so couetous as ours is, was giuen rather by way of a gift or present, then of a duty of necessity, in acknowledgement of the publike protection, and the safety of the passage, is now exacted by heretofore vnheard of extortions, and punishable concussion.

B Thus the towne of Lyons sees it selfe bereaued of the benefit and commoditie of trading, in the preservation whereof Dauphine hath a sensible interest, these two Prouinces being like two neighbours which are not diuided but by a gutter which runneth through the midst of the street. And this commerce is the chiefest support of this towne, from whence as from a Spring, which long peace may make perpetuall, flow infinit benefits to all other Prouinces, but most abundantly to her neighbours, wherefore those which haue considered the situation thereof, as in the center of Europe, that for seven leagues crossing the Ocean and Mediterranean seas, impart vnto it all the Merchandize which may be brought from any part which hath bene discovered by man, to distribute them to other Prouinces, they haue reason to call it the Magazin and Store-house of Europe, as *Strabo* C saith, that it is seated in the midst of Gaule like vnto a Citadell.

But since that the passage of Rhofne hath bene decreed, and that the Merchants had rather aduenture any other hazard then to passe by this iniustice, hauing bene so famous and flourishing, we shall see her become a desert, if the liberty of traffike be not restored. All Merchants that were wont to come from the Leuant to Marseilles, haue abandoned their ancient passage, and sought other longer courses but more safe, as by the Countie of Auignon, Sauiy, Bresse, Geneva, and the Franche Countie, to passe into Germany: and others by Languedoc, Viaretz, Forests, Auvergne, Marignies, to passe by the riuer of Allier, into that of Loire, and from thence to Orleans, and so forward. So as breaking (as they doe) the ordinary course of the Leuant trade, they cut the veins which bring blood D to nourish the body, the which in short time we shall see consumed to skinn and bones, and the calamities so to increase, as besides the griefe, to be no more the eye of Gaule, as Athens was of Greece, she shall haue nothing perfect remaining, but the remembrance of her first felicity, and the cogitation of her by-past flourishing estate.

Wherefore she coniures you to ioyne your prayers and pursuits with hers: to beseech the King to pull this thorne out of the foot of Lyons, and this moat out of the eye of Dauphine: she hopes to obtaine it by the wise resolutions of this Assembly, consisting of men who can iudge of the importance of this petition, and are not ignorant, that as publike buildings are made of the best stuffe, and erected of another forme and fashion then priuate edifices, so publike pursuits for a generality, require different and contrarious resolutions E to those which are necessary and commodious for priuate affaires.

Think not, my masters, that Lyons is so badly instructed in the knowledge of obedience (which is the best and most happy possession of the subiects) that she meanes to contradict the Kings intentions, or to diminish his tributes. She knowes well that in an obedient Estate, whereas the iust commandments of a good Prince make the subiects prompt to obedience, such thoughts are criminall. The burthens which the people beare, although they be grieuous & insupportable, are called holy, & alwayes reputed iust. They are in the Estate as sayles in a ship, not to charge & overload it, but to conduct and assure it. Tributes are the sinewes of an Empire, we must beware that in leauying them it fall not in pieces. But that which we demand doth not preiudice the Kings reuenues, which draweth no F thing from this custome.

Priuate men onely should lose by it, and should learn, that they must not make their profit of publike difcommodities. The interested are such good men, as they will neuer hinder the lesser good from yielding to the greater. They bee Noblemen which haue neuer preferred their priuate considerations before the publike profit: They enter into the Kings Counsell as the Ancients did, into Temples, and whose interest are like vnur Kings, they which haue not one and the selfe same Spring and the same course, and yet in the end, they come into that great sea of publick profit, whereas they lose their name, and haue

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the same taste and fauour with the same sea. They themselves which haue meanes to find more lawfull assignations to recompence their seruices, will not onely excuse, but commend this pursuit, which informs them of the abuse which is committed vnder the title of the Kings commandements, and they shall see that we haue had the courage not to suffer our selues to be drawne head-long into this feruitude, from the which there is no issue, for that it is a violent preiudice to suffer things which are established, and get footing more by sufferance and permission, then by reason, and that the posterity of Princes is but too constant to maintaine these ruinous inuentions.

The Kings bounty and iustice shall make vs hope well of this pursuit, and beleuee that as he is full of piety and clemency (the true Character of that Soueraigne power of heauen, which hath placed him ouer vs here on earth) so he will not suffer these two Prouinces to be deprived of the fruits which they haue promised vnto themselves, hauing not yet tasted the perfect good of peace, for the purchasing whereof they had as much as any other contributed their goods and affections, and haue not bene the least instruments for the restauration of this Estate.

This discourse full of reason and truth, had not the power to make them of Dauphine redresse the complaints of Lions, but only to beseech his Maiesty to moderate the cause. His affaires would not suffer him to giue that ease, which iustice and his Maiesties clemency desired. Whilest that the Commissioners trauell throughout the Prouinces, about the execution of the Kings Edicts, as well for the good of the peace, as to supply the necessity of his Exchequer, he passeth the greatest heat of Summer at Blois. There the King of Spain gaue him to vnderstand by his Ambassador, that he had great reason to complaine of the French (especially of the Lord *La Noue*) who against the conditions of the treaty of Veruins, were gone to serue Cont *Maurice*, and the States of the Low-Countries: and if the publicke faith did not maintaine these reciprocal bonds, the peace would be more iniurious then war, being impossible to auoid the deceits of hostility, of him who shewes himselfe a friend, and is an enemy in effect. The king hauing protested that his intention was to haue the contents of the Treaty truly obserued, he commanded *la Noue* and all his subiects, to returne home within six weekes, vpon paine of losse of life, forbidding others to goe thither vpon the like penalty. The Archduke sent the Prince of Orange to visit the King, and to giue him intelligence of their arriall into the Low-countries: and *Andrew* the Cardinal hauing resigned vp his charge, takes his way through France, to see the King.

About this time, the yeare granted for the arbitrement of the Marquise of Salusses, was expired, with the prolongation of three moneths: yet would not the King attempt any thing, but commanded his seruants onely to stand vpon their guards, whilest that hee approached neerer to the D. of Sauoy, to know what he would say. The bruite notwithstanding of an army which the King of Spaine had caused to embarke in Portugal, staid his voyage vntill he might see what way it would take. But this great army which had no reputation but as farre off, and was not knowne by reason of the distance, proved in the end but fine vessels, the which were encountered by the States, and beaten neere vnto Dunkerke. Nothing did hinder the Kings exercises and sports at Blois and Males-herbes, where hee spent his time with the Marquis of Vernueil: in the meane time, his good seruants watched both within and without the Realme, for the good of his affaires: all laboured in diuers actions, but with one will, and to one end, to make the State as flourishing as it had bene, and the Maiesty of the Prince to be respected as it is, sacred and holy. Out of this number of good seruants, and officers of the Crowne, Death tooke away *Philip de Hurault*, Earle of Chiuerny, and Chancellor of France. He had bene at the first Comptroller of King *Henry* the thirds house, being Duke of Anjou, and King of Poland, and by him made Keeper of the Seales, in the life of the Cardinal of Birague, and after his death Chancellor, and by him dismissed to his house at the States of Blois, when as the seales were giuen to *Monsieur* Advocate in the Court of Parliament. In this change he made trall, that Princes officers are in his hands, as Counters be in an Auditors, who rallseth them to the greatest and highest number, and suddenly brings them downe to the lowest. And although it bee not spoken why the King commanded him to retire, yet as soone as they saw him disgraced, the friends of his fortune, and the seruants of his fauours, abandoned him. He continued a while like an old castship which lies in the harbor, & serues to no vse. He returned to his charge, and serued the King stoutly in the most troublesome time of his affaires.

After-

Complaints of the King of Spain.

An army defeated at Dunkerke.

The death of the Chancellor of Chiuerny.

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A Afterwards hee had many crosses. There were so great complaints exhibited against him in the Assembly at Roan, as he was in danger to haue lost the keeping of the Seales, or not to haue a Cardinals Hat demanded of the Pope for him. He did not affect the second, and the first he preuented, considering that they could not take away anything, nor diminish his great dignities, but with shame and disgrace.

*Pompon de Belieure* succeeded him after his death, he restored the Seales (the sacred instruments of Soueraigne Iustice) to their honour. All corrupt practices which made friends to the preiudice of the Common-weale, were banished. There is no other fauour then that of Iustice; no other expedition but in publique, and by order. Nothing is seded extraordinarily but by the Kings expresse commandement, or for the good of his seruice, which may not be deferred vnto the sealing day, and that in the view of all the Officers of the Chancery. Nothing is presented which hath not bene examined and held iust by the Masters of Requests that were present. The King hauing received newes of the Chancellors death, he commanded *Villeroy* to dispatch his Letters before he demanded the place: which done, he presented himselfe to take his oath betwixt his Maiesties hands, kneeling vpon a cushion of Veluet, the which the Chancellor and Constable onely doe, and no other Officers of the Crowne. His Maiestie would not binde him, but to doe what hee had alwayes done, for the good of his seruice and of his Crowne. To conclude, hee was not preferred to this high dignity before any one that exceeded him in the ranke of seruice, or in merit or experience, hauing vndergone the chiefe charges within the Realme, and happily performed abroad important and weighty Ambassages for the King.

This yeare tooke away some Princeesses in France: amongst others *Adamoiselle* the onely daughter of the Prince of Conde, the which hee had by his first wife the Princeesse of Neuers, and Marques of Lifle. Her obsequies were made at Saint *Germain des Prez* with great pompe, as it was fit for a Princeesse of the blood. *Lesle de Budos*, the Constables wife dyed also (a little before the Duchesse of Beaufort) hauing left one sonne and one daughter, whereby the famous house of Montmorency is renewed, the which was like to fall to the disface. The Marques of Belle-Ile (widow to the Marquis the eldest sonne to the Duke and Marshall of Raiz, a younger daughter of the house of Longueuille, hauing passed five yeares of her widowhood, and brought vp her sonne in all vertue and piety) departed secretly out of Britany; not aduertising any one of her kindred, and went to professe her selfe a Nun, in the Monastery of the Peuillantines at Tholoufa. Her brother and her husbands brethren posted after to diuert her, but she was already in the Couent, and resolute to end her dayes there. A generous resolution of a Lady, issued from that noble house of Longueuille, which holds one of the first places in France: It is Soueraigne of the Countie of Neuf-chastel in Suisse, and allied to the House of Bourbon in diuers branches.

The Commissioners which were employed for the execution of the Edict of pacification, found some difficulties in those places, whereas the Bishops and Pastors of the Catholike Church, had neither Temple nor place of retreat: yet the Masse was restored in those places where it had bene banished fiftene or twenty yeares: and the preaching appointed onely in those places that were allowed by the Edict. They found in all places a true and violent spirit, very hard to be dealt withall, which inuented idle quarrels, when as they wanted iust cause of complaint. The Commissioners exhorted either party as well to concord as to piety, and alwayes to contain their wils within the bounds of obedience, and not of rebellion, and to forget the factious names of Papists and Huguenots, the which hath bene no lesse fatal to France, then those of Guelphes and Gibellins in Italy. They aduised the Preachers to take heed that their discourses were not streames of sedition, as they are sometimes of Eloquence: for they that make profession to teach the Word of God, may doe as much harme in fauouring a Sedition, as they shall gather profit of his Ministry when he shall preach Peace. The Commissioners did admonish the Magistrates and chiefe of Iustice, to prevent the first mooues of Sedition: which getting credit with the people, is the cause of great disorders.

So the Edict was executed throughout the Realme, and the most sad age began to lye loungety together, burying the remembrance of things past. Things done cannot be recalled. We must grow more wise hereafter by the consideration of what is past: we must

Pompon de Belieure Chancellor of France.

Death of the Prin. esse of Conde.

Execution of the Edict of Pacification.

haue

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Warre ruins  
both State and  
Religion.

Obedience is  
the Eye and  
Heart of an  
Estate.

The Duke of  
Lorraine marries  
the Daughter  
of the Duke of  
Lorraine.

haue our eyes open, to distinguish the causes from the pretexts, and discover the euill A which is hidden vnder a shew of good, holding for an infallible Maxime, that there is no iust occasion to arme against his Prince, nor to trouble the quiet of his country: wee haue bene so abused, as wee haue taken the maske for the face; slander for innocencie, and falshood for truth: and vnder these false impressions, we haue left an assured peace for a doubtful: we haue beleueed those Empericks of State, who desirous to continue our languishing, and to prolong our diseases, haue said that Principle of truth, *that civil war ruines both Estate and Religion*, drawn this Proposition: *That France cannot liue in peace with two Religions*. The which hath cost the liues of those that haue maintained it, and the ruine of others that haue beleueed it. Being then reconciled for that which is past, and well aduised for that which is to come, hauing escaped shipwracke beyond our owne hopes, let vs remaine in the port of this concord, where the King doth guide vs, after so many stormes and tempests, wee shall be there assured. The sea doth no harme to ships that haue good anchors: Obedience is the anchor which doth assure our Ship against the fury of wind and waues. It is that which giues life and motion to all the members of the body: and there is not a more certaine signe of the life of an Estate, then obedience. It is the eye of the body, which liues last, and dies first: it should bee the heart, which liues first, and dies last.

This yeare the Princeesse of Antoinette, daughter to the Duke of Lorraine, was conducted by the Earle of Vaudemont her brother, to the Duke of Iuilliers, who had married her: shee was attended with a goodly traine, and came to Collen, where she was honorably receiued by the Senate: and after some dayes, she went downe to the river to Duisseldorp. The nuptiall ioy was great and flatly, although it were somewhat disturbed by the insolvency of the armies, as well of the States, as of the Admirall. The marriage of *Sibille*, Sister to the Duke of Iuilliers, and of the Marquis of Bourgondy, brother to *Andrew* of Austria the Cardinall, caused a peace in the country of Cleues, and all the Spanish pretensions went to smooke.

When as after the death of the Duchesse of Beaufort, they saw the King falling into a new shipwracke, from the which he was lately escaped, and that loue (mourning yet for his first *Venus*) led him to another, you might heare the sighs of the most modest; the murmuring of the most turbulent, and generally, prelates of some approaching storme. This was the onely droppe of oyle which did pierce through the glorious actions of this Prince: who superiour to all other in courage and valour, and alwayes equal to himselfe, made himselfe subiect to this passion. Truth will not suffer mee to suppress that which cannot be hidden. It is good to conceale that which is doubtfull in his actions that hath no other Iudge but God: but to keepe secret that which is knowne and scene of all men, is a baseness. It imports to know things truly, which not being written, shall passe to posterity according to their passions, which shall begin and continue the tradition. Ancient Histories (as full of simple truth, as void of affectation) haue not concealed the loues of Princes, whose vertues they haue written. Of all the follies of men, there is none more excusable, nor of the which fewer doe excuse themselves, then of loue. All fight vnder this banner. If then it was necessarie for the King to loue, hee could not loue any thing more worthy of his loue. But when as death did see that the lower grew blind in the thing loved, & that this blindness had brought France into confused darkness, he separated them.

Vpon this consideration, the Court of Parliament finding, that there is nothing that doth more preserve France from falling into fore-past miseries, or more assure the present, and continues their prosperities hereafter, then the Kings issue: therefore, they beseeched his Maiesty to marry, and to giue to himselfe a Sonne and a Successour to his Realme, there being no army more powerfull, either by sea or land, to assure an Empire, then many children. *La Guesse* the Kings Attourney General, made the Speech. He represented vnto his Maiesty, how much he was bound to God. He discovered the publick difficulties of his Estate: shewed the remedies: and in the end let him see, that the enioying of all the felicities which peace, (purchased by his victorious armes) could promise him, was weakly grounded: France was not assured to see it durable, the which depended on the lawfull birth of a Dauphin. That although by the law of State (a sacred and immutable law, and an originarie law of the Crowne) the succession belongs to the nearest kinsman, yet France is too full of those turbulent spirits, which in the calme of peace, watch carefully

As De la  
Guesse  
Speech vnto  
the King

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A fully for occasions of warre, which in the midst of rest, breathe after troubles: and freed from the perill of armes, hold still (like mad-men) their hearts and their courages armed to moue new contentions another day against the law and order of the Realme: wherof the King himselfe had made such tryall of their bad intentions, as without the vertue of heauen infused into him, his Right had been vanquished by force.

That although his Maiesty by his wifedome, accompanied with a singular bounty and charitable affection to the quiet of his subiects, hath declared his succesor to the Crowne, yet France hath alwayes obserued, that when the Crowne did leape from one branch of a Family vnto another, and that the Sonne did not succeed the Father, it was disputed with new factions, and the fields bathed with the blood of her Citizens, and the fire of ciuill warre so kindled, as two ages was scarce able to quench it.

That to take away these iust feares and apprehensions of these publike calamities, the succession must not change the branch, for where there is no change, there is no stirre, and the children succeeding in the fathers Realme, it seemes that hee that reigned, is rather growne yong againe then changed: there is nothing new, the Crowne continues in the same house, the fathers face is noted in that of his sonne. That the shining of the Sunne is pleasing as a calme sea, or the earth couered with his greene tapistry. But there is nothing so goodly, nor so delightfull to the eye, as the sight of children newly borne in a family that wanted this aduantage. That to attaine vnto this happinesse, they must begin by the dissolution of the marriage betwixt his Maiesty and the Queene, Duchesse of Valois, being no lesse easie then that of *Charlemagne* with *Irmengrade*, and *Theodora* daughter and sister to *Didier*, King of Lombards, for indispotion and sterility: of *Lewis* the 7, with *Elenor* Duchesse of Guienne for some discontentments set downe in the History, and couered with the pretext of Consanguinity: of *Lewis* the 12, with *Isabe* of France daughter to *K. Lewis* the 11 constrained by force, and want of consent.

That they should not be troubled to seek lawfull causes of this dissolution: for besides the want of issue, in the which consists the second end of matrimony, and the preservation of the State, they should not need to inuent the degree of consanguinity, being knowne to all men, that the King and Queene are in the third degree, a blemish which hath alwayes accompanied the marriage since the solemnization thereof, and the which was not taken away by the briefe of Pope *Gregory* the 13, for that the necessary and essentiall formes were not obserued. After that he had shewed the necessitie and profit of this separation, he beseecheth the King to chooſe his second wife, in a chiefe and Soueraigne Family, and which had bene heretofore honoured with the like happinesse, and to consider that so great a Realme flourishing in Princes and many Noblemen, and ancient houses, cannot easily submit themselves to the command of those which by both sides shall not bee of the blood Royall or Soueraigne, halfe Princes, halfe simple Gentlemen. And if at any time we must respect the distinction of births and races, it must be when as they that come, are born to commande other others.

That they could not giue Heires to a Realme of too worthy a House: and if hee be not equally by the fathers side, yet at the least, that he come nere vnto it: for men being by nature high-minded, doe not willingly submit themselves to them whom they thinke to be inferior to their fathers, vnto whose command they haue bene inured.

The King was well pleased with this discourse, and aduertised Queene *Marguerite* thereof by *L. Angellois*, one of the Masters of Requests of his Maiesties household, to vnderstand her resolution touching the nullity of her marriage. Shee (who vpon the like demand during the life of the Duchesse of Beaufort had made refusal for some reasons) returned him answer, that she would deliuer her minde vnto *Berthier*, Agent for the Clergy, and Intendant of her affaires. The Kings intentions were imparted vnto him, and he sent vnto her, who returned with this answer vnto the King and his Councell: *That she desired nothing more then the Kings contentment, and the quiet of the Realme: and withall, she sent a priuate Letter vnto his Maiesty, beseeching him, To grace her with his protection, vnder the shadow whereof she would passe the remainder of her yeares.* The said Queene sent a petition vnto the Pope, containing, *That her brother King Charles* the 9, and the Queene her Mother had married her against her will, so which marriage her heart had neuer consented: *That the King and shee being in the third degree of consanguinitie, shee beseecheth his Holinesse to declare the marriage void.* The King made the like request. This businesse was managed very seriously by

A Letter from  
Q. Marguerite  
vnto the King.

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Pope Gregorius  
dispensation  
was after the  
marriage.

The King was  
burnt the 13  
of December  
1553, and bur-  
tized at Pau by  
the Cardinall  
of Bourbon for  
Henry die 2.

by the Cardinall of Oſſat, and by the Lord of Sillery, the Kings Ambaſſadour at Rome A (who at the ſame time purſued the Iudgement for the Marquieſſe of Saluces:) they beſeeched his Holineſſe in his Maieſties name: *That for that which ſhould concerne the nullity of the ſaid marriage, he deſired no other ſanctur then that of Iuſtice.*

This buſines was imparted by the Pope to the Conſistory, and many reaſons ſet down to proue the nullity of the marriage. All the difficulty was, that Pope Clement the eight thought it ſomewhat ſtrange, that he ſhould declare that marriage void, which Pope Gregory the thirteenth had approued, and who by his abſolute authoritie had taken away all lets and hindrances. All which was answered at large. And although it were true, that Queene Marguerite had continued long with the King: yet this cohabitation was alwaies B forced, and the ſame feare which was in the beginning of the marriage, had continued during the life of her brethren, and the Queene her Mother: and the time was to bee regarded ſo long as the ſcare continued: for marriages contracted by force and conſtraint, without conſent are void, and time doth not extinguiſh the nullity, if hee that is forced hath not liberty to doe that freely, which they haue made him to doe by force.

In the end, it was reſolued on in the Conſistory, that a Comiſſion ſhould be granted to certaine Prelates, to take iuſt knowledge of the cauſe vpon the place, and to iudge of the nullity of the ſaid marriage. His Holineſſe ſent his Comiſſion vnto the Cardinall Ioyeuz, to the Biſhop of Modena, his Nuncio in France, and to the Archbiſhop of Arles, C a learned Italian Prelate, and well practiſed in thoſe affaires, who being aſſembled at Paris, after that they had obſerued all ſolemnnities that were requiſite, and cauſed information to be taken of his Maieſties age, hauing viewed the requiſition of the three Eſtates of France, containing the great intereſt they had therein. All being well examined and conſidered, they declared the ſaid marriage void, and ſet the parties at liberty to marry where they pleaſed.

The King ſent d'Alincourt, Gouverneur of Pontoife, and Knight of his Orders, to to thanke the Pope for his good iuſtice: and the Earle of Beaumont to Queene Marguerite, to let her vnderſtand, that the Popes Delegates had giuen vp their ſentence. And ſeeing that God had diſſolved that the bond of their coniunction was diſſolved, the which his diuine Iuſtice had done as well for their particular quiet, as for the publique good of the Realme, he deſired no leſſe to cheriſh and loue her then before, reſolving to haue more care of that which did concern him, then he had had, & to let her vnderſtand, that hereafter he would not be a brother to her onely in name, but he ſhould find effects worthy of the truſt which he had reſoſed in the ſinceritie of his affection. Shee made anſwer vnto the King. That although it were eaſier to receiue comfort for the loſſe of any worldly thing, yet the onely reſpect of the merit of ſo perfect a King and ſo valiant, did by the priuation thereof cut off all conſolation, being the marke of the generoſitie of ſuch a ſpirit, to make her griefe immortal as hers ſhould be, if the fauour which it pleaſed his Maieſtie to doe her by the aſſurance of countenance and protection, did not baniſh it.

At the ſame time ſhee ſtaied the effects of the Kings liberalitie by the encrease of her penſions, liuing happily at Veſſon neere to Auirillac, in the tranquillitie and ſilence of her fortune. This change is no leſſe, but the ſhal be alwaies one of the firſt Princeſſes of Europe. No man can take from her that which Heauen and Nature haue giuen her. It is a Theater, which although it hath been beaten with lightning, is ſtill admired. And to ſpeake the truth without affection or flattery, ſhe her ſelfe hath ruined the greateſt of her fortune, in that the would be what ſhe is.

This marriage is no ſooner diſſolved, but they treat of another. In the bleſſings whereof the French promiſe vnto themſelues the increaſe and continuance of thoſe of Heauen. The great Duke of Tufcany did carefully keep Mary of Medicis his Neece to increaſe the honour of his houſe by ſome great alliance. It was in a ſeaſon when as the Sovereigne houſes of Europe had no daughters ready to marry, or there was ſome diſparity for their Age, or Religion. Great and important conſiderations, which Princes ſhould not paſſe over lightly. It ſeemes that the eternall wiſdome, which concludes the marriages of Princes in Heauen, and bleſſeth them on earth, would not marry this Princeſſe vnto the Emperour, but reſerued her for the good of a greater Empire, not being pleaſed that France ſhould ſeek the meanes to continue the Crowne in the Kings poſterity, any where elſe but at Florence, one of the eyes of Italy, and in the houſe of Medicis, which goeth equally with

Mary of Medicis  
the Duke of  
Florence's  
Daughter.

1599

A with the firſt in Italy. The hiſtory of which houſe you may read at large in the Originall. *Cofmo* furnamed by *Pius* the 5, the great Duke of Tufcany, had by Madam *Eleanor* of Toledo, daughter to the Victroy of Naples, *Francis*, *Ferdinand*, *Peter*, *Garcia*, *Iſabella*, and *Eleanor*. *Francis* married *Ioane* of Auſtria, daughter to the Emperour *Ferdinand*. Of this marriage came two daughters, *Eleanor* and *Mary*: the firſt is married to bee D. of Montour, the happineſſe and good fortune of the other is referred to the Queene of France. And the King being now ſet at liberty, ſett all his thoughts vpon her marriage.

The D. of Sauoy had ſent many of his Miniſters into France, to treat vpon the difference for the Marquieſſe of Saluces, without expecting the Popes ſentence. All the voyages B which *Jaſcob*, the Preſident *Rochette*, the Marquis of Lullins, the Cheualier *Breton* and *Rencas* his Secretary had made, brought him no other fruit then to haue obſcured the State of the Court, pierced a little into the Kings deſignes, the which is alwaies the firſt of an Ambaſſadors inſtructions, & noted the countenance of ſome ſpirits impatient of reſt, and deſirous of change. And although the Patriarke of Conſtantinople had by his perſuaſions drawne more from the King then the Duke of Sauoy hoped for, and made knowne how much a diſcourſe full of affection and perſuaſion may preuaile, there being nothing that doth more ſubtilly ſteale away the opinions of men, then the eloquence of *Mercury*, yet could he neuer change the reſolution which the King had taken to haue the Marquieſſe againe. He was at Lyons whereas ſickneſſe ſtayed him for a time: the King hauing commanded the Governour of Lyons to lodge him, feaſt him, and ſupply all his wants: *Rencas* attended vntill he was recovered, to conſult and accompany him according to the order which the Duke had giuen him. But as things went on more ſlowly then hee deſired, hee thought that this purſuit required a greater preſence and action: that hee himſelfe muſt doe his owne Ambaſſage, promiſing more vnto himſelfe by his onely ſhadow, then by all the ſoliciting of ſeruants. Hee therefore prepared himſelfe to goe to the King, although the chiefe of his Council diſſwaded him.

The onely thought of this voyage made him irreconcilable to the King of Spaine, although it had not paſt the reaſmes of a ſimple proſperity, ſo did hee make ſhew to bee deſirous to breake wholly with him: hee had in few great occasions to complaine of his D friendſhip and ſuccours, who did but entertaine his grieſe, and made the cure deſperate. It is good for a Prince to know the humours of many Nations. Hee knew the Spaniards well: their manner of liuing, the ruinous conditions which they lay vpon them whom they aſſiſt: the length and languiſhing of their promiſes were odious vnto him. Hee did conſider the iniuſtice, & inequality in the portion of the *Infanta* his wife, who of ſo many Scepters and Crownes which the King her Father had, receiued but ſix ſcore thouſand Crownes of yearely penſion, whereas the eldeſt had the Low-countries, and the Franche county in marriage. He could not forget, that at the treaty of *Veruins*, hee had been in a manner forgotten, and that a Peace was almoſt concluded before they thought of him. He beſeuered that if the Spaniard would, the queſtion for the Marquieſſe of Saluces had E been ended, the which might haue been left to him in exchange of *Calais*, *Dorland*, *Ardes*, and other places. That the King of Spaine did thinke (that to prevent that all theſe diſcontentments ſhould not eary this Prince to ſome dangerous party) it was neceſſary to ſee him vnto the Crowne of Spaine by ſome ſtrong bond. They therefore demaied the Duke Prince, and the firſt *Infanta*, vnder colour to bring them vnder a royall manner, and in a Court whereas they might one day hope to riſe.

The King was diſcontented with this demand, perceiving well that it proceeded more from diſtruſt, then affection. His Council aduiled him to giue this content vnto the King of Spaine, that hee could not lodge his children better, and that that was the ſauiest and very cement of perfect friendſhip. Yet hee reſolved to keepe his children, and not ſend the Count *Le Morte* to make his excuſe, that the preſent eſtate of his affaires would not ſuffer him to ſend them, nor to provide them a traine and furniture fit for the voyage.

The King of Spaine, to take away all excuſe, giues order to haue money provided for him at Milan, and perſwades the Duke to ſend the Count *Le Morte* as Governour and conſulor of the Prince. The D. takes the money, and keeps the ware, ſaying that the ayre of Spaine was not proper for his children, that their indiſpoſition and the tendreſſe of their age, would not ſuffer him to hazard them ſo ſoone in ſolong a voyage.

This reſuſall offended the King of Spaine, and makes the Duke to reſolve, vpon that which

The Dukes  
diſcontent, but  
countereit.

The counsell of  
Spain demaied  
the Dukes  
children.

The King of Spain  
offended with  
the Duke.

which he held most profitable. From that time he could no more looke on a Spaniard. He then left the Spanish Ambassador at Turin, and came to Chambery: when as hee did see any one afarre off in his Councell of the Spanish Faction, hee looks on him with such a disdainfull eye, he shewes himselfe no more in his presence: hee scornes the Spanish faction, and commends the French, saying, *That there is no such felicitie as to conquer ones selfe, and to yeeld himselfe absolutely vnto himselfe.*

The King was long before he would yeeld vnto the Dukes comming into France, saying, *That it was not necessary he should passe the mountaines without the Marquisate of Saluces.* But the Cheualier Breton and Roncas did presse the King, that he would be pleased to giue their Master leaue to see him, assuring him that he would giue him all content. The first was framed to the fashion of that Court, and did beleue that when they should see a Prince great in Iudgement, admirable in liberalitie, and indued with many excellent qualities, they would grant him all without any difficulty. Many dissuaded the Duke from this voyage, laying before him the dangers in trusting a great enemy, wanting no examples, whereof one in such remarkable accidents were sufficient to make him to change his minde, and to ground his iudgement vpon experience.

Roncas returned from the Court, he found the Duke at Hautecombe, and brings him Letters from the King, fuller of desire to see him, then of any hope that this enterview should yeeld him any great profit. This Letter well considered, was not sufficient to make the way for such a passage, shewing that although the King desired his comming, it was always without preiudice, to have reason of the Marquisate. It was imparted to the Councell: whereof some said, that this voyage would giue an offence which Spain would neuer pardon: others said, that the end of this game would be the losse of friendship of the K. of Spaine, which would be profitable to the Duke, and necessary for his children. The Duke answers, that the Mariner is ill aduised that strikes often against the same rock where he hath many times suffered shipwrack. That the hatred of Spaine would make the conditions of the treaty more easie and beneficiall, and would lay open that which none but himselfe could expresse, carying in his brest certain designs which hee could not trust to any but himselfe. There was no reason of force to make him change this opinion. He said, that as soone as he had seene the King he should be content. They had much adoe to persuade him to send (not an Ambassador, but a simple Post) vnto the King of Spaine, not to aske his aduice, but to cary him assurance of his going into France: the which hee vnderstood when as they could not beleue it in Court, thinking that he had changed his resolution.

When as all doubts were taken away, the King gaue order for his receiuing, commanding the Gouernor of Lions to prepare the Archbishops lodging for his owne person, and the nearest houses for the Noblemen of his Court: That hee should accompany him in the best fort he could to doe any thing that he desired to see within the towne. That he should goe and meet him in the mid way of the last post, with all the Nobility of his gouernment. That they of the towne should attend him at the gate when hee should enter, and that the Prouost of Merchants should tell him, that he had commandement to do him the same honour that was to be done to his Maiesty, and visiting him in his lodgings, to present vnto him the goodliest & rarest fruits that might be found in the country, and that they should feast him, and defray him with all his traine. This was executed with such order and state, as the Duke hath said often said since, that this entertainment had bound him. The Earles of the great Church of Lions were in doubt whether they should receiue this Prince as they had done the Duke Emanuel Philibert his father. The Dukes of Sauoy, as Earles of Villards and Soueraignes of that county in the country of Breffe, haue had place as Chanoin of Honour in that Church, the which is represented vnto them the first time they enter. The same honour should haue bene offered vnto the Duke passing by Lions, as had bene giuen vnto his father when he came after the peace in the year 1559, if things had bene in the same estate, or if they had not found a greater difference. The Chapter of this Church had great reason to intreat the Prince as they had done his predecessors, seeing the King would haue him receiued like vnto his Maiesty, and giue him that testimonie of honour, the effect whereof did honor them as much that gave it, as he could find himselfe honored that receiued it. But for that through the Kings conquest the country of Villards was no more vnder his obedience; that things were yet in suspence of war or peace; that Princes are always offended with the communication of such honours; they

*La Guide du Gouernor de Lion, aduise: reuele the King of the Duke of Sauioues reception. The King demands what a Chanoin of Honor is.*

A they refused not to doe any thing therein, but what it should please the King to appoint. They aske the Gouernors aduice: whereupon *La Faye*, one of the Earles of that Church, was sent to Court, to know the Kings pleasure touching this difficulty.

The King demanded of him, what a Chanoin of honor was, and if the Duke of Sauoyes reception had bene like vnto his. *La Faye* answered, that the great and famous Churches of Europe had Chanoinnes of honour, who were either Soueraine Princes, (in whose dominions they were founded) or foraigne Princes, who by their piety haue bound the Church to this acknowledgement of honor. That the place of a Chanoin of honour, is neither for the office, nor for the charge, but onely for reuerence and priuiledge: for as the Prince who is a Chanoin of honor, is not bound to any other thing, but to sweare the protection and preservation of the rights of the Church, so he reapes no other profit, but is partaker of their praier which they make there.

That this honour should bee of small import, if the greatnesse of Princes which had desired it, did not make it great in a great Church, the which being one of the chiefe of France as well in Antiquity as in Dignity, the reputation thereof hath bene spread in farre nations, who haue founded their Churches after this modell. That this honour had bene giuen in ancient time to the most Christian Kings, to the Dukes of Sauoy Earles of Villards, to the Dukes of Bourgundy, Dukes of Berry, and Dauphines of Viennois, which haue bene receiued Chanoinnes of Honor in that Church, but those receptions did differ from that of the Kings.

The King asked the opinion of his Councell in that case, and by their aduice he answered, that the Duke of Sauoy holding no more the County of Villards, should not pretend the rights that depended thereon: that comming into France, to reconcile himselfe vnto his Maiesty, hee would make for small an aboad in Lions as hee did not thinke that hee would stay for so simple a ceremonie. That if hee should demand that place of a Chanoin of Honour as they had giuen it to his deceased father, the Chapter should excuse themselves, vntill they knew the Kings pleasure, to doe their duties at his returne.

The Duke was much offended with the refusal of that was due to him, and the which D hee had giuen vnto his deceased father. Neither did hee dissemble his discontent, for he would not goe into this Church, although he were lodged in the Archbishops palace, nor passe ouer the place, which is before the principall doore: and when as the Deane with the whole body of the Church went to salute him, hee said that hee had alwayes honoured that company, as hauing the Honour to be of it. Being receiued into Lions according to the Kings order and command, hee had many prefaces of discontent in his voyage. His seruants in Court aduertised him that if he came without other designe then to offer the Marquisate of Saluces, hee would repent his comming. One said vnto him that hee should not get any great matter of the King, seeing hee was not pleased that the Cathedrall Church at Lions should afford him a little honour and E ceremony. A man at armes of the company of the Marquis d'Yrfe, was put in prison vpon a false aduice that came from Geneva, that he followed the Duke with an intent to doe a bad act at Paris. It was strange in Court that the King had not sent any other vnto him then the Controulour generall of the Postes. But nothing troubled him more, then when as *Varenne* (among other discourses which the Duke offered, to found their opinions touching his voyage) said vnto him, hee should be welcome so as hee restored the Marquisate. A speech which toucht the Duke vnto the quicke, who esteemed not all the Estates of his patrimony, as the Marquisate alone. It is true that they loue that better which they haue gotten, then that which hath bene purchased by their Predecessors. He went by post from Lions to Roane: from thence hee went by water to Orleans, whither the King sent the Duke of Nemours to receiue him. Betwixt Orleans and Fontainebleau he was met first by the Marshall *Biron*, and then by the Duke *Montpensier*, being followed by many Noblemen.

The 13 of December at night (a memorable day for the Kings birth) hee arose: when hee knew his traine to bee asleepe, and departs secretly to get to Fontainebleau before his people were awake. *Varenne* who had commandement from the King to come before and aduertise him, had much adoe to follow him, and if the Duke had found horses ready at the first post, they had not caried the first newes of his arrival.



1599

The King and his Nobles were attired in red, the Duke and his traine in blacke.

The Dukes praise.

Duke of Mercœur voyage into Hungary in October. 1599.

He found the King coming from Maffé, with all the Noblemen of his Court, attired in red, and ready to goe to horse-backe to meet him : they did walke long together after their first embracings and excuses. Then the Duke told him the occasions of his voyage, the which hee had kept secret from his Councell : but hee could draw nothing from the King by this first parlee, but hee should haue him his friend in yielding him his Marquisate. It is a difficult thing to feed a King that hath a white beard with words. The King said alwaies that hee desired nothing but his owne. And the Duke of Sauoy being in the Louvre spake as boldly as if he had beene in the Citadell at Turin, that no power in the world should euer make him yeld to this restitution. A free and courageous speech in anothers Court, nor amongst his owne people, but to *Villeroy* the Kings chiefe and most confident Secretary of State. From Fontainebleau hee went to Paris with a goodly traine, hee was lodged in the Louvre, and spent the Christmas in *Nemours* house. He admired this great Court, where hee sees the chiefe Noblemen of the Realme, and noted that *L'Escliquiers* who had so much troubled him, was not so great in Court as in Dauphine. The Dukes presence did increase his reputation, he gouerned his actions in such sort, as he freed them from the scorne and mockery of the Court. His wisdom, his discretion, and his courtseie, made them to forget the tales which were yet told of the good Duke *Charles* his grand-father. They did obserue in his actions courtseie and courage, bounty, discretion and policy. This yeare ended with all sorts of pleasures and sports, familiarities and proofes of true friendship, so as many beleueed that the two hearts and the two Courts of these Princes were but one, but there was alwaies some marke of constraint, and amidst these embracings there alwaies past some gird or quip. The King who is fudden in his answers, gaue him alwaies some touch to thinke on. There was too great difference betwixt their humours to make a long and good harmony. But whilst the Court abounds in pleasure and delights, the Duke *Mercœur* is in Hungary, in the midst of many discomforts, which hee holds pleasing for Gods cause : but before hee goes hee giues them occasion to talke of him in the Court of Parliament. Hee had a cause pleaded there, and his Advocate gaue him the quality of a Prince : *Servin* the Kings Advocate (holding it a base preuarication to be silent at that which ought to bee spoken for the Kings seruice and the Law of State) did shew that that quality did not belong to any, but to Princes of the blood. The Duchesse of Mercœur (who was then in presence) said that they could not take from her husband a quality that was due vnto him by the right of his birth, and that the King held him so.

The Duke *Mercœur*, holding that which the Kings Advocate had sayd, in discharge of his duty for a brauado and a contempt, went the same day vnto his house, and gaue him iniurious words. The King being aduertised thereof, held it a bold act. The Court esteemed the injury done vnto them, and desired the more to repaire it, for that the honour of the Kings seruice was wronged, and that it had beene done in sight of the Parliament of the capital City of the Realme, and in his house that was wronged, the which should bee to euery man an inuolable Sanctuary. The Court decreed that hee should bee personally adorned, and had proceeded further if the Kings commandement had not stayed them. It was a great vertue in the President *Lixet*, when he decreed that the quality of a Prince (which the Cardinall of Lorraine tooke) should be razed out of his Advocates pleadings. The Cardinall complained vnto the King : but the President *Lixet* answered with such courage and constancy before the King, being in councell, that the Cardinall was no Prince nor equal to Princes, and if you will faith beue it, shew vs the place of your Principality. A free speech which purchased the old man much reputation, and yet within two yeares after hee made him resigne his place vnder another pretext. There was no Nobelman in France that vied the benefit of the peace more worthily then the Duke *Mercœur*, for disdainning the idleness of the Court and the ease of his house, hee employed himselfe to succour the Christians, against the greatest enemy of their Religion. Hee leads with him the Count of Chaligny his brother, with some Gentlemen at his owne charge, resolving to imploy his goods as well as his life in this holy warre, hauing vowed to serue Christendome two yeares at his owne charge. He shewed himselfe a great Capitaine as well to defend as to assaile, hauing kept the enemy with an Army of a hundred and fifty thousand men from

A from besieging of Strigonia : this was in his first voyage before whose returne the Emperour desired to see him, and intreated him to take his way by Prague.

In the beginning of the yeare, the Duke of Sauoy sent the King two great Basins, and two Ewers of Chrystal, the rarest peeces of the Cabinet of *Beatrice* of Portugal his grandmother, and of Lady *Katherine* the Infanta of Spaine and his wife, the which could not bee valued neither for the matter, nor for the workmanship : and the King returned vnto the Duke a fewell of Diamonds, in the middell whereof there was one Diamond Transparent, which discovered his Maiesties portrait, the which hee esteemed so much, as hauing lost it once in dancing, he gaue five hundred Crownes to him that found it. The Duke was not to bee imitated in his bounty, and when as they thought that hee had giuen all, hee invited the King and the Court to a dancing, where he shewed himselfe in Jewels, as they were esteemed to bee worth about six hundred thousand Crownes. Hee gaue Presents to all the Court, who accepted them with the Kings permission : Once the Duke of Biron refused the horses that hee sent vnto him : but the King had nothing the better opinion of their intelligences, nor the Duke lesse assurance of his affection by this refusal, for it was chiefly for his sake, that the Duke of Sauoy had made his voyage, to draw him wholly from the Kings seruice. It was that great occasion which hee caried secret in his brest, and would not reueale vnto his Councell, when they disswaded his going into France : the Marquisate of Saluces was the pretext of his voyage, but the finishing of this great conspiracy was the true cause. It was a goodly soyle well set out, but couered with a false stone.

*La Fin* was employed as a Truchman of the Wills of the Conspirators and Confederates. The first time that hee had any speech with the Duke of Sauoy, was the night after the feasts of Christmas, when he was brought into the Dukes Chamber in *Nemours* house, by *Seigneur Jacob*, without the priuity of any other. The Duke of Nemours (comming to giue the Duke the good night) was intreated not to enter, for that the Duke would take his rest. They would not haue him acquainted with any thing, fearing lest he should aduertise the King, hauing obserued what hee sayd the first day of the Dukes arrival, that nothing should draw him from the Kings seruice, and that excepted, hee would doe any thing for his Highnesse. There was not any night but *La Fin* spent a good part of it, to acquaint him with the State of the faction. Those that were of this intelligence, met at the most remote Churches, to acquaint one another with that which past. Nothing was said in the Kings Councell, but the Duke of Sauoy was presently aduertised thereof, by them that were at his deuotion. But he had not yet spoken with the Duke of Biron of their designe, but by a third person : it was necessary they should ioyne to knit the knot of their vnion. They had both sought the occasion, but there was still some obstacle, or some spie that hindred them. They encountered a fit opportunity at Conflans, being all alone, the King hauing commanded the Duke of Biron to entertaine the Duke of Sauoy vntill his returne : they lost no time, in plying it but in three or foure words of trust, and assured intelligence, referring the rest to the mediation of *La Fin*. Their discourse was broken off, by the comming of the Count *Soissons*, and the Duke of Montpensier.

The Dukes proceeding therein, was very cunning and iudicious, for often-times hee would begin a discourse of the valour and courage of the Duke of Biron, to found the Kings opinion, who did not alwayes giue him the glory of those goodly executions, whereof hee vanted. The Duke did still aduertise the Duke of Biron of any thing the King had sayd of him, that might any way alter him, which made him to breake forth in the bitterest words hee could, against all respect of the Kings seruice, being very sensible of any thing that was spoken against the reputation of his valour, in regard whereof hee esteemed nothing : and when hee entered into the History of his life, hee would speake contemptibly of all the world, not sparing the King himselfe, whose valour and experience in military actions, hath obscured others, and forced them to confesse, that hee hath not beene aduanced to the Royall Throne by the benefit of Fortune, but by the merit of his vertue. The Duke of Biron committed great errors against the rules of such as desire to raise and aduance their fortunes. No man must euer enter into comparision of valour and sufficiency with his Prince : hee may not dispute of his aduice, contradict his opinion, nor affect to seeme more aduised,

1599

The New years gifts of the Duke and King.

The Duke of Biron refused the D. of Sauoy's Presents.

The chiefe cause of the Dukes voyage into France.

The Duke of Nemours disposition to the Kings seruice.

The Duke of Sauoy's policy.

The Duke of Biron could not endure a others praise.

M m m m a

1600

These words  
were spoken  
and heard at  
the siege of  
Amiens.

advised, more iudicious, nor more capable. Many haue bene cast away vpon this selfe. A The Duke of Biron was of this humor. The exceſſe of his courage made him to diſallow with diſdaine, all that was not done or inuented by himſelfe. He ſayd ſometimes vnto the King, that he would not haue them write in the Hiſtory of France, that other then he had done ſuch and ſuch a thing.

The ſecond day of the yeere, the King went to Saint Germaine in Lay, leading the Duke with him, to ſhew him his buildings, his Grots or Caues and his Chafes, and with all hee ſhewed him his other houſes, and all the goodlieſt places about Paris. In the meane time he diſſembled his diſcontent, with ſo great wiſdome, as hee ſeemed alwaies one, at the table, at hunting, at play, and at dancing: the King though he reſuſed what he demanded, yet did he ſtill ſhew him new fights, to recompence the ſained repentance his voyage.

The King leads  
the Duke to the  
Court of Parli-  
ament.

After that he had ſcene all that was rare about Paris, the King would ſhew him his Court of Parliament, for all that hee had ſcene was nothing in reſpect of the admirable greatneſſe of that reuerent Court, whereof in former times, many Emperours, Kings, and Princes, coming to Paris, had more admitted the Juſtice that was adminiſtered there, then any thing elſe that they had ſcene. The King aduerted the chiefe Preſident *Achilles de Harley*, that hee would goe ſee and heare there. They prepared the lodging of the golden Chamber, whereas the King and Duke might ſee and not be ſcene. There was a moſt tragicall cauſe pleaded, whereof the firſt Preſident made choiſe: The ſubiect C was a of one *Iohn Proſſ* a practitioner of the Law, who had bene murdered at Paris, and the authors could not be diſcovered. His mother accuſed a Baker where hee was lodged, vpon ſome apparant preſumptions of certaine money which ſhee had lent vnto him. Wherevpon the Baker was condemned to be rackt with all extremity, after the which he was enlarged for a time, putting in Caution for his appearance againe in Court.

It happened afterwards that three Gaſcons were taken for robbing of a houſe, and condemned the next day to be hanged. At their execution, the laſt of the three ſaid, that the Baker was innocent for that whereof hee had bene accuſed, for the murder of *Iohn Proſſ*, and that it was he with his companion *La Sale* that had ſlaine him, thinking that he had money: and that after they had ſlaine him, they did caſt him into the Priuy, whereas D he was yet. The which was found true: Wherevpon the Baker being declared innocent, hee preſents his petition vnto the Court, and demands reparation of honor, with his charges, damage and intereſt againſt the mother. The mother defends her ſelfe, and ſaith, that her accuſations were not calumnious. Maſter *Anne Robert* pleaded for the Baker, and for the mother Maſter *Anthony Arnault*, and for the Kings intereſt Maſter *Servin* his Maieſties Aduocate Generall.

*Anne Robert Advocate in the Court, pleading for the Baker  
being Plaintiffe, ſaid thus:*

*May it pleaſe ye:*

THE ancient Poets taking pleaſure to diſcourſe of many combats happened at the battell of Troy, report that *Telephus* (the ſonne of *Hercules*) receiued in an encounter a fore wound with a Lance by *Achilles*: who ſeeing his paine to encreaſe dayly, ſied to *Apollons* Oracle for Counſell, who answered, that nothing could giue him eaſe or cure, but the ſame Lance wherewith hee had bene wounded. A Lance called *Pelias* of Mount *Pelion* in the top whereof *Chiron* gathered it, to preſent to *Achilles*: ſo as in *Telephus* accident, the remedy and the cure, came from the ſame Lance, which gaue the wound and did the harme.

A wound giuen  
by ſentence,  
cannot be cured  
but by ſen-  
tence.

The Plaintiffe with ſome like conſideration, hath reaſon to ſay, that hauing bene by the authority of a ſentence miſerably tormented, and expoſed to the rigour of the racke and torture, by the wilfull ſlander and importune raſhneſſe of a woman, hee hath recoured vnto the ſame Lance of *Achilles* which did wound him: ſeeing that he doth now appeale vnto the Authority and Juſtice of the ſame Court, which hath heretofore giuen the firſt ſentence of condemnation againſt him, hoping that by the exemplary puniſhment of the raſhneſſe and ſlander of this woman, the ſoueraigne

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Alluding to the  
name of the  
Iudge which  
was *Achilles De  
Harley*.

A ſoueraigne Juſtice of this Parliament guided by the conduct of an *Achilles*, which doth preſide and hold the chiefe place, ſhall giue cure to his wounds, and bring conſolation to his grieſe.

The eſtate of the caſe that is now in queſtion, and to bee iudged, is not whether the Plaintiffe were falſely and ſlanderoſly accuſed or no: for the accident of two murderers hath aſſuered and diſcovered the ſlander without any doubt. But the queſtion is, if this Defendrefſe (after to falſe and calumnious an accuſation) ſhall paſſe vnpuniſhed: and whether hee pretended excuſes ſhall be receiued and countenanced by Juſtice. For one of the chiefe points which ſhee pleads for her excuſe is, that the criminall Proceſſe hauing paſt through the hands of the moſt famous Iudges of Europe, if they haue bene deceived, (ſaith this woman) if by preſumptions and probable coniectures, they haue found cauſe to condemne this man vnto the racke, if ſo many worthy Iudges haue bene ſurpriſed, will you not excuſe the ſimplicity of a woman, and the extreame ſorrow of an afflicted mother for the death of her ſonne, hauing had no hatred nor malice, in this accuſation. It is a great abſe to meaſure the action of Iudges, with the actions of parties: the purſuit and proceeding of parties is merely voluntary: no man is forced to plead or confeſſe: the Plaintiffe ſhould be well aduiſed before hee begin, and not to draw any man into the danger of a capitall condemnation; if hee bee not firſt aſſured, that he whom hee caſts into queſtion hath done the deed and is Author of the crime: but the charge of a Iudge is tyed to a neceſſary duty, bound to certaine Maximes, and ſubiect C to rules, eſtabliſhed by the Lawes, to condemne neceſſarily vpon preſumptions and prooſes, and vpon the teſtimony of witneſſes, examined at the inſtance of the party. Antiquity doth teach vs, that *Tireſias* that great Sooth-fayer, foretold things to come by the flying of birds, not that hee did lee the birds, for hee was blind, but (ſay the Poets) hee had alwaies his daughter *Manto* neere vnto him, who told him in what manner the birds did fly, and thereby hee diuined. Juſtice may rightly be compared to this excellent blinde man, and the compariſon cannot ſeeme bad, ſeeing that the Egyptians thought good to paint their Iudges with their eyes blind-folded: For Iudges cannot rightly ſee nor know what doth paſſe. Juſtice deſtees nothing but according to the report and teſtimonie of parties and witneſſes: If any inconuenience happen in the condemnation, the miſchiefe is to bee imputed to the parties, and not to the Iudges or Juſtice.

Juſtice doth  
Iudge of that  
with ap-  
pearces.

They report that the Greekes hauing put *Palamedes* to death, his father *Nauplius* to bee reuenged, obſcured the time when as the Greekes after the ſacke of Troy, returned by ſea, in a great tempeſt. *Nauplius* being vpon a Roocke in full ſea, held a burning torch in his hand, as if that place had bene a ſafe Port for the deſcent of ſhips: the Greekes abuſed with this light, ranne againſt the Roocke, and ſuffered ſhipwracke. In this miſfortune if there were cauſe to complaine, it was againſt the malicious inuention of *Nauplius*: but as for the Pilots and ſuch as gouerned the ſhips, they were not to bee blamed, in following the direction of a Lanthorne in a darke night, being viſually ſet at ſafe E Ports. So in accidents like vnto this in queſtion, all the harme, all the complaints, and all the wrong, is to bee imputed to the accuſed, which kindles the fire of ſlander, and from whom proceeds the practices and ſubornation of witneſſes, and the ſearch and diſguiſing of preſumptions and circumſtances. Who doubts but the complaints and malicious teares of this woman were falſe directions, and ſufficient inducements to circumuent the wiſdome of the beſt Iudges, who in the miſdeed of the night, that is to ſay, in the darkneſſe of hidden crimes, haue followed the ordinary formes of Juſtice.

Slander is the  
cauſe of falſe  
iudgements.

It was with reaſon that a Greeke Author diſcourſing of the criminall proceſſe of *Oreſtes*, who to reuenge the death of his father, ſlew *Clitemeſtra* his mother: ſaid, that F when hee was brought before the Parliament of Arrispage, *Atinerna* Goddeſſe of wiſdome was Preſident in Iudgment. The Ancients by ſuch fictions would teach vs, that in the iudgment of criminall cauſes, if a celeſtiall power doth nor aſſiſt, there doth many times inconueniences happen, but the fault muſt then bee imputed to accuſer, who giues the firſt cauſe, by an information framed expreſſly to afflict and condemne an innocent. *Appian* in his Hiſtory reports of *Iulius Caſar*, that ſeeing a mutiny in his campe, he commanded the authors thereof to be apprehended. A ſouldier was brought before

M m m m ; him

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*Marian con-  
demned vpon  
suspition.*

him as one of these mutines, and yet it was presently auerred that hee was none. *Cesar* A caused him that brought him to be severely punished, iudging that although hee did it not maliciously, yet hee deserued punishment, for that he had drawne an innocent soldier in danger of his life. We read that *Marian* having found a dead body in the night, and through piety (which was then greatly recommended among Christians) seeking to bury him, was taken, led before the Iustice, and condemned vpon suspition: but at the same instant, when as they carried him to execution, it chanced happily that the murderer was taken and executed, hauing confessed the fact, to the great happineffe of *Marian*, who was deliuered, and within few yeeres after chosen Emperor. As also the Ecclesiasticall History doth teach vs, that Saint *Athanasius* was accused to haue slaine *Arsenius*, and was ready to be condemned, if by good hap *Arsenius* had not bene found, being hidden by the enemies of *Athanasius*. A late writer curious in the search of the singularities of the History of Venice, reports an aduenture somewhat like vnto this: *Fuscarius* sonne to the Duke of Venice, had a capitall quarrell with another Venetian Gentleman called *Hermolao Donati*. This Gentleman was found dead, and the Author of this murder not knowne. *Fuscarius* vpon suspition of their quarrell, was called in question, condemned, and sent into exile, where hee dyed for griefe to see himselfe banished from his Country. Within three moneths after his death, a thiefe was executed, who amongst other crimes, confessed, that it was hee and not *Fuscarius*, which had slaine that Venetian Gentleman.

*The punish-  
ment of false  
accusations.*

In such and the like inconueniences, were it reason to giue absolute impunity to him that was the calumniator, be it that malice or indiscretion hath drawne him to this slander? *Scipio* sayd, that a Generall of an Army must be well aduised what he doth, for in matters of warres three is no meanes to erre twise, the first fault being sufficient to ruine an army. Euen so in Iustice, it must be very exact, when there is any question of a capitall accusation, for seeing that the life depends thereon, there is no meanes to erre twise, the first being irreparable. It is an approved distinction of al those that haue treated of the punishment of false accusations, whether a informer bee induced to accuse slanderously and wickedly, or by indiscretion and without malice.

The one differs from the other, so haue they diuers effects: the one hath some excuse, the other is punished severely: the one ciuilly, the other criminally: for where there is malice and slander, the Law of God doth punish the calumniator with the like paine, *Lege Talionis*: and at Rome the calumniator in crimes that were not capitall, was beaten with a hot iron, and branded in the fore-head, for a signe and perpetuall marke of his slander. And the Emperour *Macrinus* did punish those accusers which did faile in their proofes with death. *Pliny* speaking of such men, called them abominable sacrifices, which should bee offered vp to the publike quiet. And the good Emperour *Traian* did so detest calumniators, as hee caused them to bee put into a ship without stayle or tackling, abandoning them to the mercy of that merciless element, which would haue no pity of them, no more then they had had of many poore innocents.

But as for the slander which proceeds from indiscretion without malice, the severity in truth should not bee so great, yet is it fit there should be some punishment. No seuerer or capitall punishment, but at the least pecuniary and ciuill, of damages and fine. If hee were not excusable as a mother, forced to accuse by extreme griefe without malice: what racker? what punishment? what torments were sufficient to punish her, which hath drawne an innocent man in question, and in danger to be broken vpon the wheele? The Poets saie, that the Goddesse *Ceres* by the supposition of *Tantalus*, did eate *Peleus* shoulder. This Goddesse finding her owne error, although vnadvisedly, condemned her selfe to make *Peleus* shoulder of Yuory. You are the cause of the cruell torments which the Plaintiffe hath suffered vpon the racke, but you say it was by indiscretion, and without malice. At the least by an award of damages and fine, make some pecuniary recompence, to releue the misery of this poore man, and to helpe him to finish the remainder of his dayes, languishing after so many torments. And if this woman represents vnto you the pity and griefe of a mother, imagine I pray you the miserable sighes of this innocent, in the midst of the cruelty of most violent tortures, hauing no other feeling but his paine and griefe,

In

1599

A In one houre a thousand deaths without dying, a body tormented, stretched, halfe torne in peeces, his sinewes dried and strained, his members broken, and his whole body in a pittifull estate, being bound, and miserably racked. And to speake truth, it had bene a great happineffe for this poore man to haue died; for what remains is no more a perfect body, but peeces displaced and disioyned, members broken, lame and feeble, hauing his body reduced to that miserable estate, as hereafter he shall hardly by his labour get a lining for himselfe, his wife and five children. It is the clamor and sighs of these poore young Infants, whose cry pierceth vp to heauen, and their complaints come vnto you, to moue you vnto pity. He in the meane time seeing himselfe miserable in his body, and his family reduced to beggery, liues and dies altogether. It is a paine which still encreaseth, a griefe which euer doubles, and a death which hath neuer end.

B That great Painter *Apelles* meaning to paint Slander, set him forth in a mourning weed, The picture of Slander. hauing two wiues, one of either side, Ignorance and Suspition: what reason were there to take for payment and available satisfaction the indiscretion of the Defendresse, and the excuse of Ignorance (an ordinary companion to Slander) and to pardon so notable a fault, vnder pretext of an afflicted mothers griefe, for the death of her son: and hereafter when any murder is committed, shall it be lawfull for a Father, a Brother, or a neare kinsman, with all impunity, vnder a pretext of Iustice, to accuse whom he please, and to bring in question of his life, or of some cruell torments, and in the end to be quit, excusing himselfe vpon his griefe or ignorance? The rules of Iustice and Law doe not allow it. *Titus Livius* said excellently, that the Law was inexorable, deafe, without pity, and without passion. Why doth that worthy Author say, *That the Law is deafe*, but for that it doth neuer giue eare vnto the vaine discourse of pity and commiseration? The property of Iustice is to be strict and seuerer. The Surgion that is pittifull and doth not lanch deepe, makes the wound incurable. An indulgent and ouer mild father, makes the child incorrigible: So a mercifull Iudge doth nourish and increase vice, and betraies the lawes and maiesty of Iustice.

*The Law inex-  
orable.*

This cause doth therefore import the publike, for examples sake: for although the Plaintiffe hath no other quality but of a simple Bourges and handly-crafts-man, yet to obtaine reason in Iustice, and to hope for reparation of the wrong which hath bene done him, he thinks himselfe great enough, seeing he hath the happineffe to liue vnder the peacefull government of the best King in the world, who hauing heaped all happineffe vpon France, maintaines equally in his protection, and vnder the safeguard of his Maiesty, the life and health of all his subiects, poore and rich, great and small. The Ancients held, that *Themis*, which is the Goddesse of Iustice, was the daughter of the Sun: and as the Sunne may be seene in a glasse by them which cannot behold his beames, So the Maiesty of our great King, the true and comfortable Sunne of this Monarchy, the eye and heart of France, would giue authority to this famous Parliament, as the true feat of his greatnesse, to the end that therein, as in a Looking-glasse, wee might admire the beauty, light, and beames of his iustice. An Historian saith, That the Emperour *Augustus* had fiery eies, *igneos oculos*, inferring thereby, that he had such glistering eies, and such a piercing sight as it was impossible or very hard to looke stedfastly on him.

And we in like sort must content our selues that it is lawfull for vs to admire the beauty of this soueraine Court, and to beleue that our weak sight is not strong enough to enjoy full the presence of our great Prince, sitting in his feat of iustice, nor to endure the glistering beames of the Maiesty of our great French *Augustus*, whom God hauing led through so many dangers, as it were by the hand, to the height of all greatness, and hauing endued him with the valour of *Cesar*, the fortune of *Alexander*, the bounty of *Traian*, wee can with no more vnto him but the happineffe, the many yeares, and the continuall prosperity of *Augustus*, to the end that all wee his subiects may liue happy and content vnder the raigne of so great a King, and the assured iustice of this famous Parliament.

So the Plaintiffe hauing recourse to this soueraine Iustice, as to the last Port of health, beseeching the Court to allow of his request, and that hee may be absolved of the slanderous accusation laid against him, that the enrolement of his imprisonment may be razed, and hee discharged of all condemnations which heretofore

haue

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haue beene giuen; and moreover, that the defendresse may be condemned to a pecuniary reparation, such as it shall please the Court to decree, and to all charges, dammages, and interest.

Anthony Arnaud for the defendresse, said:

May it please yee,

Afflictions  
speake of  
themselves.

YOU shall vnderstand in this cause, how true it is; That ordinary afflictions speake with indgement, and that extreme calamities doe quench or confound the spirit. The Plaintiff hath represented his griefes vnto you in an eloquent discourse, full of Art and the force of eloquence: and contrariwise of our part, you shall heare nothing but the sobs and sighes of a mother, transported with griefe, and reduced to all sorts of despair. I would to God the torments wherof you speake, and all the cruelties that may be imagined, had beene executed vpon me poore mother, who haue one foot already in the graue: and that the death of my son (and the kind of death more miserable then the death it selfe) had not ministered the mournfull subiect of this miserable cause: so as on what side soeuer you turne, there is nothing to be seene but teares and desolation: But there is this great difference: that the griefe of the aduerser party (if there yet remaines any) may be mollified in time, by a thousand remedies which excellent wits haue inuented during many ages, to ease the discomforts of the body. But contrariwise, the extreme affliction (which findes no words of force to represent it) for the losse of a sonne, of an onely sonne, the only support and comfort of the trembling age of an old mother, hath neuer found consolation in all the most excellent discourses in the world, being the most excellent Physicke of the minde. The griefe is so violent as it exceeds all remedy, and bleeds afresh euery day. The older it grows, the more grievous it is. It doth hourly master the resistance which it found in the beginning, and doth continually vanquish the forces of the body with them of the minde.

It is a strange thing, that my poore sonne hauing beene thus cruelly massacred, you who fee him returne no more into your house, instead of aduertising me thereof, went into his chamber to take his money, you transported it out of your owne house, and hid it in your brother-in-lawes. And which is worse, being examined by the Iustice, you denied it constantly, and often, vntill that your sonne (too young to concale the truth) discovered the place where you had laid it. All this is iustified by the processe, the which remaines in the hands of the Kings Council.

So as it was not in you that these murderers were not vn timerely punished, but the peering eye of diuine Iustice, which neuer sleeps: for a robbery committed two months after hath brought them to the execution. It appeares by the informations, that the very day of the murder, these two murderers went vnto your lodging and brake open my sons cofer, if you had fed vnto Iustice they might haue beene instantly apprehended. Alas! peradventure my poore child was not then fully dead. How many are left for dead which are not so? How many haue beene taken out of the coffin, yea, out of the graue, which haue suruiued their funerals fifty yeeres?

At the least, you cannot deny but you were the cause to moderate their punishment: What know I what they would haue said vpon the wheele? You neuer attempted any thing against mee, but when as they which flue my sonne could no more accuse you? What did then hinder you, why you did not speedily aduertise the Iustices? At the least it was feare to restore the money which you had taken, in committing a domesticke theft, the which was alwaies punished with death: and wherein the lawes of hospitality (the which are holy among all nations) were also violated. Whom should I sooner challenge for the death of my sonne, then him who had his spoiles? Nature hath hidden in the earth both gold, silver, and iron, but the malice of man hath drawn them all forth, that it might want no instruments for murderers, nor reward for Murderers. No man sheds blood to die his hands therein; there must be some other violent passion to thrust him on: Couetousnesse is the most ordinary. All coniectures, all presumptions were and are found true, that my Sonne had beene slaine by some one that desired his money, whora then might I better call in question then him who was found seized thereon?

Desire and covetousnesse the cause of murders.

1600

A If treading vnder foot the murder of my sonne (as some mothers doe) I had onely demanded his goods of you, you could not haue avoided an infamous and rigorous condemnation. But for that I haue sought reuenge of the murder, I am this day in danger to be condemned, what recompence? Caius Antonius was accused for the conspiracy of Catelin; wherof he was found innocent, but his arraignment was intermixt with other thefts, which he had in former times committed in Macedonia, for the which hee was condemned. And yet the one of his accusations had nothing common with the other. In this cause murder and theft haue great affinity. How many be there in this great Citie, which being murdered like to this poore young man, should remain three months vn timerely, if their Host wanting them did not presently aduertise the Iustice. Suffer them to take their money without punishment, that is to say, declare him innocent that hath hidden it, and you shall helpe to hide the murderers.

It is a strange thing, that in the head City of this Realme, and in the face of the Parliament, there should be such furious Tigers found, to murder men as boldly as in the most hideous Forest in the world. The more these wicked spirits are determined to contemne the Lawes, the more must you endeavour to force them to feare them. All that may serue to punish such detestable crimes, must be earnestly embraced, nothing can so much aduance it, as to aduertise the Iustice speedily: whilst it is fresh these wicked spirits are terrified and amazed. If all be like vnto the Plaintiffe, a poore man may be rotten before they know he is dead. There be some that are incident to the suspicion of a crime although they be very innocent, as he that is found neare vnto a man that is newly murdered, he may happily be put to the Racke, this is a meere mischance, or rather (laying aside all fatality obserued in this case by the heathen Lawyers) let vs say with the Doctors of the Church, that it is a secret iudgment of God, the which we must admire, and not curiously search into. The thunder is worshipped euen by them that are stricken with it: punishments ordained by Iustice are the chastisements of Gods hand, whose power is represented here below by the Prince, and his, by his Magistrates. The Philosopher Crator said, That he which suffers ill without desert, is much eased in this accident of fortune: but in this fact which is now in question, the Plaintiffes theft, and not his misfortune, hath with great reason, made this suspicion to fall vpon him. Doe you not consider that the paine which you haue suffered, is the cause you shall bee this day absolved? Without it your theft could not remaine vn timerely punished: your demand of damage and interest, belongs onely to them that are meere innocent: if you be accused of two faults, and are found guilty of one, you must implore the mercy of the Iudge, and not blame his rigor. It was then impossible to free you from the Racke, by all the Maximes of Lawyers and their Interpreters, followed by a decree which needs no other defence then reason. And not to stray from this cause, shall I let you plainly see, that you need not bee so fearefull to come to the Racke. If these Murderers had not beene tortured for the robbery for the which they were executed, they could not haue beene condemned, for

E want of prooffe. The one of them confest it vpon the Racke. As the Racke tormented you, so the Racke relieved you, hauing discovered your innocency in regard of the murder. And in easing you, it hath brought before mine eyes my murdered son, who presents himselfe euery night vnto me with stretched out armes, whilst the murderers kill him.

So as one and the selfe same thing hath filled me with heauinesse and with ioy. Content your selfe then with your good fortune, and insult no more ouer my misery: do you not feare that they will lesse pity you, and the paine you haue endured, when they shall see you haue none of me, nor of my distresse. I will not say vnto my Masters, that it is cruell and barbarous, to adde afflictions to the afflicted, why should I say so? seeing that all the condemnations which my aduerser party demands against me, can adde no more calamity, then small brookes doe vnto the sea? It is the onely comfort which remaines in my misery, that it can haue no increase. I will not therefore spend any time to cite the texts of Lawyers, which hold the violent passions of so miserable a mother excusable. They be lawes which are borne with vs, wherof no man can be ignorant, seeing we haue sucked it with our mothers milke, and which we cannot abrogate but in spoiling our humanity. I will not strue to represent vnto you that affliction to the children, or to the Parents, (euen as the losse of good subiects to their Prince) consists not in any mediocrity or temper, but in excessse, that excessse which in other motiues of the minde is vicious, is here

A mothers passion excusable.

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in the full of all perfection. Why should I come to these excuses, seeing that if I were to A begin my accusation, I would do no less than I have done? I had rather be condemned to all sorts of damages, interests, and reparations, then to repent me of the pursuit I have made for the death of my sonne.

A goodly pretext for those mothers, which doe every day sell the deare blood of their children, when they shall heare that I have bene condemned, shall they not then have reason to say that they feare damage and interest, if they open their mouths? *Dion* observes, that they were reduced to that point at Rome, having so much discountenanced accusations, as they were forced to promise impunity to him that should convict another of a greater crime then his own. Calumniators and false accusers are to be feared vnder bad Princes, which enrich themselves with the confiscations of their subjects, and vnder the iust and flourishing government of our great King, which hath erected so many everlasting trophies of his clemency and bounty, equalling at this time by the glorious effects of justice (which shines throughout all this great and mighty Estate) the victories and the stately triumphs of fearful war: shewing by the effects, that the same vertue, and the same magnanimity carries great Princes, and excellent Capitaines into the midst of the most bloody and furious battels, and doth conduct them also to the holy and sacred actions of most happy and blessed peace.

We have then no neede amongst vs of these *Talion* punishments, the which were as soon as abrogated as they were enacted. If they were in force, not two crimes among an hundred should be punished: at the beginning we must necessarily follow coniectures C and presumptions: if they may lead vs to the certaine knowledge of the truth, they condemne the culpable: if not, they forbear: *God onely walks in light, and men in darkness*. But I beseech you to consider what power I have had in all this criminal proceeding. The Plaintiffe begins his action against me, because I am the most weak. If he durst challenge the Iudges he would do it much more willingly, all the instructions of the Proccesse comes from the criminal party. It is not I but the Kings Attorney generall. Alas! I brought nothing but my sighs, therein consists my crime. Oh I may well double my teares, seeing it is not lawfull for me to weep: it were more then a second losse of my sonne to lose my teares.

The Plaintiffes intent is, to have a gaine for his damage and interest: the mony which Justice hath forced him to yeeld, I have it not, I have employed it in praying vnto God for my sonne, who was murdered, and had no time to thinke of his soule, which was a double crueltie. Houses shake before they fall. The smoake foretells the fire that will consume vs. A tempest is discountred a farre off, but the murdering hand of man strikes suddenly, when we least thinke of it. If you condemne me in damages and interests, you may judge, that remembering his paines, how rigorously he will entreat me. I have nothing left to pay it: that little which I had was employed in the education of my son, holding it to be the richest and chiefest treasure that I could desire: *O deceitfull hope!* By vertue of your sentence he will confine me into a prison; but I regard it not, so as he make choise of a darke and an hideous one, that it may soon shorten my miserable life, the which shall neuer finde ease but in death: for I am resolved to passe the remainder of my daies, like vnto those mothers which accompany their children vnto the graue. All that makes me desire liberty, is to the end that I might liue among the Rocks, in deserts, and the most solitary woods, and that I might neuer see mothers that make much of their children. Alas, my son, my poore son! I shall call on thee night and day, although thou answerest me not. If this extreme misery doth not satisfie the Plaintiffe, let him feare and apprehend the wrath of God, and a second punishment. Let him not abuse the grace which he hath done him, in making manifest the truth of this murder. Let him liue happily to see his innocency knowne, and I alwaies vnhappy to have lost my poore child. I conclude, that it would please the Court to absolve me from his request.

After this the Kings Solicitor generall, Master *Seruin*, did rise to plead and conclude for the Attorney generall, vpon that which the Advocates had delivered for the parties: the opinions of the hearers were in such suspence, as they knew not which way to incline. Hee that had first heard the Plaintiffe, said, that he had reason: but as Iudges must alwaies reserve one eare for the defender, being vnpossible to iudge definitively vpon the discourse of one party: when the second had pleaded, there was such an equality and concurrence

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A both a good cause. The Kings Solicitors discourse, was the powder to separate the truth from that which had some appearance of truth: but let vs heare this other *Demosphenes* of France, whose pleading followeth.

L. Seruin, the Kings Attorney Generall, said thus:

May it please yee,

If it be true, according to the worthy saying of *Statius Caecilius* (vled by *Apuleius*) de- B fending himselfe against an accusation of impiety; *That innocencie is the true eloquence*. It might satisfie the intention of the poore Plaintiffes, and might promise them an honourable issue, for that a poore and vntainted life speaking for them, surmounts in the opinion of good men, the richest eloquence of them that are guilty. For he may well defend, that can purge himselfe from crimes, having done nothing but what he dare publically avow. But if it be more true, that the art of speaking be vertue and wildome, as the Stoicks have defined it: signifying thereby, that the vertuous and wise haue subiect enough to talke. It is most certaine, that God which giueth wildome, and out of whose mouth proceeds all knowledge and vnderstanding, hauing not endued the Plaintiffes with such graces, seeing they haue neither the knowledge nor word, which is drawne out C of the holy Scriptures, nor the perswasive speech of humane wildome, hauing not the refined discourse of reason, they had great need of the assistance of their Advoctate: who as he doth nor yeeld in eloquence and knowledge to any one of his profession, hath made prooff by this present action, how well he can defend the innocent, the which is so much the more commendable, for that *Dionysius Halicarnassus* (a great Iudge of Orators) did hold *Plato* worthy to be blamed, for that he had written the *Apologie of Socrates* in a flat and cold stile.

On the one side, Master *Anne Robert* hath lively represented vnto you, the miserable estate of the Baker and his wife, lately accused, and now Plaintiffes: how they haue been pursued in the Chasteler, iudged, appealed, and condemned by sentence, the husband put D to the torture: and the Rake presented to the wife and to the maide: and to conclude, all the family in distresse, by the accusation of a horrible murder, pretended to be committed vpon the person of his guest: a crime which God hath made knowne by the reuelation of the murder, that the hearts and hands of these poore people were innocent. By reason whereof they demand reparation of honour, with damage and interest against the accuser. You haue on the other side, heard Master *Anthony Arnaud*, for the mother of the deceased *Iohn Proff*, miserably murdered, being before Plaintiffe, and now accused of slander, who may well defend her selfe by the simple colour of piety, which cries and is intercessor for her, for her, I say: A mother whose affliction is such, as there is no tongue but the mothers, or rather the voice of God that can well expresse it: neither E can any Advoctate or Orator how excellent soever, vnlesse he be possessed with a diuine spirit, represent the passions of a mother: witness the Prophet when hee deliuiers what God had said: *Can the mother forget her child, but shee must haue pity of the fruit of her wombe: and if she should forget it, I will not forsake him, saith the Lord*. It is God, our common father, God, who is charity it selfe: for so he is called by one of his Apostles: God, of whom the Greeke Poet *Aratus* (honoured by the allegation of *S. Paul*) said, *That we are his offspring*. God, of whom the same Apostle doth teach vs, *That he is father of heauen and earth*. It is he by whom all mothers haue their affection to their Children: it is he by whom the Defendesse (a miserable mother) was encouraged to seeke and pursue reuenge for the blood of her child. Behold persons of diuers qualities in our cause, who F pretend their innocencies by different reasons. The Baker and his wife demand reparation, being ignorant of the murder of *Proff*: and the mother (of *Proff* murdered) seeks to be freed from the imputation of slander. But there is yet an encounter in this controuersie: which regards the authority of things iudged, wherein the publike hath an interest. To deliuer what is fit vpon euery one of these qualites, it seemes expedient to obserue what hath past in the accusation and proceeding: the first iudgment in the decree, the execution, and what followed since.

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That which appears by the processe judged, is, that the deceased *Iohn Proff*, sonne to A the Accuser, having beene lodged for a time in the Bakers house: about the beginning of February 1599, *Katherine Cordier* the wife of the Baker, sent for a Locksmith by her husbands sonne, and caused him to open the chamber of *Proff*, being absent, the which shee hath confessed after much disguising of the boyes name, whom since she knew to bee her sonne-in-law. After this ouerture, there was another maide in the view of two unknown men, who brought the keyes which the said *Proff* had given them; the which is a second charge: for these two men entred into the chamber in the presence of the hostesse, and tooke what they pleased of that which *Proff* had left: and yet afterwards there was a third opening made by the Locksmith, which was brought by the sonne of the Baker, and by his wifes commandement. This being thus aduowed and iustified by the son, the chamber being opened the fourth time by a Commissary of the Chasteler, there was some money found belonging to *Proff*, but not all, for that the Baker and his wife had taken, and promised some to their maide, if she said nothing. Moreouer, *Proff*s apparell being in his coffer, and among the rest a doubler, the hostesse being examined, said that *Proff* had none other. In the end, the processe hauing become made perfect by interrogatories and confrontations: One of the chiefe allegations made by the husband and the wife for their iustification, was, that the accuser, although a mother, did not loue *Proff* her sonne, whereof he had oftentimes complained. By a sentence giuen by the Prouost of Paris, it was decreed, that the Baker, his wife, and seruant should be put to the Racke. They appeale. C There followed a second decree in regard of the Baker: and as for his wife and seruant, it was ordained they should haue the Racke presented vnto them, the which was done. And after the deniall of the Baker, his wife and maide, there followed another sentence, allowing the reception of the ordinary Processe, and yet restrained that in case no greater proofes being found on the ordinary Racke, the accused should preuaile, yet they should haue no charges, damages, nor interest adiudged vnto them. In Iune following, God hauing suffered that two theues, whereof the one called *Iohn Bazana* had murdered this *Proff*, were apprehended by the Iustice, and by the testimony of *Bazana* the act was confessed. So as the Baker and his wife pretend themselves freed by this testimony, and demand an honourable reparation, with some recompence from the mother of him that D was murdered, saying, That the accusation being false, she ought to be iudged a Slanderer. Wherein it seemes, that innocency presents it selfe at the feet of Iustice, and cries out for them, as *Dauid* in the seuenth Psalm, entituled *Siggaion*, that is to say: *The ignorance of Dauid*, the which is his defence against the slanders of *Semei*, where he exclaimed in denying and forswearing the Impostures of his aduersarie, and in saying, that hee knew not what it was, he spake these words: *If I haue committed such a fact, if there be iniquity in my hands, that I may fall before mine enemies*. Excellent words, and deliuered in the kinde of an oath. In like case a poore Host Plaintiffe complains, and may say with *Agur* the Sonne of *Iake*, *Truly I am more brutish then any man whatsoever, I haue no understanding, neither haue I learned any wisdom, nor attained to the knowledge of holy things. The wit of man will maintaine the infirmity thereof, but who will support a grieved mind?* E The Accuser at the first seemed iust in her cause, but the Accused come to purge themselves, and haue found out the truth. The words of Slanderers (saith the wise King) are ambushes of blood, but the mouth of truth shall deliuer them. You see an Host and Hostesse accused of inhospitality, of infidelity, and of the murder of their Guest, a crime so farre from the manners and hearts of the French, as if *Euripides* said among the Grecians:

*That it was not for the Achaeans to murder their Guests.*

Wee may say with the Plaintiffs, with as much or more reason, *That it is not vsuall among the French to murder their guests*: for among ciuill people, our Coelticke Nation hath beene most renowned for hospitality, a vertue proper to the French, and recommended by many Strangers; yea by *Parthenius* a Greeke Author in his booke of the Affections of *Loue*, where hee saith in the History of *Eurippus*, that at what time the Gauls made roads into Ionia, the Celtes received their guests willingly, and entertained them courteously. The which is confirmed by *Saluianus* a Priest of *Marzeilles*, in his

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A his booke of the providence of God, where among the vertues of our Nation, hee tearmes them *Frances hospitaliers*. It was therefore a great crime, vnfit for the Plaintiffs: a crime for Barbarians, Pagans, and Infidels, worthy of extraordinary punishment, and so much the more punishable, for that it had beene committed in Paris, the chiefe City of the Realme, the seat of our Kings, the place of Soueraigne Iustice, whereas the most holy and reuerend Senate of the world is resident: the Court of Peeres, and the great Parliament of our great King.

The Husband accused in this Parliament, and not only accused, but iudged and tormented in body and mind, comes this day in Iudgement as a man reuiued againe by his innocency, he brings his wife with him, and saith against the Accuser, *I haue which slandereth his neighbour, is like vnto a false witness, which is as a hammer, a sword, and a sharpe arrow*. B Although he be borne poore and miserable, yet is he of a pure and innocent life. That his soule and that of his Wives are no lesse precious before God then the richest: that they haue not wronged any man: that they haue liued content in their poverty (Poverty which is a singular gift of God, and vknowne of men) and yet they being poore and innocent haue been afflicted: a thousand feares haue seized on them, and the life both of the husband and wife haue been in danger. The Sonne hath been heard against the Father, all the family defamed, fearing to lose their credit, and to see no more good dayes: to haue no meanes to get their liuing, nor to shew themselves. The troublesome griefe of a murtherfull prison, deprived of light, and cast into an obscure dungeon fit for Murderers: so liue C oftentimes, and to dye as often. The Racke giuen vnto the husband, and presented to the wife: all danger, all griefe: their eyes dried vp, their minds oppressed, apprehension of Nakednesse, Hunger, and death, yea and of an ignominious death. They demand this day, that which the men vniuittly tormented in the Iustice of Athens demanded: that the Altar of mercy might be adorned with a Monument, carrying a declaration of their innocencie. They doe moreover pretend reparation against the Accuser, and this demand is not new nor strange, there are many Presidents of the like, among the which there is one very famous in the Declarations of *Marcus Seneca* the Rhetorician.

A Father hauing two Sonnes, goes into a farre country with one of them, the sonne D returns alone: his brother accuseth him of Parricide: he is condemned, but by reason of some festiual dayes the execution is deferred: the Father returns, the brother condemned accuseth his brother of false witnesse, obtaines iudgement, causeth him to be bound, and detaines him according vnto the Law, which said, that a false witness should be prisoner to him whom he had falsely accused. The innocent Brother said, that the Accuser was the cause of Parricide in the person of his Father, and had committed one in that of his brother: the Minister of Iustice had giuen notice vnto the condemned Brother of the comming of his Father: the expected punishment was more grievous then death. It was more troublesome for the condemned man to apprehend it, then to endure it: he laid before his eyes all kinds of Death. And what can I lesse doe (said the innocent) then keep him in E my bonds, that might haue taken away my life? In another famous example, we see another contropertie in the same Author. A Father hauing two Sonnes, deliuereth the one into the others hands, vpon suspicion of Parricide, whereof his Mother-in-law accused him. The accused Brother is cast into an vnrig'd ship: God preserues him from danger: he falls into the hands of Pyrats, and is made their Captaine. The Father makes a voyage by sea, he is taken by the Sonne, whom he had so ill intreated, and the Sonne sends him home into his country. *Cestius Pius* an eloquent man saith for the innocent brother, *That innocency is a strong fort, and a faithfull safeguard in danger*. The Sea compassed in the ship, the waues tost it, the tempest diuelt it, yet innocency did assure him: O Sea more iust then their Iudgement! O waues more mild then the Father: what a foule haue you cast into the F Port! and you haue not only saved the Son, but you haue deliuered him into the hands of Pyrats: it was diuinely decreed that the Father should undertake a voyage; that the Iudge should be taken to repent him of his iudgement. A Mother-in-law might accuse, yea and cause her husbands sonne to be condemned of Parricide, but shee could not make him a Parricide, no not in condemning him. The Sonne hereupon said vnto the Father: *Behold my innocencie, O father in the sea, which you would not know in your house*. And then turning vnto the Iudges, he said, *I had rather haue mine innocency iustified vnto you, then vnto my Father*. Hereupon *Aristotle* saith, that by the law of Greece they gaue the right side to the accused:

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called: and by the Romane lawes, Iudges are taught to be more inclined to absolve, then **A** to condemne.

If this be requisite in ciuill causes, how much more in criminall? And the mother which was the Accuser, whom the Demanders say was ill-affected to her sonne when he liued, could the without feare of punishment slander the Complainants, charging them with the vncertaine suspicion of a murther committed vpon the person of her Sonne, so much hated, or at the least not much beloued of her: That if the Demanders bee not exempt from faults, whereunto all men are subiect: yet they may iustifie themselves free from the crime imposed vpon them by the Accuser, being this day purged by a testimonie which God hath caused to be given by a man, the which is so much the more credible, for **B** that he deposed it neare vnto his death, not speaking to discharge himselfe, but accusing himselfe, and confessing the Murther. These (in summe) be the griefes which the Demanders can propound. It being hard, yea impossible in such cases to speake words that may equall the sorrow.

Contrariwise, the Defendresse a poore mother, saith, or cries out in that sort, as it is not well possible to represent her passion: but wee must paint it out, as *Timanthes* did counterfeite *Iphigenia*, with her face couered, a low voice, and a languishing speech. We cannot make you vnderstand what the hath suffered, and doth yet suffer. She hath lamented her absent Sonne, euen when as she accused the Complainants: she thought him to be dead: her feare was grounded vpon presumptions, the which not onely the first, but the last Iudges haue held to be pregnant. *A voice was heard from an high, the mother weeping for her Sonne, and would not be comforted.* Doubtlesse no kinde of affection of commiseration is like vnto that of a Woman; but amongst women, none so great as that of a Mother. So as God hath compared the remembrance which he hath of Man to that of a Mother. And in truth, mothers haue more then a fatherly remembrance.

Our Defendresse in this case is assisted by the suffrages of Nature: she sighs vpon earth, and fils Heauen with her complaints: her lamentable cries, and her abundance of teares, are her onely defences: the which are so much the better, for that they are natural. A mother who knows not whither to goe, who finds no place to rest in, who seeks her child as if he were yet liuing: who would haue endured his wounds, and dies twice for that the dyed not before her sonne: the implores heauen in lamenting her misery, and desires her end: her sighs moue all men to compassion. Griefe hath seized vpon her soule, and her vnderstanding is nothing else but sorrow. Nothing is more constant then the loue of the Father to his child, and especially of Fathers that haue the instinct of Nature. But mothers haue their affections more violent. If any thing happen vnto their children, it breeds a great alteration in them. Witnesse the iudgement of *Salomon*, seeking betwix two women, to know the right Mother. So you may see the passion of *David* when he called his Sonne, *My sonne Absalon, my sonne*: he was much troubled. But mothers are much more, feeling the same paine they suffered at their birth. And that which afflicts the Defendresse much more, is that the Complainants obiekt against her, that shee loued not her child. That without doubt is insupportable to a Mother. The latter times are miserable, foretold by the Prophets: That Inhumanitie, Inciuilitie, Aftorgie (that is to say, want of loue in the Parents vnto their children, and of children vnto their Parents) should enter into the hearts of men. What say I of men, who are no men, seeing they proue inhumane, cruell, brutish, and vnnatural.

But can it be, that two such contrary passions should intpe in our Defendresse? Could she hate her sonne, and not seeing him any more, complain that hee was dead? Could shee accuse his Host and Hostesse, if shee loued him not *Isaiah* in his first booke of the Iewish warre, reporting the accusation of *Herod* against his children, saith, that *Saturnus* would not condemne the accused, saying: *That it was not lawfull for him who had no children to giue sentence of death against another mans children.* A speech worthy of a graue Romane, but had beene better spoken by one borne in Iudaea: for in former times the Iudges giuen by God vnto the people, were chosen out of the fathers of Families, who had, or had had children, and who by this means knew best the iust affections of fathers loue: The History adds, that an old man at Armes of *Herods* called *Tyron*, was so transported seeing a cruell father, as he became almost mad, going from place to place, exclaiming, that *Iustice was troden vnder foot. Truth was perished, Nature confounded, and all was full*

- A** full of iniquitie: with such like speeches as passion made him to vtter. So strange this good old man held this malice, not beleeuing that such neere kinsmen should conspire against their own blood. And therefore it is not to be presumed that our Defendresse being a mother, was otherwise then well affected to her sonne: and what greater proofe of her loue can be giuen, then her accusation against the Complainants? And who can represent the tender affection of Fathers and Mothers, which seale the resemblance of bodies & minds, in the little admirable seale of the Infant, the mothers being much more affectionate to that which proceeds from them then the fathers: What then may be said of the obiection made vnto the Defendresse? Doublelesse false allegations must concur with natural, as *l. consilium. 2. de iur. leg. ult.*
- B** *Paulus* the Lawyer faith of Confessions: and it is not lawfull for Iudges, especially for such as are Fathers to beleue that a Mother would hate her sonne to the death: especially this poore woman, who making her complaint of the murther, did note one notable circumstance, saying, that her sonne had complained vnto her, that the Demanders were froward Hosts. The which shewes a wit in her complaint, and the loue which she bare to her deare Sonne: remembering the first years of his infancy, being young and the onely child of his Mother. A Sonne whom shee (being his Mother) seeing no more, cried out with the Mother of *Lamuel*, *What my Sonne, what the Sonne of my wombe, what the Sonne of my vnomes?* *Pro. 28. 25.*

This poore mother was perplexed: she sought her sonne, and found him not. A sonne which was but simple, and might easily be wronged, for he went alone: he had money, he left it in his chamber, which was a bait for theeuces, his Host and Hostesse laid hand on it, they suffered men to enter into his Chamber: men whom they knew not. What might the mother thinke of this? Had she not reason to say, that they had slaine him. Truly it was said in the booke of *Wilehome*, *That the iustice of the righteous shall deliuer them.* It is also written, *That the disloyall shall be taken for their iniustice, and the wicked shall be the ransom of the iust, and the disloyall for the righteous.* May not then this poore woman thinke with reason, that you are not to haue any regard to the demanders, vnder colour of their base condition, seeing that for a piece of bread they would haue committed the deed, hauing taken their guests money who trusted them. These be the reasons by the which the poore **D** Mother may iustifie her selfe, that shee hath not attempted any accusation, for the which she should be charged with slander.

Let vs now come vnto the Iudges. They need no other excuse, nor defence of their Decree, then the authoritie of the soueraigne iudgements: yet we may say, for the truth which they had of the proofes, if not full and cleare as the noone day, yet they were such as the presumptions were vehement. If the accused suffered, it came from themselves, for they obserued not the precept which teacheth man: *Above all to keep his heart pure, from whence life proceeds.* They haue applied their hearts to desire an other mans goods, resembling those that erre either through want of instruction, or by their great indiscretion, or hating their hearts pierced with the dart of enuieusnesse. And therefore it is no wonder if they **E** haue not appeared in iudgement with a constant countenance. For blessings are vpon the head of the iust; but extorsions stop the mouth of the guilty. Doe you not see, that God was not with the accused? They were confounded in their owne speeches. Life and death are in the power of the tongue, he that loues it shall eate the fruits thereof. They haue said too much charging the Mother, of hatred to her Sonne. And who will not beleue but the iudges (seeing the Processe) made their prayers vnto God to open their vnderstandings. The doubt which they had of the circumstances of the charge, hath beene fortified by examples, the which are the first encounters that come vnto the minde. In this City, a Woman dwelling neere to Saint *Oporsune*, was slaine with a hammer, which two theeuces had taken in a Smiths shop. The Smith being condemned, hee was put to the Racke. Afterwards the theeuces were apprehended for other crimes, and freed the Smith who was already executed. Iudges in coniectural causes, erre against their wils: being bound to follow the probable, for that which may happen, or hath happened. Sometimes there are bad Hosts, and murderers. It is dangerous said *Phadrus* to beleue, but it is more dangerous not to beleue.

There is no reason then to heare the complaints of the accused, against the Iudges. Witnesse that which that wise King hath written, whose words are like vnto deepe springs which cannot be dried, and from whence we draw profit for all affaires, and especially

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cially for iudgements. *To condemne the iust is not good, nor to strike Princes that haue caried themselves iustly.* An excellent sentence, agreeing with our cause. Hee called Iudges, Princes: and in another place they are tearmed Gods. That if God making his iustice to shine, hath since discovered the murder, yet hath not the Baker nor his wife any cause to complaine of the Court. The eye of God infuseth his knowledge into the spirits of men, in such measure as he pleaseth, giuing vnto some a nearer light, and as *Synecius* Bishop of Cyrene said) more approaching vnto things which he doth reueale to others farther off. We take moisture from the water, heate from the Fire: firmesse of the body from the earth, and spirit from the aire: but iustice comes from God, who is the onely fountaine of all good. We haue not this iustice in vs, be it for the good of our selues, or for the perpetuall and constant duty which wee owe vnto our neighbours, to doe euery man right. God onely knoweth all things, and all is hidden from vs, but what hee pleaseth. There is none but he, which knoweth hidden things. It is he whose admirable name is above all other names. It is he whom *Daniel* calleth a Certaine, (by the word *Palmoni*;) of whom the admirable name of *Iesus* the Saviour of the world, was not reuealed, before that hee was made man. That Sunne of Iustice whose glory is incomprehensible. It is hee, who by his light doth open the Iudges eyes when it pleaseth him: *to the end they should take care of the innocent, and looke vnto his estate.*

Dan. 8.

Job 33. 22.

Pro. 37. 19.

It is written in the booke of the wise King: *That euen as in the water one face is opposite to another, so doth the heart of man vnto man, so as oftentimes the Iudge discouereth the truth of a crime, by the countenance, as well as by the mouth of the accused.* And to that purpose the same King saith; *That Counsell in the heart of man is like to a deepe water, the which a wise man shall draw forth.* But this doth not often happen, but vnto the King: of whom the wise man saith; *There is no prophesying but in the Kings lips, and his mouth shall not stray from iustice.* God giues this priuiledge to a iust King. *There are many thoughts in the heart of man, but the onely Counsell of our Lord God is firme.* And therefore *Saint Augustine* in his booke of the Cite of God in the Chapter which he hath expressly made, touching the errours of humane iudgements, makes a complaint of the perplexities whereunto Iudges are reduced: when to saue an innocent they are forced to condemne the accused vnto the racke, and for an vncertaine fact, they cause him to suffer a certaine paine. The which he executing saith: *That a wise Iudge doing not things with a will to hurt, but by necessity to iudge that which he knoweth not, must cry vnto God: deliuer mee from my extremities and cares.* The which hee speaks not to blame the racke: for hee knowes it to be necessary. But if it be not (as wee cannot rightly say) done by malice, yet it is a great misery. And doubtlesse if it be a mischiefe, yet is it ordained by good lawes, practised in all countries, whereas iustice is well administred, whereof there are so many Statutes, not onely in this realme, but in the Estates of Italy, and in the neighbour Countries, as in Piedmont, in Sauioy and other parts of Christendom, as there is no reason to doubt thereof. Neither is it lawfull to argue the Iudges of rigor in this cause: for besides the presumptions which might moue them, who knowes whether the accused had committed some other crime, whereof God would suffer this accusation, (whereof they now complaine) should be the punishment: *There are some generation which thinke to bee free, and yet they are not cleansed from their filthinesse.* And what is he that can say, *I haue purged my heart, I am cleansed from my sinne.* If thou sayest, *we did not know it, hee that weighs the heart shal not be understand it and reward every man according to his works.* In another place the wise man saith, that, *He which walketh innocently shal be saved, but the peruerse, walking by two wayes, shal fall.* Aristotle speaking of the Iudges of Greece, said that they were accustomed before sentence, to swear that they should iudge, by the best aduice they could conceiue. The which *Demasthenes* in his Oration against *Arifocrates* hath said by the most iust aduice. In which case although the *Areopagites* did sometimes iudge against the law, yet could they not bee reprehended to haue gone against the oath taken by them to iudge well, whether it were in the Senate, or in the assembly which they call *Helias*: no man being able to answer but for his owne conscience. And for this reason by the lawes of *Charlemagne*, and of *Lewis* the gentle: *It was not lawfull to blaspheme, that is to say, to accuse of false iudgement, and to blame the Earles, (which was the title of Iudges in France) if it did not appeare that they did iudge either by enuy, or by some bad occasion.* To conclude, the Iudges which those Princes called *Fidels*: were held for good, and without blemish, when

Amph. 1. 19.  
e. 5. de Cuius dei.  
Phil. 3. 37.

Pro. 10. 12.

Ibid. 34. 12.

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Capitulum  
Caroli magni.  
lib. 6. cap. penult.

A when they were onely guided by the zeale of true iustice. So the Demanders do not complaine of the Iudges, but of the accuser, against whom if he had framed her accusation maliciously, she were then subiect to that which was decreed by the Capitulary, which saith, *That they which haue accused innocents, either before the Prince, or before the Iudge, if they were spiritual men, they are to be degraded, if they be lay-men, they must bee condemned to the like punishment, which they should haue suffered that were accused.* But this isto bee vnderstood of accusations wherein there is malice, in which case the false Accusers deserue that which the accused suffered: for the slanderer resembles the wicked, which are represented by the wife man: *watching secretly for the innocent, and persecuting him without a cause.* In which case such as slander to vex, and to get money, by the Constitutions of the Roman Emperors, were punished with the same punishments.

It is therefore no reason that the Complainants should trouble the defendresse for the accusation, seeing it was not with any intent of slander: but they must take their troubles as an accident sent of God. We must not vsc the inhumanity of *Gneus Piso* although hee were an vpright man; but hauing not the true rule of reason, he tooke rigour for a resolution of feuerity, who being aduertised that two Souldiers going forth together, the one was returned without his companion, hee condemned him as a murderer of him that was absent: and as the condemned man was in the hands of the Executioner at the place of Iustice, his companion (whom they held to be dead) returned. This rigorous Iudge hearing that the Officer had protracted the execution, he caused him to be apprehended, and to be brought vnto the Scaffold, and with him the companion, taking for a pretext that he was the cause of this mischiefe by his absence, and to him hee added the Officer, iudging him worthy of punishment, for that he had brought backe the first condemned, whom he should haue presently executed according to the sentence. It is not fit in all causes to stand so strictly vpon iudgements, as *Alexander* the Great did, who had rather pay a fine for *Athenodorus* then remit it: for sometimes a tempter of humanity is commendable, as in this case: Imitating the example of Prince *Titus*; the sonne of *Vespasian*, when hee deliuered *Iosephus* out of prison, laying vnto the Emperour his father, after that hee had commanded the prisoner to be vnbound: *It is reason, O Father, that with his bonds the dishonor should be taken from Iosephus, for he shall bee as in the beginning he had not been bound. But if we vnbinde him, wee must cut the chaine, for so they vse them that are vniuicly bound.* A speech of a worthy Prince, witnessed by the History of *Iosephus*, worthy to be spoken before a great King, and well approoued of by the Emperour: *As true lips please Kings, and they loue him that speaks iust things with a pure heart.*

And therefore to make an end of the plaintiffs misery with that of *Iosephus*; the Court if it please, hauing in some sort regard vnto their request, shall let them at Liberty declaring them innocents of the crime of hospitalitie violated, and of the murder whereof they haue beene accused, without adiudging vnto them any Reparation, Charges, Damages, and interest against the Accuser, seeing the hath not, nor cannot be iudged a slanderer. So either party obtaining what they may hope for by reason, things iudged shall remaine in their authoritie, and, *God who holds the Kings heart in his hand as little brookes of running water, inclining to his will, shall make him raigne happily, and his posteritie after him, as all good Frenchmen and true Christians doe wish by a happy mariage, so as our great Henry the fourth, sitting in the throne of Iustice, or represented by the Councillors, maintaining his Countries, shall disperse all danger by his looke: and euery one will say with *Salomon*, the beloued of God; *That the fear of the King which iudgeth the poore iustly shal be firme for euer.**

The sentence of the Court vpon these pleadings pronounced by the first President; on Monday the 17 of Ianuary, was conformable to the conclusion, taken by the Aduocate for the Kings Attourney General. The King and the Duke tooke great pleasure to hear them; Both gaue their opinions on them that had best pleaded, but above all, they commended the equity of the Court, which dismissed the parties free from further suit. The King at the Dukes request granted a pardon to a poore woman an Adulteresse that was condemned to die, whose Adulterer had beene executed for that hee had abused her being a house-hold seruant, and so had the beene in like sort, but that she was found with Child.

This Pardon was granted by the King vnto the Duke, notwithstanding any opposition  
Nnnn 3

Pro. 1. 11.

Pro. 16. 13. 21.  
11.

Pro. 2. 1. 1.

Ibid. 3. 1. 1.

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tion made by the Court and the Kings Council, shewing the Kings consequence thereof. A His Maieſtie would haue it paſſe of his absolute authoritie: Yet vpon condition that the ſhould liue in perpetuall priſon, and nouſiſht at her husbands charge. All theſe good receptions, all theſe exerciſes, all theſe paſſimes, did not make the Duke forget the care of his affaires, he had ſaid vnto *Monſ. de Villery*, *That hee was not come to yield up the Marquiſate*. The King on the other ſide being at Fountainbleau ſaid vnto him, *That hee ſhould bee always his friend, but he would haue his Marquiſate*. The Duke was aduertified that the King had ſaid priuately in his Cabinet, *That the Duke was a brave and a gallant Prince, yet he kept his Marquiſate*. Theſe words made him preſume that the report which the *Chenahier Breton* and *Ronces* had made vnto him (that the King was deſirous to ſee him, and that they ſhould agree) was not true, for whenſoeuer the Duke ſpake to the King in priuate touching that buſineſſe, hee deſired him to reſerre it to their Councils.

And though this was a very important buſineſſe, yet the King had one which did preſſe him neerer, which was his marriage.

Being aduertified (as we haue formerly ſhewed by *Sillery* his Ambaſſador at Rome, that the Pope had granted his deſire touching the nullity of his marriage, hee ſent *Alineour* (gouernour of Pontoise) to thanke him, and to aſke his aduice vpon the alliance hee deſired to contract with the houſe of Florence. Hee came to Lyons, to paſſe to Auignon by the Riuer of Rhodne, and ſo to Antibio whither the ſtate of Genoa ſent him a Galley well appointed to conſult him to their Citie, where hee was received with all the honours, fit for the greatneſſe of the Prince that ſent him, and worthy of the credit and reputation which the name of *Villery* caries among the friends of this Crowne. They did caſt lots there where he ſhould be lodged, which fell to the Palace of Grimaldy, where he was deſtroyed two dayes at the charges of the State.

The Ambaſſadour of Spaine went to viſit him. Hee went to the Senate, was ſeated in the Dukes place, and ſaw the order they held in their Councils and deliberations, where they granted him libertie for two Gallies Frenchmen, that were in the Gallies of the Seigneury; the one was a Pariſian, and the other a Lionois, which they eſteemed a fit ſauor to gratifie a Prince. He went on his voyage in poſt to Rome, the Ambaſſador met him with a great number of French Gentlemen: hee lodged him in his houſe, D and the ſecond day of his arrival he had audience of the Pope. Hee continued in Rome vntill Eaſter: during his aboad, hee did ſee the Viceroy of Naples make his entry into Rome, coming to doe homage vnto the Pope for the Realme of Naples, preſenting vnto him a white ſteed, for an acknowledgement of the fee, for the ineffectuall of Naples, for that it is one of the Realms which holds in fee and doth homage vnto the Church at Rome, and for that reaſon (beſides the eight thouſand Ounces of gold which they owe yearly) they are bound to take armes for the defence of the Church. They had their part alſo of the fruits of the Holy year, during which time many Frenchmen and others of the religion went to ſee for curioſities ſake, without any feare of the Inquiſition, whoſe iuriſdiction doth ceaſe in the year of *lible*: many great perſonages from diuers parts E of Europe went to this *lible*; among the chiefe was the Duke of Bar, who went in a diſguiſed habit, to get abſolution, for that he had bin married againſt the rules of the Church, and without diſpenſation of the degrees of conſanguinitie that were betwixt him and the Kings Siſter; for which cauſe the Biſhop of Lorraine reſuſed him the Holy Sacrament, and held him for excommunicate. The King aſſiſted this Princes humilitie and ſubmiſſion with his Letters of ſauour to diuers Cardinals. The Duke of Sauoy was not pleaſed with the long delays of the Court, hee complained that hee was intreated with too great rigour. The Duke thought to finde a King of Complements: And the King a Duke more eaſie to reſtore that which he held. The Duke couered his diſcontent with ſilence and diſcretion. In the end they agree to treat of their affaires and differences by F Deputies: For the King were named the Conſtable, the Chancelor, the Marſhall *Biran*, the Marquis *Rhoſny* and *Villery*. For the Duke, *Bely* his Chancelor, the Marquis of *Lullins*, *Jaſon* the Earle of *Moret*, and *Alimes*. The Kings Deputies demand reſtitution of the Marquiſate of Saluces, in the ſame eſtate it was in when the Duke ſurprized it: The Dukes firſt propoſition was to haue the King renounce the protection of Genueua, the which was not (ſaid they) comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, in ſpeciall words, as other townes. This did much offend the King and his Council. The Duke in- treated

Monſ. de Alin-  
court comes to  
Genueua.

He comes to  
Rome on Fri-  
day the 26th  
of February.

Eight thouſand  
ounces of gold  
comes to ſou-  
re thouſand  
Crowns.

The Duke of Bar  
goes to Rome  
diſguiſed, ſee  
the Cardinal  
*Alenſon* and  
Oſſy, and  
to *Maſſary* de  
*Sillery*.

Deputies for  
the King and  
Duke.

A treated the Popes Nuncio to make this propoſition who (hauing his ſoule as free from craft and diſſimulation, as it was full of zeale and integrity) found meanes to ſpeake vnto the King without trouble or alteration. He ſaid that there was a meanes to vaine the extremities of their wils: for the ſame reaſon which required the Duke to reſtore the Marquiſate, did not hinder his Maieſty from the enioying of that which did belong vnto him. It is true (ſaid the King.) There the Nuncio replied: The towne of Genueua belongs to the Duke; and nothing hinders him from ſetting the authority which his Predeceſſors had there, but the power of your protection.

Is it not then reaſon that if you will haue him reſtore the Marquiſate which is yours, B you ſhould ſuffer him to enioy the towne of Genueua which is his: the King to be ſpeedily freed of this argument, answered, That things were different, that hee had not made the protection of Genueua. It was a treaty whereunto he was bound by faith, for the reuerence hee did beare vnto his Predeceſſors, who had made themſelves Protectors of that Common-weale, from whom they had receiued ſervice in their neceſſities. And hee would neuer oppoſe himſelfe againſt the firmeſſe of their promiſes. The Nuncio ſayes preſently vnto the King. As you will not leave the protection of Genueua, for that it was made with your Predeceſſors, in like ſort the Duke is not bound to yeeld you the Marquiſate of Saluces, for that hee tooke it not from you, but from the deſeſted King. Our difference, replied the King, although (for my part) it conſiſts of many points, is reduced onely to that C which concerns the Marquiſate of Saluces: The vſurper muſt reſtore: the Duke of Sauoy hath vſurped my Marquiſate, there is nothing that doth free him from reſtitution. I hold nothing of his, and therefore muſt not reſtore him any thing. I will neuer hinder him from hauing reaſon of Genueua, ſo as he get it without armes: for when he ſhall come thither with force, I will alwaies reſolue of that which I ought. He thinks that if I ſhould abandon that towne, he might force them to acknowledge him: but I ſhould purchaſe in abandoning them much blame, it being againſt the honour of this Crowne, and the firmeſſe of a Kings word.

The Duke had reaſon to affect this place: hee might make a great Bulwarke there of againſt the Suſſes, to recover that which they did hold from the ancient Houſe of Sauoy, D and to make all things difficult for the French, among the Cantons: This propoſition of Genueua was razed out of the Dukes articles, and no more ſpoken of in the Aſſembly of the Deputies. They did preſſe the reſtitution of the Marquiſate, or the exchange of the Countries of Breſſe, Pignerol, and Sauillan, with ſome valles of the paſſage of Piedmont. The Deputies aſſembled but once. The Duke foreſeeing what the iſſue would be, and hauing vnderſtood that the Chancelor ſpeaking of the reſtitution of exchange, had ſaid that they muſt paſſe that way or by the ſword: he let the King vnderſtand, that too many deaſt in the buſineſſe, and that it ſhould be ſooner ended, if but one did faithfully report the intentions of either part. The Patriarke of Conſtantinople was employed therein, but the Duke diſliked thereof.

E He reſolved to free himſelfe of theſe difficulties, and to runne the hazard and ſhame of the reſuſall. Then he preſented his firſt propoſition of the Empire and Duchy of Milan: giuing him very plauſible meanes, if they had beene as eaſie in the execution as in the diſcouſe: ſhewing, that for all the fruit of the conqueſt, he deſired nothing but to hold the Marquiſate of Saluces. Whereunto the King answered: That he was neither of that age, nor his affaires in that eſtate that King *Francis* his were, when he aſpired to the Empire. That there was not a Duke of Saxony nor a Landgrauce priſoner, to giue him the title of Protector of Germany, and of the Princes priſoners, as vnto King *Henry* the ſecond. If a King of France ſhould be ambitious of any thing greater then his Crowne, it might be an Empire, but not in the eſtate that it is now: the title of an Emperour being little more then F that of a Duke of Venice, but as it was vnder *Augustus* when as Rome (which commands but ſeuen hills) had reduced all the world vnder one Empire, or at the leaſt as it was vnder *Charlemagne*.

As for the Duchy of Milan, the King ſaid that the enterpriſe was tedious, and the iſſue vn certaine, as of all other deſignes, and for the meanes which the Duke diſcouered vnto him, there was nothing ſo eaſie which the King of Spaine might not make difficult, hauing both land and ſea at his command to hinder him. Beſides, it was the nature of a ſtroke of warre, ſtill to produce vnexpected difficulties. You alone (ſaid the King) cannot ſuc-

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The Popes  
Nuncio treats  
the King to  
leave the pro-  
tection of Ge-  
neuua.

They demand  
an exchange  
in ſtead of re-  
ſtitution.

The Empe-  
rour had  
little more  
than the  
title, the ſou-  
erainety  
remaining  
to the  
State of  
the Empire

court

1600 cour me, I know not how my men will agree with yours. And if things should succeed A according to your desire, I know not what should become of the fruit of the conquest. I have enough to doe in my Realme without thinking of others. The peace is but in the flower, the vent of such a designe would waite it. I will have no warre with the King of Spaine, unless he be weary of peace. Brother, you have no need of my counsell, but affection commands vs sometimes to give it to him that doth not aske it. I would counsell you to live in good termes with him. If there were any troubles betwixt you, I would not meddle but to reconcile you. I have too much care of the honour of my word, to breake a peace so iust and so necessary, without a precedent injury. If I did it, I should make my selfe the argument of all the complaints of Christendome, the discourse of other Princes, B the cause of a foraine warre, and the renewing of infinit calamities. It were an indiscretion for me vpon a vaine and imaginary hope, to lose the assurance to recover mine owne, wherewith I content my selfe without seeking anothers. The desires which are infinit, are unworthy of a iust Prince, they are proper to tyrants, who reigne without law, and live without feare: If I had any will to that which you propound, there should not need so many words, but having no will to it, it is in vaine for me to speake of it.

None of these words could content the Duke, but dissembling his discontent, he answered: If I should reape no other good by my voyage but to have scene so great a Prince whose valour and greatnesse is greater then the report, I should not be grieved. True it is, that the estate of my affaires should not have perswaded me to have come without the assurance of my Ambassador, that I should receive more of your Maiesties free will, then I C could expect of the Popes sentence, and that you would not so much preiudice the restitution, but would be satisfied with a more gentle composition. I have offered you the meanes, which lead to so great and so worthy effects, as the Marquitate of Saluces is nothing in comparison of them. You find difficulties therein. There is no great enterprise, can bee without them, but being well resolved, it is halfe executed. A courage like vnto yours finds nothing difficult, and all Europe admires your actions, having made that which was impossible possible. And seeing that I must attribute it, not vnto the violence of reason, D but to my vnhappyneesse, that I cannot perswade a thing, which in his glory and profit carries his owne perswasion: I beseech your Maiesty to intreat mee, as your most humble servant and kinsman, who desires no greater happinesse for his chieft to bee yours. They are already by the lawes of nature, they are by my will; and shall be more by the fauours of your bounty. For one Marquitate, you bind many Princes, and by the inuincing of one of my children, all the House of Sauoy shall be bound vnto you: your Maiesty will say, that you make not such large gifts: but you must consider if you please, that many vertues are common to men, but this belongs onely to Kings. As it is more royall to give then to take: and they wrong the greatnesse of their courage, if they should not give great things: and to give a thing that is litigious and doubtfull, you shall purchase an immortal right of Soueraignty.

He added many reasons for the execution of the enterprise, with such vehemency, as he B seemed to have some secret to make mountaines remoue and dry vp riuers. The King considered that there was no profit but for the Duke, and that the fruit which (at the least) he promised himselfe in keeping the Marquitate of Saluces, would be more certaine to him, then the conquest of Milan vnto the King. If the Duke of Sauoy could have engaged the King, he knew well how to crosse him in the execution. All the danger hee could apprehend, was the King of Spaines indignation: but hee might as easily returne into fauour without speaking a word, as he came away without bidding him farewell, for what should have hindered him, when as the French had bin farre engaged in Italy, to haue ioynted with the Spaniards to expell them, and to breake the bridge of his assistance, whereby hee had made them to passe.

The Duke seeing that he could not obtaine any thing of the King, but that he must make a double recompence for the Marquitate, he continued a while in doubt of his returne, as hee alwayes repented him of his coming. The King desirous to free him of all cause of distrust and apprehension, that should force his will, to promise that which he would neuer hold, sent him word, that he should not trouble himselfe with the resolution of his Council: for he should neuer be forced but by the right of armes, and that hee should alwayes haue time to thinke of it, and to returne to Turin with his will as free, as when he came

The Duke demands the inuestiture of the Marquitate for one of his sonnes.

The Duke of Sauoy pleased.

A came to Paris. The Duke not able to see clearly with his owne eyes, nor to distinguish of these difficulties, aduised thereof in his Council. But as the eyes troubled with those diseases the Physicians terme *Hypostagma* and *Ictere*, haue the operation of the sight so troubled as they cannot well iudge of colours, all obiects seeming vnto them yellow or red: Euen so when Princes Councils are subject to any passion, they giue counsell accordingly; nothing presenting it selfe vnto them, but through the false sight of opinion and choller, which doth alwayes make the bodies seeme bigger then they are. So in the Council of this Prince, those which desired warre, sayd: That neither the restitution of the Marquitate, nor the exchange of Bresse might be accepted, and that a good warre should bee more honourable.

B But a shamefull composition: others hauing no other passion then peace, aduised him vnto it at what price soeuer, fearing, that if the King should not receive that satisfaction from them which he expected, hee would stay them. The Duke grew into choller, and would haue departed without taking his leaue. The most aduised of his Council told him, that his departure in that sort, would make him a scorn to all the Princes of Italy; Spaine would laugh at him; France would be scandalized, that all Europe would hold him the cause of this warre, and in this war of a world of miseries. That there needed no other Herald to proclaim warre against him; which would be in the midst, and in the toure corners of his Estate, before that he passed the riuier of Rhoeane. That he shewed the greatness of his courage to vanquish all these difficulties, and wisdom to dissemble his contents. That wisdom should make the entry to a business, seeing that repentance is fruitlesse in the end. That if he had not foreseene the end of his voyage, he should by his constancie mitigate the feeling, and represent vnto himselfe, that to come into a goodly plaine all covered with flowers, he was forced to passe over a narrow and vneuen plancke. The Duke answered, I will neuer passe it. Leaving his Council in suspence, that he would make as dishonourable a departure, as his arrival had bene honourable, yet through the prayers and perswasions of some of the Kings good seruants, the Duke resolved to depart as he came. But it was not without complaining that they intreated him with too much rigour: that there was no courtiesie in France for him: that friendships were rare, finding least in them where he thought it did most abound: that they did force him to formes D that were too preiudiciall, and that they had made him to hope for things which they now refused him: and that his Ambassador had deceived him. The King knowing that *Cheualier Breton* had let the Duke of Sauoy his Master vnderstand that his Maiesty desired he should come vnto him: hee said vnto him, *I haue beene mistaken, and that hee did neuer speake it.*

True it is, that he had said, that he hoped the Duke should not return, but they should be agreed. The Duke seeing that wisdom must moderate the rigour of necessity, he tooke another course, and resolved, seeing hee could get nothing else, to make his profit of the time, and of his abode: that he might haue meanes to vnitte that which he had disioyned with Spaine. Foreseeing they would soone giue him leaue to bee gone, for already they E sayd in iest in the Anti-chamber, *That they must send him away by an Edict*. Hee had therefore found a fauourable pretext for his stay. He was (or made shew to bee) in loue with one of the rarest beauties in the Court, and seemed not to care for all other affaires in respect of her. There were two solemne Feasts at Paris, which followed one another, *Saint Germaines sayre*, and *Shrouetide*. It was giuen out, that hee would see them before his departure. In the meane time he makes no haste, although hee did not much aduance in his affaires. There were daily new propositions, and the last were more vnpleasing vnto him then the first.

The Kings seruants were of opinion, that they should giue this Prince as little cause as might be to distrust him of his voyage, and to giue him time to consider whether he should consent to the exchange or the restitution: for that it was a thing (as he sayd) which hee could not doe without conference with his Council, and the aduice of his Vassals. The King hauing had the opinion of the Princes of his blood and others, and of the chiefe officers of the Crowne, would no longer forbear to acquaint him with his resolution, commanding *Sebastian Zamei* (one of his Maiesties confident seruants) to tell it him: the which hee did so artificially, as before he left the Duke, he drew from him a writing of the principal conditions of the Treaty by the which were drawne the Articles of the restitution of the Marquitate, or of the exchange. But to the end that the Duke should not thinke that the

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Passionne Councils.

The Duke would depart without taking his leaue.

The Dukes complaints.

The pretext of the Dukes stay.



the King should precipitate his Councels, he gave him three months time to choose either of the two conditions of the treaty, either by restitution or the exchange. Whereupon the Duke signed the Articles following.

Articles of the  
Treaty of Paris.

1. That the Duke of Sauoy should restore the Marquisate of Salusses vnto his Maiefty by the first day of the month of Iune next following, to vie and enioy it as the Kings his Predecessors had done, when it was in their hands, without any delay or difficulty, grounded vpon any colour or pretext whatsoever.

2. And his said Maiefty doth promise and grant vnto the said Duke, not to giue the Charge and Government of that Country, to any one that he shall haue occasion to hold for enemy.

3. In like sort to employ Suisses in the guard of the Townes and Places thereof, except in the Castles where his Maiefty will place French Capitaines and Souldiers, or such as he shall thinke good.

4. Notwithstanding, his Maiefty doth not meane to be bound to continue the Suisses in the said townes, but for the time that the compromise shall continue, made in the person of his Holinesse, hereafter declared and specified.

5. Or else the said Duke shall yeld and deliuer to his Maiefty, for a recompence of the Marquisate of Salusses, by the first day of Iune next ensuing, all the country of Bresse, lying from the riuier of Saone vnto that of Dain, which riuier of Dain shall remaine in common betwixt his Maiefty and the said Duke, either of them to enioy it of his side, comprehending in the said Country the towne and Citadell of Bourg, and other places that depend thereon, Barcelonnette with his Vicariate or Deputiship, vnto Argentiere, the Vale of Sture; that of Perouse, with all that depends thereon; with the towne and castle of Pignerol with his territorie, vpon condition that his Maiefty shall transport vnto him all his right and interest to the said Marquisate, provided notwithstanding, that he suffer the inhabitants of the said Marquisate, which haue serued his Maiefty, or shall serue him hereafter, to enioy their goods freely and safely. And in like sort, those that haue serued, or shall serue the said Duke, shall in like manner enioy their goods, as well in the said Marquisate as in any other places that shall be deliuered to his Maiefty by the said Duke, without any alteration before the said delay nor after, to the preiudice of the one or the other, according to the rule which shall be set downe by his Maiefty and the Duke.

6. Moreover, the towne of Cental, Emont, Rogues, Peruieres, Castle Daulphin, and others held by the said Duke, belonging vnto his Maiefty, and in like manner those which his Maiefty holds in Bresse, Sauoy, Barcelonnette, & others belonging vnto the said Duke, shall respectively be restored, at such time as the Marquisate shall be yielded vp: and in case of exchange, those of Bresse and Barcelonnette shall remaine to his Maiefty, as hath bin said, and the rest shall be restored on either side.

7. All which places shall be restored in the same estate they are at this present, neither his Maiefty nor the said Duke be bound to pay nor satisfie the charges made of either part, in the fortification and repairing of the said places.

8. In like sort the Fort of Beche-Daulphin built by the said Duke during the warres, shall be demantled at the same time.

9. The Inventories duly certified of all the peeces of Artillery, Powder, Bullets, and other munitions of warre, which were in the townes and places of the said Marquisate, when the Duke entered it, shall be faithfully deliuered vnto his Maiefty when as the Duke shall choose the one or the other of the said two offers, whereupon his Maiefty shall declare his will for the restitution thereof, the which shall be performed by the Duke, as well in their kinds, as in money, according to the price, which shall be concluded betwixt his Maiefty and the Duke.

10. All Sutes, Iudgements, and Sentences given in iustice, on either side before this present accord (when the parties haue contested voluntarily) shall stand and take effect, whether restitution be made or an exchange of the Marquisate: yet shall it be lawfull for the parties to relieue themselves by prouision according to the order of the lawes.

11. That no search should be made of any impositions, contributions and leuies of money or vituals in the said Country, against such as had appointed, receited, or disposed thereof on either part, vnto this present Treaty.

12. And to the end that the inhabitants of the townes and country which are to be restored

A stored, may not be over-charged nor vniuently vexed, with leuies of money, during the respite granted vnto the said Duke, to make choice of, and to effect one of the said two offers, vnder colour of payment, as well of arrearages of the said impositions, imposed before, and since, the peace of Veruins, as for the pay and entertainment of Capitaines and men of warre, appointed for the guard of the said Marquisate. It is decreed, that there shall be no leauy of money made vpon the inhabitants of the said townes and countries, conformable to that which was agreed vpon, as well by the treatie of Veruins, as by the orders and accords made since, for the payment of the said arrearages and money by the Deputies of his Maiefty and the said Duke, in the beginning of the yeare, for the ordinary entertainment of garisons, appointed for the guard of the said townes and places, and of officers employed in the estates of the said garisons, without any new impositions of either part. And we declare all that shall be done and attempted to the contrary, subiect to restitution and reparation.

13. And whereas the said Duke hath requested his Maiefty to allow and confirme the feoffment made by him, in the Marquisate, in case he shall choose to restore it: his Maiefty doth declare, that being informed of the quality of the feoffments, he would haue that respect to gratifie the Duke, as his seruice would permit him, without being bound to restore that which had bene paid for the said Feoffments, but as it shall stand with his good pleasure.

14. And for as much as the said Duke hath intreated his Maiefty, to giue him time to confer with his vassals and subiects of both parties, before that he accept of the one or the other, his Maiefty desiring to witness vnto him, as well in this, as in all other occasions his good will: doth grant vnto the said Duke his choice, so as he choose and effect the one or the other of the two offers, by the first day of Iune above-named, without diminishing or altering of any thing, or vsing of any euasion, delay, or difficulty, grounded vpon any colour or occasion whatsoever.

15. Whereunto the said Duke hath bound his faith and word, and his Maiefty doth the like for accomplishment and execution of all things, granted by these present Articles which depend thereon.

16. In like sort it hath bene agreed betwixt his Maiefty and the said Duke, that they shall consent, as they doe at this present, after the restitution shall bee really and fully accomplished. If the said Duke makes choice thereof, that our holy Father Pope Clement the eight shall iudge of all Controuerfies that are betwixt his Maiefty and the said Duke, according to that which hath bene agreed vpon by the Treaty of Veruins, and that within in three yeares.

17. Promising to accomplish and performe, faithfully on either part, whatsoever shall be decreed by his Holinesse within the time prefixed, without any delay or difficulty, for what cause or pretext soeuer, as it is concluded by the Treaty of Veruins.

18. And for the greater assurance of the execution of the Treaty, and every poine and article therein contained, the said King and Duke of Sauoy, humbly beseech his Holinesse that as by his good and fatherly exhortations they are entered into this way of accord, that it would please him as a common father, to continue the care which he hath formerly shewed to nourish peace, and to assure a firme friendship betwixt them, and in all occasions that should be offered to interpose his authority for the full and real execution of things promised of either part, as it is contained in this present Treaty.

Made at Paris, the 27 day of February 1600. Signed Henry and Emanuel, and sealed with his Maiesties seale and the Duke of Sauoyes.

Three or foure dayes after this treaty, the Duke tooke his leaue of the King, who ben followed by all the Court conducted him to Pont Charenton, and gave him the Bis-  
B ron of Lux, to attend on him out of the realme, with commandment to the Governours of Champagne and Bourgondy, where he should passe, to receite him as his Maiefty.

Whilst he was nere the King he shewed such outward content, and concealed his griefe so cunningly, as his owne people did iudge that nothing could better please him, but being retired, his countenance bewrayed his discontent and the repurance of his voyage. This further he went from the King, the nearer he approached to Spaine, being belated to reconcile himselfe, and to that end he secretly dispatched his Chancellor, being in Caroff, he said sometimes, that he had bene deceived, that the words which they had

The Duke's  
Sauoyes de-  
Parture.

The Duke's  
discontent.

1600 had giuen to periwade him to come into France, were ill interpreted: and that as soone as a h should come to Chabery, he would send to beseech the King to prolong the time, in the which he would make choice of the restitution or the exchange.

The Baron of Lux obserued his discourses, and aduertised the King of the Dukes intention, wholly inclined to warre, rather then to performe any part of the treaty. Being vpon Saint Iulians bridge, the Baron of Lux, hauing commandement from the King not to go any farther, tooke his leaue of the Duke, and assuring himselfe that his words should be pleasing vnto him, as he seemed to haue bene content with his conduct, he beseeched him not to transport his heart out of Frances as he did his body, but to cherish the friendship of so great a King dearly, who loued him as his brother. That hee feared, that such as had shewed so great discontent, for the voyage, which his Highnesse had made into France, would reape the profit which he himselfe might enioy. That he would hold their counsels not onely suspect, but dangerous: as passionate men, whose perswasions were sugred poison: who being more ialous of his greatnesse, then desirous of his quiet, would not cease vntill they had diuerted him from the execution of his promises. That if it pleased him to thinke of what was past, and compare it with the present, hee should find that peace was the inexpugnable rampier of his Estates: and that it was a great misery for a Prince to submit himselfe to anothers discretion, beseeching him to beleue that the counsell which he gaue him, was the same which he would giue him, if it had pleased God that he had bene borne his vassall, or one of his Councell.

I take (answered the Duke) that which you say vnto me as of a worthy Nobleman, and thanke you: I acknowledge my selfe so much bound vnto the King, as I would sacrifice my life in exchange of the duty which I owe him: and doe promise neuer to giue him any occasion, to esteeme me other then his most humble seruant and louing kinsman. Men are knowne by their words, as metall by the sound, and flowers by the smell: but commonly Princes words serue but to disguise their inward conceptions, holding dissimulation for a great vertue. Such was the issue of the Duke of Sauoyes voyage. The yeare shall not passe before he taste the fruits. His presence did procure him the condition of exchange, the which the King would not haue granted to his Ambassadors. But hee continued not long in this opinion to performe the one or the other. Going out of the Citadell at Bourg, they found that sorrow troubled his soule, to leaue a place, esteemed one of the strongest in Europe. His outward shew bewrayed his inward discontent. This Prince who could well couer his passions, could not concale the griefe of this exchange, no more then the discommodity of the restitution. Being arriued at Bourg, he sent one poste vnto the King, to thanke him for the honour he had receiued in his voyage, and for the good entertainment which *Pralin* had giuen him in Champagne, and the Baron of Lux in Bourgundy. He wrote by the same Poste to the Gouverneur of Lyons, imparting vnto him the contentment which hee receiued by the treaty of Paris, and that he went to Chabery, and soone after the feasts, into Piedmont, there to resolute what the King should expect of him.

But he stayed not long before he gaue eare to their perswasions, who fought to depriue him of all happinesse, which hee might promise vnto himselfe by this voyage, assuring him that the comming of the Cont de Fuentes would giue him meanes to free himselfe from the necessity of the exchange and restitution. He dissembled the discontent of his voyage with great art, yet still he did vent out some vapour which made the most iudicious to beleue, that he would be glad to preiudice the King in any thing with the hazard of his owne.

The Commons of France hauing not yet recovered their ruines growne by ciuill wars, and now growing vnder the heauy burthen of taxes and subsidies, and complaining of the abuse of officers in the collection thereof; they were humble suitors vnto his Maiesty to set downe a generall order concerning the taxes, and to reforme the abuses; whereupon the King made this Edict which follows, for the reliefe of his poore subiects.

**HENRY** by the grace of God, &c. As soone as it pleased God to settle peace in this Realme: we haue cast our eyes with pittie vpon our people growne poore and almost ruined by the wounds and calamitie of long warre; and haue employed all our care to find out the meane, to abate the taxes, and other impositions which are leauied on them, with an intent to make them enioy the fruits which peace is accustomed to produce vnder a good King, when as warre is ended: being more desirous to purchase the name of Father

The Duke going forth of Bourg had weened in his eyes.

Edict concerning taxes.

1600 A of the people doing them good, then to leaue any remembrance vnto posterity of other more glorious titles which our perils and dangers might make vs merite: but being not able to effect it so speedily as their miseries required, by reason of the excessive charges of this Estate, which could not be diminished but by little and little; nor the ordinary reuenues to furnish it restored to their value, but in giuing some time to the peace established in the Realme, by the speciall grace and blessing of God, to change the face of this great delolation which warre hath left: we haue vpon the complaints often made vnto vs in our Councell, of the abuses in quality, and exactions, which are committed in the leauy and perception of the said taxes, deputed Commissioners, men of quality and known integrity, to informe and punish the offenders, proceed to the reforming thereof, and to giue vs aduice of the meanes which they shall thinke most fit and conuenient to suppress these disorders hereafter, being by their report informed that our subiects haue suffered much oppression by reason of the said abuses and disorders, namely, that equality had not been obserued by the Elzeuz in the diuision of Parishes: and much lesse by the lessors in the taxes of priuate men, whom they haue gratified, surcharged, or exempted at their pleasures, according to their passions and interest; and also by reason of the many tedious and chargeable suites growing amongst them; and the violences, exactions, and thefts, committed by Sergeants employed for the recovery of the taxes, which desiring to preuent as well by good orders, as diminution of the charges, vntill that God giue vs grace to make them feeble more abundantly of our fatherly bounty.

Whereupon there were many articles set downe by his Maiesty, for the reliefe and ease of his poore subiects vpon these taxations and cessments.

The Lords of Silery and Alincourt by the Popes aduice, and the Kings commandement, went from Rome to Florence, to treat a marriage betwixt the King and the Noble Princeesse *Mary* of Medicis, the which had bene propounded before. This demand was so pleasing vnto the great Duke, as he made no difficulty. The Articles of which Treaty are as followeth.

First, The great Duke doth promise in the name and faith of mariage of the said Princeesse, with her will and consent, as she hath declared vnto the said most Christian King, who in like manner doth promise by the said Lord of Silery, to take for his loyal Spouse the said Princeesse, as soone as might be, according to the Lawes and holy Constitutions of the Church, and doth presently promise to appoint some man of quality with sufficient authority in his name, and as Proctor to his said Maiesty, to wed by words of present the said Princeesse, vntill by the presence of the parties, the mariage might be confirmed and solemnized in the face of our mother the holy Church. In fauour whereof, the great Duke, as well for the singular affection which he beares to the Princeesse his Neece, as for the greatnesse and dignity of the House into the which she is receiued, doth promise to giue in dowry to the said Princeesse, the summe of fix hundred thousand crownes of gold, eury one being seven Liuers, foure Deniers, of the money of Florence, whereof the said King hath already receiued two hundred and fifty thousand crowns payd into the hands of his Treasurers. And as for the three hundred and fifty thousand Crownes remaining, they shall also be paid in ready money, in the towne of Marseille or Lions, when as the said mariage shall be confirmed and solemnized in the Church, as hath bene declared in the premises.

The said great Duke doth also promise to cause the said Princeesse to bee conducted and honourably accompanied at his owne cost and charges, and as is befitting a Princeesse of that qualitie, honour, and dignity, vnto the towne of Marseille, and moreover to giue her iewels and other precious moueables, fit for the dignitie of the said Princeesse, and the House from which she is descended.

In regard whereof it hath bene accorded, that the said Princeesse shall renounce the succession of her father and mother in the best forme that may bee for the contentment and satisfaction of the said Duke her vncler: and to this end the said Princeesse shall haue authority, and the said renunciation shall be confirmed by the said King, when it shall bee required. And at this present the said Princeesse acknowledging freely, that in regard of the said Dowry and Jewels which shall be giuen her, shee is bountifully satisfied for all that which might belong vnto her for her portion, in the succession of her father and mother, and that of her owne free-will shee doth renounce, to the profit and com-

O o o o medity

modity of the said great Duke, and of his descendants males, or of those which shall have interest by reason of the said great Duke, of what degree or quality soever, to all rights, names, reasons, and actions, which she may have, or in any sort pretend, to the said successions, whereof as much as need shall require, the said Princesses shall make session and transport to the said great Duke and to his descendants.

And to assure the said summe of six hundred thousand crownes given in dowry, bee it in case of restitution or otherwise, it hath bene agreed vpon and confirmed, that certaine lands shall be assigned, granted, and given in mortgage, for the assurance, confirmation, and restitution of the said summe of six hundred thousand crownes, which no obligation shall make void: so as by this means the said money may be delivered vnto the said great Duke, or to them that shall have charge from his Highnesse, to bee restored to the said Princesses or to her heyres, as shall be said hereafter: with the interest after five in the hundred, the which shall begin to haue course, and to stand firme & effectuell from the day that the said money shall be restored.

The said most Christian King shall assigne vnto the said Princesses for her Iointer, twenty thousand crownes by the yeare, which shall be payed out of Lands with iurisdiction, whereof the chiefe place shall haue the title of a Duchy, and the rest next vnto it: which places thus assigned to the said Princesses, shall enioy by herselfe or by her officers, with the said iurisdiction: And she shall haue the gift of all offices falling voyd, as the Queenes of France haue accustomed: alwayes provided, that the said offices bee given to naturall Frenchmen. And the said Princesses shall begin to enter into possession of the said lands, as soone as her dowry or ioynter shall haue place, to enioy it during her life, whether that she remaine within the Realme of France, or retire elsewhere. The said King shall also giue vnto the said Princesses, iewels befitting the dignitie of the Queenes of France, the which shall remaine proper vnto her selfe, as things belonging vnto her, and not otherwise. And for the entertainment of the said Princesses, future Queenes of France, during her mariage with the said King, there shall be officers and seruants appointed for the seruice of the said Princesses, in such number and quality as shall bee convenient: and for her charges there shall be a convenient summe appointed, the which shall be payd every three months out of the treasury, according to the order which hath bene obserued by the Queenes. And in case of the dissolution of the said mariage, by the death of the said Princesses without any children, the said King shall restore vnto the said Duke, or to him that shall haue charge from him, the iewels which haue bene given her, according to an inventory that shall bee made, vnlesse shee hath otherwise disposed thereof: and withall four hundred thousand crownes, which are two third parts of the six hundred thousand crownes given in dowry, vnlesse his Maiesty be desirous to enioy the whole summe during his life: In which case the said summe of six hundred thousand crownes shall be fully restored after his Maiesties death. And if the said Princesses leaue any children, issued of the said mariage, the said children shall succede in all the goods, moueable and immoueable which shall be left by her, and that may belong vnto her, the which shall be diuided according to the vse and custome of France. But in case the dissolution of the mariage bee by the death of the King, the said future Queenes pursuing him, whether she haue children or not of the said mariage, the said Princesses shall haue againe all the money, dowry and iewels brought by her: and moreover, those which shall be given her by the said King, excepting alwayes the iewels of the crown, the which are left as it were in guard with the Queenes of France. And in this case the said future Spouse shall also enioy her dowry, and all about mentioned, whether she remaine in France, or make her residence elsewhere at her pleasure.

All which Articles and Conventions haue bene treated and concluded in the name of the said King, by the said Lord of Silery, and by the said Duke as well in his owne name, as for the said Princesses, the said parties promising faithfully to keepe and obserue them in every point, without any contradiction directly or indirectly: and they haue promised to furnish all letters, prouisions, and expeditions necessary for the accomplishment thereof. And so they signed,

Silery and Ferdinand Duke of Tuscany.

A greater portion then that of the Lady Elizabeth married into Spaine, who had but 40000 crowns in dowry. The Queen mother had but 30000 crowns of Lewis D. of Vrbins her

A her father: but her mothers inheritance, among the which was the Earldome of Languois, was valued at a million of gold, and the Pope in consideration of the greatnesse of the House, whereunto she matched, gaue her an hundred thousand crowns, and many iewels. She had for her Ioynter but a thousand pounds a yeare.

The Contract was past in the Palace of Pity, the five and twentieth day of April, in the presence of Charles Anthony Putei Archbishop of Pisa, and Virginie Duke of Bracciano. All Florence shewed great ioy thereat, and the Princesses was presently declared Queene of France. She dined publicly vnder a cloth of Estate, the great Duke sitting far beneath her. The Duke of Bracciano gaue her water, and Silery the Kings Ambassador the towell.

B The rest of the day was spent in all kind of sports. Soone after, Monsieur Allencourt went to cary these good newes vnto the King, with the Queenes picture, which the great Duchesse sent him. The King sent Frontenac to serue the Queene as her chiefe Steward, who presented vnto her his Maiesties first Letter, and withall he sent his Portrait to the great duke. The King refused to effect the promils of mariage, as soone as the Duke of Sauoy had performed his, touching the restitution or the exchange of the Marquisate of Salusses, and to goe to Auignon to receiue the Queene: but the Duke was much perplexed what he should doe.

After the Duke of Sauoyes departure, the King went to passe the Lent at Fontainebleau, where there was a great conference betwixt the Bishop of Eureux, and Philip de Mornay Lord of Pleffis Marly, Gouverneur of Saumur, Intendant of the House and Crowne of Nauarre: in the presence of the King, Princes, & Officers of his Crowne, Councillors of State, Prelates, and other Noblemen of marke. It was touching a booke which Monsieur du Pleffis had published of the Institution of the Lords Supper, and against the Masse, wherein the Bishop did taxe him to haue falsified many authorities. Whereupon du Pleffis presented a Petition vnto the King, that his Maiesty would bee pleased to appoint Commissioners to examine every passage of Scripture cited in his booke.

The King yielded to this conference, that the truth might be made cleere against the darknesse of slander, referring the care thereof to his Chancellors. The Commissioners appointed for the Catholikes, were Augustin Thuanus, President of the Court Parliament at Paris: Pitbon, Aduocate in the Court, and Fevre Schoolemaster to the Prince of Conde, in whose absence came Martin the Kings Physitian. And for the other, the President of Calignon, Chancelor of Nauarre, in whose place entred de Fresnes Caney, President of the Chamber of Languedoc, and Casaubon, his Maiesties reader of the Greeke tongue. All singular men in learning and tongues.

This conference beganne the fourth day of May, in the Hall at Fontainebleau. In the midst thereof was a Table of a reasonable length: at the one end sat the King, on his right hand, the Bishop of Eureux, & on the left, right ouer against him, du Pleffis: Pasquier, Pasquier, and Merier, Secretaries of the conference, were at the lower end of the same Table. Somewhat higher on the Kings right hand, sat the Chancelor and the Commissioners. Behind the King stood the Archbishop of Lions, and the Bishops of Neuers, Beauuais and Chastres. On the Kings left hand were the foure Secretaries of State. Behind them which conferred, were the Dukes of Vaudemont, of Nemours, of Mercure, of Mayenne, of Neuers, of Elbeuf, of Aiguillon and Joinville, the Officers of the Crowne, Councillors of State, and other Noblemen of quality. After that all were commanded to keepe silence, his Maiesty hauing said, That the dispute was not betwixt party and party, but particular betwixt the two conferrers: not for any question of right and doctrine, but for the literal truth of some passages: and that he desired they should treat with all mildnesse and moderation, without any bitterness or passion, but that of the truth. Declaring moreover, that he did not meane that this dispute should in any thing alter or disquiet the peace of his F subiects, as the Chancelor did then declare vnto them at large by the Kings commandement.

My Masters, said he, all things worke to worke good in them that are good, if in the businesse which presents it selfe, wee bring spirits of peace and charity, the Gods of peace and charity, will assist our good intentions with his graces. The question is now, vpon that which Monsieur du Pleffis hath giuen the Bishop of Eureux to vnderstand that he will verifie before the King, and such Commissioners as he shall please to depare, all the passages quoted in his Bookes. Whereunto the said Bishop had answered, That he would

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would

The Queenes picture sent the King.

A conference at Fontainebleau.

The manner of their sitting at the conference.

1600

Discourse  
of the Bis-  
hop of Eu-  
reux at the  
beginning  
of the con-  
ference.

" would bind himselfe to shew five hundred falsehoods in his booke against the Masse: That  
" his Maiesty hath suffered this conference, which is made betwixt two learned men, not to  
" enter into disputation touching points which concerne Doctrine and matter of Religion,  
" the which his Maiesty would not endure without permission from the Pope; but only  
" to make cleare the literal truth or falsehood of the said Allegations. And as it is not meant  
" that there shall be any question made here touching controuersies of religion; in like  
" manner his Maiesty declares vnto you his firme and certaine resolution, for the obserua-  
" tion of his Edict of Nantes, made for the preferuation of the quiet and publike peace. He  
" wills and commands that this conference may be made without contention, and with all  
" the moderation that is requisite in a matter of so great importance: so as the good vnion B  
" and correspondency which is so necessary for the generall good of this Estate, and for  
" every one of vs in particular, may not be in any thing altered, but rather increased by the  
" mildnesse and modesty which shall be vied on either part, and that we may finish this dis-  
" putation with a good resolution to cary our selues and to liue peaceably together, like  
" good brethren, friends, & fellow citizens, as his Maiesty now commands vs by his Edict,  
" whereof he hath euen now renewed his commandement vnto vs. These words were confir-  
" med by the King, who commanded the Bishop of Eureux to speake and to begin the con-  
" ference, the which he did in these termes.

" Sir, I present my selfe here to obey your Maiesties commandements, and to appeare at  
" the assignation which *Monsieur du Plessis* hath giuen me. The offer which I have made was  
" to shew him 500 false Allegations in his booke against the Masse. Your Maiesty according  
" to your singular wisdom hath very well concluded that this offer might well be accep-  
" ted without offending either spiritual or temporal lawes, which forbid all priuate persons  
" to dispute publicly of Religion. For here the question is not to call in doubt the faith of  
" the ancient Fathers of the Church, or to examine if they have written well or ill; but  
" whether *Monsieur du Plessis* hath cited them truly or not. Heretofore *Humeric King* of  
" the Vandales hauing called the Catholikes of Africa to enter into disputation with the Ar-  
" rians, *Eugenius* Archbishop of Carthage answered him, That he might not accept of that  
" combat without the consent of other Bishops, and namely of the Church of Rome, which  
" was the head of all the Churches. If I at this day forbear to make the like difficulty, it is  
" not that I cary lesse respect to the Apostolike Sea than that holy Bishop did, about twelue  
" hundred yeares since: But for that the question now is for some priuate passages of *Mon-  
" sieur du Plessis* booke, and not of the generall doctrine of the Church; whereunto the mo-  
" desty your Maiesty hath pleased to vfe in this action hath imboldened me. For you would  
" not take the incense as the King of Iuda did, who was stricken with a Leprosie, that is to  
" say, you seeken not to vspurne any Priestly authority, nor to make your selfe a Iudge, or to  
" appoint Iudges in Ecclesiasticall causes: But onely to call learned witnesses and worthy of  
" credit, which may testifie the truth of this conference, and in case of difficulty, vpon the  
" version of words and edition of examples, giue their aduice: imitating therein the piety of  
" those good Emperours, *Constantine*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* the first and second, who  
" would neuer attribute vnto themselves the iudgement of controuersies of the faith, but  
" alwayes referre the decision to them whom God had appointed Pastors and Rectors of  
" his Church. And therefore vnder the authority of his commandements, I will enter  
" cheerfully into this conference, hauing first protested that I am not prickt forward by any  
" spleene against *Monsieur du Plessis*, whom I respect and honour for his good parts, neither  
" doe I pretend to charge him with any falsehood in his booke, but onely them vpon whose  
" faith and instructions he relied, as shall appeare by the mildnesse and modesty I promi-  
" sed your Maiesty to vfe towards his person.

Discourse  
of Monsieur  
du Plessis  
at the con-  
ference.

" *De Plessis* declared, That he was come thither, seeing it had so pleased his Maiesty, to  
" answer for his booke, which ambition had not caused him to write, but should rather  
" haue diuerted him, to preserve his good fauour: but zeale to serue (during his reigne) for  
" a holy reformation in the Church, after which many good men haue so long laboured. If it  
" might any way serue, he should hold himselfe happy, though it were with his great losse;  
" if not, that he would haue burnt it, yea with his owne hand. Yet his hope was, that when  
" he should be equally examined, all men should find that he had carried himselfe faithfully  
" and diligently, although it were not to bee held strange, if in five thousand passages or  
" more, they haue found some wherein his eye, his memory, or his iudgement hath waue-  
" red:

A red: yet so, as they did not impugn the truth of that whereof hee treated.

Oh said he, that the bookes of the Doctors of the Roman Church, which haue written  
within these hundred yeares, were examined with this rigour, how many should you find  
that could endure this triall? Finally, he protested with his Maiesties leaue, that this act  
was particular, and could not prejudice the truth of the doctrine of the reformed Churches  
of that Realme, which had bene before him, and should be after him. And so they entered  
into the matter.

After the first dayes conference, *Monsieur du Plessis* fell very sick, as they could proceed  
no further. The King did write the same day vnto the Duke of Espernon, what had past in  
this Conference, and shewed by his letter what his iudgement was. *My friend, the Dis-  
ciple of Enreux hath vanquished that of Saumur.* Wherewith *Monsieur du Plessis* was discon-  
tented; so as in a discourse which he (or some of his friends) had printed soone after, tou-  
ching this conference, he termed this Letter, *A sparke of fire*, and that the Bishop of Eu-  
reux Fly was made an Elephant.

Some moneths after this conference at Fontainebleau, *Canay*, one of the Commis-  
sioners, and President in the Chamber of the Edict at Castres, a man learned in Phylosophy  
and the tongues, and well read in the History of the Church, left his profession of the Re-  
formed Religion, and became a Romish Catholike. Many thought that *Casaubon* the other  
Commissioner would haue followed the same course: but he left not the world long in  
this opinion, hauing written vnto the Synod of Ministers assembled at Gargeau, that hee  
was not so wretchedly instructed in piety, as for want of knowledge of the truth he should  
suffer himselfe to be caried away with euery humour of doctrine. As the Synod reioyced  
at the constancy of *Casaubon*, they grew in choller against the exchange of *Canay*, who an-  
swering the first Letter, they added this exclamation against the second: *Oh miserable man,  
who hath purchased with the losse of firme felicity, the disguised wretchednesse of this world, the  
which shall hereafter perish both in his life and fight, vntil hee in the end with a feeling he  
acknowledge that he hath not with reason lost his iudgment, but rather without reason is become  
foolish. God of his mercy take pity of him, and giue him grace so to weepe for that which he hath  
committed, that he commit no more that which he must weep for.*

D The King had particular aduice that the Duke of Sauoy was intirely what to doe, and  
that he had sent vnto the Pope, and to diuers Princes and Common-weales in Italy, to let  
them vnderstand that he had bene forced to the Treaty of Paris: and how much it did  
import them if this treaty were effected: but he found not their intentions to iumpe with  
his, neither had he the answer he expedied. His Maiesty had also intelligence of his deepe  
dissembling, saying sometimes, *That he would not restore the Marquisate but by force*; some-  
times, *That he had rather deliuer Bresse then the Marquisate*; and most commonly he would  
say, *That he would restore the Marquisate*; and that with a double designe. The one was  
that the King (thinking he proceeded faithfully) would grant him some delay for the re-  
stitution of the Marquisate, during the which, and before that the King should leaue an  
E army, winter should come, the which would hinder the French from attempting of any  
thing against him this yeare. The other was, to the end that the King of Spaine and his  
Council (who apprehended about all, the restitution of the Marquisate, for the neigh-  
bourhood of the French to the Duchy of Milan) should grant vnto *Bely* the Dukes Chan-  
celor and his Ambassador in Spaine (whither he had sent him expressly to pacifie the Spani-  
ards, who were offended with the Dukes voyage into France) succours of men and mo-  
ney, in case the King would force him: or else that he might draw some recompence from  
the Spaniard for the exchange of Bresse with the Marquisate. *Bely* complains to the  
Council of Spaine, of the little time which there remained for the restitution of the Mar-  
quisate to the French. To whom they answered: That armies were not so soon leauey  
F in France; that he should assure the Duke his Master, that the Cont *Fuentes* should bee at  
Milan by August (whereas two millions of gold attended him) with so many men and  
other provision, as whosoever should seeke to force him, should haue enough to doe to de-  
fend himselfe.

The King being well aduertised of all these practises: the first of Iune, being past, by  
the which the Duke according to the treaty of Paris should restore the Marquisate, his Ma-  
iesty came to Lions, where the Duke intreated him by his letters to giue him some dayes of re-  
spite, and that he would satisfie him by his Ambassadors. Whereupon the King yielded.

Oooo

Then

Casaubon letter  
to the Ministers

The Duke of  
Sauoyes irre-  
solution.

The Council  
of Spaine an-  
swer of *Bely*.

The King  
comes to Ly-  
ons the ninth  
of Iuly.

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The dukes  
Ambassa-  
dors come  
to Lions.The Kings  
answers to  
the Amba-  
sadors.Marquis De  
Sillery and the  
President Ja-  
vis Deputies  
for the King.Difficulties in-  
vented by the  
Duke.An attempt to  
poison the  
King.

Then the Archbishop of Tarantaise, the Marquis of Lullins and *Rencas* his Ambassadors A came to Lyons, the sixteenth of July, who said unto the King: That the Duke their master did complaine of the Treaty of Paris; That he durst not refuse any thing to his Maie-  
 "ste, when as he was in the chiefe City of his Realme; That he might be more blamed for  
 "holding of the Accord, then in breaking it, for the great interest of himselfe, his children,  
 "and his countries: notwithstanding, he was ready to yeeld the Marquise, but hee beseech-  
 "ed his Maiefty to grant him the inuestiture thereof for one of his fones.

The King answered them: That the Duke had written many Letters vnto him from  
 "Chambery and Thurin, aduertising him that hee was very well pleased with the Accord  
 "which he had made at Paris, promising to effect it, as he was bound to doe. As for his de- B  
 "mand of the inuestiture of the Marquise for one of his fons, there was no likelihood he  
 "should vse any such bounty, hauing so small cause. To conclude, he was much discontented  
 "with the difficulties which the Duke made vpon their accord, the which if he did not  
 "performe by the first day of August, hee should prepare to defend himselfe. *Rencas* the  
 "Dukes confident seruant returns to his Highnesse, to let him vnderstand the Kings dis-  
 "content and resolution, but especially to giue him time to thinke of his affaires. At that  
 "time *Fosseuse* returning out of Piedmont, assured the King, that he had heard the Duke of  
 "Sauoy sweare, that he would neuer yeeld vp the Marquise, and if the King did attempt  
 "to make warre against him, hee would shew him sport for forty yeares, with such like  
 "words which were vnpleasing to the King. *Rencas* returns speedily, bringing newes that C  
 "the Duke was content, seeing the King would haue it so, to restore the Marquise of Sa-  
 "lusses, according to the Treaty of Paris. The King seemed well pleased with this resolu-  
 "tion, giuing the charge to *Brulart* and *Ianin* to treat with the Dukes Ambassadors, how  
 "the restitution of the Marquise should be made. The Articles were agreed vpon, and  
 "being ready to signe them, *Rencas* said vnto the Ambassadors, that his Master might take it  
 "ill if they should signe them before he had seene them: that there were strange humours  
 "about his highnesse, and that it would be more easie for him to get him to approve the ar-  
 "ticles when they were not signed. *Rencas* takes vpon him to carie the articles, the King ha-  
 "uing giuen him leaue to goe, and know his masters last resolution, shewing that he was de-  
 "termined not to suffer himselfe to be entertained any longer with words; but in stead of D  
 "returning, he sent backe a Letter whereby they found that the Duke did nothing but dis-  
 "semble, and entertaine the King with delays, vntill that the Count *Fuentes* came out of  
 "Spaine, and that he had assembled his forces and provided for his safety.

But the Archbishop of Tarantaise and Lullins entring againe into conference with the  
 "sayd President *Sillery* and *Ianin*, they propounded foure difficulties.

- 1 Vpon the restitution of places in the Marquise by the Duke, and of Pont de Vaux  
 in Bresse by the King at the same time.
- 2 Vpon the restitution of the Bailwicke of Gex.
- 3 Vpon the restitution of the artillery and munition that was within Carmagnola.
- 4 Vpon the nomination of a Gouverneur in the Marquise.

All which being refused, the Dukes Ambassadors beseech the King to giue them time  
 "to aduertise their Master thereof: the King answered them, that if by the 16 of August all  
 "his places in the Marquise were not restored vnto him, he would seek to recover that by  
 "force which he could not haue by reason. Before the Kings departure from Paris, the de-  
 "uill had perswaded a wretched woman called *Nicole Mignon*, to poison him, who had  
 "some meanes during the forepassed warres, hauing had the fauour to talke priuately with  
 "the King who is as full of bounty, as the liberty of armes, in time of warre, giues such fa-  
 "miliarities: and Princes sometimes frame themselves vnto it. Being kept backe from the  
 "Kings presence, with whom he would needs speake in priuate, being full of indignation,  
 "and hauing resolved this cruell attempt against the King, she addresseth her selfe to the Count F  
 "*Sailson* a Prince of the blood & Lord Steward of France, that he might giue her husband  
 "some place in the Kings kitchen, and so in going to see her husband, she should haue meanes  
 "to effect her damnable enterprise. In the end she had access, and said vnto him, that shee  
 "was resolved to doe an act, which should make him the greatest Prince, and her the most  
 "contented woman in the world. He desired to vnderstand of her the meanes in particular,  
 "whereat he was much amazed. And for that it was a matter of importance, hee wished  
 "her to come againe the next day; for that it deserved to be well considered of.

The

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A The Count of Soissons goes presently vnto the King, and tels him what he had heard  
 "of this woman, beseeching him to giue him some confident man, who being shut vp in his  
 "cabiner might heare the same, when as she should come at the time appointed. The King  
 "commanded *Lomeny* Secretarie of his Cabiner to goe. She returns full of courage and  
 "resolution to effect this wicked designe. She speaks more, and protests to doe worse then  
 "she had done the day before. He prest her to tell who had counseled her, and why she at-  
 "tempted so dangerous a thing. He could draw nothing from her but that it proceeded from  
 "the diuell, from whom comes all damnable inspirations, and whose actions are murders,  
 "sacriledges and impieties. When she had all said, shee was apprehended by the Prouost,  
 "and led vnto the Court. Being examined, she denied the accusation and reproached the  
 "accuser as audaciously, as she had shewed her selfe furiously resolute to the execution. *Lo-  
 "meny* was produced against her, and her conscience (although very deperately wicked) B  
 "could not deny that which she had before time depofed, but confessed the truth, and was  
 "condemned to be burned quicke.

She is burnt  
alive.

It is miraculous what hath past in diuers conspiracies against the King, and how diuine-  
 "ly God hath deliuered him. It was one of the causes, which made the Duke of Sauoy  
 "seeme so resolute to hold the accord which hee had made with the King at Paris for the  
 "Marquise of Saluces, hauing vnderstood that the King had bene so often threatened by  
 "the attempts of such murderers, presuming that it was not possible but some one would  
 "hit: and about the same time there was one taken, come out of Piedmont to kill the King,  
 "whereof there was great rumour and suspition. And three others which had undertaken  
 "to kill him, when as he was in Sauoy, whereof they had certaine intelligence, with their  
 "pourtraits, the which were well knowne. And as they would haue taken them, his Maiefty  
 "would not suffer them saying: *Let these wicked wretches alone, God will punish them without  
 "my doing.*

Four enterpri-  
ses against the  
king.

The sixteenth of August the King was aduertised, that the Duke had refused the last con-  
 "ditions agreed vpon by his Ambassadors, whereupon he countermanded the Count *Faf-  
 "sage*, whom he had sent with five hundred men to command in the Marquise of Salu-  
 "ses, and to enter the towne and castle of Carmagnoles, which the Duke should yeeld vp  
 "the sixteenth of August, according to the last accord. And within the 11 of that month  
 "he published a Declaration how he was forced to take Armes against the Duke of Sauoy,  
 "to haue reason for the Marquise of Salusses, surprized by him, and vsurped vpon the  
 "Crown of France, in a time of Peace, during the life of the deceased King, *Henry* the  
 "third, Predecessor to his Maiefty, and a benefactor to the said Dukes father: giuing all men  
 "to vnderstand, that he was vnwillingly drawne to this remedy, for the singular desire hee  
 "had to raigne in peace, and to liue in loue and friendship with all his neighbours, hauing  
 "done as much to auoid it, as his honour, and the duty of a Prince which loues the publike  
 "quiet, and the good of his Estate did require: taking into his protection and defence, all  
 "Clergy-men, and places, which should not fauour, nor serue for a retreat or assistance vnto  
 "the said Dukes armies: and all Inhabitants of townes, which should open their gates vnto  
 "his Maiefty and to his seruants: Meaning, that no acts of Hostilitie should be vsed, but  
 "against such as should cary armes, and fauour the said Duke of Sauoy and his adherents. For-  
 "bidding all sacriledge, rauishing all women and maids, and burning of houses, places and  
 "castles vpon paine of death. Commanding all Frenchmen his subiects, being in seruice  
 "with the said Duke, to retire themselves, and returne into his Realme within fifteen dayes  
 "after this Proclamation made in his armies, vpon paine to bee declared and punished as  
 "guilty of high treason.

The Duke refuseth  
to signe the Ar-  
ticles agreed  
vpon by his  
Ambassadors.The Kings De-  
claration vpon  
the beginning  
of the warre,  
against the Duke  
of Sauoy.

The King finding that all the Dukes temporisings and delays proceeded from a bad in-  
 "tent, was forced at one and the same instant, against the precepts of warre, to proclaim  
 "warre, and to prepare for meanes to make it. He gaue out Commissions for the leauying  
 "off foot in the neighbour Prouinces. He sent the Duke of Guise into Prouence, to looke to  
 "his Government, hauing intelligence that the Duke practised some surprises. The  
 "Marshall of Biron had charge to draw downe all his forces out of Bourgundy, hee caused  
 "bushes to be made in Niuernois, Dauphine & Bourgundy, and sent out Commissions for  
 "to leauy Pioners. The Marquis of Roigny great Master of the Artillery, was sent to Paris,  
 "who returned within fifteene dayes to his Maiefty, with incredible speed, so as in less  
 "then three weekes, the King had men, money, Cannon and Munition. Hee sent Monsieur  
 "De

The Kings  
preparations  
for warre.



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*De Vic* his Ambassador speedily into Suifferland with money, to prevent and disappoint A the Dukes practices, and to assure a leany of Suiffes at need.

The King who knows that in warre, nothing doth so much aduance the execution as the presence of the head: being resolute to assaile the Duke on two parts, by Bresse and Sauoy, he parted from Lyons the same day that he proclaimed warre, and came to Grenoble to goe to the enterprize of Montmelian in Sauoy, and to bee ready at all occasions. The Marshall of Biron vnderooke the surprize and taking of Bourg in Bresse, the which was as soone knowne as conceived. The Marquis of Lullins the Dukes Ambassador being at Lyons, aduertised the Count of *Montmaur* Gouverneur of Bresse, and *Bouvens* Capitaine of the Citadell of Bourg of the enterprize, and that they should stand vpon B their guards.

A Gentleman of Bresse which had been amongst the Marshall of Biron's troopes, scene the Petards, and numbred the souldiers in passing the bridge at Macon, went before, to give notice to *Bouvens* Capitaine of the Citadell, that the Marshall was within a league of him. But neglecting all these aduertisements, and trusting to the force of their walls and gates, they found, that the Marshall of Biron with twelve hundred men onely and two Petards, forced the first and second Port of the towne, and entred it without any resistance, or the losse of one souldier. The troopes entred without disorder, and marched directly to the place before the Citadell, and came not away, till ten of the clocke, whilest that they did capitulate with two hundred Suiffes, which had shut themselves into a Bastion, whom they suffered to depart free with what was theirs: and also to attend if *Bouvens* would fall out of the Citadell, as he made shew. The Marshall of Biron left the Baron of Lux at Bourg, and went with five Cannons to finish the conquest of all that which lyes on this side the Riuer of Rofne, taking at the same time Pont d'In, Poncin, Saint Denis, Saint Rumbert, Beley and Pierre Chastell. Some yielded at the reputation of his presence, others would see the Cannon. There was no garison in all the country, but at Seizel. A strange humour of an enemy, not onely to make warre vpon bad grounds, and to imbarke himselfe in a rotten ship, but also to refuse peace, and yet to haue no man in his country to make warre. Those which made any resistance, shewed themselves in the end more valiant in tongue then with the sword. So as the King being at Grenoble, received in one day and in lesse then six houres, newes of two memorable exploits: the taking of Bourg with seven ensignes, and one Corner, which the Marshall sent him, and the taking of the towne of Montmelian by *Les Digneires*. *Cregay* offered a scalado to the Curtaine of the towne of Montmelian towards the Castle, and the Petard to the Port of Arban with such fury, as the souldiers retired themselves into the Church, and the Inhabitants into the Citadell, leauing their houses to the discretion of all that warre allows in a towne that is either forced, or surprised. The King commanded *Grillon* to lodge with the Regiment of his guards in the suburbs of Chambery, all which was done, without any great resistance.

The Souldiers did not defend themselves without feare and amazement, and the people were so lulled asleepe with this opinion of peace, as nothing was more hatefull vnto them then the remembrance of warre, holding all care of armes to be vaine and vnprofitable.

The Duke past his time amongst the Ladies at Thurin, attending the pleasing affects which his Diuines had promised him, as we haue said. He is aduertised that the King is in Armes, his Country in prey, the meanes to defend himselfe farre off, and *Hannibal* at the foot of the Alpes: That onely Montmelian is left him on this side the mountains: That his chiefe towne had acknowledged the King for Soueraigne Lord, and that all his subjects yielded willingly to his obedience. Yet he continued his sports: And esteeming little the losse of all his Estates, so as he might saue Montmelian, hee holds it but losse of time for his enemies; that hee would make them abandon what they had taken, and of their victories they should carie backe nothing but Trophies of straw: to conclude he seemed for a time (as one would say) to consent to any thing which the King did.

But when he came in the end to consider of the abuses and deceits of his Soothsayers, to whom he had given too much credit; that so many proiects laid with the Marshall of Biron tooke no effect; that his Ambassadors had commandement to retire, yet full of griefe that their masters inconstancie had drawne his Estate into apparant ruine, and too much

The Duke of Sauoy troubled in minde.

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A much incensed the Kings patience) that his country was in prey, that the great meanes of resistance which were promised him, from beyond the Pirenean mountains were yet farre off: He awakes at the thunder of the Cannon: He casts his eyes and thoughts on all sides, and finds no Mediator capable to repaire that which hee had ruined; no friends to support his quarrell, no neighbours which stirre for him. Euery one blames him, euery one cries out that he is in the wrong, he is the sole instrument and cause of his owne misery, and he alone must seeke the remedy.

The Patriarke of Constantinople is at Turin, a man of a great spirit, and much praised in affaires of this world. The King sees and heares him willingly. Yea, but the Duke had suspected him at the Treaty of Paris. He had commandement from the Pope not to depart from thence, before his Highnesse had performed his promises. He thought that hee was there onely to obserue his intentions, and to presse the effects of his words. Hee had well obserued that the Duke did not shew him so good a countenance, nor did so willingly see him as when he past for the Treaty of Veruans: He is offended at this contempt, and it may be will be reuenged when opportunitie serues. He knowes also that the Duke did not like of them that did conferr with him; and that hee had encouraged the King to continue the course of his victories, and not to trust vnto the deceits of the Sauoyard. What likelihood was there then in so vident a businesse, to imploy a great Prelate incensed, a great spirit offended?

C Yet must hee coniure this French tempest, and by some meanes stay the exploits of so rude an Officer. The Patriarke quality binds him to mediate the reconciliation of Princes diuided in Christendome; and his presence, to bring water and not Oyle to the combustions which deuoured the Dukes Estates. Hee intreats and conuiles him to goe vnto the King. They say that (in despite of the bad reception hee had had at Thurin, or well acquainted with the Dukes intentions) he sent a small note vnto the King, aduising him to continue the course of his Armes, and not to desist for any propositions or offers made by the Duke, who fought but to deceive him, and withall he accepted of the charge.

The Patriarke came vnto Grenoble the fiftenth of August, and spake vnto the King D coming from Euenlong: Hee giues him to vnderstand how much the Pope would be discontented with this warre: hee conuiles him in his name to resolute to a peace, and to returne for that effect to the Treaty of Paris: for that in demanding his owne, both the Pope and all the Potentates would fauour his demand: but in seeking to retaine the ancient inheritance of the D. of Sauoy, hee had no reason to hope for any fauour.

The King answered him, That he was infinitely grieved the Pope should be any way discontented with his taking Armes, the which hee did not vnderstand vntill it was apparant to all the world, that the Duke deluded him. That being the person whom his Maiestie did most honour, and to whom hee acknowledged himselfe so much bound, as he could not deny him any thing, yet hee held him so full of Iustice, as hee would neuer aduise him to any thing that should be against reason, and the dignity of his Crowne: That the Duke having refused to performe the Articles of the Treaty at Paris, hee was not bound to obserue them.

The Patriarke laid before him the miseries which this warre would bring, the ruine and desolation of the people, and the aduantage which the common enemy of Christendome should get by it. The King answered him in this manner. You exhorte me like vnto a great Diuine, and one of the chiefe Prelates of the Church, to desist from this warre, to alledge the mightiest that may fall vpon Christendome. I know not for much Diuinity as you doe, yet am I not ignorant, that I haue a soule to saue, and that one day I must giue an account of my actions, and that God will impure the miseries that shall happen by this warre, vnto that man that giues the occasion. Let the D. of Sauoy lay his hand vpon his heart, and iudge if it be not his obstinacy and couetousnesse to hold that which belongs to another, which is the cause of all the oppression which his poore subjects doe now suffer: He hath presumed with too great contempt of me, to hold that which is mine, by cunning, against my will. Hee that detaines at other mans iniustly, may iustly be deprived of his owne. Hee that deniaies vnto the stronger that which belongs vnto him, abandons vnto him by the same meanes all that he hath: as it is no honour for him to be obstinate to warre, for the desire hee hath to hold an other mans Estate, so shall hee reape no other profit then the ruine of

The duke sends the Patriarke of Constantinople to the King.

The Kings answer to the Patriarke.

1600 "of his owne. I cannot conceale it reuerend Patriarke, that although I haue euer found all integrity in your Negotiations, yet am I troubled how I shall cary my selfe with you, touching that which you propound; for in truth I hold you for a very good man, a most vertuous Prelate, and a wise Negotiator.

The Duke demands two Legats

"On the other side I can let you see in writing how the said Duke hath given Authority to *Jacob* and the President *Roche* to treat with mee, with a Declaration that neither you nor his Ambassadors, that are within my Realme, are privy to his intentions. He hath made them propound, that I should moue the Pope to depure two Legats; one of them should cause restitution to be made of that which I hold on this side the Mountains, and the other should make him restore that which he detaines from me on that side the Alpes. I finde his manner of proceeding to be very bad. To conclude, reuerend Patriarke, I will beseech the Pope to take my answer in good part, who holds that I cannot be yrge by any reason to lay aside those Armes which the Duke hath forced me to take, having runne headlong without any necessitie into this warre, in the which I am engaged against my will. I meane not to bee irreconcilable to him, but I will tell you that hee hath caried himselfe in such sort towards me, as I will no more rely vpon his words. After so many breaches, he must finde some other means to warrant that he saith, or some others then my selfe to beleue him. His former cariage makes mee iudge what the future may be. It is euident that in a full peace, he vsurped the Marquise of Saluces from the deceased King his benefactor, alledging no other reason, but that hee would keepe it more safely for him, then the Huguenots, who would vsurpe it, promising to doe as hee pleased. I can shew his Letter written vnto the King. But when there is any question to keepe his promise, hee then no more remembers it. Iudge also how I can be assured of the loue of this Prince, who during the miseries of France, sought to vsurpe Dauphine and Provence, where with his friends he hath caused infinite ruines, and where hee pretended no other right but neighbourhood and conueniencie, and to make himselfe great with his neighbours losse, for as his Ambassador in Switzerland in an open dier at Bade (excusing his masters couetousnesse to the thirreene Cantons) said that his children which were many, were issued from Kings and Emperours, and that it was naturall for fathers to seeke all means to make their children great; and to thinke of it in time, seeing that no man knows what time hee hath to thinke of it. The which should giue occasion to all his neighbours, to forecast how they shall keepe their estates vntill his children bee provided for. The warre which I make shall not trouble the quiet of Christendome, I am ready to desist, when hee shall doe mee right, for many iust pretensions which I haue vpon his Estates and Countries, the which he detaines from me, to the preiudice of my Crowne. Let no man doubt of my resolution to obserue the Treaty of Vernins, but it doth not binde mee to quit mine owne. The Patriarke seeing that hee would allow no other reasons then his owne, beseeched the King to grant a cessation of Armes; but his request was not granted, the King being vnwilling his army should rest, vntill it had taken Montmellian and Bourg, being dangerous to remaine in an enemies country, and not to be assured of the chiefe places of strength, the losse whereof strikes terror into the rest. The King sent the Patriarke to Lions, to treat with his Councell more amply of his proposition.

The Spanish Ambassador considered the course of this warre, yet hee made no shew that the King his master desired for all this to alter the publike peace, notwithstanding he could not forbear to say, that besides the naturall affection which he bare to the Duke of Sauoy and to his children: he held it the duty of a mighty Prince, to lend his helping hand to them that were vniustly oppressed, yet hee made no protestation which might make them doubt of the obseruation of the Treaty. The King also said, that hee would cherish the loue of the King of Spaine, so long as he should miske account of his, but he would neuer trouble himselfe with so difficult a thing as to keepe a friend by force. Hee commanded the Marquis of Lullins to retire, for if an Ambassador be alwayes suspected during an assured peace, there is no reason to trust him in time of warre.

The King offers mercy to the inhabitants of Chambery.

The King being resolute not to lose any time in a season which was so precious, parted from Grenoble, dined at Baratz, visited his troopes which were at Montmellian, and from thence went to the Marches, viewed Chambery, and being come vnto the suburbs, he commanded *Villery*, to speake vnto *Jacob*, who commanded in the towne, and to lay before

A before him the danger whereinto he thrust himselfe with all the Inhabitantes, if they attended force in so weak a place. That the King desirous to prevent the ruine of so many poore innocent creatures, offered mercy, and sought to vanquish them by mildnesse, before hee employed any other means. *Jacob*, accompanied with the President *Roche*, thanked the King, and beseeched his Maiestie to suffer them to aduertise his Highnesse in what Estate they were. The King granted them three dayes to resolute & to send to the Duke, but the people not attending his resolution, being desirous to free themselves from the apprehensions of the misery which follows them that are obstinate, forced him to enter into parley, so as the town was yielded to the Kings obedience. Those within the Castle promised to yield within fix dayes, if they were not succoured with sufficient forces to raise the siege. The King left *La Buisse* a Gentlemen of Dauphine there for Gouverneur. Having effected so great a matter with so small forces, hee was well pleased to see his army augmented, by the troopes which *La Guiche* Gouverneur of Lions brought vnto him, being about three hundred horse, of the Nobility of his government, and of his company of men at armes. Being master of the field, he resolved to haue the chiefe fort, he seized vpon the two approaches of Tarentaise and Maurienne.

Chambery yielded the 21 of August.

He parted from Chambery the 26 of August, lodged at Saint Peter d'Albigny, and the next day came to Conflans, where he found that *Des Dignieres* had by maine force drawn two Cannons to the top of a mountaine, battered a Pabillion, and made a small breach in a curtain. The place was sufficient to haue assured women, but they that were within it shewed not themselves men, being one thousand five hundred in number, amongst the which there were a hundred all armed, and three hundred more which caried Cuirasses. They had scarce made fifty shot but they yielded through feare, and demanded no other composition but their liues, thinking themselves very happy to redeeme their liues with the losse of their armes, horses and baggage, the which the King gaue them out of his bounty, well satisfied with the place, their ensignes; and the promise which they made him, not to carie armes for twelve dayes.

The King comes to Conflans, and batters it.

As Conflans commands the passage of Tarentaise; so *Charbonniers* holds that of Maurienne, being seated at the entry of the mountaines; which makes the valley ioyning to D Mont-Cenis. This place stands vpon a rocke, at the foot whereof runnes the riuer of Arc, inaccessible of all sides, but only a narrow way to goe vnto the Port; This Tower of Charbonniers serues them as a dungeon and is all that remains of the first fort and retreat of the Earles of Sauoy. *Beralde* Duke of Saxony, the first Earle of Maunene made it his Palace in time of peace, and his fort for the warre. It is also remarkable for the birth of *Thomas sonne* to *Humbert* the third Earle of Sauoy; and Prince of Piedmont. The towne of Aiguebelle is at the foot of this Rocke, the King caused it to be surprised by the Seigneurs of Crequy and Morges, not giuing them of the Castle any leisuere to burne it.

The description of Charbonniers.

His Maiesty knowing that this place was well furnished to resist an army, caused his E troops to march, and then he battered the tower with nine Cannons, and two small pieces, from the breake of day vntill noone. The besieged (having endured fix hundred thirty and seuen Cannon shot, without any hope of succours) did capitulate the 10 of September, to depart with their baggage, and their Matches out: the King lent their ensignes to the Marquess of Vernuel being then at Lions, the which are now in the great Church of S. John, and so they departed to the number of two hundred. The King returned to Grenoble, to purge himselfe by the aduice of his physician, commanding *Des Dignieres* to passe with the army into Tarentaise, the which hee did, the enemies quitting the passage of Briançon, retiring themselves into a Rocke which was inaccessible of all parts, the which did so bridle the passage, as it might stay any force: *Des Dignieres* hauing intelligence that the port being but two foot wide, was not well rampared, and that the place was better furnished with Pelants then with fouldiers, hee planted two Cannons against it, the which in six volleys made a breach, the fouldiers graped vp courageously to the top of the Mountaine, to enter in at this hole, the Captaine within it was hurt with a shot, and all the rest were taken prisoners. The army lodged at Montiers the Metropolitan of the whole country, hauing conquered the vallies & mountaines of Maurienne and Tarentaise, where they found nothing so difficult, as the season, being more troubled with the weather, then with men: only Montmellian remained, which was held inpregnable.

The army lodged at Montiers.

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The King of  
Spaines Amba-  
ssador in  
Suisse complains of the  
King.

The King desirous to haue the causes of this warre knowne to all the world, comman-  
ded his Ambassadors to aduertise his friends thereof. The Spanih Ambassador in Swit-  
zerland was not mute in this occasion which ministred matter for all the world to talke  
of. His discourse was, that the French King (hauing taken armes when as euery one  
thought to enioy the sweetnesse of peace) put all the world in ialousie, bound those that  
were neerest to runne to quench this fire, and in opposing themselves to the oppression  
of the Duke, preuent the designs of the feruitude of Italy. That to this end the Count of  
Fuentes, had commandement from the King of Spaine his Master, to leaue men to assure  
the Duchy of Milan, and to intreat that valiant Nation of the Swisses to grant him a leaue  
of six thousand men.

Monseur de Vic the  
Kings Amba-  
ssador in Suisse.

Monseur de Vic the Kings Ambassador, made it knowne in an open assembly of all the  
Cantons, that the King had had more patience, then the injury done vnto his Crowne  
did permit, being vnwilling to take armes vntill that all Europe had iudged, that the Duke  
of Sauoy proceeded not sincerely, and that he vrged his Maiefty to repell by force the in-  
jury of the detension of the Marquitate of Saluces; yet could he not keepe the petty Can-  
tons from granting a leaue vnto the Duke, the which notwithstanding was by him made  
vnprofitable. We may not here omit a particular accident. Amongst the chiefe Gentle-  
men which *La Guiche* Governor of Lions had drawne out of his gouernment to serue the  
King in his armie of Sauoy, were *Chazet* and *du Bourg*, both well known for their valour  
and experience in armes. The King made good esteeme of them, and gaue a Commission  
to the last, to raise a regiment of a thousand men. Being gone to make this leaue, Enuy  
(which doth alwayes oppose it selfe to the merits of vertue, and which is ineuitable in the  
beginning of prosperitie) was grieved that a Gentleman which had followed the League,  
should be chosen among so many others to serue the King in this warre, and forged an  
imposture sufficient to ruine him, if it had encountered a Prince as apt to choller as hee is to  
Iustice and Clemencie. They cast abroad tickets in the Kings Chamber and withdrawing  
chamber, that these two Gentlemen, hauing failed in an enterprize vpon his Maiesties per-  
son at the passage of the riuer nere vnto Chamoussier, had referred the execution thereof  
to *Morliers*, and that his Maiefty should remember that vpon the way to Chamoussier,  
one of them (his courage fainting) drew back from the King to talke with a Knight which  
marched on the one side. This was enough to kindle the Kings choller, and to make  
it passe like vnto a thunder-bolt, which breaks and wounds before wee see the light-  
ning, or heare the cracke. But this Prince (who all his life had followed the precept,  
which the Emperour *Basilius* gaue vnto his sonne, not to giue care to slanderous and en-  
uious reports) found that this billet proceeded from a wicked and malicious passion, for  
that hee remembred well, that to speake, with *du Bourg*, he had caused *Chazet* to change  
his place, whereof mention was made in the billet. Hee shewed it to *La Guiche* gouernour  
of Lions, who presently conceived that it was an imposture: Hee called *Chazet* vnto  
him, more to confirme the good opinion hee had of his Loyalty, then to shew him that  
this note were able to giue him any signe of ialousie or distrust. And for that the brate  
of this treacherie could not bee kept secrete, he caused a Letter to be written to *du Bourg*,  
commanding him not to discontinue the leaue of his regiment, for any thing hee should  
heare spoken against his Loyalty, whereof hee would haue no other prooffe but his cou-  
rage, and the execution of that which he commanded him. *du Bourg* being at Lions, and  
hearing there were things spoken of him which he neuer thought, hee takes post & comes  
to the King as hee rose from dinner, being enuioured by all the chiefe Noblemen of his  
Court. As soone as he perceived him he asked why hee was come. Sir answered *du Bourg*,  
it is said at Lions that Eliphafe would kill you, *du Bourg* brings you his head. The King re-  
plied, that hee held him too honest a man to haue such a thought, and that such as had  
giuen this intelligence where wicked imposters. They did see that I meant to imploy  
you, as I will alwayes when occasion is offered for my seruice. They could produce no o-  
ther effects of their enuy but in writing of this Billet, but they haue not found me so tra-  
cable and credulous as they thought. Princes Courts were neuer without them, but hee  
hath fewest that doth least beleue them, I doe not as Kings my Predecessors, who kept  
in minde, while they liued what two or three had told them. No man knows my Realme  
better then my selfe. I haue found three factions. That of the deceased King hath trou-  
bled mee. Of three I haue made one: there is no more any distinction. I am King of the  
one

A strange  
imposture.

A one as well as of the other, and hold them all for my subiects. I make no difference among  
them for their affection to my seruice, but I know how to make choise of them that are  
capable of charges, and for your regard you shall neuer be forgotten when any is offe-  
red. *du Bourg* hauing thanked the King for the confidence it pleased him to haue of his  
loyalty, seemed notwithstanding much afflicted for this slander. The King said vnto him,  
That he had already told *Chazet* that it pitted him to see him afflicted for a thing which  
he had neuer beleueed, and which he held incredible: hee asked him if hee suspected any  
one, assuring him, that if he did name him, hee would of his absolute power put him to  
the racke; and if any one should accuse them, he would alwaies hold the accusation scan-  
dalous, being far from the thought of Gentlemen of their fort; and if he should beleue  
billets, there were no safety for good men in his Court. But the King adds (to encrease  
the hearts griefe of these spightfull spirits) goe and raise your Regiment, and beleue me,  
that if you bring speedily the number of men which you haue promised, you shall pun-  
ish them more rigorously then iustice would if they were knowne: for there is no such  
torment to an enemy as to doe well. That which was said of these two was very false,  
but that which was said of two others, was very true. The King had intelligence that  
two desperate men, by one motion, and diuers meanes, had an enterprize vpon his  
person.

Two desperate  
men sent to kill  
the King.

The aduise was accompanied with a description and the portraits of these wretches.  
C One of them was knowne, and seene two or three times neare vnto the King. One to  
whom *Villery* had giuen a copy of the portraits, to watch and obserue this villaine, see-  
ing him one day neare vnto the King then he should be, wished his Maiefty to take heed.  
He contemned this aduice, saying, That his life depended of God, and not of the practi-  
ces of his enemies. He would not suffer them to apprehend him, saying, Let him alone,  
he is a wicked man. Such villaines shall not goe unpunished, God will punish them without my  
doing. The Cattle of Montmelian was held one of the strongest places in Christendome,  
and those which haue seene the portrait, with the order of the Kings Campe, and the  
forme of his battery, haue wondered that it did so suddenly yeeld. The King himselfe said  
it was impregnable. It is seated vpon the top of a mountaine, the ditches be precipices  
D on euery side, the defences, five great battions well flanked: there is but one passage to it  
from the towne, but so vncaise as is not to be won, being ditcht, renrencht, and flanked  
with aduantage: but there is no fortresse that may not be tearmed strong if it bee not af-  
fected, and they measure the strength or weaknesse of a place more by the quality of him  
that doth besiege it, then by her owne forces. The King (whose reputation assured a  
happy end) resolved to besiege it, being informed of the state of the place, and confirmed  
in his resolution by *Des Diguieres*, who said these words vnto him: That he would submit  
himselfe to pay the charges of the army, if that fort were not taken within one month.

The siege of  
the Cattle of  
Montmelian.

It was furnished of munition, and many ruines neglected did blemish that ancient re-  
putation, by the which it was held one of the strongest in Christendome. The Capitaine  
E and souldiers had equally need of courage. It is better to haue sheepe commanded by a  
Lion, then Lions commanded by a sheepe. The Earle of Brandis, of the house of the  
Earles of Montmaior had the gouernment. The execution of a Councell is neuer better  
performed then by him that giues it. *Des Diguieres* had been the chiefe author to make  
the army passe out of Maurienne into Tarentaise. The King therefore iudging that  
he could not be better serued by any other in his army of Sauoy, he commits the charge  
vnto him of the execution of that which hee had aduised.

The French army marched to besiege the Cattle of Montmelian, which the Lord of  
Crequey (commanding in the Towne since the taking thereof) had blockt vp as well as he  
could. His Maiefty being ariued, he summoned the Count of Brandis to yeeld, and to  
receiue his commandements, threatening him with the fury of forty Cannons: the Earle  
answered; That he would neuer yeeld the place but to his Sueraigne Lord the Duke of Sauoy,  
and if they did besiege him, Montmelian should be the Sepulture of the French. Some thinke  
that this answer proceeded onely from feare.

The Cattle  
summoned to  
yeeld.  
The Earle of  
Brandis answer;

In the meane time the Marquis *Kosby*, great master of the Artillery, lost no time to  
plant his batteries, drawing vp seven cannons by the force of mens hands, to command  
the Cattle, and to batter it at random: then in the same plaine at the foot of the hill, hee  
caused two batteries to be made by *de Bordis* (Lieutenant General of the Artillery) as

Pppp

well

1600

well against the Bastion of Mauvoisin, as other places which they held easiest to be battered, especially that which was before the Bastion *Bonillars*, the which might also batter an old tower or dongeon, being foure square, and almost ruined; having beene battered in former time by the army of King *Francis* the first.

The two batteries on the other side of the water, plaied vpon the base Court, and into the portall of the Dongeon at random, vpon those that should issue forth, or offer themselves to defend the breach, the which did more amaze the besieged then any thing else, who being well furnished with artillery and other munition, spared not their shot, the which notwithstanding could not hinder the lodging of the Kings artillery. Whilest they planted the Cannon, the King went to view the passages of the mountaines, by the which the Duke of Sauoy might enter on this side. He was then at Thurin, and did not bouge, seeming carelesse of the ruine of his Estates: yet sometime some of his most trusty seruants would say: *The King of France takes Townes in Sauoy, but patience: his Highnesse will take as many in France, and better.* These words being reported, made the King suspect some bad designe, considering the aduertisement they had of three murderers, whereof one was come expressly out of Piedmont to murder the King: yet hee feared not them, but rather *La Fin*, who was very inward with the Marshall of Biron, and that they would seeke to effect the designs which they had plotted at Paris, when as the Duke of Sauoy was there, whereof the King had had some intelligence, but he could not beleue it. His Maiesty, who loued the Marshall of Biron well, wished him to dismis *La Fin*, that his company was dangerous, and that in the end he would deceiue him. But the Marshall was no more capable of counsell: two great and violent passions, Ambition and Reuenge, had so distempred his iudgement, as hee was no more himselfe, the which grew vpon occasions which fell out in this war of Sauoy. The first was despight and ieaousie, to see all the authority of command, all the honour of enterprises, all the conduct of executions giuen to *Des Dignieres*, for that he knew the country, and the enemies forces better then any other. Hee was discontented for that hee was not at the siege of Montmelian, as he had beene at the siege of Amiens. The other was the refusal which the King made vnto him, to dispose of the Citadell of Bourg, when it should be taken, which refusal was grounded vpon great considerations. The first, that it was not reasonable to trust a place of that importance to him that was suspected to haue intelligence with his enemy. The second, that Gouvernours of Prouinces which command in chiefe, ought not to haue the guard of places and fortresses. The third was, that the King meant to commit the place (as one of the Keyes of his Realme towards Italy) to one that depended immediatly on his Maiesty. But we must ioyne this discourse to his processe, and to the discouery of his conspiracies, the which he thought to be very secret, for that they were not knowne nor divulged.

All Italy being amazed to see the King at the foot of the Alpes, and the three fortresses which remained in Breffe and Sauoy, so straightly besieged, as they must needs fall into the power of the victorious French, said: *That the Marquisate was the pretext, but Naples and Milan was the cause of the war.* The Duke of Sessa, the King of Spaines Ambassador at Rome, represented vnto the Pope the infinite ruines and desolations which would follow by the continuance of this war, & the victorious successes which the Turke had vpon the frontiers of Austria, being ready to make a great breach vpon the Christians, whilest the Princes which he feared most were at war, and the most warlike people of Europe killed one another. He therefore beseecheth him to send his Nephew vnto the King, to stay the course of his armes, and to resume the execution of the treaty of Paris. The Pope (to whom the diuision of Christian Princes hath alwaies beene displeasing, desiring more then any of his predecessors to assure the publike quiet) grants this famous Ambassage of Cardinal *Adobrandino* his Nephew, who young of age, but not of wildome and iudgment, would not depart out of Rome before the Duke of Sessa had giuen his word vnto the Pope, that he would cause the King of Spaine to approue, and the Duke to obserue whatsoever he should treat with this assurance he past to Milan, getting the like promise from the Count of Fuentes vnder his hand, being there ready with the King of Spaines forces to succour the Duke of Sauoy, to whom he said: That hee made this voyage for the onely respect of the King of Spaine, and if the Duke of Sauoy onely had beene interested, he would not haue absented himselfe so long

The vanquishing  
of the Sauoy-  
ards.

The conquest  
of the Marshall  
Biron: discon-  
tent.

Battles in Italy.

The Duke of  
Sessa request  
vnto the Pope.

Cardinal *Adobrandino* sent  
Legate vnto the  
French King.

A long from the Consistory, he was not therefore refused to proceed any further, if hee did not assure him to make the Duke obserue all that hee did great, and to retire his forces if he made any difficulty. The Count who sought but to saue that which was on the other side of the Alpes, to serue as a rampier for Milan, promised him, *So as a passage might be reformed for the Spaniards to goe into Flanders.* It was a great wildome in this young Cardinal not to treat of so important a business, but vpon good cautions. The Cardinal being thus assured, leaues his traine at Alexandria, and comes to Thurin, faining his intention to be, to finish his pilgrimage to our Lady at Mont Deuis, and to see him in passing. The Duke enters into complaint of the losse of his Estates, and swears to seeke all means to haue his reuenge. The Legate seemes cold, he represents vnto him the necessity of Peace, and the good of Concord, and he lets him know that hee should desire to keepe his friends which are the true Scepters of Princes. He adds, moreover, that he was sory for the bad estate of his affaires, the which if he might repaire, he would willingly goe to Chambery. The Duke intreats him to take the paine, giues him a blanke, and assures him, that he will neuer haue any will nor resolution to contradict that which he should conclude in this negotiation: with this promise (and an assurance that he should not attempt any thing more then the succouring of Montmelian) he passed the Alpes. And for that he feared the King in his great aduantage would not hearken to a peace, and much lesse grant any truce, and that this inequality would make all reasons vnequall: he would not aduise the Duke to send his Ambassadors vntill he first knew the Kings minde. Hee therefore commands *Hermio* his Secretary to aduertise him of his coming, and of the desire he had to serue his Maiesty, not for the continuance of the war, but for a confirmation of a peace. The King vpon this aduise staies at Annesly, to giue audience to *Hermio*, who was presented vnto him by the Patriake, who said vnto him, that the Legate his Master was sent by the Pope to quench the fire of war. The King excused himselfe vpon the disadvantage he should receiue, and the prejudice it would bring to his affaires, in retiring when he should aduance, and to neglect the commodities and occasions which were offered vnto him in this enterprise. By the consideration of time and place. But he assured him that the Cardinal should be very welcome, for the respect of his Holinesse, for the particular of his person, and for the subiect of his Legation, although his enemies had giuen it out, that it was made in the Dukes fauour. That hee did a tribute all to piety, wildome, and a fatherly care in his Holinesse; who should alwaies finde as much will in him to maintaine peace, as hee had bin grieued to come to arms, refusing neuer any treaty, so as it might be with honour and safety, being resolute, neuer to endure any injury from the Duke of Sauoy, nor his adherents. *Hermio* made some other propositions, the answer whereof the King referred vnto Chambery, whither the King appointed to come within foure or fuge daies: The King went from Annesly to Beaufort, to view the passage of the mountain, by the which the Duke might come: he sent the Duke *Biron* to discouer that of our Lady of Gorge, and others altogether inaccessable, but only for Beares and Camels. The King went vpon the mountain, as far as the pace of Cornet, where he dined vnter a Rocke, to defend himselfe from snow; after he had viewed the passage which may serue the enemy, he parted from Beaufort, and took his lodging at Gilly neare to Constance, where he was informed of the true estate of the besieged, who had no hope but in themselves, being impossible for the Duke of Sauoy to succour them. But what doth the Duke whilest the King rules in his Countie, and that *Des Dignieres* spoiles all the Vallies of Morienne and Tarentaise? Hee which had been the Kings Agent with the Duke, hauing taken his leaue, came to his Maiesty at Grenoble, telling him that the Duke talked of nothing but fighting, he answered that he should finde him ready to shew him sport. The Spaniards, who would make him apprehend the voyage of Paris, said, That they might not break the body of their troops, nor diuide their forces appointed for the voyage of Piedmont. The Duke would haue sent three thousand Spaniards to defend the Valley of Tarentaise, but they would not march, not for feare, but by order of their Commander, which kept them backe. *D'Albignis* had much adoe to make them stay at the Fort of little Saint Bernard, on that side of the Valley of Aest, which if they had done, the Duke might haue attempted something in Prouence and Dauphine to haue diuerted the Kings forces.

But it hath bin alwaies obserued, that such as haue trusted to the succours of Spain, haue

P p p p

tried

Hee came to  
Thurin in Sep-  
tember and is  
recounted by the  
Duke.

The Cardinal  
sends *Hermio*  
his Secretary  
to the King.

The King pass-  
eth the pace of  
Cornet the 12  
of October.

The Duke re-  
solves to fight.

1600

A Maxime of  
the Spaniards.11: King re-  
turns to Mont-  
melian.Speech of  
the Earl of  
Brandis  
to his Coun-  
cill.

tried to their griefe, that they desire rather to entertaine the disease, then to aduance the cure. It is a militarie Maxime among them, to make one body of an army, but especially, not to doe any thing without direction, so as oftentimes great opportunities are lost in attending: for, if the Councells be far off, they come alwaies after the effects. The King hauing provided for the passages, returnes to Montmelian, he sent word to the Earl of Brandis, That if he would forbear to shoot that day, he would also cause his battery to cease. They told the King, that the Earle granted it as willingly, as if he had no resolution to refuse any thing to so great a Prince. The King was not ignorant of the estate of the besieged, for besides that at the taking of the towne, hee had taken Notes and Inventories of the munition that was in the Castle, there alwaies escaped some one out by the wall which brought newes, and described the place in as miserable an estate as they could, as well to excuse their flight, as to tell the truth. A Cannon shot from one of the Kings batteries pierced the wall within a foot of the Cause whereas all the powder and munition of war did lye, the which had ended the battery, if it had gone a little further. The Earl of Brandis seeing that nothing came from without that might entertaine hope, and iudging that nothing was lesse beleeving a Capitaine then rashnesse, did not contemne the persuasions which necessity and the aduice of his friends gaue him to thinke of the souldiers health, seeing that of the place was desperate. The King summons him againe not to be obstinate: they found him so well disposed thereunto, as presently they did iudge whereunto things would tend. The Earl calls together the Captaines and Gentlemen that were with him, to determine of some wholesome expedient, not to offend the seruice of their Prince, nor to incense the power of a great King, and to provide for the common health of them all. If he were resolute to hold it out, he should not aske counsell but of such as were of the same resolution, being easie to iudge, that amazement will alwaies cary them to opinions contrary to duty, and that from a fearefull man you shall neuer draw good counsell. Every thing is vnpleasant to a man that feares. Being therefore assembled, he spake vnto them after this manner: "My masters, when I consider that we hold this place for our Prince, to defend it for him with the price and perill of our liues, I doe not finde, that either feare of danger, or despair of succours, or rigor of afflictions can discharge vs: But when I consider the state wherein we are, the extremities which presse vs, the great distance of our hopes, and the weakenesse of our force, I say, that in the end we must submit our wills to that which may bee, and that it should be an ouer-weening, to will that which is impossible. It is not the custome of a Governour in a place besieged, to publish the wants he finds, for commonly a good shew couers defects, to the end that his waivering daunt not the courage of his souldiers. In like manner I haue concealed as much as I could the necessities which enuirovn vs: but seeing you see them and feele them no lesse then my selfe, iudge what the issue of this siege may be. I coniure you by the duty which binds you to his Highnesse, by your loyalties, honours, and consciences, you consider the choice of two things, wherof if it were possible, I would desire neither the one nor the other, which is; Either to endure all the attempts of the Kings Army, and to yeeld vp our liues with the place; or to capitulate to yeeld it vpon the longest time we can obtaine. If we follow the first, we cannot auoid our owne ruines, nor the losse of the place: if necessity suffers vs to make vse of the second, we may giue his Highnesse leisure to doe his businesse, or to succour vs. Thinke not that any base apprehension of danger makes me to vse these words. I shall neuer in all my life finde a more glorious death. All that may be done out of this place to saue a mans life, I will doe it to finde death, and in euery thing else that shall be vnfortunate. I will euer remember, that it is not the duty of a Commander to haue care of his own safety, but of the preservation of his souldiers.

"Take therefore this proposition as I giue it you, and expecting your resolution, I shew vnto your companions neither feare in your courages, nor despair in your words, and in all your resolutions cast your eyes, not so much vpon that which you desire, as vpon necessity, which must giue a law vnto your desires, remembering, that they pittie such as fall into accidents not fore-seene, and mocke at those which fall into apparent dangers.

This proposition was not applauded of them all: some representing, that there is no crime more horrible and detestable, then to yeeld vp a strong place, without extreme and

1600

A and most apparant violence, remembering, That his Highnesse had honoured them with the guard of the only bulwarke of his Estates: they should rather all die therein, then yeeld the place to the French King, and that the apparant danger might bee auoided by some favourable accident. Others of the contrary side maintained, That accidents were doubtfull, that it were better according to the time, to take an assured and easie party. That euery one knew that the most Christian King was well informed of the estate of that place: That they had suffered to the extremity. That they were battered with forty Cannons: That they had receiued many disgraces, and losse of men, burnt by fire which had taken their powder. That since two moneths they had receiued no newes from his Highnesse. B That they wanted all kind of victuall but corne, which with good husbandry could not last to the end of Nouember: That it were better to enter into composition, seeing the King offered it, and take a reasonable rearmeto yeeld vp the place, whilste that his Highnesse should giue order to succour them, or to treat of a peace. The most resolute were shaken at these words, and in the end all concluded to make their peace in time, whereunto in the end they had bene forced. The Earle made an act, the which was signed by all the Captaines and Officers of the Garrison, by the which hee demanded a truce of the King for five daies; at the end whereof he did capitulate, to depart, he and his company with liues and goods, Ensignes displayed, Drums founding, bullet in the mouth, Harguebuzes charged, their marches light, and furnished with what munition of warre they could cary, without search, if the Duke did not succour them within one moneth: the which was granted, and moreover, they had leaue to send a Capitaine to the Duke to aduertise him thereof. The Cheualier Bricheras had the charge to cary these newes vnto the Duke, with letters containing this in substance: That hee and his had suffered and did suffer all that humane flesh could endure, besides an infinite number of disgraces, and losse of many men burnt euen by fire which fell among the powder. That the King being informed of the estate of this place, had summonsed it three or four times by letters of his owne hands, to yeeld it vp vnto him, being come in person foure times into the towne of Montmelian to heare his answer, the which hee had forborne vntill he had seene nine batteries planted about the Castle, consisting of forty Cannons.

D That his highnesse must consider he was besieged by a Royall army, in the which were three Generals, the Duke of Espernon, the Marshall of Biron, and Des Dignieres, with many Princes and Noblemen. That hauing receiued no newes from his Highnesse since his Letter of the fifteenth of August, he had lost all hope of succours, and had propounded vnto all the Captaines, to try if they could get a sufficient time to giue his Highnesse means either to succour them, or to treat of a peace.

That holding a delay of more aduantage then such a sudden losse, he had entred into Treaty, hauing demanded a much longer time then they had granted him, notwithstanding that all prouision of victualls wanted, except corne and Rice, the which with very good husbandry could not last till the end of Nouember.

E That he was much grieved to yeeld the place to any other then to him to whom it did belong, and if he could as well dispose of all them that were with him, as of himself, and of other chiefe Officers, to die when as the place should change his Master, he would rather take that resolution, then present himselfe before his Highnesse after so great a losse, in comparison whereof his owne fortunes and safety seemed nothing vnto him.

That if his Highnesse did not succour them within the moneth, the place was lost, the King hauing giuen it out, That he would not yeeld it againe, notwithstanding any peace.

The same day the Capitulation of Montmelian was made, the King sent the Secretary Herminio to goe and meet the Cardinall Aldobrandino his Master, with charge to assure him of his Maiesties willingness to peace, & of the desire hee had to see him to open his heart, and to represent vnto him the iustice of his Armes, and to let him know that hee had not vnder-taken them to trouble Italy or Christendome, as his enemies had maliciously giuen out, after that they had forced him to protract his marriage, and to take the way of Sauoy, the which was not greatly pleasing vnto him in this season, intreating him to take it in good part, if he did not answer to the particular propositions, propounded ded vnto him by Herminio vntill his actual aduising himselfe, that hee would come with sufficient power, to conclude a good accord, without any more trouble of doing it twice. But his Maiesty excused himselfe from any succeeding armes. It being vnreasonable to liue

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The capitulation  
of the Castle of Mont-  
melian.The Earle of  
Brandis leues  
to the Duke of  
Sauoy.



1600

The Dukes  
letter to  
the Earle of  
Brandis  
the 10 of  
October.

idly in an enemies Country, whereas the entertainment of his army cost him two thousand Crowns a moneth, and that he should attend the winter, and give the enemy leysure to prepare himselfe. The Duke held this Treaty of Montmelian to be sudden and rash; some braue spirits about him imputed it to cowardinesse, rather then to treason. He made answer by *Bricheras*, & allured the besieged to succor them; and presently after, he sent another letter in these termes: "*Monsieur de Brandis*, for the execution of that which I have signified vnto you, by the Cheualier *Bricheras*, behold, I am on horse-backe ready to passe the Alpes with so mighty an army, as if you will give me some little time, more then is specified in the capitulation, you shall see the sport, and bind me, mine, and all Sauoy for euer, to acknowledge you for the most faithfull, the most profitable, and the worstchief subiect in my Estates; you shall be noted throughout all Christendome, which now attends your resolution, and you shall free your selfe from the ignominy and reproch which you should incur by your Capitulation. Shew your selfe (I pray you) a Knight worthy of the house from whence you are defended, and of the loue I haue borne you: regard herein your honor chiefly, and the consequence which shall grow by your resolution, it is but for a few daies, if I come not by the time limited, and the Cardinall *Aldebrandino*, who is generally your ward, effects not what he doth expect, you must not respect your hostages, it is not likely they shall miscarry, and if the worst happen, they cannot import so much as the losse of that place. Write vnto me (if it be possible). In my hope from you, depends all that I am to doe with these goodly forces. If I were not assured to succor you speedily, I would not persewade you to breake the Capitulation. But this assurance makes me say vnto you, that you ought not to doubt, for these reasons and infinite others which you should lay before you. The Duke hath added in the end of his letter, these words with his own hand. "*I thinke that Bricheras is already come vnto you, shew mee now the prooffe of so many promises which you haue made mee, and give mee the time that I haue set downe, and you shall see the sport where you are.*"

By this letter it seemed the Duke cared not much for the life of his Hostages: The Duke of Elspemont went by the Kings commandment and acquainted the Earle of Brandis with this Letter, who answered, *I am ready to say vnto his Maiesty, that I will keep my word, in the assurance whereof I hold my life and honour.* The King tooke a new assurance in writing, signed by him and the other Captaines, which had signed the Capitulation. Five daies after this confirmation, the Cardinall *Aldebrandino* signed by Montmelian, the army standing in battell, where hee was saluted by the Kings artillery, and that of the Castle. The Duke of Elspemont met him first vpon the bridge of Montmelian, and then all the Princes and Noblemen encountered him vpon the way, and accompanied him to Chambery, whereas the King received him with great honour; who in his first audience at the Capuchins, said vnto him: "That he doubted not of the iustice of his armes, and of the advantage which his valour had gotten him ouer the D. of Sauoy, but hee held him for a Prince so full of affection to the good and quiet of Christendome, as he would neuer vse the fruits of his victory to the ruine of the peace and publik tranquillity, but would suffer the Popes earnest motion vnto him to desire peace, to be of more force then the persuasions of such as invited him to continue this war: a war which was neither worthy the greatnesse of his courage, nor the fruits of his armes; for if it were made to enlarge his Empire, the Estate of Sauoy is a small thing, and if it were for the reuenge of some wrong, he should consider, that the reuenge which is not betwixt equal parties is alwaies vnjust, and hath no sparke of generosity in it. That war is vncertaine, and the end is not alwaies answerable to the beginning; and there was no Prince that for the most assured opinions of victory, was to be commended in refusing the conditions of an honourable peace. A peace which the Pope desired for the good of Christendome: for the consolation of those which trembled at the Turkes approaches: who feared that this diuision would engage France in the fore passed miseries. A peace which the D. of Sauoy desired, and for the which he promised to yeild himselfe more tractable then euer he had beene. A peace which would bring forth meanes to succour the Christians affaires in Hungary, to root the memory of the Turke out of the world, and free Europe from his fury. The King answered him, That hee had alwaies held it for a rule of conscience to content himselfe with his own, as well as not to suffer an usurpation. But he could not hope for any reason from the D. of Sauoy but by arms, the which he was forced

A to vse to reuenge the vsurpation of his Marquise, seeing neither the feeling of his owne conscience, nor the iudgement of his Holinesse, nor the assurance of his promises made at Paris, could moue him to doe that which he ought. That if his army did passe the Alpes, he should find good seruants in Piedmont, and that the soile was as fertile as cuer it was to plant the Flower-de-luce there, and make it flourish, but when he should haue gotten all that the Duke holds on this and the other side of the mountains, hee would alwaies leave it in yeelding vnto his Marquise. The effect of this Ambassage was, that *Herminio* went to informe the Duke, that the Cardinall his master had disposed the King to a peace; the Duke received these news with ioy, and made choice of the Count *d'Arconas*, and the B. Siegnor *d'Almes* for this negotiation, commanding them to doe all the Legat should command touching the peace. The King notwithstanding sayd, that hee would not thinke of any peace vntill that Montmelian were yielded. And that his Councell was not neere him, the Constable and Chancellor being sent to Marfeilles to receiue the Queene. And the Duke was not so much inclined to a peace, but he did his endeavour to succour Montmelian. The twelfth of Nouember he came to the valley of Aost, with ten thousand foot, foure thousand Hargebuziers on horse-backe, and eight hundred men at armes: hauing past the Mount Saint Bernard, hee lodged at Ema being himselfe in person.

The King commanded the Count *Saiffons* to goe to Mouliters, where as *Des Diguieres* attended the enemy, and his Maiesty went from Chambery to Montmelian, to expect the yeelding vnto the place, the which was deliuered vnto the sixteenth of Nouember according to the capitulation by the Count *Brandis*, with great store of artillery, bullets, and powder to shoot aboue a thousand Cannon shot: the Marquis of Rhofny, and *Creguy* (who was appointed Gouernor by the King) entred into it with 500 men. His Maiesty hauing giuen order for Montmelian, departed the next day (without entring into the Castell) to visit his army.

He had his thoughts turned to peace, not so much for his owne inclination, nor for the consideration of his affaires, as for the reuerence he bare vnto the Popes aduice: his zeale to the publike good, and knowledge hee had of the disloyalty of his chiefe seruants. D But hee was sorry the Duke of Sauoy should take the paines to come so neare him and not see him, for hee lay still at Ema, at the foot of the Mount Saint Bernard, two leagues only distant from Mouliters, whither hee had sent the Earle of Saiffons and *Des Diguieres*. He came thither himselfe in person to view the seat of the Dukes lodging, and the countenance of his army, vnto a village called Vilette, and caused a skirmish to be giuen to five hundred men which were there for the guard of a bridge which they must passe to goe to Ema, it was so faintly defended, as they thought they would stand vpon their aduantage, and not abandon the river which serued them as a trench and ditch. The King returned the same day to Mouliters, and went to lodge at Villars neere to the Towne of Beaufort, whereas the Dukes of Montpenfier and Elspemont were lodged. Hee E commanded *Nesleran* to goe and discouer the passage of Cornet, and to see if there were any meanes to enter that way into the enemies lodging, the which hee performed happily, for he charged and defeated a Corps-de-guard of Milanois, which the Duke had placed vpon the descent of the passage, and presented some prisoners vnto the King. Hercupon his Maiesty resolved to charge the enemy by two wayes at one instant, meaning to enter by the passage of Cornet, and commanding the Earle of Saiffons to charge by that of Tarentaise: but there are accidents, though naturall and ordinarie, which cannot bee foreseene, and yet stay great executions: for the same night the Dukes army was so barricaded with snow, as there was no meanes nor deuice possible to approach.

F The King staid three dayes to see if the weather would alter, and make the passages accessible, but it fell out otherwile, for the snow increased. Hee returned to Chambery, from whence he sent the Earle of Saiffons to S. Katherines Fort, with an intent to follow him speedily, hauing caused two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to passe along the Marquise of Saluces by the valley of Maire, vnder the conduct of *Danriac*, who tooke the Fort of Affail by Petard.

His Maiesty coming to Chambery, the Cardinall *Aldebrandino* presented vnto him *Arconas* and *D'Almes*, the Dukes Deputies for the Peace, to whom he sayd; *Tout Ma*

The Dukes  
Ambassadors  
presented to  
the King.

The Legats  
speech  
vnto the  
King.

Skirmish betwixt  
to Vilette.

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ster hath nothing but words, and I shew the effects: I sayd unto you at Paris (speaking to Allies) that you were welcome, so I say now, but I meant not to treat, but with this Reverend personage, speaking of the Legate. Two dayes after this, the King went to take horse (having referred the Treaty of peace to the returne of his Chancelor and Councell from Marfeilles) and went with the rest of his army to assise S. Katherines Fort, whither in the beginning he had sent the Lord of Sancy, to raise a Regiment of foot in the Country, to keepe in the Garison of the Fort, and afterwards Monsieur de Vitry with the Regiments of the Cheuallier of Montmorency, Ceres and other troopes. Saint Katherines Fort is built vpon an high hill, which ouer-looks all the Country: it consists of five Bastions which are not walled, yet it is ditched and furnished with all things necessary: It lyes two Leagues from Geneva, defended by fixe hundred men, whereof two parts were Suisses. Some few dayes before the Kings arrival, one of the Captaines of the besieged, went forth with his Maiesties leaue to the Duke of Nemours, who with the Kings good leaue was retired to his House of Annic, that he might be freed from this warre, and not hurt or preiudice his Cousin the Duke of Sauoy, the King sent presently one of his Guard to bring him to Lduisel, where he was lodged, a quarter of a League from the Fort: hauing let him vnderstand the resolution of his designe, the greatnesse of his forces, and the small hope they should haue of the Duke: he prevailed so, as soone after his returne to his Companions, they did capitulate to depart with their baggage and armes, their drums founding, and Ensignes displayed, carrying away with them a third part of the Artillery, if they were not succored within ten dayes. The King left the Count Soissons to attend the effect of this capitulation, & went to Lyons to meet the Queen, as we shall shew hereafter.

The situation  
of S. Katherines  
Fort.

The capitulation  
of S. Katherines  
Fort.

The Duke of Sauoy having failed at Montmelian, gaue it out, that hee would succour Saint Katherines Fort. He had a goodly army, and those that were about him thought there were but too many to chafe the French out of Sauoy. Moreover, hee thought to haue passage by Valais, either willingly or by force: hee had also good friends among the petty Cantons of the Suisses, being distast with the seruice of this Crowne, for that they were not payed what was due vnto them. *De Sic* the Kings Ambassador, made all their friendship fruitlesse, employing himselfe worthily against all his practices: he assisted in all their assemblies, hauing good words to content some, and patience to digest the indiscretion of others, and courageous answers against the threats and braueries of the most difficult, yet he could not hinder the leauy of 4000 men, granted to the King of Spaine, by foure or five Cantons, for the defence of Milan, with charge not to enter vpon the Kings Dominions, vpon paine of death: but hee kept them from marching so soone as the enemy desired, which stay made them not onely vnprofitable, but also burthfull, by his great expences. The fixe dayes being expired, the Governor of S. Katherines Fort came forth with fixe hundred men, according to the Capitulation.

A leaue of  
Suisses vnprofitable.

All the Captaines of the duke of Sauoys places excused their yeelding vpon necessitie, to accuse their Prince of indiscretion, who had reason to complaine of their valours, for they might haue done better. The Count Soissons aduertised, after the yeelding of Saint Katherines Fort, that the Duke comming by the Tarentaise, aduanced with his whole army, to succor the besieged, he assembled his troopes, and resolved to meet and fight with him if hee durst hazard the day. But hee was sooner aduertised of his retreat, then of his marching. The Duke had layd at Paris, and to the Siegneur of Fosleauille at Turin, that whosoever would make warre against him, hee would shew him sport for forty yeares space, but hee lost all Sauoy in lesse then forty daies, and there remained nothing in Bresse but the Citadell of Bourg. The Baron of Lux had reduced them within it to despair of all succours and constancy, and although they had great advantages ouer him, yet they got nothing but blowes in all their Sallies. They were more in number in the Citadell then in the Towne: There were no retrenchments to hinder their sallies, & yet Wit and Vigilance prescribed a Law to force a number. There was a conuey ready in the French County, prepared to put into the Citadell: the entry was easie by a way which the Baron of Lux had discovered. They fought to corrupt him: but he was so farre from giuing ear vnto this Charme, as he fortified this place with a good and vigilant guard: so as hauing reiected the enemies offers, he hindered the execution of their designs.

S. Katherines  
Fort yeilded.

Hee was aduertised that *Yanulier* making shew to retire himselfe into the Franche Country, and to lay downe Armes, for that hee would not oppose himselfe against the Neutrality,

1601

A Neutrality, had seized vpon a Castell neere vnto Bourg, called Vernay, where there was great store of victuals, and plenty of prouision appointed for the Citadell. Hee sent speedily thither, and hindered *Yanulier* for drawing any thing out of that lodging, but his person and traine. After the Marshall of Biron returne from the Kings army, the Baron of Lux went to giue an account of the siege, whereupon the King tooke the subiect of this letter which he sent vnto *Bouvens*, commanding at the Citadell of Bourg.

"Monsieur de Bouvens hauing now more reason then euer, to hope for speedy Reduction of the place, I will let you vnderstand what esteeme I make of those which resemble you in Verreue and Valor, and testifie vnto you my bounty, by inuiting you to treat with me of a thing which in time cannot elcape mee, whether the warre bee continued, or the peace be made. For if your Duke could not succor the Castell of Montmelian, to whom in the Capitulation I had giuen a moneths respite to doe it, how shall hee now free you from the extremity whereunto you are reduced, being to fight with Reason, the length and discommoditie of wayes, the advantages which the occupation of Countreies, and passages of Riuers haue giuen me ouer him with my army, which is as strong and as well led as his? And thus much concerning warre. In respect of Peace, with the brute thereof the said Duke doth comfort and entertaine them that serue him, it is not a worke that can be finished in few daies; It may be you shall come to the extremity of your victuals before it be any thing aduanced. I haue demanded reason of the said Duke for many pretensions well grounded, which the Crowne of France hath vpon his Countreies, the which will not be loone enough ended to draw you out of paine. Moreover, if I should bee contented to treat onely for the Marquillate of Saluces, the said Duke offers already to leaue mee Bresse, with the place you hold for part of a recompence: So as it reflecth onely in mee to haue it either by warre or peace. Which being, you shall much better your condition, if you treat presently with me, and satisfie mee, for I will giue you occasion to commend my bounty.

The Kings letter  
to the Governor  
of Bourg.

You haue hitherto performed as much as a Gentleman of Resolution and Honour might doe, to defend that place, hauing in this dutie exceeded all others in the like charge, that I haue assayed. No man is bound to doe things impossible. It is the necessity of victuals and other things which oppresse and presse you, and which prescribe you a Law, with the small apparence there is now to hope for any succours of what kinde soeuer.

Resolue then to doe that which you cannot auoyde: You are aduised thereunto and inuited by a Prince, which makes profession of Glory, and to loue and esteeme men of Honor. If you consider the priuate estate in which you are, and whereunto the publike affaires are reduced, you would not lose this opportunity to assure your reputation, your person, family, and goods, being certaine, that if you reiect it, you cannot auoyd to make tryall of the rigours of Warre, which they deserue that attend the last extremity should reduce them to their enemies mercy and compassion. Let me then vnderstand your resolution by the returne of this Trumpet, whom I haue sent expressly herewith, and if you desire any further satisfaction of my intention concerning this Subiect, my Cousin the Duke of Biron will giue you content, being very well informed thereof, and on whom I doe greatly rely, &c.

This Letter was brought by a Trumpet vnto the Marshall of Biron, who sent it vnto *Bouvens*, and did accompany it with one of his owne, exhorting him to resolve according vnto necessitie, and not according vnto the affection which hee bare vnto his Prince, nor that which his courage did suggest: for Constancy must bee measured according vnto Reason; and it is rather Obstinacy and Wisfulness, when it resolves to things either impossible or vnreasonable. *Bouvens* answered not discreetly, but courageously, so as hee seemed to bee grieved, the French did not know his courage and vndanteded valour.

The Duke of  
Biron's letter  
to Bouvens.

Sir, when this place was put into my hand by the duke of Sauoy, my Lord and Master, I resolved to burie my selfe in it, and to performe the duty of an honest man. I grieve at nothing but that your Maiestie will not make tryall thereof by violence and force. Yet I hope to win as much glory in surmounting the necessities wherein your Maiestie thinks I am, as in resisting your attempts. And so I beseech you to beleue that I will always remaine your Maiesties most humble, most loyall and faithfull seruant, &c.

"Bouvens letter  
to the King.

He

1601

Constant is of  
Monsieur de  
Beauvent.

He wrote in like manner to the Marshall of Biron, that hee held him to bee so great a Souldier, and making profession to loue men of worth, as he would allow of his Resolution, which was to keepe the place for him that had giuen it him in guard, vnto his last gaspe, holding it the greatest honor that could happen vnto him, to giue a testimonie vnto his Prince of that whereunto he was borne. His constancie was commended by the King, recompensed by the Duke, and propounded for an example to others.

But the Duke exhorted them by Letters to hold it good vntill the Treaty of Peace, whereof he assured them: the which was the onely meane (as wee shall shew) to free the besieged from the necessity whereunto they were reduced, and without the which they must needs haue false vnder his Maiesties subiection. Behold, all which passed of greatest import in the conquest of Sauoy and Bresse by the most Christian King. But this warre did not hinder him from thinking of his marriage; hee had bene contracted at Florence the five and twentieth day of August, *Monsieur de Bellegarde*, Master of the Kings horse, carried the procurement to the great Duke of Tuscany. The Duke of Mantua came to Florence the second of October, and the next day arrived the Ambassadour of Venice. The Pope would gladly haue had the Queene receiue this blessing of her marriage at his hands, and to haue done the like honour, as hee did to the Queene of Spaine at Ferrara, the which for certaine reasons could not be effected, and therefore hee sent the Cardinall *Aldobrandino*, his Holinesse Legate and Nephew, in whose hands the words of present Marriage were made.

The fourth of October, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* entred into Florence with great pompe and magnificence, riding vnder a Canopie, and the Duke on his left hand, and so was conducted to the Dukes Palace. After Supper, in the presence of the great Duke of Tuscany, the Dukes of Mantua and Bracciano, the Princes *Iohn* and *Anthony* of Medici, together with the Lord of Bello-garde the Kings Ambassadour, hee delivered vnto the Queene the contentment which the Pope had of this Marriage, with a sweet kinde of Grauitie and Modestie: and a Discourse full of pleasing words: hee conceiued great hopes of great good to come, by the meane of this happy coniunction, not only for the houses of the Kings of France and the Dukes of Tuscany, but also for all Christendome: and not onely for Christian Kingdomes, but for all the whole world; so as the Queene moued with ioy and great hope, thanked his Holinesse, for this salutation, and said: *That God hauing so decreed it, shee assured her selfe, that the blessing of the holy Father would bring the grace of God with it, whereof she would endeavour to make herselfe worthy and capable, recommending herselfe most humbly to the prayers of his Holinesse, and of the Church.* Which words were deliuered after so Maiestically a manner, as if the Princesse had vsed alwaies to command absolutely: and so that day was spent. The 5 of October the marriage was celebrated after a Royall manner, the Legat said Masse, the which being ended the great Duke had a sonne christened, the Signeury of Venice giuing it the name. The Queene parted from Florence the 16 of October, and came to Lioorne the 17, where she imbarked in the great Dukes generall Gallie, being assisted by fise of the Popes Gallies, fise of Malta, and fixe more of the said Dukes. The King hauing intelligence of her imbarking, provided for her reception at Marseilles, and gaue the charge of his Will to the Duke of Guise, his Maiesties Lieutenant generall in Prouence: he also sent his Constable & Chancellor with the Dukes of Nemours, Guise, and Ventador to receiue her. The Cardinals of Joyeuz, Gondi, Guiry, and Sourdy, with many Bishops and Noblemen of the Council. The nauigation was dangerous in many places, and fearefull straights betwixt Genoua and Marseilles: yet with a resolute and chearfull countenance shee seemed to scorne the tempests of the sea. The 3 of Nouember sheooke port at Marseilles, being accompanied by the great Duchesse of Florence, the Duchesse of Mantua her sister, *D. Anthony* her brother, and the Duke of Bracciano. At their coming to land, there was a great question who should haue the right hand: The Knights of Malta would fight for it with fise Gallies, against the Florentines who had seuen. Without it they had the ranke which they desired, and with their valour had maintained since they were planted at Rhodes, there were no prayers nor coniurings could make them quite it, no nor for a moment. The great Prior of Champagne vnderooke the answer, and said: *A head struck off can neuer be set on, and thus their Generall brought his owne in danger, if he allowed any precedence for a lesse time.*

The

1600

A The Queene leauing her Gallie, entred vpon a Theater made of two great boats: whereunto ioyned a bridge, which went vnto her Palace. The Constable receiued her, the Chancellor deliuered the Kings pleasure, foure Consuls of Marseilles presented her the keyes of the City, and a Canopy of cloth of siluer, vnder which shee was conducted to the Palace. One of the most remarkable actions during her abode there, was the protestation of obedience, which was made vnto her by the Court Parliament of Prouence, in the great Hall of the Palace, *Monsieur de Vair* making a most eloquent Oration.

“Madam, seeing your Maiesty to arise in this Prouince, and with you the felicity of France, we haue abandoned the seat of Iustice, where we haue the honour to sit, to come and prostrate our selues at your feet, to yeeld you the noblest and most worthy Homages which are due vnto the Crowne that doth now enuiron your head, and withall to pronounce our selues bound for all the vowes which wee haue at any tyme made for the good of this Estat. For assuredly we beleue that this day we are heard, and thinke that so many wonders, which God hath wrought for the restoring of this Realme, are fully accomplished, and that our good fortunes which seemed to be waivering, are now settled vpon a firme and irremouable foundation.”

God hath giuen vs a King excellent in vertue, admirable in bounty, and incomparable in valour, who by his labours hath giuen vs quiet; by his perils safetie; and by his victories, glorie: So as in a manner wee termed our selues happy, if this mournfull thought had not often troubled the course of our ioy: This care I say, which represented vnto vs, that Nature hath limited the life of all men, that Solitarie and Liberty made our Princes life lesse pleasing, and did diminish his care to cherish and gouerne it. For the which our wishes did euerie day seeke remedy, and knew not where to hope for them, vntill that the beames of your Royall countenance had pierced through the clouds of our cares, and lightened our eyes with a liuely hope, to see our happinesse as durable as it is admirable.

For seeing in you so many graces wherewith Nature hath endowed you, admiring that rare beauty wherewith the hath adorned you, considering that naturall sweetness wherewith she hath tempered your Royall grauitie, and hearing with our eares the voyce renowned by Fame, which proclaimes the quicknesse of your spirit, the soundnesse of your Iudgment, the Elegancie of your discourse, and that which doth exceed all the incomparable commendation of your holy and religious disposition: Wee perswade our selues that you are shee whom the Heauens had appointed by your pleasing company, to mollifie the life of our King, to prolong his dayes by his content, and to make his Raigne perpetuall by the continuance of a great and happy posteritie.

Wee beleue, that you onely are shee vpon earth, worthy to make the life of the most triumphant King vpon earth, to rest in your chaste bosome; and that hee aboute all others, did merit to embrace the most vertuous and pleasing Princesse in his victorious armes.

Whereby we preface, that wee shall soone see a number of goodly Children carying on their Fore-heads their fathers Valour, their mother Vertue, the greatnesse and nobilitie of the House of France, whereunto you are allyed, the happinesse and power of that of Austria, from whence you are issued, and the wisdom of that of Florence in the which you were borne.

To the beleeve of this preface, all things seeme to inuite vs: but chiefly the Heauen and Sea, for that wee see plainly at the very arriall of your Maiesty, the Sea full of torments is growne calme, and the Heauen ouercast with Clouds is cleare, as if they would with a pleasing Skie celebrate with vs the magnificence of your happy reception.

In good time then, O great Queene, are you come vnto our coasts, long may you liue happily in France, and for France: That the age which wee begin may see you in the end a happy Wife to our King: And future ages may terme you a happy Mother of Kings. But to heape vp the measure of your glorie, remember and remember againe, that as you are a great Queene, for that you are married to a great King, euen so you be come a charitable mother of children, whose true Father he is.

And therefore begin to take your share of this Royall care, and seeing that the Sub-

iects

De Vair  
Oration to the  
Queene.The  
Queenes  
perfection.Aldobrandino  
his speech to  
the Queene.

Her answer.

The Queene  
parts from Flo-  
rence to goe  
into France.She arrives at  
Marseilles.

1600 "fects happinesse is the true glory of Princes, foster and increase by your ayde and fauour, A  
the loue and affection which this great King doth naturally beare to the good and ease  
of his people, to the end they may feel you as a new Star shining ouer them, carying them  
a happy and auspicious influence of all good and plentifull prosperitie.

"And we which seeke no other happinesse in this world but in his seruice, nor honour  
but in his obedience, and seeing you advanced with him in his Throne, we consecrate vn-  
to you all the remainder of our liues, as we doe presently our hearts and affections to re-  
maine for euer your most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient seruants.

"This discourse was pleasing vnto the Queene, who by her attention and answer did  
witness how much she was pleased therewith. The Princes and Princesses did com-  
mend it, and learned men did admire it.

He made the like at Aix, whither the Queene went the seuenteenth of Nouember,  
from whence she parted the next day with aboute two thousand horse, and made her entry  
on the nineteenth into Auignon, where she was receiued with greater pompe and magni-  
ficence then in any other place: she stayed but three dayes at Auignon, and passed to Va-  
lence, Rouffillon, and Vienne, and came on the Saturday, being the second of December,  
to Guiliotiére.

The next day approaching neere vnto Lyons, there was met by *Monsieur de la Guiche*  
the Gouernour, with the Nobility of the Towne and Countrey, who hauing done their  
obedience in the open field, went to horse-backe and conducted her to her lodging. C  
There *Roguelaur* brought her newes of the King, and presented her in his Maiesties  
name with the great Royall Collar of inestimable value, which did beautifie her other or-  
naments: The next day after, she entred into the Towne. They had erected a Theater at  
La Motte couered with rich Tapistry, in the midst whereof was a throne for the Queene,  
where she receiued the honors, and heard the vowes and prayers of all the Orders of the  
Towne. The Chancelor was in this action the townes Interpreter, the which is as much  
honoured by his birth, as Athens was by the *Phocians*, and Rome by the *Carates*. The  
Clergie spake standing, all the rest kneeled, except those which spake for the Germanes,  
Imperiall Townes, Suisses, and Grilons. The Chancelor willed them to doe as the rest,  
and telling them that in this action, Strangers had no priuilege, and that they should do  
as the Princes subiects did, vnder whole lawes they liued. They gaue him to vnderstand,  
that they were in possession to speak standing: that at the entry of King *Henry* the second,  
they were no otherwise presented, and that the like difficultie happing at the entry of the  
King now reigning, in the same Towne, his Maiesty tooke it not ill they should stand vp-  
pon these termes. The Constable, who thought that an action of that consequence,  
should not lightly be passed ouer, nor the truth carelessly and irrespectively examined, as  
it hapned often in like accidents, hee would bee informed, if at other entries the Suisses  
and Germanes had beene presented vnto the King in other manner and fashion then the  
French. The Gouernour of Lyons reported the truth, wherewith they were satisfied and  
contented.

The whole Body of the Towne protested their obedience and affection at the Queenes  
feet. *Balthazar* of Villars President of Lyons won much honor, for the grace, grauity,  
and eloquence of his Oration. He spake for the Court of Iustice in this manner.

"Madam, the wonders which God would haue the world see in the birth and pro-  
gress of the life and actions of our King, haue bene the effects of his diuine Iustice, to  
preferre vnto our Soueraigne Prince the lawfull inheritance of Saint *Lewis*: but that  
which wee now behold with admiration of this great Alliance, is an assured and infal-  
lible testimonie of his diuine bounty, and of that which he hath decreed for the good of  
the whole Realme. Time by his accustomed inconstancy, did threaten our happinesse  
with a great fall, wee did not enioy our quiet, but with feare to lose it: Our prosperi-  
ties were but Leauens, and our Peace as a Flower. The wofull and lamentable History  
of our fore-passed disorders and tumults, did set before our eyes a fearfull image of fu-  
ture miseries: Our goodly dayes were troubled with nights of care, which a violent imagi-  
nation presented vnto vs. It was the will of God, that for a full resolution of the happi-  
nesse of France, there should haue a second recourse to the most famous Race of the *Me-  
dicis*, to make our Flower-de-luce not only flourishing, but fruitfull & abounding in Roy-  
all issue, the sole and true support of an Estate, Daulphins are presages of a storme at Sea,  
but

A. but a Royall Daulphine shall be to vs a pawne of the eternitie of our health, and of the as-  
surance and happy confirmation of our quiet. It is the holiest of our good Kings de-  
sire, it is the worthy subiect of all good and faithfull-hearted French-mens vowes. Your  
Maiestie hath bene referred by Heauen, to continue the sacred Stemme of our Kings,  
and to make their succession equall to the continuance of the world. Nature hath infused  
into your Maiestie all her greatest and richest gifts, to make you the ornament of France,  
which is the ornament of Europe. Yong Eagles are exposed to the Sunne-beames, to try  
their naturall generositie, and your Maiestie being issued from the Eagle by the mothers  
side, hath bene found capable to gaze vpon the Sunne, who with the beames of his  
Royall vertues, doth not onely lighten France, but all the world. All other eyes haue  
bene dazzled with the aspect of so great a light, onely yours will endure this shining, and  
by a sweeter reflection, the shadow of your Royall countenance, will raise our hopes to the  
highest heauen of felicitie, and shall make vs see in our dayes, the most firme assurance  
of our peace and quiet. Receiue, Madame, if you please, the homage which wee yeeld  
vnto your Maiestie, to whom we offer our hearts as pleasing sacrifices of our most humble  
obedience.

She stayed eight daies at Lyons before she could see the King, demanding euer when he  
would come, and in this expectation the houres seemes yeares vnto her. The King after  
the capitulation of *S. Katherine* fort, tooke post and came the 9. of December to Lyons.  
C The Chancelor aduertised her that he would come that day, being at supper a Gentleman  
came to tell her, that the King was within a quarter of a league of the city, and that within  
lesse then an houre she should see him. The ioy of this good newes had taken away her  
appetite to any meat. The King was already entred disguised, and was gotten into the  
prelle among certain Gentle-men, where he might see and not be seen. After supper the  
retired into her chamber, and the King entred presently after: the Queene cast her selfe at  
his Maiesties feet, and heooke her vp and embraced her, where after many kinde embrac-  
ings of mutuall loue and respect, the King went to supper. During the which, the King  
sent the Queene word by the Duchesse of Nemours, that he was come without a bed, hop-  
ping that hee would afford him part of hers, which should be common vnto them, from  
that time: To whom the Queene answered, *that he was come to please and obey his Mai-  
esties will, as his most humble seruant.* This being deliuered vnto the King, hee vnclouthed  
himselfe and entred into the Queenes chamber, whom he found in bed, and then the  
Ladies retired. The Cardinall *Aldebrandino*, the Popes Legate, being at Chambery, the  
King sent to inuite him to his marriage, and to come to Lyons, with the Duke of Sauoy  
Deputies, where they should treat more commodiously then at Chambery. He made his  
entry the 16. of the month, where hee was receiued with honours fit for so great a digni-  
tie: the Prince Conty and the Duke *Montpensier* conducted him, going vnder a canopie  
carried by the Burgesies of the towne, the streets were hanged; the Inhabitants were in  
armes, and the Clergy went singing before him: and in this sort he was conducted to Saint  
Johns Church. And although the marriage were perfect (the King hauing ratified it by  
procuracion, and by words of the present which the said Legate had receiued, so as there  
needed no other solemnity) yet would he make his subiects partakers of this publike ioy,  
appointing the Ceremony the Sunday following, the which was celebrated before the  
Great Altar of *S. Johns* Church, whereas the nuptial blessing was given by the Legate to  
the married couple. After the which a Largesse of pieces of gold and siluer, marked with a  
speciall deuice were cast vnto the people. All which performed, they went to the Royall  
feast in the Archbishops Great Hall.

We haue said, that in the end of the last yeare, the Cardinall *Aldebrandino*, Legate of  
his Holinesse, made his entry into Lyons to treat a Peace betwixt the King and the Duke  
of Sauoy: Presently after the Ceremony and Confirmation of the Nuptial blessing of  
their Maiesties, they began the Treaty of this Peace: the Proposition had beene made  
at Chambery, but the conclusion was referred and ended at Lyons. The King had made  
choise among all his Councell of the President *Sillery* and *Lanis*, to deliuer his intentions  
vnto the Legate, who acquainted *Arcenas* and *Almyes* therewith: First the Dukes De-  
puties demanded peace of the King, in yeelding vp vnto him the Marquisate of *Saluzzo*.  
The King answered, *I haue loue a warre, but he had neuer refused peace to them, that had de-  
manded it: that seeing the Duke desired Peace, and his Holinesse perswaded him, it is, for the*  
quiet

The Suisses and  
Germanes haue  
a priuilege to  
spoke standing  
to the King.

Balthazar of  
Villars Ordi-  
on made to the  
Queene at  
Lyons.

The Kings first  
sight of the  
Queene.

The Cardinall  
entry into  
Lyons.

Of the Peace  
betwixt the  
French King  
and the Duke  
of Sauoy.

1601

Propositions  
for the Peace.

quiet of Christendome, that he was content to grant it, so as the Duke did yeeld him his Marquisate, and pay him eight hundred thousand crowns which he had disbursed for the wars of Saouy. The Legate found well by this demand that the Peace was not so facile to be made as hee expected: he spake vnto the King and told him, *That the Duke could not yeeld the Marquisate, and so great a summe of money, but he would give him all Bresse in exchange: and for all the changes and other his Maiesties pretensions, he would give him moreover Saouy, Verromay, and other Lands vnto the river of Rhosne.* This Proposition was accepted by the Kings Deputies, so as they yeelded vp the Castles of Centall, Mont and Roque-palmier, which did not belong to the Marquisate, but to the Prouinces of Daulphine and Prouence. The Deputies said, *that what they offered was for all pretensions:* to whom they answered, *That nothing could then be concluded.*

These things were so wisely handled by the Kings Deputies, as the Dukes Deputies offered besides a part of the Baylywicke of Gex, a hundred thousand Crownes, so as the King did yeeld vp what he led in Saouy, especially the Castle of Montmelian and Saint Katherine's fort, in the same Estate they were.

Saint Katherine's  
fort named by  
the Geneuoiis.

As they were vpon these termes, newes comes, that they of Geneua had ruined S. Katherine's fort, and that with such animosity and diligence, as within two dayes after you could scarce discern the forme of it, for this fort was built but of earth. The Legate was wonderfully discontented thereat, and complained, saying, *That he would returne to Rome, without doing any thing, seeing they kept not their word with him, that he cranked his reputation this demolition as an affront done vnto him.* The Kings Deputies answered him, *That the King had no need of a Peace with the Duke, but for that his Holinesse perswaded him thereto: that it was a small cause to breake the Treaty of Peace, seeing it was but a piece of earth: that the foundation should remaine vnto the Duke, the which he might repaire when he pleased.* The King tooke the Legats words for a renuing of the warre, and gaue leaue to his armie to do all acts of Hostilitie, charging the Commanders to stand vpon their guard, to defend and offend, as occasions and meanes should be presented. Whereupon all despayring of peace, made new enterprises; judging, that the King would not rest, hauing so great advantages, they talked of nothing but of founting of Armes, preparing of horses, seeking of money, and to make them ready for a new warre.

The Kings answer  
to the Ambassadors  
of Spaine.

*Taxis* the King of Spaines Ambassador came vnto the King, to let him vnderstand, *That if a Peace were not concluded, his Master should be forced to enter into this warre, to preserve his Nephews Estate.* To whom the King answered, *That hee would live in peace with them that loued peace; but whosoever should seek to support the Duke in this vnjust warre, hee would make them repent it. That hee would make warre like a Lion against them that played the Foxes with him, and would strike them, that should make but shew to threaten him.*

The Dukes Deputies (thinking that the Kings victory was neither absolute, nor perfect, so long as Bourg held good) did still temporize, not caring to presse the conclusion of this Peace, no further than the extremities of this place did presse them, and in the meane time the Duke should haue leisure to attempt something vpon his owne or vpon that which was the Kings. And in truth if Bourg had bene relieved, or the conuoy which was in the Franche Countie had entred, the Peace had bene broken. Besides the wants and impatience of the besieged, they without vsed a policy which made them almost desperate: some men chosen for the purpose gaue them to vnderstand, that the Dukes Deputies did prolong things; vpon assurance that the Citadell might hold good a moneth, and that they cared not to finish the Treaty, nor to supply the necessities of the besieged, so as this temporizing, at what price and perill soeuer, might giue the Duke time to doe his businesse. This did pierce so deeply and wrought such an impression in the besieged, as (despighted with the tediousnesse of the Treaty, and wearied with the languishing of the besieged) they resolved not to suffer any more, seeing the Deputies did not consider what they suffered, but how much and how long they might suffer. Vpon this vaine reitour they write vnto the Deputies in these termes, *"My Lords, your protractiōs and delays kill vs, the temporizing of your Treaty, is prejudiciall to the honor of our Master, and the health of his seruants that are in this place: make hast then to finish the Peace, for wee cannot hold about two dayes: it is the prefixed time of our resistance. Declare the better, who will acquaint you with the rest of our extreme necessity. Attend no other*

Reasons  
Letters to  
the Dukes  
Ambassadors  
doe.

1601

A other Letters from vs, fare ye well, &c. Yet they were not so ill as they said, but in matter of siege, all failes when as they want patience. This Letter with the full report of the horrors and inhumanities which extreame famine caused in the Citadell of Bourg; awaked the Ambassadors from the slumber, which the ruining of S. Katherine's fort had held them in.

Vpon these newes they goe vnto the Cardinal, they beseech him, that the ruine of one place (whose foundation remained to the Duke) might not hinder the perfecting of this great building of peace, the which notwithstanding could not be but necessary, and profitable. The Cardinal who knew that the Duke was much discontented with this demolition, and that the Count Fuentes army was much increased, and their minds more inclined to warre then peace, and yet being loth to repasse the Alpes, without the glory to haue quenched this fire, he said vnto the Ambassadors, that he could not re-enter into the treatie of peace, if they did not give it him in writing vnder their hands, that it was their aduice, and that they intreated him to doe it, as profitable for the Duke, and necessarie for his Estate. The Ambassadors being too much amazed with the newes of the extreame wants of the Citadell of Bourg, fearing it would be lost before the peace was concluded, the which would impair the bargain, they willingly past this promise.

The Treaty  
renewed.

The Cardinal was still in choller that the demolition of Saint Katherine's fort, should send him backe to Rome, and not carie the Pope that contentment of his Legation which he expected. The King would gladly, the Pope should haue remained satisfied with the sinceritie of his actions, but neither his honour nor his humour would suffer him to intreat. He therefore thinks it dishonorable to perswade him to peace that hath more need of it then himselfe. Hee is therefore resolved to warre; and seeing that the Legate continued still in his complaints, hee commanded the Marquis of Rhosny to goe to Paris to take order for munitions of warre. Being ready to take horse for the execution of the Kings commandement, hee goes to take his leaue of the Legate, and toucheth some things of the cause of his voyage, saying, *"That it was the Kings resolution to make warre, seeing they could not hold themselves to a peace. That for his part hee was forrie, that so great a personage as himselfe should take the paines to passe the mountaines and bring them so neere vnto the Temple of peace, and not to enter into it: the Legate answered, That he was much grieved that his Legation and the paine hee had taken proved fruitlesse: that he knew well the King in shew desired peace, but in effect warre was his delight."*

Rhosny replied, that if peace were good before the demolition of the fort, it was now also good, that this accident did nothing import, seeing the ground was the Dukes, to doe withall what he pleased, and that for fifty thousand crownes he might build another fort. The Dukes Ambassadors gaue the same reasons, conuincing him not to abandon the ship in this tempest, seeing he had taken the helme in hand in a calme season. Hereupon the Legate asked Rhosny if he thought the King would be pleased to recompence this demolition with money. Rhosny answered him, that he knew nothing, but being a thing reasonable, and the King a Prince of reason, he presumed that if hee should promise it in his Maiesties name, he would not faile of his promise. The Legate intreated him to acquaint him with it, saying that he was forie he had dealt no sooner in the businesse. Rhosny tels the King thereof, and returns his Maiesties intension vnto the Legate, and so with a little moderation they finish this worke of peace. The Articles were drawne and agreed vpon, and the Ambassadors of Saouy sent for to signe them, they come and tell the Legate, in his care that their Master had forbidden them to signe, before that he had talked with the Count of Fuentes.

Rhosny did  
show the  
money of the  
Peace.

The Legate who would not haue his word giuen vnto the King to remaine vnpromisable, nor send backe the Kings Deputies, or referre the assembly to another time, intreats them not to make any shew of this charge, but to signe. They answer him that their hands and tongues were bound. The Legate doth presse them, & they intreat him to giue them leaue to conferre with *Taxis* the Spanish Ambassador, to the end that their doings might be countenanced by his counsell. They repaire vnto the Oraele, they consult of two Letters, the first of the eight of Ianuary, which commanded them to signe the peace, the second of the eleventh which did forbid them. *Taxis* (who vnderstood the iurisdiction of the Councell of Spaine, who knowes that a Peace is desired, so as the Marquisate might be con-

A peace  
concluded.



1601

The "suy Am-  
bassadors con-  
fult with Taxis.He persuades  
them to signe  
the Peace.

continue on the other side of the Alpes, and that there might bee a passage on this side to A. goe into Flanders; who weighed the conditions of peace, not by the difficulties of reasons, but by the prosperity of euent; not by the pieces, but by the whole, wherein hee findes what his Master desired; and wether them. That seeing his Highnesse hath commanded you to signe the peace four dayes since, I see nothing happened since, that may bee sufficient or available to reuoke this commandement, nor the word which hee had giuen you to effect it. It is true that I thinke by this last Letter, you are bound to stay the time which he demands to conferre with the Count Fuentes.

Hereupon arised the Patriarke of Constantinople, great in perswasions, found in reasons, profound in Councell, & subtil in inuentions. He sheweth them the importance of B this breach, the wrong done vnto the King, and the Legats word engaged. That the Duke writing this Letter had not considered that the first was effected, that the Estate of the businesse allowed no countermand, that that which was yesterday voluntarie, is this day fastened with nayles of Diamonds to an ineuitable necessitie: That the wings of the dukes hopes were glued with the wax of his opinions; that irresolution the mother of great inconveniencies, which had begonne his ruine, would finish it: That God was offended with them who reiected and contemned the conditions of Peace that were iust and honorable: That it was a great indiscretion to engage himselfe in the perpetuall inconveniencies of this warre, vpon foundations that were neither firme nor perpetuall, and to continue a great warre against a mighty enemy, vpon succours which could not be certaine, seeing C it depended vpon the will of another: That a Prince assailed by one more mighty, cannot erre more grossly in his carriage, nor commit a greater fault then to refuse peace, which cannot be but honourable, seeing it stayes the Conquerors victory.

The Dukes Ambassadors who feared more to erre by disobedience, then by obstinacy, stand firme vpon the necessity of the Dukes command: for the order which a Prince prescribeth to his Ambassador may not be altered. The Patriarke assures them that the Legat, who had authoritie from their Master to command them, and they bound to obey him in all that he should iudge profitable for his affaires, should warrant them vnder his hand from all blame which they apprehended; that he would take the paines to goe vnto his Highnesse to Thurin, to let him vnderstand that they had done nothing but what hee should haue done himselfe, and that he would employ all the power his vnclie had, both D in heauen, and in earth, to free them from danger. The Ambassadors (who seemed not to will that which they most desired, with such impatience, as the houres seemed yeares vnto them) were content with this assurance signed by the Legat, and a moneths respite for the Duke to ratifie what they had signed.

So the Peace was concluded and proclaimed at Lions the seuenteenth day of Ianuary, in the year 1601, the substance whereof was; That the Duke should yeeld vp and trans- E port wholly vnto the King, and to his successors Kings of France, all the country and Seigneuries of Bresse, Beaugency and Veromey, and generally all that belongs vnto him, vnto the riuier of Rhosne, so as all the riuier from Geneva should belong to the Crowne of France; the which should remaine vnto the King and his successors with all the Soueraignty, iurisdiction and rights which the said Duke might haue ouer the said coun- tries, reseruing nothing but the bridge of Grefin for the commoditie of the passage: the which is vpon the riuier of Rhosne, betwixt Ecluse and the bridge of Arlay, which by this present Treaty belongs vnto the King: and on the other side of the riuier of Rhosne, the duke should enjoy the parishes of Ella, Luyuent, & Cizerre with all the Ham- lets and Territories which belong vnto them, betwixt the riuier of Varenne, and the moun- taine called the Grand Credo, vnto the Village called La Riuere, whereas the riuier of Va- renne doth passe, with Maigrecombe, vnto the neereft entry into the County of Bour- gogne, vpon condition that the Duke should not leaue any impositions vpon the goods F and Merchandise, nor any toll vpon the riuier at Pont de Grefin; or any other places be- fore mentioned. Moreover, the Duke might not build any fort vpon any place that was reserued for the passage, but should remaine free as well for the Kings subjects, as for all that would goe or come into France, and the soldiers which shall passe through the Kings country, for the Dukes seruite, or any other Prince, by the sufferance of his Gouvernours Lieutenants generall, shal no way annoy his Maiesties subjects. And for the effecting of that above-mentioned, the Duke should deliuer vnto the King (or to any one depured by him) the

The substance  
of the Peace  
betwixt the  
King and the  
D. of Sauoy.Bourg yeelded  
to the King.

1601

A the Citadell of Bourg, as it then was, without any demolition, and all the Artillery, Pow- der, Bullets and munition of warre, which shall bee in the place at the yeelding thereof. Moreover, the Duke did passe ouer vnto the King, on the other side of the Riuier of Rhosne, the places and villages of Aux, Choufly, Volley, Pont D' Arley, Cessell, Chancy and Pi- erre Chastel, with all the foueraignty and iurisdiction hee might haue ouer those places, and the Inhabitants thereof. The said Duke did also transport and resigne vnto the King, the Barony and Baylywick of Getz, with all the appurtenances, as the Duke and his Predecessors had formerly enjoyed it, without any retention. All which places and things yeilded and resigned, should remaine vnted and incorporated to the Crowne of France, B and should be reputed the patrimony of the Crowne, and might not be separated for any cause whatsoeuer. Also it was agreed that the said Duke should truly and effectually re- store vnto the King, or to any one depured by his Maiesty, the place, towne and Chastel- leny of Castle Daulphin, with the Tower of Pont, and all that had been held by the Duke, or any of his, depending of Daulphine, in the same estate they then were in, without any demolition or ruine, leauing in the said places, all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets and munition of warre which were then in the said places, the fouldiers carrying away such goods as belonged vnto them, without exacting any thing of the Inhabitants. It was also agreed that the said Duke should demantle the fort of Beche Daulphin, the which was built during warre, and should pay for the passage reserued, a hundred thousand crownes in the cite of C Lions, fifty thousand ready downe, when as the fort of Charbonniers should be yeilded vp, and other fifty thousand within six moneths after.

And in regard of the said cession and resignation, the King should be contented (for the good of peace) to quit and resigne vnto the Duke, his heires and successors, all the rights and pretensions which he or the Daulphins of France had, or might haue to the Marquis- sat of Saluces, and all the dependances, with the townes of Cental, Mons and Roque- spervier, without retaining any thing: leauing vnto the Duke all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets and munition of warre, which were in the said places, in the year 1598. The King did also promise to restore vnto the Duke (or to any one that should be depured by him) all places that had bene taken since the year of our Lord 1588 from the said Duke, and D now held by his Maiesty or his seruants, all in the same estate they then were, and without any demolition, and in restoring of the said places, the King might transport all the Artil- lery, Powder, Bullets and munition of warre that was in them, and all the goods that be- longed vnto the fouldiers, not exacting any thing of the Inhabitants.

These were the chiefe points of the Treaty of Peace, the which was signed by the Legat and the Duke, and thanks giuen vnto God. The King holding his abode at Lions (after this conclusion) to be vnprofitable, takes post and goes to Paris. The Legate goes to Auignon by the Riuier of Rhosne. The King left the Constable, Villeroi and the Deputies at Lions for performance of the Treaty. At the same time Herminio was dispatched to carie newes vnto the Pope, and in passing to the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count Fuentes, E he found them both at Some vpon Po to consult of the meanes which the Duke of Biron propounded vnto them, to resolute vpon warre rather then peace. The Duke receiues it as the most ruinous effect of all his aduentures, swearing that hee would cut off his Am- bassadors heads that had signed it.

The Count Fuentes said that he had not to doe with this peace, hauing so many iust oc- casions and such good meanes to make warre, that hee would not let forty thousand men, and forty peeces of Cannon remaine idle. Both seemed discontented, the one for that the King, or the King of Spaine had all the benefit of the peace, and the other for that him- selfe should haue neede of him by the warre, and hee should keepe Piedmont in awe.

The Duke complained that the Councell of Spaine had kindled a warre to consume F him, they had thrust him into a storme, to make profit of his shipwracke, and had drawne him to a preiudiciall exchange, reaping no benefit, for that the French were out of Ita- ly, hauing their nearer neighbours in another place, nor that Milan should be covered, or that Italy should haue the Alpes to guard it from the inundations which it had receiued in former times by the forces of France, seeing this rampart was made with the wea- ning of his Estates.

The Count of Fuentes fore-seeing wherunto these complaints did tend, gaue the Duke to vnderstand, That the King of Spaine his Master, had reason to complaine of this

The Marquisse  
of Saluces trans-  
ported to this  
Duke.The King and  
Queene goes to  
Paris.The Count  
Fuentes com-  
plained of the  
Peace.The Dukes  
complaint.The Count of  
Fuentes com-  
plained of the  
Dukes.

great and fruitlesse charge, being a troublesome thing to entertaine great forces to no effect: that this mighty and fearefull army was not raised nor entertained, but to restore him to his Estate: that the fault was in himselfe, if it were not employed: and withall, he added the mutinies and murmuring of the Spaniards, who complained, that they deprived them of the fruits of a victory which they did limit with no lesse then the taking of Lions. In this contention they resolute, not to signe any thing without the K. of Spaines commandement, and to keepe the armie still ready to march, to make himselfe to be more feared, and to be more assured. The Kings Deputies being advertised that the Duke made no care to confirme what had been concluded, they advertised the King thereof, and sent a post vnto the Legat, being at Auignon, to know his opinion thereof. The King commands them to attend the Dukes resolution, without impatience, being indifferent vnto him which he made choise of, but he should shew a weak judgement, if hee should accept of any but of peace: for that he should not of a long time recouer that by warre, which peace should now presently bring him.

The Legate was so moued with this alarm, as he presently tooke post to goe vnto the Duke, sending Count *Orazio Taziani* to the King, to advertise him of his voyage; and to beseech him not to enter into any distrust of the Treaty, being so greatly interested in the obseruation thereof, as he could no longer endure this brute and suspence with patience: and that he would be pleased to grant a prolongation of the truce & a suspension of Armes for fiftene dayes, besides the time limited for the ratification: Such as knew not the negotiation betwixt the Duke of Sauoy, the Count *Fuertes*, and the Marshall *Biron*, could not beleue that the D. of Sauoy would make any difficulty to signe the Treaty, but that he made some shew of it to haue it seeme the better. For those that were interested with him in the Treaty, did not promise to returne any more vnto the warre.

It is true, that if the Duke of Biron would haue taken the Citadell of Bourg, as the Duke would haue deliuered it vnto him, the King must haue returned with as great speed to Lions as he departed. In the meane time the Legate past all passages by post in a troublesome time, and came to Genoa, from whence hee sent to the Duke and Count *Fuertes*, to keepe their word with him.

The Duke of Biron refuseth the Citadell of Bourg, being vnassured of victuall and Munition.

The Duke hearing of his arrival at *Alexandria*, parts from Nice, and goes to Thurin, D and both of them excuse themselves. The Count made his refusal, to take from the Duke all subiect of complaint, that they had abandoned him, and that hee had meanes to recouer his Estates, if they had assisted him. The Duke would be recompenced for this vnequall exchange before he signed by the King of Spaine. So the Legate receiues nothing from the one but complaints, and from the other but respects, and from both words of contempt against the Treaty. Hee met with the Count *Fuertes* at Tortoul, and from thence went to Milan, where he past the Shroue-tide: The Count *Fuertes* omitting no kinde of recreation to driue away melancholy, attending the Duke of Sauoys resolution, who sent to excuse himselfe by the indisposition of his children, and promised to come to Milan, but committing not the Legat and the Earle went to Pavia, with an opinion that the Duke would not come thither. The Legate sends *Taziani* vnto him, who returns with excuses of his sonnes sickness, and his complaints of the vnjust and preiudiciall conditions wherunto he was bound.

The Legate sends backe *Taziani* to the Count *Fuertes*, giuing him to vnderstand that hee knew well that his legation had not beene vnderaken, but for the seruice of the King of Spaine, at the intreaty of the Duke of Sciffa his Ambassador: that he was not come, for the Duke of Sauoy who mockt him, and considered not that he had done more for him then father or mother; that hee cared not for his ratification, and much lesse to see him, or to thanke him for his paines: that hee excused his affection in the infirmities of his soome, but if he thought that he would attend to proceed vntill that hee were cured, hee was deceiued. The Count *Fuertes* answers that the effect of the Treaty depends not vpon his signing, and that he must not send vnto him to effect it. The Legat to cut off these temporising and delays, and to discouer where the fault was, that the peace was not signed, aduised himselfe of a subtilty, worthy of a Romane, and of a Cardinall. He commands the Count *Taziani* to say vnto the Count *Fuertes*, that hee was advertised from the Duke, that all the difficulties in this businesse were framed by the Count; who restrained the Dukes liberly, in the signing and execution of the Treaty.

The Legat discontented with the D. of Sauoy

The Count *Fuertes* excule.

He

A He had scarce entred into this discourse, when as the Count *Fuertes* (full of choller that all the blame should be laid vpon him) went to horse, and came vnto the Legat, to whom hee discouered all the secret betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and him. Many dayes are spent in going and coming. In the end, the King of Spaine, who desired to begin his raigne by warre, would haue no peace, but vanquished by the perswasions of the Duke of Lerma, who thought peace to be more profitable for his condition, hoping to gouerne his Master more freely in the delights of peace, then in troubles of warre, sent vnto the Count *Fuertes*, that seeing they restored vnto the Duke of Sauoy his Country, and that he might keepe the Marquisate of Saluces, he would employ his forces elswhere, and confirme the Treaty of Lions. The Duke is forced to follow this course, there is no more armie for him. There was one complement yet remaining. The Duke was desirous to see the Legate: the paines which he had taken deferred this view and thanks. The Legate meant to goe speedily to Rome.

The Duke imbarques vpon the Riuer of Po, to goe visit him, and sends a Post to advertise him of his imbarking. Here was an accident that had almost spoiled all. This messenger reports vnto the Duke that he had met the Legat, and the Count *Fuertes* in Carosse together vpon the way, who returned when as he advertised them of his coming. The Duke discontented with this returne, sends them word that hee was gone backe. The Legate enters presently into a small barke, follows after, and ouertakes him, whereas the riuer of Tefin enters into Po. The Duke being advertised, turnes head and ioynes with him. They strue who shal enter into the others boat, but the Duke escapes into the Legats, and sits downe by him: they spent some words in complements, before they entered into the Treaty of Peace.

The Legat and the Duke of Sauoy meet.

The Legate protested that in all this negotation, hee had nothing else in his thought, but the good of his Highnesse estate, but he was incountred with so many difficulties, and necessities, which ouer-ruled his affection, as he was forced to preferre profitable and necessarie things, before that which was goodly in shew. The Duke thanked him for the paines he had taken, but so coldly, as the Legat found wel, that he held not himselfe beholding vnto him. The one tooke his way to Thurin, and the other to Pavia, and so to passe to Rome. The Duke had signed, but he was not yet well resolved to obserue the peace. The feare left Bourg should be lost before the conclusion of the Treaty, made his Ambassadors to resolute: the Assurance which *Bouvens* now gaue the Duke, that he would incounter all extremities, both of famine and force, made him vnwilling to performe the Treaty, sending *Bely* his Chancellor to Rome, to make his excuse, that hee signed it not. The Pope tooke it ill, that a Chancellor, a man of peace, should intreat him to vndo that which the Legat his Nephew had done, and sent him backe with his answer.

The Dukes irresolution.

He sends *Bely* his Chancellor to Rome.

But for all this the Duke seeks to smother this peace in the Cradle, and grounds his last hope vpon *Bouvens*, to whom hee sends the countersigne, without the which hee was bound not to yeeld it.

A countersigne carried to *Bouvens*.

E This token was but counterfeit. *D' Hostel* played another part, he made this his colour to haue meanes to enter into the Citadell, and to giue this countersigne to *Bouvens* for his warrant; and thereby to assure him that if hee had meanes to hold good a moneth, hee should disclaime the signing of the ratification, and make a shew of disobedience, and hee should be relieved. *D' Hostel* went into the Citadell, and found that misery would not suffer them to want of resistance as they had done, that things were no more in the estate that *Bouvens* had represented them; and that their necessities were so extreme, as there was no meanes to suffer them any longer, being prest without by the Kings armie, and within by cold and hunger, which made the Duke more tractable to yeeld that which he could not hold, sending the ratification in the beginning of March, and at the same time to the Citadell was deliuered into the Kings power.

The generall censures of this peace were diuers. The King was pleased that the profit was apparant, and assured for his Estates: hauing for one Marquisate, more Earles and Marquises; then there are Gentlemen in the Marquisate of Saluces, enlarging his frontiers about thirty leagues, and so restrained the Dukes estate on this side the mountains: as he hath left two third parts, lost eight hundred Gentlemen, and a fort which he himselfe writing vnto *Bouvens* esteemed more then all the Marquisate, with Provinces in Strals. any be in France. It is true that the Honour to keep that which was the cause of the warre remained

Discontent of the Peace.

1601

Commodities  
which the Duke  
goes by the  
peace.

The death of  
Queene Louyse

Discourse upon  
the life of  
Louyse of Vau-  
demour, wife to  
King Henry  
the third.

A goodly har-  
mony of mar-  
riage.

Isaiahs of the  
Queene.

remained to the Duke, and by this means of a peace he hath no more need of Spaniards, A nor of the Count of Fuentes, who did him always some Spanish affront, and is free from all feare of the French, who kept Piedmont in awe while they had a retreat there. The Duke, who neuer went out of the gates of Thurin without six companies of horse for his guard, and entertained Garisons which cost him more then the reuenues of the countries exchanged, may now sleepe, and goe and come in safety. This moneth of March Louyse of Lorraine, Dowager of France, Widow to Henry the third, King of France, died: her death was better knowne by the losse of such a light, then by the mourning of her heyres, or the honour of her funerals; for the Duke of Mercure her brother, to whom she left her goods, and the execution of her will, was then in Hungary. The Duchesse of Mercure attended on her vntill she died, and laid her body in the Couent of Saint Clare, vntill shee might be entered with greater pompe. She desired to be layd in one Tombe with the King, whose body attends vntill that the piety of the liuing may remember the condition of the dead, the which giues cause of amazement, that the earth which neuer failes for the life of Princes, should now want for their interment.

The desire of this Princesse was not performed, although the will of the dead ought to be religiously obserued, the best part of her life had bene a troublesome carriere of affliction, more fertill in thornes then in roses: but it is the way of heauen, which hath bene beaten by all the happy, and there is no reason to make a new for them that came last, how great and mighty fouer they be. King Henry the third going into Poland saw her so faire, as at his returne when as death had made him forget the Princesse of Conde, in whose remembrance he did sometimes forget the greauous and grauity of a King, he remembered her, and by the aduice of the Duchesse of Lorraine his Sister, who said that there was not any woman in the world more fit for his humour then this Princesse: hee demanded her, and had her to wife. Cast was sent vnto her, and found her coming from Saint Nicholas, whither she had gone in pilgrimage on foot. The Queene of Nauarre did much disdaine this alliance, apprehending to march after a daughter to the Earle of Vaudemour: for this cause the King would not haue her goe one day after her who should thinke her selfe honored the next day to be the first after her: so as there was no difference betwene her coming, making sure, and marriage.

Six weekes after her marriage they found her to be with child; but soone after she had a mischance, and had a false birth, being a sonne. This caused her to haue a Iaudlife for a time, and an indisposition for euer, which made the King and Realme out of hope to see her a mother. This barrenesse made the Queenes life barren of all content. It is true that the three or foure first yeares were spent in all delights. The King made no voyage without her, no feast where she was not; he could not be to any other, being wholly to her, his delights were vnto her desires. Before his marriage he had loued *Chastelaine-neuf*, one of the Queene-mothers Mayds, the fire had bene so violent, as the ashes were yet hot, and had bene sufficient to kindle a new flame, if the Queenes wisedome had not caused them to be cast into the wind, when this great beauty appeared the rest lost much of their light. The Queene was somewhat troubled: but when as the Queene-mother told her that she had endured much more, her griefe was somewhat asswaged, though not altogether taken away. She dissembled vntill that she saw this virgin come one day to dance attired by emulation, like her self, at what time she told the Queene-mother that she could endure it no longer: the who loued her dearly, wrought so as this Star was eclipsed, & appeared no more; she left the Kings heart as well as the Court, and in despite married at her owne will. This Princesse who had neuer bin bred vp but in her fathers court, grew suddenly very skillfull in all the complements of Court. The King instructed her himselfe in all the perfitions which the world admires. Neuer Queene before her did better vnderstand what did belong to Queenes. She had past through all the honours which are due to Kings wiues. She was crowned Queene: she had set twice in the Assembly of the Estates of the Realme: she received all sorts of Ambassadors, with lesse or more respect, according vnto the dignity of the Prince from whence they were sent, and shewed in her discourse wisedome, government, and much iudgement. She wonne the Queene-mothers heart so absolutely, as none but shee could please it; there was such a conformity betwixt them, as what pleased the one could not displease the other. There was also a great intelligence betwixt her and the duke of Alençon, who honoured her as much as if he had bene farre inferiour vnto her: it was thought

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A thought that if the King had died vpon a disease in his eare, whereof the Physicians were in some doubt, he would haue married her, vnlesse the Pope had denied a dispensation. Also, when he was dead, it seemed she would no more vie her eyes but to weepe. They held her to be very disdainfull, neither did she regard the Princes and Princesses of the blood as she ought, louing none but them of her owne House. The Kings great heat of loue beganne to grow cold. His heart was like a tree planted on the high way, whose fruit is free for all passengers. He committed much excesse, and gaue himselfe to the pleasures of the Court, which did then abound: he was not pleased to see her richly attired, nor to see her in companies. He made two voyages to Lions without her, his nature still affecting new things. Shee who loued the Princes of her House, was grieved to see them sequestered from the Kings fauours, which the Dukes of Joyeuse and Elsporn did wholly enioy. They were all in Court, and did possesse the Kings heart absolutely. Then she began to take the course of piety and deuotion, which she had rather discontinued then forgotten, hauing sucked deuotion from the bosome of piety. The King on the other side began to frequent reformed Cloysters. Shee was rather seene in the Churches then at the Loure.

This Sphere of deuotion did alwayes turne, neither could any occasion either within or without the Court stay the course thereof. She began to neglect that great beauty, which at her coming had made her amiable, and admirable, and gaue her the prize of all the beauties of the West. The Roses and the Lillies of her liuely hiew were withered, more through the rigour of affliction then for age. And though the Kings affections were much diminished, yet they had neuer but one bed, neither did they lye asunder but fix or seuen months, by the aduice of the Physicians, vpon an infirmity of the Kings which was contagious. Shee was much afflicted for the death of the Duke of Guise, from which time afflictions neuer left her, for presently after followed that great insurrection of all the towns in France, the which wasted the Kings treasure, and reduced him to necessities that were vnknowne and incredible, she was forced to send all her Maids of Honor to their houses, she remained alone with foure Ladies, with the which shee retired in Chenonceau after the Kings departure from Tours to besiege Paris. There she had newes that a Monke had hurt the King of Saint Cloud, and refused to goe and see him; but shee was caried backe to Chenonceau whereas the Earle of Fiesque and then *Dinet* her Preacher told her that the King was dead, the newes of his wounding had already prepared her to this accident, for as soone as the King was hurt, hee wrote these few words vnto her with a trembling and dying hand. *My friend you haue heard how I haue bene miserably hurt, I hope it will be nothing pray to God for me, farewell my friend.*

Notwithstanding vpon the newes of his Death she fell downe in a sound, and then began to dye in this death. She caused foure of her maids of Honor to returne, who found a wonderfull alteration betwixt the visage of the Loure, and that of Chenonceau: for the necessities were so extreme, as most of them liued of their owne purses. Shee had no dowry, and the liberaltie shee received from the King was lesse then her necessitie: hee was much wronged by her during the

raigne of the deceased King. She could not dissemble the hatred shee bare him when hee was at Tours, where she shewed him so cold a countenance, and gaue him so bad a reception, as foreseeing the mildnesse of his nature, he said that hee would thinke of it, and that she should repent it. But being King of France he would not reuenge the wrongs done vnto the King of Nauarre, no more then Lewis the twelfth would those of the Duke of Orleans; for he relieved her necessities as much as his affaires would permit him, and gaue her after the death of Queene Elizabeth the Dowry, which she enioyed, and had giuen her more but for the Duchesse of Beaufort, who loued her not, for that they had reported some words of contempt which she had vttered on her. Shee bore a singular affection to the Princes of her House. And although that friendship grounded vpon

vertue, are better then those which grow from nature, as being more voluntary, yet shee did not esteeme any friendship, but that of her owne blood: which made them say that shee had intelligence with the Princes of her house against the King: but she shewed that her actions were free from it, refusing to see any of them after the death of the King her Husband, for the which shee was so afflicted, as the violence of her heartes griefe did ruine the vigour of her body, by a continual desoluxion vpon her lights, and coldnesse of her braine. Shee could neuer vie the soueraigne remedy of the most inueterate vices of the minde, forgetfulness: shee alwayes represented vnto herselfe, how

The Kings let-  
ter, being hurt,  
to the Queene.

The Queenes  
necessity.

Duchesse of  
Beaufort, Iustice  
northe Queene

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she could possibly live, seeing the spirit of her life was dead; for even then she began to die, all the rest of her life was but torment and languishing. Shee went to the King to Mantes, where after shee had implored iustice; always assisting at the Throne of God, shee cast her selfe at the Kings feet to haue a iust and lawfull reuenge for the death of the King her Lord. *Du Buissin* of the chiefe of her Councell made a learned and eloquent speech touching the iust affliction of this Princeesse. *La Guelfe* the Kings Proctor made another, able to moue the hearts of the most barbarous Scythians. After the end of the Kings Masse, when as this Princeesse heard the Palme which the deceased King did vially cause to be sung, her grieffe renewed with such violence as they held her for dead. The King ran to helpe her, and kneeled downe to lift her vp: All the time of her widowhood which was spent at Chenonceau, & at Molins, was rather the life of a priuate Lady, then of a Queene; or of a religious woman, then of a widow. The best part of the day was employed in prayer, and that which remained after the houres of eating, and of Businesse, were spent for some workes for the decoration of altars, there being few churches in France, where she hath not sent of her worke. And although she were often visited by Princes, Princeesses and great Noblemen, yet she neuer neglected one minute of her deuotion. To conclude, she was a sweet vessell of piety, and as a violl full of excellent Balme, or some Odoriferous liquor, whilst it is whole it giues no sent but to them that are neare it, but being broken, it delights them that are farre off. So this vessell of most Odoriferous vertue, being broken by death, hath powred forth her sweet sentes ouer all the Earth.

Death of the  
Princeesse of  
Conde.

Princeesse of  
Conde dies.  
The Duchesse  
of Elguillon  
dies.

The same yeare also, Madam *Francis* of Orlance, Princeesse of Conde, Mother to the Count of Soissons, died in her house of Grenelles at Paris, the Funerall Pompee was celebrated in the Abbey of Saint *Germain de pres*. About the end of this yeare the Princeesse of Cony dyed of a great and languishing sicknesse, as she went to her house at Bonnefable in Perche, to change the aire by the aduice of her Physicians, but she changed her life, leaving one onely Daughter, the which the Count of Soissons married.

Afterwards the Duchesse of Elguillon dyed, being daughter to the Duke of Neuers deceased, who left great cause of mourning to the Duke of Elguillon, eldest Sonne to the Duke of Maine, and the rather, for that she dyed in child-bed, and the child also with her. The King in forty dayes had conquered all Sauiy, within forty daies after he married, treated of a Peace, made the Queene in case to be a Mother, went in post from Lyons, and came to Paris, who bare his long absence impatiently. His returne gaue the world to vnderstand how quiet and constant the affaires of France were, that a King which went a hundred Leagues with twelue onely in his traine, was wel assured of his subiects, and feared not his neighbours.

The Queene followed by small iourneys, and came to Fountainbleau, where she staid not long, but came to Paris about Saint *Germaines* fayre, her first lodging was at *Gardies* house her first Gentleman of Honour, being in the suburbs of Saint *Germain*. The next was at *Zamets*, superintendant of her house, and then she came to the Louure. The Parsons prepared themselves and besought the King to giue them leave to make her a stately entry: but his Maiestie would haue the charges of this entry referred for a more durable worke. All the Princes of the blood, with the chiefe Ladies of the Court and City presented themselves to kisse her hands, and to doe their duties vnto her Maiestie. Shee made much of all them that the King favored, and refused to loue what he loued, framing her will in such sort vnto his, as she held his will for an vnwritten Law.

This yeare the Pope granted a *table* and Pardons to all the French that should goe visit the Church of Saint *Croix* in Orlance, doing the workes of Christian charitie. An infinite number of people went thither from all parts of France; the King and Queene went thither with the first, and gaue meanes to helpe to build this Church, which had bin ruined during the fury of the first ciuill warres. The King laid the first stone of this building. An act worthy of a Christian King, the true successor of the piety of Saint *Lewis* his Predecessor. But whilst he gaine Pardons, his enemies watch to surpris the best places of his Realme. He was disarmed vnder the assurance of the Peace. The armie of strangers was still whole together, and became fearfull to all Italy. All the Princes were troubled thereat, and although they be not well vnited together, yet when there is any question of danger, they haue good correspondency. At Rome they said it was for Geneva, and that

The Queene  
comes to  
Paris.

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A the Marquis of Aia was gone to intreate the Pope to fauour him with his blessing, and to fortifie him with his meanes. Many other discourses were made touching this army, but time discovered that it was entertained for *Marselles*. There is nothing so holy, but money will violate, nor so strong but it will force. The Count of Fuenes vpon promise of great recompence, had practised an enterprize very ealie to execute, if the bargain had held. It was adding during the treaty of Peace with the Duke of Sauiy, who sent *Don Sanchis de Salina* to Milan to the Count of Fuenes, with two of them which made this match, whereof the one gaue aduice to the President *Du Fair*. Hee which had promised to deliuer the Tower of the Port for an entry vnto the enemy, discovered himself to the D.

An enterprize  
vpon Mar-  
selles.

B of Guise: *La Goye* (a Gentleman of Prouence) was sent vnto the King, to beseech him to giue him leaue to encounter them with this like practice. The King who desires not to gain by trechery, said that hee was content to keepe his owne; and to let the world know who did first trouble the peace. At that time another enterprize was discovered vpon the towne of Metz. The King sent the President *Savin* thither, the accused were brought to the prison of the Palace of Paris. The proofes being weak, some were enlarged; vpon condition they should appeare when they were called for, his Maiesty commanding they should inform more amply against the rest, banishing two from the towne of Metz, Thoul and Verdun. This great army finding no employment in France, made worke for the hangman in Italy, by the discovery of many conspiracies.

An enterprize  
vpon Metz.

C *Rocheport* being Ambassador in Spaine, certaine French Gentlemen (among the which his Nephew was) had a quarrell with some Spaniards, who did iniure them, and cast their clothes into the water, they being a swimming. The Spaniards had the worst, and some were hurt and slaine. Their kinsmen demanded iustice of the King, (who commanded his officers to doe it) but the Ambassadors lodging was forced, and the Gentlemen drawn forth to prison, notwithstanding any thing that he could say or doe to maintaine the liber-ty of his place; the which is inuolable even among enemies. The King was so offended with this iniury, as he commanded his Ambassador to returne, giuing the King of Spaine to vnderstand, that he assured him selfe, that he would do him reason, when hee had well considered what cause he had to complaine. Whereupon all traffike was forbidden be-  
D twixt these two Realmes. The Pope fearing that this violence done vnto the Ambassador of France, could not passe without some feeling, and that this Coale might kinde the fire of Warre betwixt these two great Kings: hee sent into Spaine to haue the prisoners, the which were sent vnto him: and the Pope deliuered them presently vnto the Lord of Be-  
tunes the Kings Ambassador at Rome; and so the Peace was continued.

An enterprize  
vpon Metz.

The Ambassadors of Venice were better intreated in France. That great and wise Senate holding themselves bound by the lawes of friendship, to deplore the misfortune, and to reioyce at the prosperity of their friends, hauing been long troubled for the afflictions of France, they send a great and solemne Ambassage to congratulate the fruit of the Kings victories, and the beginning of his marriage. The Ambassadors were chosen out of  
E the Procurators of Saint Marke, and of the chiefe men of the State. They came to Paris, the King sent the Marquis of Rohony to conduct them to Fontainebleau; and to intreat them, so be contented with their reception in that place whereas the Queene was, seeing their Ambassage was common to both, and that for the indisposition of her greatnesse, it could not be at Paris, which occasion did renew the ioyes of the Court, the which was in  
so great tranquillity, as it seemed neuer to haue bene in trouble.

An Ambass-  
age from Venice.

The Great Turke sent *Bartholomew de Cheneu* his Physitian vnto the King, to acquaint him with the Estate of his affaires, and to intreat him to mediate a truce in Hungary. When as this man spake of the Turkes power, hee did so extoll it, as if hee had beene able to vanquish all the Princes of Christendome; not excepting Pope nor Emperor, so as the  
F King of France did not meddle in it. Hee presented a Dagger and a Cymiter vnto the Kings Maiesty, whereof the Hilt and Scabbars were of Gold, garnished with Rubies, and a Plume of Herons feathers. The King related vnto him what hee had done in Sauiy, and complained that (to the prejudice of ancient Capitulations) not onely the English were distressed from the Banner of France; (vnder whose guard and protection they were bound to traffike) but also the Flemings, Hollanders, and Zelanders were apprehended vnder the Banner of England. To this complaint he added another, against  
the crueltie and violence of the Durs of Algier, and the coast of Barbary, saying that if the

Bartholomew de  
Cheneu of Mar-  
selles a Christian  
Renegado, sent  
to the King by  
the Turke.

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the Iustice of the great Turke did not cause these Piracies to cease, hee should have no reason to beleue his friendship.

The Order of  
Recolets.

At this time there sprung vp religious men in France, who said they were true-observers of the Order of Saint Francis, and that the Franciscans and Capuchins did not maintain it so exactly, but they needed reformation. The king gave them a Couent at Beaufort, and by the example of this piety, many other places desired it. They would lodge at Balmetre neere vnto Angers, the which had bene founded by rene King of Sicilia. The Franciscans (who could not endure to be dispossessed by these Recolets) besieged them, offered to force their gates, & to scale their walls. The besieged defended not themselves with words and exorcismes, but with stones, and in such choller, as if the people had not come the scandall had not ended without murder. The Princiuall seeing that the Recolets would not receiue him, and that the Bishop would not suffer him to vse force, appealed, as from an abuse of their establishment. The Recolets shew vnto the Court, that they are the true Children and Disciples of Saint Francis, liuing according to the rule and discipline that was obserued in Italy, from whence the good precepts of the reformation of Regulars were drawne, that if those of the Family of Obseruance, and of Capuchins, were tolerated and honoured in France, they should be of no worse condition. This cause was the argument of a famous pleading in the Court Parliament, in the which *Seruin* the Kings Aduocate said, That a Reformation was necessary not onely in the Order of the Franciscans or Gray-Friars, but also in all others; but they must be careful, not to transforme by nouelties, in stead of reforming by censures, alledging many reasons against the bringing in of new Orders.

A great pleading in the Court of Parliament.

Whereupon the Court pronounced that there was abuse, and restored the ancient Religious to the Couent of Balmetre, forbidding all religious men of the Order of Gray-Friars to goe out of the Realme, without licence from the King or their Superiours. Tealous and distrustfull heads gave it out, that the Peace was in weak change, when as after the injury done vnto *Rochepot* in Spaine, and the forbidding of traffique, they see the King gone suddenly to Calais, and that from thence he had sent the Duke *Biron* into England.

The King goes to Calais.

The Count *Serra* sent vnto the King.

The Arch-Dukes tooke a sudden alarme, and to that end sent the Count *Serra* vnto the King, to deliuer vnto him the state of the siege of Ostend, and to beseech him not to suffer that their enemies should think that these approaches should be to their advantage, and that their rebellion should be fauoured by an example so hatefull to all Princes. The King sent the Duke of l'Elguillon to visit them, and to assure them that his intention was not to trouble the peace, but onely to visit his Frontier, and to provide for the fortifications. They did not generally beleue this, for although hee made his voyage in poste, many thought that he would embrace this occasion of the siege of Ostend, and all the Court followed him as to some great exploit. And for that he would not haue the world in suspence of his designs, he gaue the Governours of his Prouinces to vnderstand, that the cause of his going to Calais, was but to visit his frontier, and to provide for that which should be necessary to assure it, not from present dangers, but from those that might happen. He declared also that he had no other designe then the preservation of peace with all his neighbours, to enjoy that which God had giuen him. But there were other practices which could not be dispersed but by the Kings presence.

The Duke of Biron sent into England.

The Queene of England sent Sir *Thomas Edmunds* to visit the King, and the King returned her the like by the Duke of Biron. He went accompanied with an hundred and fiftie Gentlemen. The Count of Auvergne was there as ynkowne, but his quality discovered him. There was nothing omitted that might be for the reception of an Ambassador, and somewhat more. Being at London, many Noblemen receiued him, and accompanied him to Basing, where he rested a day or two before he did see the Queene, who made him know that she was honoured by her Subiects above other Princes. A Prince should lose no occasion to let strangers see the greatness of his Estate, to giue them cause to admire him, and to maintain his Subiects in the duty which they owe him. The Queene of England, who hath made good proofe that women may reigne, as well and as happily as men, obserues this better then any Prince of her age, making all them that followed the Duke of Biron in this Legation, to giue the like iudgement.

His entry to the Queene.

The Queene being set in State, all the French Gentlemen entered first, but when as the discoursed the Duke of Biron, whom she knew by the description they had made of his face

face

A Face and stature, the spake with a loud voyce: "Ha, *Monseigneur de Biron*, how haue you taken the pain to come and see a poore old Woman, who hath nothing more liuing in her, then the affection shee beares vnto the King, and her perfect iudgement to know his good seruants, and to esteeme Knights of your fort. As she spake this, the Duke made a low reuerence, and the Queene rose from her Chaire to embrace him, to whom hee deliuered the charge hee had from the King, and withall his Maiesties Letters, the which shee read. Shee thanked the King for his remembrance of her: but she said shee could not conceale, that as there was nothing vnto a heart (like vnto hers) full of affection and desire more pleasing, then to see and heare what it desired, so could shee not but fee an extreame torment, to see herselfe deprived of the sight and presence of the object which shee had most desired, whose actions shee esteemed not onely immortal but diuine, being ignorant whether shee should more enuy his Fortune, then loue his Vertue, and admire his Merits: so much the one and the other, did exceed the greatest maruailes in the world. That she could not say that a courage which feared nothing but the falling of the Pillers of Heauen, should feare the Sea, or not trust vnto it for a passage of seuen or eight houres, blaming them rather which had not instructed him as well to contemne the Waves of the Sea, as the designs of his enemies vpon the Land. From these speeches, shee fell into some bitterness of Complaints, which shee deliuered with a little vehemency, saying: that after shee had succoured this Prince with her Forces, Purse, and meanes, and if she could haue done it with her owne blood, and had as much desired the happy successe of his affaires as himselfe, and the ruine of his enemies more then himselfe, they made no account of her, forcing her to thinke that the loue they bare her was but for the hope of commodities they might draw from her, the which being dried vp, all affection was cold. That they had sought her in the torment to forget her when the time was calme. That they preferred new friendship before the old, wildome before Iustice, and profit before reason. And for a signe of inhumanity, they refused her her owne. Then taking the Duke of Biron shee led him to a window where he continued her discourse in softer and milder termes. There shee gaue her hand vnto all the Gentlemen which the Duke of Biron presented vnto her: among them all shee noted *Creguy* to bee sonne in Law to *L'Esguignieres*. Shee commanded him to approach neere vnto her when all had done, to whom shee declared what esteeme the world made of him for his sake, whom shee held to bee without Peere, saying: That if there were two *L'Esguignieres* in France, shee would demand one of them of the King her brother. *Creguy* answered, That he would thinke himselfe happy, if by the Kings commandement any occasion were offered worthy of her seruice, to witness vnto her Majesty that hee did partake in the desire which his Father in law had alwaies had, to giue her some proofe of his affection, and that hee would alwayes cary himselfe so in effect, seeing hee could not bee present but in desire, the Kings seruice binding him to remaine elsewhere. To whom the Queene said: That shee did accept of his good will, and wished him to remember. The Duke of Biron receiued all the honours of the Queene and State, that might be giuen to so great a personage, the particularities whereof I omit for breuities sake.

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The  
Queenes  
speech.

Having finished his Legation, he tooke his leaue of the Queene, to whom shee gaue a great Present, and so dismissed him with very gracious speeches. He found not the King at Calais at his returne, who was gone backe to Fontainebleau against the Queenes lying downe, where hee had left her, and the Duchesse of Bar with her. All France attended the Fruit of this birth, as the full of their Felicitates, assuring themselves, that by the birth of a Dauphin, they should find all that which forepassed ages, and that which was to come could desire. Ten daies before his birth, the Earth quaked in many parts of Europe. The great Duchesse who desired greatly to be neere the Queene, sent her a rich Cradle, exquisitely made at Florence, hoping it should serue for a Dauphin (for she would not haue giuen it with so good a will for an other Sexe) intreating the Gouernor of Lions, by her Letters, to fauor the passage, and his diligence that had charge of it, to the end that shee might arise at time, and not to suffer any to open the Coffers.

The Duke of Biron returned out of England in the beginning of October.

A Cradle sent to the Queene.

The Princes of the blood may be in the Queens chamber when the is in trauell to maintain the Saluque Law.

The Queene fell in labour on Thursday at night, the seuen and twentieth of September. The King and the Princes of his blood, were in the Chamber, according to the ancient law of the Ceremonies of the Crown, to the end that the interested in the succession,

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The Dauphine borne.

may not pretend there was any supposition. The Queene was held for a while in great danger, for she had given herselfe such liberty in eating of fruits, as she felt it, and repented it in her travell, but in the end, about eleven of the clocke, shee was delivered of a sonne. The King blessing him put a Sword in his hand, to vie it to the glory of God, and the defence of his Crowne and people. All the Princes and Noblemen flocked to reioyce at this new Grace. The ioy was so great, and the King was so prest with the Congratulations of them that came about him, as going to the Church to give God thanks for this favour, he lost his hat in the throng. The Secretaries of State, made dispatches presently into all Provinces, to make them partakers of this great ioy. The first was brought to Paris by *Verennes* about foure of the clocke, to the Chancellor, the Court of Parliament, and the Towne-house, presently thanks were given to God, and bone-fires made throughout all the Realme, the people holding this latter grace, as an assurance of the fruit of all the precedent. *Sourray* was chosen for his Governour. The Pope sent presently vnto the King and Queene to congratulate with them of this birth, and to carry vnto the young Prince swaddling bands, bearing clothes, and other things, blessed by his Holinesse. All Princes allied to this Crowne, sent to congratulate this happy occasion.

The Queene of Spaine delivered of a daughter.

The Queene of Spaine was brought in bed about the same time of a Daughter. The Spaniards were no lesse content then the French, saying that they had rather the Queen should begin with a daughter then with a sonne, lest they should fall into the accidents, which Iealousie and Ambition doe breed, when the Children appeare so soone to succede them to bee gone; when as their ages are confounded, that the one is in the flower, the other in the season of fruits, the which is most capable to command and rule, and that the desire to succeed may not give occasion to trouble the order of Nature, and maketh the one repent that they are Fathers, and declares the other unworthy to bee Children.

The Duke of Biron returns out of England to Court.

The Duke of Biron came to Fontainebleau, whereas the King, Queene and Dauphin remained, he gaue an account of his Ambassage into England, and delivered the Queenes Letter vnto his Maiesty. He continued in Court vntill the end of the year, and presented vnto him the three Estates of *Bresse*, *Beaugy*, *Veromey* and *Gex*, whom the King received as graciously, as if they had beene Frenchmen by birth and affection; he confirmed their Priviledges, and made them feeble the fruits of this change. Hee erected a Prebendiall Court at Bourg, depending vpon the Parliament at Dijon, notwithstanding any opposition made by that of Grenoble, pretending that the Countries exchanged should hold the place of the Marquitate of Saluces, and be incorporate vnto Dauphine. Here-leesed the Countries exchanged, in their impositions and Taxes, and with such moderation, as the most miserable, promised vnto themselves happinesse, vnder his sweet subiection. Among other speeches, which the King vied vnto the Deputies, these were noted, *it is reasonable (said he) seeing you speake French naturally, that you should bee subject to a King of France: I am well pleased that the Spanish tongue should remaine to the Spaniard, and the Germane tongue to the Germane, but all the French must belong to me.* The Dauphin made his first entry into Paris the 30 day after his birth: the Port was beautified with Armes. The pompe was of a Cradle in a litter, whereas the Lady of Monglas sat with the Nurce. The Prouost of Merchants and Sheriffes went out of the City to meet him. The Gouverneisse made answer to the Oration. His first lodging was at *Zamets* house. Two dayes after he was caried backe to S. Germane in Lay, and to the end the people might see him passing through the City, the nurce held him at her brest. The King had determined to conduct the Queene to Blois, but the desire he had to instruct the Duchesse of Bar his sister in his Religion, stayed them all at Paris, whither he had sent for the most learned Prelates and Divines, to satisfie her in the presence of such Ministers as she had brought with her. But they conuired her not to yeeld vnto this change, nor to dismember her selfe from the Body and society of the Children of God, to bow her knees vnto Idolatry. She continued so constant in her beleefe, as shee made a protestation, that if her Religion were preiudiciall to the Estates of the Duke of Lorraine, shee was ready to returne into Bearn, beseeching the King to suffer her to end her life as shee had begun it. So as the conferences vpon this subiect remained vnprofitable, and were of no more effect, then that which was made at Ratisbonne at the same time, and for the same cause. The King hauing fetled as happy a peace in France as could bee desired, hee sought to

The Dauphine first entry into Paris the 30 of October 1601.

A Conference to instruct the Kings sister.

1601

A redresse the disorders which could not be cured during the violence of the warre, hee did two things to reforme the disorders of the Treasure, in the one he cut off a great number of Officers belonging to the Treasure, and in the other hee caused a great and seuer search to bee made of their abuses. The more Officers the King hath for the managing of his Treasure, the lesse profit comes vnto his Coffers, for that a great part is spent in their entertainments. So as it was resolved at the Estates held at Rouen, to suppress the Offices of the treasurers of the generalities of France by death without hoping of reuiving.

Many of the Treasury did charged.

As for the abuses of Treasurers, their couetousnesse was so great, and their abuses so countenanced, as no man liued happily but they. Such as rob the Poore dye in Prisons are hangd, but they that steale from the King and the publicke, are at their ease. When as *Rhusny* was called to be Superintendent of the Treasure, they were out of hope to doe their businesse as they had wont. By his aduice the King commanded a strict search to bee made of their Abuses in the Treasure, and to that end, hee erected a Chamber (or Court) which hee would haue called *Royale*, consisting of Iudges chosen out of his Soueraine Courts: of one of the Presidents of the Court of Parliament: two Masters of Requests of his Household: two Councillors of his Court of Parliament: of one President of his Chamber of Accompts: three Councillors of the Court of Aydes: of one of the Advocates generall of his Court of Parliament: and of one of the Substitutes.

A Chamber Royall erected.

And for that they had giuen the King to vnderstand, that nothing did so much impoverish his Realme, as the transport of gold and siluer, the which was vsuall by the sufferance of Officers, hee therefore reuiued the ancient Lawes for the transporting of gold and siluer, or bullion out of the Realme, adding paine of death thereunto, and losse of all their goods that should doe to the contrary, the third whereof should goe vnto the Informer. He commanded all Governours to haue a care of the obseruation of these prohibitions, and not to grant any passports to the contrary, vpon paine to be declared partakers of these transports, and for their Secretaries that should counterfeigne them, confiscation of their goods and perpetual banishment. But the forbidding of the transportation of gold and siluer is not the onely means to make a Realme abound therewith, if the vife of it within be not well ordered. And therefore the King did forbid the superfluous vife of gold and siluer in lace or otherwise vpon garments. This Edict did greatly trouble the Ladies in Court, yet it was obserued, for that it was generall and excepted none: the King himselfe did frowne of a Prince of his House, who had not yet thought of this reformation. The King continuing the same care to settle all things in good estate, seeing that foraigne Coynes went at a higher rate in his Realme then where they were coyned, hee commanded that the vife of foraigne Coynes should bee forbidden, after a certaine time giuen to the people to put it away, restoring gold to his iust value. This commandement was iust, but it was a great ruine to the people, for the Strangers seeing that their Coynes were not current among vs, discontinued the traffike, and liued without that, without the which we thought they could not liue. Those which were wont to come to Lions went to Geneva, where the Duckats were raised as much as wee had abated them. The King by all these Edicts had nothing releued the necessities of the Nobility, if he had not provided for vsuries, which haue ruined many good and ancient houses, filled Townes with vnprofitable persons, and the Country with miseries and inhumanities. Hee found that Rents constituted after ten or eight in the hundred did ruine many good families, hindred the traffike and commerce of Merchandise, and made Tillage and Handicrafts to bee neglected, many desiring through the easinesse of a deceitfull gain, to liue idly in good Townes of their Rents, rather then to giue themselves with any paine to liberal Arts, or to Till and Husband their inheritances. For this reason (meaning to inuite his Subjects to enrich themselves with more iust gain, to content themselves with more moderate profit, and to giue the Nobility means to pay their debts,) hee did forbid all vsury or constitution of Rents at a higher rate then six pounds five shillings for the Hundred. The Edict was verified in the Court of Parliament, which considered that it was alwaies preiudiciall to the Common-weale to giue money to vsury: for it is a serpent whose biting is not apparant, and yet it is so sensible as it peirceth the very heart of the best Families.

The transport of gold and siluer forbidden.

The wearing of gold and siluer forbidden.

An Edict for vsury.

1602

Ambassadors  
chosen to  
send to for-  
eigne Princes.

The affaires of the Realme being in so great tranquillity, as the King had no care but to enjoy the fruits of a Peace; He made choice of Ambassadors to send to foraigne Princes that were in League with him. *Barranx* was named for Spaine, *Betunes* for Rome, the Count *Beaumont* was chosen for England, and the President *Fresnes Canay* to goe to Venice, who had a particular aduice giuen him, the which for that it is of consequence and serues for instruction to others in the like charges, deserves to be noted. It hath alwaies bene obserued at Venice, betwixt the Popes Nuncio and Princes Ambassadors that remaine there, that the last come is alwaies first visited by the others before hee returns them the like. It happened that *Huraud de Mette* the Kings Ambassador at Venice, hauing bene twice or thrice sent backe thither by his Maiesty, and no other Ambassador: at his last returne the Popes Nuncio refused to visit him, saying, that hee was not a new Ambassador, and that it was in him to visit him first, the which hee did, as well for that they could not take his returne for the beginning of a new Ambassage: from this complement of courtesie, the Popes Nuncio would draw a consequence of dutie, and would challenge a right to be visited first. So as the Ambassador of Spaine hauing made difficultie to visit the Nuncio, attending it first from him, according to the ancient order, they stood so long vpon this Ceremony, as they passed all the time of their Legation without visiting one another. And therefore the King foreseeing that it *de Fresnes Canay* were not informed of these particularities, he might haue bene surprisid in this Complement of visiting. In this discourse of Ambassadors let vs see the issue of two important Ambassages, the one for the King at Thurin, the other for the Duke of Sauoy at Paris, and both for the twearing of the peace. *James Mitres of Arjolans* Lord of Saint Chaumont, Knight of both the Kings Orders, was commanded to goe to Thurin to receiue the Dukes oath. Hee went well accompanied with Gentlemen, and neuer Ambassador was better receiued then hee was in Sauoy and Piedmont. *D'Albigny* Gouverneur of Sauoy feasted him at Chambery like a Prince, the Duke commanding him to entertaine him in all places as himselfe.

Monsieur Chaurieres  
Ambassador  
doe to Thurin.

His entertain-  
ment.

The Duke of  
Sauoy attends  
a Post out of  
Spaine.

The Duke of Sauoy, exceeds all the Princes of his quality in such Ceremonies: There is not any Court where they are performed with more order and pompe. The Ambassador coming within a League of Thurin, hee was intreated by the Duke to stay his entry one day, for that the Duke of Nemours did feare him at a house of his, and that the chiefe men of his Court being also invited, desired to be there, and not to lose the opportunity to meet with him, nor the Ladies to see his reception. He sent for him, and for all the chiefe men of his traine horse richly furnished, with footmen in very good order to enter into Thurin. Two leagues from the Towne he was met by his Companies of men at armes. The commanders hauing presented themselues vnto him, the Companies opened and made them way to passe through the midst of them, hauing passed a little farther, he was encountered by the Marquis of Lan, in the head of the chiefe Noblemen of the Dukes Court, to accompany him into the Towne, at the ports whereof there were twenty Staffieres or footmen, euery one with two torches of white wax in his hand to light him to his lodging, whither presently the Duke sent the Earle of Crenie the first Gentleman of his Chamber, to let him vnderstand how much he was pleased with his coming, and desired that he should not see him vntill the next day: At the houre appointed word was brought that the Duke desired to see him, where at the first encounter hee vsed him with more then ordinary words, and great declarations of ioy which the Duke receiued of his arrival, and of the contentment he promised vnto himselfe by the effects of his legation. The Ambassador did the Kings commendations vnto him, and told him that hee had commandement from his Maiesty to represent many things vnto him touching the treatie of peace. The Duke answered, that they must not talke of affaires, intreating him to forbear eight dayes. The Kings Ambassador was well aduertised, that he would gaine time on the one side, as hee lost on the other, attending a Post from Spaine touching the oath which he was to make: his good shewes could not hide his harts griefe for the losse of part of his Estates, the possession whereof had neuer bene so pleasing, as the priuation was troublesome.

*Cheurieres* visited the Princes & the Infants according to the Kings commandement. The Ambassador of Spaine went in Pilgrimage to our Lady of Mont de Vic, because he would not be at the Assembly. The Ceremonie was like vnto the precedent at Chambery

1602

A bery for the treaty of Veruins, after which the Ambassador dined with the Duke, where there was nothing forgotten that might giue him contentment. The Duke told the Ambassador that he would sup with him, but alwaies at his owne charge, whether hee caused many Ladies to be invited: during the heat of these illities the Duke tooke no taste in affaires, he so much desired to content the Kings Ambassador and those that were with him. Yet he did not leaue to satisfie him in that which he had propounded, touching the rights and pretensions of the Lady of Lucy, and for many demands which they of Geneua had made vnto the King, vpon the execution of the treaty. For the first, they answer that hee will giue the King contentment; and for the second, that his Maiesty would neuer iudge reasonable that he should bind himselfe in his owne Estates, to conditions, which they of Geneua would not allow in theirs. The Ceremonies being performed, the Ambassador tooke his leaue, and his departure was not lesse honored then his coming, where hee did not forget to giue them great Presents. Some said that after to great an expence in his voyage to Paris, and that hauing wasted his Treasurie, and ruined his Countries with warre, those which did accompany *Cheurieres* should not haue like Presents to them that were with *Boubeau* when as the Duke sware the peace of Veruins. But hee did the contrary, shewing, that the last of the vertues which should die in him should bee liberality, and that he knew, to whom, how much, when, and how he should giue, and that in such occasions sparing was hurtfull. He gaue vnto the Ambassador a Iewell of 4000 Crownes, and to all the Gentlemen horses. The Marquis of Lullins came into France to take the Kings oath. The Ceremonie was done at the Celestins in Paris, according to the accustomed manner and forme vsed in the like treaties, and in the presence of many Princes of the blood, Noblemen, & Councillors of State, the act being signed by the King, by *Villeroy* and *Forget* Secretary of State. The Siegneurie of Geneua intreated the King to giue them the Bawlicke of Gex, as a necessary thing for the safetie of their Estate. The King answered, that being concluded by the treaty, which he had made with the duke of Sauoy, that the lands exchanged for the Marquisate of Saluces, should remaine vntied and incorporated to the Crowne, he requested them to rest satisfied with this condition, and not to hope for any alteration, for this consideration, these Countries being of one condition with the other Prouinces of the Realm, they would not admit any diuersity in their lawes, he therefore established the exercise of the Romish religion, and sent the Baron of Lux to put the Bishop of Geneua in possession of the Churches of his Diocesse, causing Masse to be said in the Churches of Gex. They of Geneua made fasts, and publike prayer to the end (sayd they,) to keepe the Idols from their wals.

The Earle of  
Saillors mar-  
ried the Lady  
Lucy

Departure of  
the Kings Am-  
bassador.

The Dukes  
liberality.

The Marquis  
of Lullins Am-  
bassador for the  
Duke.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Court being quiet, and dreaming of nothing but of feasts and dancing, and the whole State in such tranquillity, as nothing might seeme to interrupt it. The King had but one business without the Realme, whereon depended the contentment which hee might giue to the Suisses, in confirming the promise which his Ambassador had made of the renewing of their alliances. There had bene many Assemblies held to that end at Bade and Soleure, but all vncertaine, as they be commonly. Their resolutions were inconstant and variable, with new demands, which did cut off nothing of the necessity of the first. These diuers agitations sprang from *Milan* and *Sauoy*, who could not endure to see the Flower-de Luce flourish in the rocks and Alpes, and were grieued to haue spent so many double Ducats in vaine, to choke the seeds of their affection to this Crowne. *De Vic* disposed things in as good sort as the King could desire, *Burliart* was sent to make the worke perfect. He gaue them to vnderstand the Kings last resolutions, with so great wisdom and dexterity, as they were allowed by the greatest part of the Cantons. After that, the partisans of Spaine and Sauoy found that all their crosses brought more aduancement then difficulty to the Kings affaires, and that the most obstinate became temperate, and were forced to yeeld, and that they could not hinder, but that the light of vertue and the Kings fortune would shine through the Chasme of their practices. *Sillery* finding that their wills were well prepared, and disposed to entertaine and accept of the Kings intentions, he made the proposition of renewing of the League at Soleure in September, after this manner:

The alliance  
with the Suisses  
renewed.

Monsieur de Vic  
and Sillery  
Ambassadors  
in Suisse.

A Diet at So-  
leure the 11.  
of September.

Oration of  
Monsieur Sillery  
to the Suisses.

"My most honored Lords, I haue bene sent into this Country by the most Christian King my master, your best friend, ally, and confederate, with charge to deliuer vnto you his louing recommendations, with the letters which his Maiesty hath written vnto you,

1601

by the which you may conceiue his intention vpon the cause of my voyage, according to the which his Maieſty hath alſo expreſly commanded mee, to aſſure you of his loue and affection, and of the eſteeme which hee had made of your Nation, for that hee had made better triall of their courage and valor then all other Princes, hauing bene ſo often with them in battell and other exploits of warre; and to tell you that he deſires to continue with you the ancient frienſhip, alliance, and good correſpondency which hath lo long and happily continued, betwixt the Kings of France, his Maieſties predeceſſors of happy memory, to the common good of the one and the other. After that hee had receiued your friendly anſwer dated the 15 of May, in the yeare 1600, touching that which had bene propounded vnto you on his behalfe by the deſealed *Monſieur de Morifontaine* his Ambaſſador concerning the renewing of the League, his Maieſtie did preſently appoint his Deputies to come and treat with you, the which had bene duly effected, if the vnepected warre of Sauoy, contrary to his Maieſties intention, had not ſtayed the voyage of his ſaid Deputies, the which ſince hath not bene deferred, but to ſend by the ſame means greater prouiſion of money which cannot be ſo ſoon gathered together as was requiſite, for the poerty of the people, who are yet afflicted for the wars and calamities paſt, which haue ſo long continued, and is the onely cauſe which hath ſtayed your payments, to the great griefe of his Maieſty, and of all good Frenchmen, who were ſorry to ſee you vnaccommodated and could not helpe it. This excuſe my Noble Lords, is not only true, but worthy of compaſſion, if it pleaſe you to remember the true and firſt cauſe of this ſtay, and the great miſeries and wrongs which all France, and ſo many poore Innocents haue ſince ſuffered.

And although that by the happy peace which it hath pleaſed God to giue vs, there be occaſion to hope for all proſperity, and that the miſchiefe decreaſing, and commodities increaſing, as we ſee dayly, by the grace of God there will be means, to giue his Maieſties good friends and ſeruants ſatisfaction. Yet this cannot be ſo ſuddenly, but it is neceſſary to haue ſometime to reape the fruits, notwithstanding it is moſt aſſured, and the harueſt and fruition is neere, which will recompence the long expectation.

I thinke my Lords it were ſuperfluous to ſhew how profitable this alliance hath bene heretofore to the one & to the other, for that it is notorious to all the world, being made maniſeſt by effects, and hath no need of prooffe. We acknowledge freely and willingly, that the aſſiſtance and ſuccors of your ſouldiers, which at ſundry times, and in many occaſions, haue bene employed both within and without the Realme, haue bene very profitable for the ſuccouring of the Kings and Crowne of France. I aſſure my ſelfe alſo, that for your parts you will acknowledge how much the Alliance and frienſhip of France hath bene fauourable and helpfull vnto you, ſince the which you haue not bene only reſpected of Princes and Potentates, which are neereſt vnto you, but haue alſo been fought vnto by them that are fartheſt off: you haue not bene moleſted, nor ſet vpon by any, and by this means you haue increaſed in wealth, power and authority, and your Eſtate is become one of the moſt happy and moſt flouriſhing that euer was. So your wife Predeceſſors haue thought that no other alliance could be more commodious vnto you for many reaſons beſt knowne vnto your ſelues: we demand nothing one of another, there are certaine conuentiones betwixt your Nation and Ours, whereby they agree better then any other. We deſire your battaillions to fortiſie our Armies, which may bee alſo ſaid that you did neuer truſt, nor agree ſo well with any, as with our French foot and horſe.

My Lords they which ſaine imaginary rights and pretenſions to any part of your Eſtates, deſire not your good nor vnion, and if according to your wiſdomes it pleaſe you to examine ſtriſtly the Counſels and proceedings of ſome, who vnder a diſguiſed heu of ſome preſent profit, ſeeme to affect your frienſhip, you ſhall finde that their chiefe end is to ſeparate you one from another, to weaken and diuide the force and bodies of your Leagues, and by that means to open & make the way eaſie to execute their old deſignes, which they haue long proteſted, being needfull to vſe great foreſight to preuent them, and not to ſuffer your ſelues to be abuſed with their policies.

You muſt thinke my Noble Lords, that you haue none ſo dangerous enemies, as thoſe which ſecke to ſow diuiſion among you in your Counſels, for it is directly contrary to your greatneſſe and quiet. The Kings of France, pretend not any thing of you but your frienſhip, they deſire your vnion and proſperity, for the loue and affection which they beare

1601

A beare you, but to the end that no man may be in doubt, I ſay, they ought to deſire for their owne intereſt, that you ſhould bee alwaies vnitd and fortified, to the end that your aſſiſtance may be vnto them a ſpeedy, powerfull, and aſſured ſuccour, they which may not fail them when ſoeuer they ſhall haue need. The Kings of France and their miniſters haue alwaies employed themſelues to perſwade and maintaine a peace and vnion betwixt you. And it may bee truly ſaid, That the alliance of France is the moſt proper and firme bond of your coniunction and frienſhip, to maintaine you powerfull and happy together by this common intelligence, the which cannot be when you ſhall be diuided. King *Lewis* the eleuenth employed himſelfe to compound the controuerſies which were betwixt your famous Predeceſſors, and the Houſe of Auſtria; and by his authority and mediation, the Treaty was concluded of the hereditary League, with the Archduke *Sigifmond* in the yeare 1474, the which hath bene ſince confirmed by his ſucceſſors, and continued vnto this day.

In the yeare of our Lord 1531, the ſix Cantons hauing ſome diſſention with them of Zurich, were forced to contract with *Ferdinand* the King of Romans, and ſince Emperor, brother to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth. The fruits of this new frienſhip were the cauſe of a ciuill war betwixt the ſaid Cantons. This war was pacified by the care and diligence of King *Francis*, who made both the one and the other capable of that which was neceſſary for their owne good and preſeruation. A peace was concluded, but it was expreſly agreed, that the letters and ſeales of this new alliance ſhould be reſtored, as if it had bene held the chiefe cauſe of this trouble. In the yeare of our Lord 1582, the deſealed King *Henry* ſhewed no leſſe affection and care to prevent the beginning of a war, which was apprehended betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and my Maſters of Berne, aſſiſted by ſome other Cantons; there are many yet liuing which can witneſſe the good endeauours of *Monſieur de Mandelot*, and *Hauſfort*, to ſmother this trouble in the breeding, as in all other occaſions the Kings of France and their miniſters haue giuen prooffe of their affections to the good and quiet of the Cantons.

My Lords, with the alliance of France you may aſſure your good and proſperity without any feare, and free your ſelues from many dangers and inconueniences which do indubitably follow the multiplicity of alliances. And if the alliance of France hath euer deſerued to be eſteemed, if it hath heretofore bene deſired; in my opinion it ſhall bee with more reaſon now, when as we are nearer neighbours, hauing means to ſuccour one another, without demanding paſſage from any Prince, the Realme of France being in full peace, reſtored to her beauty, and her limits extended by the force, clemency, wiſdome, and conduct of that great King, who hath juſtly merited the title of greatneſſe, for the glory and greatneſſe of his vertues, and of his high exploits, for in him may be ſeene the perfect Image of a good King, and a great Captaine, which is the greateſt commendation which the ancient Sages haue thought might be giuen vnto a mortall man. His Maieſty hath ſhewed his valour and force of armes during the war: hee hath alſo made his bounty and wiſdome ſhine in time of peace. All diuiſions are ceaſed in his Realme, and every man liues in peace vnder his authority, as well by his power, as through the loue and affection of his ſubiects, who reuerence and feare him as a great King, and loue and obſerue him as a good father. And doubtleſſe his Maieſty hath no other care but to make his Subiects moſt happy vnder his obedience, reſtoring the manuring of the Land, the traffike, Merchandize, order and policy in all the parts of his Eſtate; and it is to be hoped that his raigne will abound in all felicity for his Subiects, Friends, and good Neighbours.

This great King, my noble Lords, deſires your frienſhip and alliance, ſuch as you haue had with the Kings of France his Predeceſſors. It is not to hurt any one, but to doe good to all. It is not to trouble the publike peace, but rather to maintaine it, his Maieſty hauing giuen good prooffes of the ſincerity of his intentions, for the generall quiet of Chriſtendome, by his facility in the treaty of peace made at Veruins with the King of Spaine, and ſince confirmed at the City of Paris and Lions with the Duke of Sauoy, whereof I can giue teſtimony hauing had the honour to ſerue in all that hath bene negotiated in the ſaid Treaties of Veruins and Lions. His Maieſty offers you his loue and affection, which is to be eſteemed in a good and iuſt Prince, whoſe faith hath neuer failed to his friends, enemies, nor to his owne ſubiects. he promiſeth you all affection that can

Multiplicity of alliances vnprofitable.

Image of a good King, and of a good Captaine.

with

" with reason be desired, as well for your payments, as for all other conditions which should  
 " be required, and hath giuen power to my Lord Ambassador and me, to aduise with you  
 " of the best meanes that may be, to renew the alliance with you, and to make it so firme  
 " and durable as it may neuer be changed nor altered.

" His Maiesty doth also assure himselfe of your wildomes and equity, that you would not  
 " require any thing that were not reasonable and in his power, and that you would consider  
 " and adde thereunto what shall be required of your part, to assure the effect of a good  
 " alliance, that hereafter they might not fall into former inconueniences, by means where-  
 " of his Maiesty finds himselfe charged with great and excessiue debts, the which had not  
 " beene if alliances had beene kept: I speake it without offence to any but onely by the  
 " necessity of duty, which binds mee to represent the truth of the fact for two reasons:  
 " the one, that it may be provided for; the other, to the end that considering the greatnesse  
 " and quality of the debts, you may know we deferue to be a little borne withall in the  
 " payment thereof.

" I hope in his diuine bounty, that as it hath pleased him to manifest by so many mira-  
 " cles, that he hath taken into his protection the affaires of this good King, this realme,  
 " and this mighty Common-weale, that he will also be pleased to inspire your hearts with  
 " his wisdom, to take a good and holy resolution, which may be first to his glory, for the  
 " health of both the Estates, and of all good men, and finally for the encrease of the ho-  
 " nour, glory, and prosperity of your Estate, for the which the alliance of France shall be  
 " vnto you as it alwaies hath beene, very honourable and profitable.

His discourse was very pleasing vnto the hearers, who thought that the alliance of  
 France, with whom they neuer had any question, and whose friendship had not beene  
 troubled with those feelings which the iniuries of war doe fix deeply in the minds of men,  
 was more profitable and necessary then that of other Princes, which haue hereditary de-  
 signes vpon that Estate, who would call lots againe, and come to a new diuision.

These had some-times sought to make their profit of the diuersity of Religion that is  
 amongst the Cantons, in weakening the body by cutting off the members. France on the  
 contrary side had alwaies exhorted them to liue in peace, and not vnder-mine the founda-  
 tion of their Estate, the which consists of concord and vnion. So Princes should al-  
 waies desire that their Allies might liue in Vnion and Peace. This proposition of renew-  
 ing the League with the King, was very acceptable vnto them all, but it troubled the small  
 Catholike Cantons, who had made new Leagues with their neighbours, and desired that  
 they would propound some meanes vnto them, that in contenting the King they might  
 with honour keepe their latter promises. The Ambassadors answered, that they must take  
 those resolutions of themselves, whereby they might willingly contribute that which de-  
 pended of them. It is no reason sayd the Ambassadors, that you should be directed and  
 set into the right way by vs, seeing you left it without vs and against vs. The Cantons  
 sayd, that the friendship which they had sworn to France, was grounded vpon condi-  
 tions, the which saying, the duty of their alliance must also faile.

Friendship grounded vpon profit is neuer durable, that of the Suiffes cannot be other-  
 wise vnited, they loue the Darigues more then *Darius* himselfe, and glory to see the  
 greatest Princes of Europe to purchase their friendship. Some aduised the King to leaue  
 the petty Cantons, and to take them as his enemies, seeing they had broken the League.  
 But he thought he should wound the reputation and dignity of his Crown, if he should  
 lose the friends which his Predecessors had gotten. And therefore his Ambassadors (al-  
 though they seemed not to care for it) omitted nothing that might serue to reduce them  
 into the right way, from the which the opinion of profit, more then the force of his  
 friendship, had drawne them: thinking it reasonable to loue friends with their humors,  
 not for the respect of the continuance of friendship, nor of their constancy, but for the ho-  
 nour of this Crowne. They would not bind the Kings word to any other thing then the  
 payment of a million of gold, in discharge of their debt or pension. There must be a  
 nother day to deliuer that which should be resolu'd by euery Canton, vpon the Kings  
 offers and propositions. The petty Cantons appointed a Diet at Lucerna, to resolu'e  
 of the difficulties they were in betwixt the alliances with France and Spaine, seeing they  
 might not hold the one, but they must abandon the other. Their resolution was, to ac-  
 cept the renewing of the league, and to esteeme old friends for the best. Yet they

A million of  
gold granted to  
the Suiffes.

A did not publish it so soone, that it might be the better accepted: many daies were spent  
 in generall assemblies at Bale and Soleurre, to reduce it to an immutable point. *Monsieur  
de Vic* went vnto the Grifons, and procured an assembly to be called at Coire of the three  
 Cantons and their commons in their Episcopall city: there were as many difficulties as  
 the country is rough, the Spanish practices had so much withdrawne their affections  
 from France, they could not dissemble the grieffe they conceived for the confirmation  
 of this League. The Count of Fuentes would not suffer any provision to goe out of the  
 Duchy of Milan, that the dearth and discommodity of victuals, might make the Grifons  
 know that the friendship of Spaine was more profitable vnto them then that of France,  
 and that they should not so much desire the number, as the profit of friends.

*De Vic* propounded the Kings intention to threecore and seuen Ambassadors depu-  
 tied by the three Cantons of the Grifons, and to as many other chosen out of the coun-  
 try. They hold a great liberty of opinions in their assemblies, euery man speaks what he  
 thinks. Heere they which made least shew, spake loudest, in the end they resolu'd to ac-  
 cept of the renewing of the League, adding thereunto such preiudicial conditions, as  
 two of them were sufficient to make the League fruitlesse for the King. *De Vic* sayd vnto  
 them, that they must not thinke that the King would endure any addition or deminution  
 in the ancient Treaty, answering the sayd Articles by writing, to the end that the com-  
 mons which were to determine thereon, might iudge that their reasons were not stronger  
 then those which he had propounded vnto them, and their commodities and suerties  
 greater with the Kings alliance, then with all others. Whilst that *De Vic* was with the  
 Grifons, *Sillery* labored to dispose the 13 Cantons to the Kings will. But there was still  
 more to resolu'e then had beene resolu'd on. The Suiffes although they haue not the  
 quicknesse of spirit as other nations, yet are they not lesse aduised in the conduct of their  
 affaires. So as when the Kings Ambassadors thought that in the last Diet held at Soleurre,  
 there would be but one sitting, for that all difficulties had beene very exactly confide-  
 red, they must yet haue patience for twelue dayes, with more crosses and difficulties  
 then were euer treated of in Suisseerland, for the like affaires; for both the Kings friends  
 and enemies, had conspired not to consent to the conclusion of the Treaty, without

assurance to be paid vnto them euery yeere, besides the million of gold that  
 was granted. The stay of the bringing of the Kings mony did also greatly distast them  
 that should haue the best share in the distribution. The more certaine the hope is, the  
 more troublesome is the stay. This failing was insupportable vnto them, and thrust them  
 into bad resolutions against the aduancement of the Kings affaires. So as the Ambassadors  
 did thinke for a time they should get much, to breake with some, and to differ with others,  
 rather then to tie the King vnto such forced conditions. But after much toile of body and  
 mind, the Treaty was concluded with the good liking of the superiors. There remained  
 nothing but to haue the Duke of Biron come, to authorize by his presence, what had  
 beene concluded by the Kings Ambassadors: he came in the end of January, well accom-  
 panied, and as well received by the Lords of that Common-weale, and by the Colonels

and Captaines, to whom it seemed that they were in France, seeing him alwaies  
 that had commanded over them in the Kings Army. The Duke spake vnto them in the ge-  
 nerall assembly at Soleurre in this sort: " Noble Lords, the King my Master (making the  
 same esteeme which his Predecessors haue done, of your generosity, desiring the con-  
 tinuance of true friendship and faithfull alliance, which hath been of long time betwixt  
 his Crown and your Commonalties) hath commanded me to come into your Country,  
 for the happy ending of the Treaty, which the Seigneurs of Sillery, and *de Vic*, haue  
 managed for the renewing of the League. His Maiesty hath also commanded me to as-  
 sure you of the account he makes of your faith, and that hee will fully obserue the pro-  
 mises that shall be made vnto you. He doth also assure himselfe, that for your parts, you  
 will bring all willingness and freedome, now that his Realme is the most flourishing, ei-  
 uing more cause of enuy then of pity. He desires more earnestly to renew the ancient al-  
 liances that haue beene betwixt the Kings and Crowne of France, and your Common-  
 weale, thinking that the good which shall rise thereby shall be profitable vnto you, and  
 the best and most assured meanes to make you liue powerfully, and happily. I will con-  
 ceale how highly I esteeme the honour which the King my Master hath done me, in ma-  
 king choice of me with these Gentlemen, to serue for so good and holy a worke, and also

Assembly of  
the Grifons  
at Coire.

Vnto  
unreasonable  
conditions.

Difficulties  
in the Treaty.

The Duke of  
Biron I am to  
the Cantons  
to confirme  
the Treaty.

The Dukes  
speech to  
the Suiffes.

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to see my selfe with a Nation, which hath beene often (both in peace and war) cherished and esteemed by my deceased Lord and father, the Marshall of Eiron, and of my self: For proove of my affection, I offer you all that is in my power, being desirous to assist you with all favour, and to serve you in that which a Knight of honour ought and may.

The Kings alliance was accepted by the Suisses, publike thanks were given to God, and the Duke with the Ambassadors solemnly feasted. The alliance which before had beene contracted but for the Kings life onely, was concluded for the Dauphins also, after that of the Kings, and as many years after as were granted to the deceased King. The King received great content to see this Treaty so happily concluded, to the honour of his Crowne, contrary to the intent and practices of those that sought to hinder it.

The King of Spaine had leaved a great army in Italy; men spake diversly of his designs, some added, that *D'Albigny* was gone to Milan to the Count *Fuertes*; that the Marquis of Aix was in Spaine; that the Duke was ready to subiect himselfe wholly to the will of the Councell of Spaine, to whom he deliuered his two sonnes, having made them Knights of his order, to prepare them to the voyage, and had sent *De Fourny* (an extraordinary Ambassador to Rome) to beseech the Pope to send them his blessing. But the King knew well, that vnder these shewes and pretences, there were other negotiations to trouble his Estate, whereof he made no shew: yet such as did see him when hee was most free and priuate, discovered that his head was troubled, and that the toyle & weariness of his minde, was much more then that of his body. One day coming from hunting, being very penfue before the fire, with his hat on his eyes, he drew his sword, speaking some words vnto himselfe, then he turned towards the Vidam of Chartres, who was there present, asking him when *La Fin* his Vncle would come, and that he longed to see him. At the same time there were great reparations made at the Bastille, rather to keepe that fast that was to be within it, then to resist without.

There are crimes whereof they make no shew vntill they be committed, but in cases of Treason they must thunder and lighten both together, and it is better to auoid the blow being far off, then to attend it, and not regard it, there being nothing so troublesome as to liue in continuall feare of conspiracies, the which the more they are diffembled, the more they are fortified. This winter the Queene made a rich and sumptuous maske, calling fiftene Princesses and Ladies of the Court vnto her, which represented sixteene Vertues, whereof the Queene made the first. The Duke of Vendosme being attired like *Cupid*, marched before the Queene: but within few daies after he changed that habit into mourning, for the death of the Duke of Mercure his Father-in-law, who died of a pestilent feuer, on Twelfth day, in the City of Nuremberg, coming into France to prepare a greater expedition against the Turkes.

The King was much grieved for his death: his funerals were made in Lorraine, and at our Ladies Church in Paris; the whole Court of Parliament did assist, and *Francis de Sala* (elect Bishop of Geneva) made the Funeral Sermon. During the publike sports in Court, the Kings Councell laboured to end the suit betwixt the Commons (or third Estate) and the two first Orders of Dauphine.

The Commons complaining, that all the charges and publike oppressions were laid vpon them, without any helpe from the other Estates of the Prouince, although they made not the sixth part, being reasonable, that all the charges being common, they should be supported equally by all the Prouince, which (by her first condition) was declared free from all such charges, and with this freedome was given to the first Sonne of France. Every Order pleaded for his owne liberties.

This suite continued six yeares, during the which the parties made ample productions, the which were deliuered into the hands of *Andrew Harault*, Seigneur of Maasles, one of the Kings priuy Councell, who before he made his report vnto the King and Councell, caused the whole Proceffe to be seene by the President of Commartin, and to *Merle* and *Villegaignon*, Masters of Requests of the Kings household, and heard the Deputies of the parties touching difficulties which did arise. The King would haue the Proceffe seene in his Councell, and that the sentence should be solemnly giuen in his presence, and with the aduice of the first Officers of the Crown, & chiefe of his Councell, whom he did particularly name. Many daies being spent in the report, & much pleading by the deputies of either part, the King ordained by decree a general order for the subsidies of Dauphiné.

The

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The third Estate was nipe well pleased with this Decree, but in the end they were forced to remember, that in all Countries gouerned by an absolute Monarch, they might not censure into comparison with the other Orders.

The King having passed the Feast of Easter at Fontainebleau, prepared to goe to Blois, to Tours, and to Poitiers, and farther, if the good of his preference so required. Many beleued that his intent was to goe another way, which agreed well with their humors who heaued nothing but war. The great leauies which were made in Italy, the warlike humour of the Count of Fuentes, the great stirring of the Duke of Savoy, who could not liue in peace: the discontent of the Spaniards for the preiudicial conditions of the Treaty of Veruins, and many other considerations, gaue some shew of the common opinion of was.

The King had also some intelligence, that the Sea Army, prepared in the realme of Naples, had an enterprife vpon Prouence, although the Spaniards gaue it out, that it was for Algier; but the cleere sighted knew well that without some treason among the French, the Spaniards affaires were not in so good estate as to attempt any thing against France. The King was aduertised that the Duke of Biron was strait from his duty, and assured moreover, that this disposition of his did not grow in an instant; and that he had not entered into these bad resolutions suddenly, if he had not had conference with strangers. He could not beleue that a spirit so vigilant, so active and so valiant, could suffer himselfe to be transported with such violent furies: and it seemed a dreame vnto him, that

a man which had gotten so much honour, to whom his father had left so much, and who had received daily what he would from the King, should resolute to that which was contrary to his honour, and greatnesse of his courage. This good opinion made the King not beleue the aduice giuen him of his bad intentions, making no shew thereof, but would giue him the gouernment of Guienne, & 200000 crownes recompence, with the Castles of Trampet and Blay, to draw him from the frontier, which was more commodious for conference with them, who were resolute to draw him from France, or to ruine him.

They had fought him after the taking of Laas, when as they discovered, that hee was come to Paris in choller, for that the King had refused him something, wherewith he gratified the Duchesse of Beaufort: then they offered him two hundred thousand crownes yearly entertainment, and to be Generall of all the King of Spaines forces in France. As they had found him an *Achilles* in battell, so they found him an *Ulysses* to their words, stopping his eares at their enchantments, saying; That choller should neuer draw him from his duty: that although his nature were fiery and boyling in the feeling and apprehension of a wrong, yet his heart would neuer suffer this fire to consume the faith and loyalty which he ought vnto his Prince. He retained nothing of the offer which they made him, but onely the remembrance of the reparation and esteeme which they made of his valour; and euen then he suffered himselfe to be caried away with those motions, which often transport the minde to insolvency, and contempt of all things, when they see themselves assured of ease, how soeuer the chance fall, and that they shall neuer bee vnder the seruitude of necessity. He was sometimes heard say, That he would not die before he had seene his head set vpon a quarter of a Crowne: that he would rather goe to a Scaffold to lose his head, then to an Hospitall to beg his bread: that he would dye young, or haue meanes to doe his friends good. *Either Caesar, or nothing.* Either a free life, or a glorious death: but he had neither of them. His designs made him vter words of a Soueraigne, or so absolute, as the wise did impute it to extreme arrogance, the which hath alwaies ruined and confounded them that entertaine it. It is a great happinesse for an Estate to haue great Captains, but nothing is so hard to entertaine, for when they thinke they haue bound their Country vnto them, although all they doe be lesse then their duties, they are easily discontented, and like *Pananius* and *Themistocles*, seeke new alliances and friend-

ship from enemies, if they be not rewarded to their own wils, and to the height of their ambition. The Duke of Biron had done great seruice to the King and Realme, so were his recompences so great, as no Nobleman of his quality in France but might enuy him: For being not yet forty yeares old, he had enjoyed the chieft dignities of the Realme. At foueteene yeares he was Colonell of the Suisses in Flanders. Soone after Marshall of the Campe, and then Marshall Generall. He was receiued Admirall of France in the *Paillade* at Tours, and Marshall of France in that of Paris. Hee acknowledged none but the King at the siege of Amiens, and was his Maiesties Lieutenant Generall, although

there

The continuance of the League.

The King discovered touching the Marshall of Biron.

The Queenes Maske.

The death of Philip Emanuel of Lozaine D. of Mercure.

A complaint of the third Estate of Dauphiné.

The King decrees touching the impossibilities of Dauphiné.

The Duke of Biron's conspiracy discovered.

The D. of Biron refused the gouernment of Guienne.

He refused entertainment from the Spaniard.

He said he would die a Soueraigne.

He was honoured with the first charges of the Realme.



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He desires continuance of the war.

He held himselfe incapable.

He discourses his discontent to La Fin.

there were Princes of the blood. To encrease his greatness, he was declared a Peer of France, and his Barony erected into a Duchy. And yet not content with all this, he said, He would not die, but he would strive higher. That he will goe no more to recover the Townes of Picardy, vntill the King set vp his Image in brasle before the Towre, vntill still in his brauery some very dangerous speeches, and with such affection, as hee was not pleased with them that did not applaud them. When he saw after the siege of Amiens, that Britany was reduced and the war ended, he thought, that having no more vtil of his valor, he should haue no more credit: that hee should haue no more meanes to play the petty King, and to doe all that without feare which he did without iustice. Hee complained of the King, and of the vnequall recompence of his merits and seruises: hee proclaimed his discontents, adding threats to his complaints, speaking of the King with so small respect, as his most passionate seruants held his speeches to be insolent and dangerous. It was the defect of his nature, but fortune added something vnto it, for finding himselfe to abound with all the prosperities that a well ordered desire could wish for in his condition, he found that men lose themselves, being too much at their owne ease. The opinion of himselfe raised his thoughts so high, as hee valued himselfe at an insupportable price, thinking that his heart was not of the common temper of others; that there was no man living might equall him, and that none that were dead had attained to his merits. And although that in all his life he had shewed small zeale to religion; yet now when he prepared his heart to the motions of ambition, he would seeme very religious; protesting that he would be an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestants. *La Noche, Seigneur of La Fin*, was (by reason of the troubles of Prouence, and the quarrell of *Des Digneurs*) retired to his house, being threatened by the King, in quarrell with some great personages of the realme, and surcharged with debts and suits in law. The discontented does still meet by appointment or by chance. The Duke of Biron (who knew that hee had bene employed in the Duke of Alancous affaires, that since he had negotiated with the ministers of the King of Spaine and the Duke of Sauoy, during the siege of Amiens, and that he had a heart full of discontent) imagined that he sought a Master. They talke together, and mixed their griefes and passions in one complaint, they propound to seek together without the realme, which they could not find within it, and to enter in practice with the Duke of Sauoy: they resolute to aduertise him of an intelligence which *Des Digneurs* had vpon the Fort of Barraut, the which he executed happily. Now after so many examples of inevitable dangers, the Duke of Biron abandons himselfe to a voyage full of dangerous rocks, and fearfull straights, vnder the conduct of a man who was yett with shipwracke which he had suffered.

Hee went into Flanders for the execution of the Treaty of Verains, where *Picote* of Orleanse had conference with him, and inspired his heart with desire to raise his fortune with those who both knew and admired his merits. The Duke of Biron heard him, and made no shew to vnderstand him, and yet he left him in an opinion, that if hee came into France, he would be well pleased that he should speake more plainly vnto him of that subject. The Spaniards did beleue that he yielded, seeing he gaue care, and assured themselves, either to win him, or to vndoe him. The King was aduertised by one which was then employed in the Archdukes Court, of this practice, but he sent him word, that the Marshall *Biron* was of too high a spirit to yeeld to so great a treachery. Being returned out of Flanders, the King would haue married him; but he made shew that his affections were otherwise settled. And although he gaue it out that he sought the Daughter of *Madame de Luce*, yet he treated to haue the other daughter of the Duke of Sauoy, whereof *Cheualier Breton* had spoken vnto him.

*La Fin* had a promise from the Duke of Biron to do all he could to content his hopes. *Picote* had made a voyage into Spaine to receive directions. *Fuyet* (a religious man of the order of *Cisteraux*) went into Sauoy, and so to Milan, to receive order how to teare this plaint from France: but the Duke of Sauoy being at Paris, pulled vp the Flower-de-Luce which was planted in his heart, and disposed him so to trouble the King within the Realme, as he should leaue him the Marquissate of Saluces in peace. Vpon this assurance the Duke of Sauoy had no meaning to effect the Treaty of Peace: war was proclaimed; the Duke of Biron takes the chiefe places of Bresse: being at *Pierre Chastell* in the beginning of September, *La Fin* comes vnto him, who by his order had made two

voyages

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Hee contemned the Kings aduice.

He is discontented for the refusal of the Citadell of Bourg.

He treats with the Duke of Sauoy and the Count of Fuentes.

He offers his daughter in marriage.

A voyages to Saint Claude, where *Rencas* met him. The King had aduice thereof, but hee thought it better to dissemble these practices, then to surprize the best of his seruants in his acts of infidelity. He was content to draw him into Sauoy, and to tell him that he must abandon *La Fin*, and not giue care to his bad persuasions. The King shewed him his error, to guide him in the right way, but as they which are posselt with this violent passion of desire to be matters, are no more capable of government nor counsell, hee conceived that what the King spake for loue, proceeded from feare, continuing still his practices with *La Fin*, and neuer going to see the King, but with a great troupe. He made him beleue being at Annessy, that he desired to discover some passage, and demanded guides of the Country to tharend, but it was onely to let *Rencas* passe to the Duke of Sauoy, to discover vnto him the estate of the Kings army, and to make *D'Albigny* retire with his troopes, the which without this aduice had bene cut in pieces.

It was at the same time when as the Duke of Biron intreated the King to giue the government of the Citadell of Bourg to him that he should name. It is the nature of great men which serue Princes, to thinke they merit all, and to be more dangerous then enemies if they refused what they demand. The King answered him, That hee would commit that place vnto *de Buisser*. This denyall did so transport the Duke of Biron, and thrust him into such strange and deuillish resolutions, as one morning being in his bed at Chaumont, hee made an enterprise vpon the Kings person, whereof mention is made in the deposition of *La Fin* and *Rencas*, but it was not executed. He himselfe had horror of so execrable a thought.

*La Fin* went also from the army to conclude the bargain with the Duke of Sauoy and the Count of Fuentes. He treated first with the Duke, and the Ambassador of Spaine at Iurec, and then at Thurlin with *Rencas*. He went to Milan to the Count of Fuentes, whither *Picote* also came, bringing an answer from the Councell of Spaine, to the Duke of Biron's propositions, and order to conferre with *La Fin*, and to perswade him to make a voyage into Spaine. He said openly, that the King of Spaine desired to haue the Duke of Biron at what price and perill soeuer. The Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes appointed a day to meet at Some with the Ambassador of Spaine, *La Fin* and *Picote*. There their minds were knowne, and all difficulties freed of either side. *La Fin* who had pierced into the secret of his counsels, sayd, That the mariage of the Duke of Sauoyes third daughter, was the Cymment to ioyne together and vntie all this treaty, with promise of five hundred thousand Crownes, and the transport of all the rights of the Souerainity of Bourgongne. A more fetled iudgement, and greater constancy then that of the Duke of Biron, might haue bene troubled with such plausible and goodly offers: hee could not be seduced but by that *Demon* of Ambition, nor stumble but by that blindness.

The Duke of Sauoy gaue him more hope then assurance of this mariage, and it was not credible that he would accept of a meane Gentleman for his Sonne in law, who was not E of so great a House, but there were many better then his in France. Princes promise all, and hold nothing but what doth not preiudice their greatness. Whilest that *La Fin* treated of the Duke of Biron's capitulation in Italy, the treaty of peace at Lyons was concluded. The ignorant sayd, that the King had done ill in not proceeding, and that he should keepe that great rampier of the Alpes, for the frontier of Gaule. There were discourses of men which did not consider, how dangerous it is to goe farre from the frontier, and to leaue behind his backe a strong conspiracy: without this peace the King had bene forced to passe the Alpes, the which had bin a favorable occasion for this treason. He was aduertised of the bad seruises the Duke of Biron did him: and that the enterprises which he had vpon the Citadell of Thurin, and the best places of Piedmont, were discovered by their treachery, to whom he had trusted his Crowne and Scepter. A Prince that hath trayned in his army, neuer fighteth happily. *Charles* repented his trust reposed in *Guelon*, and *Charles* Duke of Bourgongne in *Campobasso*.

The Duke of Biron had alwayes dissuaded this peace. For that is alwayes the nature of Souldiers to desire worke at whole cost: wholeouer, and not to haue rest, but to troubles which they breed or entertaine. But finding that this peace must send him home to his government, & that the King had some notice of his practices with *La Fin*, hee came to be very penitent, & asked pardon of the King, walking in the Cloister of the Franciscan Friars

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at Lyons, beseeching him (with a countenance full of contrition and humility) to forget A his bad intentions, the which rage and despit for the Citadell of Bourg had possessed his heart with. The King pardoned him, saying; *That he was well pleased that he had relied upon his clemency, and the love which he bare him, whereof hee would alwayes give him so good proofes, as he should have no cause to doubt, nor to attempt any thing against the assurance he had of his loyalty.* Going from thence, he met with the Duke of Espernon, saying, That (as to his best friend) he would impart vnto him the best adventure that euer hapned vnto him, hauing discharged his conscience from the terrors and horrors that did afflicke him: and that the King had pardoned him what was past, and had promised him all fauour hereafter. The Duke of Espernon answered, That he was glad, but he must craue an abolishment B for offences of that quality are not so easily remitted. How should I (said hee) assure my selfe better then in the Kings word? If the Duke of Biron must sue for an abolishment, what must others doe? The Duke of Espernon had reason to aduise him to take an abolishment, and the other was in no error in trusting to the Kings word, who had forgotten his fault, if he had done nothing since to renew the remembrance. But here they obserued an act which had all the signes of an implacable hatred. The Duke of Biron being sent for by the King, to come and receiue his commandements, and the testimony of his clemencie, parts from Bourg, and comes to lye at Vimy. There hee made a dispatch to *La Fin*, who was at Milan. He goes to Lyons, and is receiued of the King, as the father doth his lost child, whom he hath found againe. He stayed some dayes at Lyons, and hauing accompanied the Queene at her departure, he returned to Vimy, where hee made another dispatch to *La Fin* by one *Farges*. As soone as he comes to Bourg, hee sends away *Bisces* (cousin to *Rencaz*) to aduance the businesse.

Crimes of treason are not pardoned without an abolishment.

He continues the offence pardoned.

*Rencaz* stayed prisoner by the Duke of Sauoyes command.

Instructions given by the Duke of Biron to *La Fin*.

This negotiation was continued at Some, betwixt the Duke of Sauoy, the Count of Fuentes, and *La Fin*. The Count of Fuentes led *La Fin* to Milan, desiring to be satisfied of some points, but finding his answers not constant, hee thought it not fit to trust the secret vnto him, but to dispatch him; who finding that he was vnpleasing vnto them in this negotiation, stayed not long there. Hereupon he sent him back, and requested him to passe by the Duke. But he did well in taking his way by the Grisons, to recouer Basil, Paurcristin, and Besangon, for *Rencaz* his Secretary, who passed into Sauoy, was stayed prisoner. D The worke changed nothing but the instrument. *Alphonso, Casal*, and *Rencaz*, continued it with the Baron of Lux. In the meane time the Duke of Biron slept not, hauing sent a man into Spaine, although he were neere vnto the King, who for that he would not lose him, kept him about him, he caried him to the frontier, and sent him into England, where he heard of the death of the Earle of Essex. A fresh example of iustice against those that seeke to be feared of their Masters, and abuse their loue. At his returne he made a voyage into Gascony, where he was honoured of the Nobility as a Prince; and being returned to Dijon, he went into Suifferland, to conclude the renewing of the Kings alliance, where he continued his practices with the Count of Fuentes, to whom he sent his Secretary, vnder colour to condukt his Pages to *Nova Palma*, a Fort of the Venetians. Being returned out E of Suifferland, he went not to give an account of his charge, excusing himselfe vpon the holding of Estates of the Prouince. The King who had some inkling of these broyles (by *Cambellers*) desired greatly to speake with *La Fin*, to be informed of the truth. *La Fin* who had his heart big with despit, that the Baron of Lux would haue all the fruit of this negotiation: and that *Rencaz* was detained prisoner in Sauoy, sent *Cerezas* to the Duke of Biron, to tell him that he could no longer be his seruant, if he did not deliuer him *Rencaz*, aduertising him also that he could no longer deferre his going vnto the King, and that he desired to know what he would haue him say, touching things past. Hee made small account of one of his propositions, and spake of *Rencaz* as if hee were no more among the liuing. Touching the other, he sayd to *Cerezas*, that hee was of opinion hee should goe to F Court with small traine, and that hee should prepare himselfe at the first, to receiue words of choller and contempt from the King, the which hee should easily calme, in beseeching him to beleuee that the voyage which he had made into Italy, was onely for deuotion to our Lady of Loreto, and that passing by Milan and Thurin, they had charged him to propound the marriage of the Duke of Sauoyes third Daughter vnto him, which he would not hearken vnto, seeing his Maiestie would take the care to marrie him. He entreated and aduised *Cerezas*, to aduise *La Fin*, to dismisse all those that had made the voyages

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A voyages with him, especially a Curate, and to lay his papers in some place of safety, if he would not burne them, and to consider in the end, that he had in his hands, his life, his fortune, and his honour. *La Fin* came to the Court at Fontainebleau in the end of Lent, hee spake first with the King, and with *Villeroy* alone, he had conference with the Chancelor in the night, with *Rhuspi* in the Forrest, and with *Sillery* at the pressing place, being newly come out of Suifferland. All had horror to see the writings, and to heare the designs which they vnderstood. We must not beleue lightly: for slander is subtil, and doth seek to supplant the most innocent actions. But when the preferuacion of the State is in question, the most doubtful things are not to be reiected nor contemned. The King could hardly beleue so great a wickednesse: the facility of his bounty made him hard of belief. *La Fin* made him to see such apparant and certaine proofes of this conspiracy, as hee was forced to beleue more then he desired. He declared all that had past in his voyages to the Duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuentes, for the Duke of Biron, saying; That hee desired that the returne of the warre might haue troubled his Maiesty, and profited them that were the cause of it. But seeing that his sacred and inuolable person was not excepted; and that they made cruell designs against him, he had such horror, as he was resolu'd to giue him intelligence thereof, choosing rather to faile in his promise to the seruant, then in his duty to the Master.

*La Fin* comes to Court.

The King full of clemency and bounty, was wonderfully grieved to see so vnnatural a conspiracy: yet he said; that if the conspirators did their duties, and gaue him the means they might to prevent the bad designs of his enemies, hee would pardon them. If they weep (sayd he) I will weep with them. If they remember what they owe me, I will not forget what is due to them. They shall find me as full of clemency as they are void of good affections. I would not haue the Marshall of Biron the first example of the severity of my iustice, & that he should be the cause that my reigne (which hitherto hath been like vnto a calme & clear skie) should be suddenly ouercast with clouds of thunder & lightning. And from that time his resolution was, that if the Marshall of Biron confessed the truth, hee would pardon him. His Councell were of that opinion, so as he would employ himselfe effectually, to doe as much good for the seruice of his Estate against his enemies, as he had practised ill among them. Of many papers which *La Fin* presented vnto the King, they made choise of seuen and twenty peeces, which were not those which concluded most against the Duke of Biron, but which made mention onely of him, the King being vnwilling to haue the rest discouered, to the end that the punishment of one, might serue for an example to all. The Chancelor kept these papers with such care, as he caused them to be sowed vnto his doublet, being loath to trust any one with them, or shew them till need required. The Baron of Lux was at Fontainebleau when as *La Fin* arriued; the King sayd vnto him that hee was very well satisfied, that *La Fin* had spoken so honourably and so wisely of the Duke of Biron, that he knew well his intentions were not conuerted to any bad designs, as they sayd. Hee returned to Dijon well content, thinking that all things E were found.

The King expresses repentance onely of the Duke.

*La Fin* writes to the Duke of Biron, that hee had satisfied the King of his actions, and hath said nothing but what hee thought might serue to banish all bad impressions. The King managed the businesse so wisely, as the euent was happy, making few to feare no enemies but abroad. He grew iousal of the arming of so many galleies at Genoa for the King of Spaine, vnder colour of the Prince of Piedmonts passage, lest they should haue some enterprize vpon Prouence. He therefore commanded the Dukes of Guise and Ventadour, to be carefull of their charges. Hee wrote to the Gouverneur of Lions (whose intent was to spend some part of the Summer at Chaumont) to returne to Lyons, for that hee was aduertised from all parts, that his enemies had some designe there, whereof they F vaunted.

An army at Sen for the King of Spaine.

He commanded *Des Diguieres* to goe to horse-backe if need were; and when the Gouverneur of Lions should send for him; and he caused the Marquis of Spinola's troops to be obserued, the which were ready to passe at Pont de Grefin to go into Flanders, the which in truth were but to couer the Duke of Biron's practices.

The King parted from Fontainebleau to goe to Blois and so into Poictou. There are always in States (as in great bodies) swellings and bad humors, which are not to be cured by violent remedies, but gently & by the Princes presence. There were in Guienne & Poictou

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The Luer is  
two shillings.

diuers motions, which could not be dispersed, but by the light of the King. He resolved to go into those quarters, and to shew himselfe vnto them glorious in peace, who had neuer seene him but triumphant in warre. He past to Blois, Tours, and then to Poitiers. His presence did pacifie all mutinies which grew by reason of the imposition of a Soule vpon a Luer, and through the apprehension which was given the people, that hee would giue garisons to some Townes, and Citadels to others, and to all in generall an encrease of their miseries. But as soone as the King had said vnto them, that he came not to ruine them, but relieue them. That he would build no other fortresses but in their hearts, nor vfe any more constraints to succour the necessities of the Crowne, then their owne good wils: That he desired more to adde and encrease, then to diminish their contents: and that he would not haue the gold of his treasure to be bathed in the teares and blood of his subjects: That there was no man but did blesse the yeares of his reigne, and did wish it immortall. His presence did also disappoint many bad practices which were growing. France was so full of corrupt humours, as vpon the least motion that happened, it was ready to fall into her former frenzies.

The Spices  
a due vnto  
Iudges, vpon  
every cause  
that is iudged  
decisively in  
France.  
The said decree  
against Aduo-  
cates.

The great trouble of the Palace at Paris, by the intermission of hearing of causes, and the dismission of Aduocates (the which happened the 13 of May, a fatal moneth for the Parisiens by a greater reuolt) seemed to preiudge some new storme. The cause grew from a Decree of the Court, giuen against Aduocates, and by the Kings authority and expresse commandement, who before he parted from Paris to passe the Easter at Fontainebleau, sent for the chiefe of the Court of Parliament, and of all the other Courts, to recommend their charges vnto them. From whose owne mouth they vnderstood, how much hee desired that iustice might be administrd with lesse charge, and lesse losse of time: that there was no iustice for them that had no money; so exorbitant were the Iudges Spices, and the Aduocates Fees. The Court of Parliament desiring that according to the Kings mind, intention, and last command, the exorbitant (whereof they complained) against the Aduocates might be reduced to a meane and iust temper, assembled to redresse those disorders. The opinions being heard and numbered, against Aduocates, the first President shewing that a reformation was as necessary in Iudges as in Aduocates; in the end, a decree was made, by the which it was ordained and appointed, that every Aduocate should set downe vnder his owne hand, in the end of his writings, what he had taken for his owne fees, to the end that in case of exorbitance, it might be moderated, when as the Court should proceed to iudgement of the processe. Moreover, they should giue a certificate what they had taken for the pleading of causes, to be set down in the taxe of charges, all vpon paine of extortion. This law was not made against the good, but onely to restrain the auarice of others, who preferre the opportunity of taking, before all apprehension. All notwithstanding, did oppose themselves against the execution of this law, saying, That they would rather leave their places, then subiect themselves to the rigour of the Decree, and doe so great a wrong to the dignity and liberty of their profession.

The second de-  
cree against  
Aduocates.

The Court made another Law, whereby it was decreed, That such as would not plead, E should deliuer their names vnto the Register, after which they were forbidden to practice as Aduocates, vpon paine of fialhood. This second Decree was pronounced in open assembly in the house of the Kings Attorney generall. The next day there went out of the Chambers of Consultation, by two and two, to the number of three hundred and seuen, they past through the Palace Hall, went to the Register to giue vp their hoods, and to declare that they obeyed the second Decree, seeing they could not obey the first.

Defence of  
the Aduocates.

From that time the Palace was without pleading, the Aduocates being busied to defend themselves, yet the toyle was not great for them to maintaine a bad cause for themselves, which had defended so many for others. The cause was bad indeed, for that it did impugn the iustice of a Law made at the Estates of Blois, and that it seemed priuate men would know more then the law it selfe. They caused a Declaration to be published at Paris, in the name of a young Aduocate, but it was written by one of the learnedst of the Palace, declaring, That as of custome they should referre their reward to the discretion of the parties; the reasons were grounded vpon the fidelity, discretion, learning, and eloquence of the Aduocates of the Court of Parliament of Paris, to whom they could not reproach preiudication, or filthy contracts, so ordinary heretofore at Rome,

or

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A or that they euer had processe for their fees, although they plead infinit causes, for the which through the pouerty or misprision of parties, the Aduocates haue not any thing, and others for the which they receiue no recompence, but a yeare, yea three or foure after their employments. They shewed, that they could not iudge of the exorbitant fees of a Pleader, vnlesse they knew the time which had bene employed to peruse the writings, and to study the questions, and that sometimes bare words cost more whole nights, then a long discourse, which shall containe many Citations, will require quarters of houres. That for this respect the President *Thou* in a famous cause, after that hee had pronounced sentences, said, (as hauing charge from the Court) that all which Princes and Noblemen B gaue vnto their Aduocates, could in no sort equal the recompence which their care, diligence, and knowledge did merit. That this profession is very laborious and painfull, to the which the gate of the greatest dignities of the Realme was open, when as they knew not what it was to buy such offices. That there is nothing comparable to the apprehension of an Orator, to lose in one day the reputation which hee hath purchased in thirtie yeares, when as he speaks in the presence of 3000 persons which neuer heard him, and that an inconsiderate word or a defect of memory (wherein the greatest Oratours haue failed) should blemish all the fruits of their study. That this Profession being an Art which consumes much, it should be fauoured, to the end that such as are in that course, might be encouraged to perseuer, and others inuited which might succeed them. That C next to the Art of warre, there is nothing more generous, then to oppose themselves to the violence of great men, notwithstanding all their secret and open threats: and to make Truth, Equity, and Iustice, to shine through a million of clouds, which they would obscure by diuers Contracts: To cause the wicked to tremble, to encourage good men, and to be a Sanctuary to innocents oppressed, and by the liuely force of an eloquent discourse, capable to moue rocks, to breake the hardnesse of mens hearts banded to support iniustice and wrong; and according to occasions which should be presented, extoll vnto heauen, his Prince and Country. That it was impossible that they which had attained to the most difficult Sciences in the world, should submit themselves to the scandall of Solicitors, who would giue lesse to the Aduocate then their masters had commanded them, and to couer D their theft they would make them beleue, that they would not giue them quitrances for such a summe, although they had taken all. That the very day this order should take place, all liberties should be banished from the Bar, there being few which could resolute to liue otherwise, then vnder the Lawes which great personages haue made, hauing immortalized their names by their learning and eloquence, who could not doe any thing against their honour, no more then against their consciences, flying dishonest things, not as vnlawfull, but as shamefull and reproachfull. That posterity will neuer approue the counsell which some would giue his Maiesty, to be the first that should begin to disfaue those which had bin alwaies held & esteemed among the best & most pregnant wits of his kingdom, and who by their golden pen and immortall sounding voyce doe consecrate to eternitie the worthy actions, and glorious deeds of armes, of great Kings, and great Captains; E yet could they not moue the Court to reuoke or change the Decree, they were forced to haue recourse vnto the King, to reconcile this diuision, which happened vpon a day, which reuincd the memory of a greater trouble, he sent his Letters to the Parliament, in termes conformable to his iustice, and the wisdom of his Councill. By the which it was lawfull for Aduocates to exercise their functions, as they had done before the said Decree, enioyning them notwithstanding to obserue the ordinance made at Blois in that behalfe, in the 161 Article. The parties which had sutes did languish in expectation of this Declaration. As they complained of the corruption, so they suffered the inconueniency of the remedy.

F The Court which had made many iust and seuer Lawes against Duels and Combats, confirmed the Edict which the King made at Blois. Before his Maiesties departure from Fontainebleau, he had commanded the Constable, Chancellor, Marshals of France, and the chiefe of his Councill, to devise some means to suppress the libertie of Duels, being so iniurious and preiudiciall to his Estate. By their aduice an Edict was made, by the which they that call, or are called, or which assist, or second him that calls, or is called, are declared guilty of high treason, and to be punished according to the rigour of the Lawes. Commanding the Constable, Marshals of France, Gouvernors and Lieutenants generall of Pro-  
uinces,

An Edict against combats.

S f f f

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But it is lost labour to prescribe lawes to them who thinke their courages cannot be subiected, nor the French kept from fighting, being of such an humor as they cannot liue otherwise, but must with the losse of their liues pay their apprenticeship of fencing. Whilst the enemy watched to ouerthrow this Estate, & that to minister occasion to speake of them, they would set *Diana's* Temple on fire, and consume obedience to shew, the King neglected not the meanes to crosse their designs. The voyage which hee made into Poictou, diuerted the effects, and reclaimed them to their duties which by perswasions and dangerous impressions were gone astray. And although wee haue some feeling of the last Frenzie, and that the Feuer which hath afflicted the body, hath in it some bad humours, that the people is by nature variable and easily drawne away. Yet the pretexes which they tooke to moue them, were reiected like drugges which had taken wind, and bitter pills giue ouer with goodly hopes, to profit by the change of the present estate. In the end, the King effected this businesse happily in Poictou: he found so great an obedience in them to please him, as he remained very well satisfied. His Maiesty left so many testimonies in all places of his bounty, as all had cause to praise him, and to blame the practices which sought to trouble the peace. The Duke of Biron did not thinke the King should haue found so great obedience and loue, among his subiects of that Prouince. He had sent some of his seruants to Court, to learne how the market went, and to shew the discontent he had for the iacalous which was conceiued of his faith and dutie. The King who was well informed of his intelligences with the Count of Fuentes, resolved to see him, and to keepe him from his enemies. He sent *Desferes* vnto him, with charge to say, that hauing intelligence of the great leaues of souldiers made in Italy, he had resolved to maintaine the body of an army vpon the frontier, and to giue the charge vnto him, and to that end he had commanded *de Vic* his Ambassador in Suisse, to demand a leaue of six thousand men, and to cause them to march where he should haue directions: that therein he followed the counsell of the Constable his gossip, whose aduice he sent him in writing, and desired to haue his by mouth, consiuring him to come with speed. Hee stirres not for all that, excusing himselfe sometimes vpon the holding of the Estates: sometimes, that the enemy being so neare, it were an act vnworthy of his reputation to turne his backe and to abandon his frontier. The King sent the President *Ianin*, a man powerfull in perswasion, who coming to Dijon, gaue the Duke to vnderstand how much the King desired to see him, and how necessary this sight was; and among many discourses (applied fitly to his humour) he let him know the Kings strength, and the length of his arme. This was not able to moue him. He considered that the Duke of Biron must be perswaded to this voyage, by him that was all of his counsell, whom he assured that as hee should haue all the honour of this perswasion, so he could expect nothing but disgrace and ruine of a contrary counsell. His friends notwithstanding did consiure him not to come: one of his best friends sent him word by his brother, that his gouernment was disposed of, and that for his last hope he aduised him to retire into the Franche Conté. Another friend sent him word that he should distrust all he saw, and all that should be said vnto him to moue him to come: that the Kings letters were golden pills: that *la Fins* assurances were but deccits; and to consider that the voyage which the Vidame of Châtreaux had made to Aunton (to assure him that his Vncle had sayd nothing) was made at the Kings charge. But another friend sent him a contrary aduice to come, and that his onely presence would disperse all these bad reports. There was danger in either. The King sware he would goe fetch him; Hee should haue seene himselfe besieged with the Kings forces, and farre from the strangers which had charge to passe into Flanders. In going, the foulness of his offence could giue him no hope to returne. Hee takes that aduice which hee thinks lesse perillous; and nothing

Frutes of the Kings voyage into Poictou.

The King sends for the Duke of Biron.

The President Janin sent vnto him.

Discreet aduices giuen to the Duke of Biron.

A nothing doth so much aduance the execution, as the assurance hee takes of that which *La Fin* had written vnto him, whom hee fees returned to his house contented, and freed from all distrust. So the duke promiseth to come vnto the King about the midst of Iune, to some of his houses neere vnto Paris. It was a signe of distrust which the King dissembled, as being indifferent vnto him. The President *Ianin* goes before, and the Duke of Biron with *Desferes* follow after by easie iourneys.

Vpon the way hee had an aduice sent him to come no further, and being at Montargis he was in great suspence, but hee had so great a confidence of himselfe, and of the opinion which all the Court had of his valour, as he did not beleue there was any man so hardy as B to lay hold of him, and that if he might haue but meanes to draw his sword, he would free himselfe from his enemies. Hee flattered himselfe in his vanity, and pleased himselfe as *Pigmalion* did in his Image, and *Narcissus* in his Shadow. The counsell which they gaue him to humble himselfe vnto the King, was the last anchor of his health. He found no man that spake for his pride, but euery man would haue intreated for his humilitie: But his courage was too great to stoop. Presumption had filled his eares with so much vanity, as the voice of Truth could not enter. If hee were not resolved to take that course what need he come? He should consider that he had offended the King, that offences of Princes are fixed starres, their fauours are moueable, and are like to the Egyptian wheeles. That if the King had had no other proofe of his bad designs, but what suspicion and opinion C might giue him, it had beene alwayes dangerous to approach. If hee had knowne nothing but by dreames and diuinations, yet should hee thinke it had bene sufficient to put him to death. We must thinke (said *Nestor* to *Agamemnon*) that all that a Prince doth dreame for the conduct of his Estate is true. And if the innocence of that whereof hee was accused, had assured him of his returne, yet should hee consult with his conscience: it is better to rely in her, then in all the assurances which the offence can imagine, to free him from the punishment which followeth him, as the shadow doth the body. The conscience is the Accuser, the Witnesse, and the Iudge of the most secret crimes, the pursuits and torments whereof cannot be auoided.

These with other reasons were giuen to stay him in his iourney. But it is impossible to D auoid the prouidence of Heauen. The Duke of Biron will needs carie his head to the Kings Iustice. The discourse of Reason, or the iudgements of Truth preuaile not with a spirit transported with passions. There were many bad presages of the Dukes voyage. A Duke came into his Cabinet and no man knew how, hee commanded it should be carefully kept, but as soone as hee was parted it died. Presently after, the horse which the Archduke gaue him, called *Pasfrana*, fell mad and killed himselfe. The like hapned to a horse which he had from the great Duke. Another horse which the Duke of Lorraine gaue him, pined to death.

He came to Fountainbleau, when as they had no more hope of his coming, and the King had resolved within two or three dayes after to goe into Bourgogne. His Maiesty E walking in the great garden about six of the clocke in the morning, was heard say vnto the Lord of Souvray. *He will not come?* Hee had scarce spoken these words, but hee fees him enter with him. The King said, *hee comes fitly to conduct him to his house.* Hee aduaneeth and makes three great courtesies a good distance off. The King embraced him and said, *that hee was come in good time to conduct him to his house*: which words were diuersly vnderstood by the hearers. The first words he vsed vnto the King, were vpon the occasion of his coming, beginning to excuse his long stay. The King gaue care to few words, but tooke him by the hand, to walke and shew him the plot of his building. Passing from one garden to another, the Duke of Espernon saluting the Duke of Biron, told him in his eare, that in coming hee had giuen more credit to his owne courage, then to the counsell of his friends. In all the discourse which he had with the King, as there appeared coldnesse in the countenance of the one, so there was some signe of perturbation in the other words. The King talked vnto him of the bad course hee had taken, the which had no other issue, then ruine, repentance, and despair. The Duke of Biron answered, *that hee was not come either to iustifie himselfe, or to demand pardon, or to accuse his friends.* He let scape many other words, which his Maiesties presence and the law of duty should haue restrained. It is not sufficient to be faithful, if his tongue and heart doe not witnesse his loyalty.

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Hee received many messages to turne him backe.

Hee excused his stay.

The Kings fauour to him growne cold.

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The Duke of  
Biron not re-  
spected.

Dinner time being come, he desired to dine with the Duke of Espernon, for that his owne Trainee was not yet come. After dinner they came to see the King, who having walked a little in the Hall, retired into his Cabinet, commanding two or three to enter, and said nothing to the Duke of Biron, who stayed at the corner of the bed towards the chaire, observing that he was not respected as he had wont to be, and that he was no more in opinion and admiration as he had bene. The Marquis of Rhosny entred into the Cabinet, and having stayed there almost halfe an hour, he came forth and saluted the Duke of Biron, telling him, that the King asked for him. There he was perswaded not to conceale that which time could not long keep hidden, and whereof the King was so well informed, that what he desired to know from the Dukes owne mouth, was but to let him see, that Biron none but himselfe should have knowledge thereof.

The Duke of  
Biron influes  
himselfe.

The Duke of Biron (who thought that *La Fin* had not discovered any thing) continued still firme, vpon the protestations of his innocencie, beseeching the King to doe him iustice against them that sought to oppresse him by slanders: insupportable to a conscience so cleare as his was, or to suffer him to take his revenge by the sword. The King led him to the Tennis-court: he could make the match, saying, *That the Duke of Espernon and hee, would play against his Maestie and the Count of Soissons.* The Duke of Espernon answered presently, *Tou play well, but you make your matches ill.* At night hee supped with the Lord Steward. It appeared he was not content. Hee ate not any thing, no man spake to him, and they held him for a man abandoned to misfortune. Yet hee thought no man would lay hand on him, trusting too much in his owne courage. The King in the meane time walked in his chamber, devising of some great resolution, he was heard speak these words, *He must bend or breake.* He gave him time to take counsell of his conscience, and to evaporate those bad humours which did choke him. The night past so quietly as many thought it would be but a thunder-clap, which made a great noise, and did little harme; that the King would rest satisfied to have discovered the Treason, and taken all means from the Traitors to hurt him, not being convenient to discover all the conspirators. Hee commanded the Count of Soissons to goe to the Duke of Biron, and to do what he could to dissolue the hardnesse of his heart, and to draw the truth from him: he goes vnto him, hee coniures and adiuers him, to thinke of that which hee thought least of, to humble himselfe, and to feare the Lyons paw, and the indignation of a King. The Duke of Biron answered, *That the King could not complaine but of the good seruices hee had done him, and that hee had great reason to complaine that hee suspected his loyalty, having given him so many proofs.*

The Count of Soissons having observed his humour, and what little fruit might bee drawne from his obdurate heart, by any more perswasions, who beleued that the King had sent him to draw something from him, he left him. Early the next morning the King walking in the little Garden, he sent for the Duke of Biron, and talked long with him, thinking to reclaime him, and to giue him means to free himselfe from the mischief into the which he did runne headlong by his wilfulness. Hee continued long bare-headed, lifting his eyes vp to heauen, beating his brest, and making great protestations to maintaine his innocencie. There appeared choller in the Kings countenance, and by the Duke of Biron's behaviour there seemed fire in his words.

From thence the Duke went to dinner, by the way he met one with a Letter which aduised him to retire himselfe: he shewed it to the Capaine of his Guard, who wished that he had been stabb'd with a Dagger, so as hee had not come. Hee mocked at all them which fore-told his fall, and seemed alwayes hardy and bold in his answiers. The King heard his braueries coldly, but not able to apply himselfe to dissemble, which is held a new vertue in Princes, hee fillt out some words of the bad estate into the which his wilfulness would bring him. The King was much troubled in minde before he could resolute: the Lords of Villeroi, Silillery, and Geure went and came often, before they could vnderstand whereunto it tended.

Many thought it was to shorten the course of Iustice, in so apparant a crime, and begin with the execution, dealing with the Duke of Biron, as *Alexander* did with *Permenio*: for Princes are Masters of the Lawes, they have one forme of Iustice for Great men, and another for those whose quality requires not so great respect. In these accidents there is no difference whether blood be drawne before or after dinner; Necessitie teacheth the disorder

Disimulation  
a new vertue  
in Princes.In great acci-  
dents iustice  
is without  
formality.

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A disorder, and the profit doth recompence the Example, so as the Estate bee preferred by the death of him that is prevented. But the King will none of that. Hee proceeds with more courage and generositie: these examples of execution had bene blamed in his Predecessors, hee will haue his subiects, and all the world to know, that hee hath power and authoritie sufficient to root out by the forme of Iustice, not the authors of such a conspiracie, for they bee diuels, but the complices and the instruments how terrible fouler. Hee will haue the solemnities and lawfull ceremonies observed, and that they be iudged by the rigour of the Lawes. He vseth no Proscriptions, he makes no Proclamations, that hee will giue 100000 crownes to them, that shall bring the Conspirators heads, and will make his house Noble: he sends for them, they come, and being come, hee punisheth them.

The resolution was taken to apprehend him, and in like sort to seize vpon the Count of Auvergne. The King would not haue them taken in the Castle, but in their lodgings. The Duke of Biron who had some doubt thereof, and who was prepared for that which hee could not fore-see nor prevent, thought that hee needed not to feare any thing in the Kings Chamber, and that all the danger were at the going forth; and therefore hee provided himselfe of a short sword, with the which he presumed to make his passage. They gaue the King to vnderstand, that if hee were apprehended in any other place, it must needs be bloody: that to avoid an inconuenience, it was good to passe ouer respects that were more vaine then necessary. The King walking in the Gallery, called for *Virry* and *Pralin*, and gaue them order how hee would haue his commandements executed, and then he called for his supper.

The Duke of Biron supt at *Montignies* lodging, where hee spake more proudly and vainly then euer, of his owne Merits, and of the friends hee had gotten in *Suiffreland*. Then he fell to commend the deceased King of Spaine, his Piety, Iustice, and Liberalitie: *Montigny* stayed him suddenly, saying, *That the greatest commendation they could giue vnto his memory, was to haue put his owne Sonne to death, for that he had attempted to trouble his Estates.*

This speech brake off the Duke of Biron's discourse, who answered but with his eyes, and thought of it with some little amazement. After supper the Count of Auvergne and the Duke of Biron came to the King, who walked in the garden. They were wel accompanied, intending to haue gone with a lesse traine. It was said the Dukes horses were fadled ready to be gone, and that he had asked leave in the morning. The King hauing done walking, inuited the Duke of Biron to play; they entred into the *Queenes* Chamber. The Count of Auvergne passing by the Duke at the entry of the doore, said vnto him in his ear, *We are undone.* There played at *Primero*, the *Queene*, the Duke of Biron (vpon whom all the mischief must fall) and two others. The King played at *Chesse*, and in playing did ad the part of *Vlisses*, going and coming to giue order to his affaires. It appeared that his spirit was troubled with a waighy adion. He entred into his Cabinet, being perplexed with two contrary passions, doubtfull whereunto he should yeeld. The loue which he had borne to the Duke of Biron, the knowledge hee had of his valour, and the remembrance of his seruices, made him to reiect all thoughts of Iustice, and to intreat him, as *Licurgus* had done him that put out his eye. On the other side, feare of trouble in his Estate, and the apprehension of the execrable effects of so vnnatural a conspiracie, accus'd his clemencie of cruelty, which preferred the priuate before the publike. Hee prayed vnto God to assist him with his holy Spirit, to pacifie the combat which hee felt in his soule, and to fortifie him with a holy resolution, so that which should bee for the good of his people, ouer whom he commanded by his onely grace.

His prayer being ended, all difficulties which troubled him were dispersed, and hee fully refused to deliuer the Duke of Biron into the hands of Iustice, if he might not otherwise draw the truth from him of his disloyall enterprises. They continued play still, the King taking the *Queenes* place sometimes, attending the end of his resolution. The Count of Auvergne was retired: The King sent for him, and walked vp and downe the Chamber whilest the Duke of Biron dreamt of nothing but his game. *Parrenes* Lieutenant of his company, making a shew to take vp his cloake, told him in his ear, *That hee was vnder.* This word troubled him so, as he neglected his game. The *Queene* observed it and told him, *That hee had mis-reckoned himselfe to his owne losse.* The King said, *That they had played enough,*

The Duke of  
Biron carries a  
short sword.He praileth  
the King of  
Spaine.Hee plays at  
*Primero* with  
the *Queene*.



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He will not  
humble him-  
self to the  
Kings clemency

He is fixed on  
at the Kings  
chamber door

The Count of  
Auvergne taken

Fall's brutes of  
the vices of his  
imprisonment

A Letter  
written by  
one of the  
Kings ser-  
uants

enough, commanding every man to retire. He entered into his Cabinet, and commanded the Duke of Biron to enter with him, whose health or ruine depended vpon an answer pleasing to his Maiefty. Who willed him once for all to declare what hee had done with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes, and that he should assure himselfe, his clemencie should be greater then his fault. The Duke of Biron who beleued that hee deserved death, that demanded life, had not the heart to humble himselfe, nor the tongue to craue pardon. He answered the King more boldly then euer, *That they had neuer prest an honest man; and that he neuer had any other designe, then that which he had said: I would to Gods will,* replied the King, *but you will not tell me: A dieu, good night.*

As he goes out of the Cabinet, and had past the Chamber doore, hee met with *Vitry*, B who layes his hand vpon his sword, and demands it of him by the Kings commandment. *From me (said the Duke of Biron) to take away my sword who haue so well serued the King? my sword, who haue ended the warre, and haue sealed a Peace in France? That my sword which my enemies could neuer take from me, should be taken from me by my friends.* He intreated the Duke of Montbazon to beseech the King, to giue him leaue to deliuer it into his owne hands. The King sent *Vitry* charge to doe his commandment. The Duke of Biron was forced to suffer them to take it from him, and in deliuering it, hee cast his eyes about him, to see if he could seize vpon some other, but they had prevented him. When as hee saw all the guard placed in order in the Gallery, he thought they would haue slaine him, and demanded something in his hand, *that he might haue the honour to dye in defending himselfe,* and some little time to pray vnto God. They answered him; *That there was not any man would offend him; that they had no other charge from the King, but to conduct him to his lodging.* You see (said he in passing) *how they intreat good Catholics.*

He was conducted to the Cabinet of Armes, whereas hee neither slept nor lay downe. *Pratin* went to the Count of Auvergne, declared vnto him the Kings commandment, and demanded his sword; *Hold, take it (said the Count, it hath neuer killed any but wilde Boares, if I haue had advertised me of this, I had been in bed and asleepe two houres since.* These two Noblemen were like vnto two Torches, which being held downward are quenched with the wax which did nourish them and giue them light. And as if all the Dukes power had beene in his sword, as soone as he had deliuered it, hee remained as a body without a soule, and was in a moment deuiued of all that which *Galba* held most precious amongst men, faith, liberty and friendship. There came no word out of his mouth but did offend God or the King. He suffered himselfe to be caried away with extreame impatience. The fore-sight of misery which doth moderate it in others, made it insupportable to him, cursing himself and his indiscretion, in that he had not beleued his good friends, who aduised him to make his peace a farre off. This choller in effect was not much vnlike vnto a mad-man, but in the continuance: for suddenly he reclaimed himselfe, and considered that all his cries and words, were not of force to saue him.

Presently dispatches were made to all the Princes and Potentates of Christendome, to Governours of Prouinces, and to Ambassadors, who were amazed at this accident, as of a most odious conspiracy, by a person that was so much obliged. Those which fauoured it, gaue out false brutes in Italy, that it was a blow giuen to Religion, to weaken it in the ruine of him who said that he desired no more glorious title, then to be surnamed the *Scurge of Hungarions*. That it was an aduice from England to brake the Iuelins one after another. The King would haue these false impressions made cleere by the light of truth, euen when as the passion of his enemies did seeke to obscure it.

One writing out of the Realme vpon this subiect, said, "That it was no question of Religion, but to dismember the Crowne, and to diuide it at the discretion of the Councell of Spaine, and the Duke of Sauoy, rooting out the King and his Race. It may be the Authors and Vnder-takers would haue bene troubled in the execution of their designe, although we had not prevented them, as now we haue. But it was the end whereunto they aspired. The names of many haue bene drawne in vnknewne to them, the which the Kings Iustice might well discerne and verifie: you must not bee moued with the brutes which fly abroad, but beleue what I write vnto you, for it is the very truth. The next day about dinner time, the Duke of Biron sent to tell his Maiefty, "That if hee tooke not order for Bourgundy it was lost, for that as soon as the Baron of Lux, should heare of his imprisonment he would vndoubtedly deliuer Dijon, and Beaune vnto the Spaniard. These words

did

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A did greatly offend the King, who said; Behold the boldnesse and impudency of the Mar- shall Biron, who sends me word, that Bourgundy is lost, if I take not order, and that the Baron of Lux will draw in the Spaniard when he shall heare of his imprisonment. His obstinacie hath vndone him, if he would haue told me the truth of one thing, whereoff I haue proofe by his owne hand writing, he should not be where hee is; I know I had paid two hundred thousand crownes, that he had giuen me means to pardon him: I neuer Ioud any so much as him. I would haue committed my Sonne and Realme into his hands: Hee hath done me good seruice, yet he cannot deny but I haue thrice saued his life. I drew him out of the enemies hands at Fontaine Francoise, so wounded, and so amazed with blowes, B that as I played the fouldier to saue him, I also played the Marshall to make the retreat, for he told me that he was not then in case to doe it, nor to serue me.

The King attended not this advertisement from the Duke of Biron, for hee had already sent the Marshall *Lanardin* to settle his Authority in that Prouince, with a resolution to march in person if there were need. His enemies were not without feare, doubting that he would proceed farther, nothing being so much to be feared as an enemy that hath alwayes vanquished. About fifteene dayes before, *Bourg l'Espinaffe* received a Commission to raise a Regiment of ten Companies, and *Nereslan* had the like to supply his. The order was to send them into Prouence, but needfull had drawne them into Bourgogne, with two Regiments of Suisses, vnder the commands of the Colonels, *Galaty* and *Heyd*, and a great quantitie of artillery drawne out of the Arsenall of Paris, and that of Lions, if all the country had not presently yielded obedience to their Prince.

The President *Lamin* made many voyages thither with great expedition. Some of the Duke of Biron's seruants had a desire to reuolt. The Baron of Lux was retired to Saux, the King sent them word that they must seeke the prisoners liberty by proofes of obedience, and not by effects of rebellion, and that he would iudge of his intentions by the behaviour of his seruants. The townes of Dijon and Beaune intrenched themselves against the Castles, who (acknowledging that it were not onely a rashnesse, but an iniustice to fall from their obedience) deliuered the places into the Marshall *Lanardins* hands for the King. Breffe continued quiet through the care of *Bosse*. All France was in peace, euerly man detesting the Duke of Biron, and his adherents.

The King seemed to be very well satisfied, seeing things to succeed better then he expected, having found all obedience and submission in them who in shew were most bold and resolute to trouble his affaires. He was more respected and feared of them then euer, and there was no man so great, but did humble himselfe. He said openly, that he was resolute not to endure his subjects to play any more with their King, abusing his bounty as many had done, contemning his actions as vniustly and rashly as without punishment. The prisoners were led to the Bastile at Paris on the Saturday after. The Duke of Biron going in the boat seemed heauy and pensiu. The Count of Auvergne was merry and dmed. The Duke of Biron entered into the Bastile as into a graue: The Count of Auvergne went E as to the Louvre, and imagined that the place where he should be, could not bee a prison: The King entered into the City the same night, and the people with great cries of joy, blessed his returne, and praised God for their captiuitie that would haue brought France againe into seruitude.

This great Prince who like vnto *Augustus* neuer thought of the death of the least of his subjects but with sighs, did shew that a father cuts off his members with griefe. Some dayes after a Gentleman coming to doe his dutie to his Maiefty, said vnto him, that he held his life, fortune and honour of him, and that hee came for to doe him homage; to whom the King answered aloud, that he might be vnderstood: *I know you well, if they one day should see you, I should not be in the paines I am in.* There were new forces, which passed F the Alpes. The Spanish Ambassador demanded passage for Flanders, beseeching the King not to beleue that his Master was acquainted with the Duke of Biron's designs.

There was some likelihood that their iourney was not so farre, for they could not but arrive too late, Count *Maurice* was entered into Brabant, to passe into Flanders to the relief of Ostend. The Archduke was prepared to hinder him; they must measure their forces, and it was most certaine before this new armie had past the Alpes, they had with This made their marching to be much suspected; and had done more, if the President *Lamin* had not assured the King, that the Baron of Lux would not giue eare to the offers that

The Marshall  
Lanardin  
enters into  
Bourgundy

The King  
comes to Paris

Passage of  
troopes for  
Flanders

that were made him, promising to bring him to the Court, where the King offered him a all surety.

His Maieftie was aduertised that the Count of Fuentes (one of the chiefe instigators of the Duke of Biron's conspiracie with the Duke of Sauoy) had caused his forces to aduance vnder colour of sending them into Flanders, to giue fauour and countenance to his Partifans that were in Bresse and Bourgundy, to incourage them, and to with-draw them from his Maiefties obedience. For these reasons as the Ambassadour of Spaine did pfe to haue the passage vpon the riuier of Rhosne free; the King who beleued that by reason of things past, he could not be too distrustfull, answered, "I wil not leaue the frontier vnarmed, vntill I bee satisfied by the arraignment of the Duke of Biron, what account I shall make of the faith of the King of Spaine your Master, touching the obseruation of the Peace. You will haue me beleue that he was ignorant of plots and practises laid with the Count of Fuentes: and I answer that it is hard to beleue that his money, hath bene so bountifullly employed without his priuity and command: yet I meane not to breake the commerce that is allowed by our treaties. He had only commanded the Marshall *Lamar-din* to lodge and camp vpon the frontier, to defend the entry of his Estates. *D'Albigny* hauing bragged; that if he attempted to retrench the passage, hee should soone haue it laid open by Armes. But the Spaniards durst not attempt to passe the bridge of Gréfin, fearing to be repulst and charged, retired to Rumilly and Anicy. In the end the King seeing that they feared more their owne harme, then they had any desire to doe harme, hee suffered them to passe.

The King commands the Marshal *Laure-din* to campe vpon the frontiers.

The estate of the prisoner in the Bastille.

The Greue is the public place of execution in Paris.

But to returne to the Duke of Biron; it was a strange thing that hauing consulted with himselfe, whether he should come to Court or not, hee neglected his friends aduice, and tooke the worst resolution. A minde transported with passion, rejects the best reasons, and retaines the most dangerous opinions. Like vnto a boulder which lets the floore passe, and keepe nothing but the Branne. Before his departure from Dijon, they said at Marfeilles that he was taken; and in parting, his friends sent him word that he should leaue his head where he caried it: and that there was no returne for him. Never prisoner was better guarded, with more care, order and vigilancy. The King caused the Duke to bee kept as in his own house, & at liberty. And for that nature hath found no other remedies against the injuries of fortune, and the wearinesse of life, then death, they feared that hee would offer violence to himselfe. And therefore those which kept him, caried no armes, and seeing himselfe serued with a knife without a point, he said, *it was the way to the Greue*. Scorning death, hee said, *that it could not come vnlooked for, to a man well resolved, nor strange to him that hath foreseen it, nor shamefull to a resolute minde*. Yet hee found that it is a miserable life not to be able to dye, being deprived of all meanes to aduance death, and to haue no other consolation but in the onely desire of an impossible thing.

He spent the first dayes of his imprisonment, without eating or sleeping. These violent motions of choller, and the heat of his blood, put him into a Feuer, and griefe caried fuming passions vnto his braine, which increased his sicknesse, in the which (as in all other diseases) the feare of death, the paine of his body, and the alteration of his life, did much augment the griefe of his prison. He was some what affraid left vnder colour of remedie, they should giue him poison to cure all his griefes, and therefore hee would haue them take a taste of euery thing, although there were no other assurance of his life, but what his owne conscience could giue him.

His captivity deprived him not of the liberty of speaking. The fire of his courage was not smothered vnder the ashes of this affliction. What said hee? and what said hee not? choller thrust forth a streame of words, in the which there was not a drop of reason. Sometimes he said; That if they desired to put him to death, they should dispatch him; that they should not bragge they had made him to feare death; that they should speedily drinke themselves drunke, with the blood which remained of thirty and five wounds, which hee had receiued for the seruice of France.

It is the nature of great spirits not to be silent for present perils, or the feare of seruitude. They feared that solitarinesse, fasting, melancholy and change of the place would trouble his braine, and thrust him into some furious passion. To pacifie the discontent of his first imprisonment, they perswade him to submit himselfe to the mercy of God, and gaue him hope of the Kings Pardon. The Archbishop of Bourges went to see him, hee disswaded him

His words in prison.

A him from many bad Maximes of conscience, and satisfied him of many points which he held against the purity and integrity of a iust confession: He desired to speake with *Pillerey* and *Sillery*, who went to see him by the Kings commandement.

They had told him, or he had learned it in the time of his liberty by the reading of Histories, that the Constable of Saint Paul had bene prisoner in the same place, and desired to see the discoufse. They gaue him *Enguerrand* of Monstrelet, in whose edition this Tragedy is related. He decciued the time in the reading of Annales, the which hee had amplified if they would haue let him alone. He should haue done better if hee had read them sooner, and had propounded vnto himselfe his fortune, whose dignity he did effect, full of so many accidents as it had bene sufficient to correct his. If he had seene it sooner, he had found precepts, which like vnto a Lanthorne had giuen him light amidst the darknesse of this dangerous navigation, in which he had nothing but his owne ambition for compasse and saile. He should haue knowne that *Machiavels* counsell (whofaith, that private men rife neuer from a base to a high fortune but by fraud and force) is ruinous, and that humane lawes being grounded vpon diuine, suffer no confusion of designes which that euery one doth limit them by this condition, and that hee knowes that God doth distribute powers for the government of people: That it is alwaies dangerous to play with his Master, and although he suffer him for a time, yet he is like vnto the Lion who suddenly laies hold of him that thought to haue mastered him. The Germanes say, we may not eate cherries with great men, for that they will cast the stones in our eyes if we play the companions with them.

The Constable of S. Paul an example of an ambitious man.

In the beginning of his imprisonment, he talked of nothing but of Iustices; but knowing his fault, he had no hope but in the Kings mercy. Some one published an admonition at Paris, beseeching the King to change the punishment of death into perpetuall imprisonment, that of imprisonment into banishment, and his banishment into an honourable seruitude to make war against the Turke. That if by his offences he did not merit to serue the state, which he sought to ruine, yet hee might serue the generall estate of Christendome.

This Counsell was dangerous, for who could assure the King that he would make war in Hungary? and what caution could be sufficient for France? He had bene more dangerous without it, then within. A burning fire-brand casts more flame and smoake without a chimney, then within it. Hee added moreover, that hee should forbid him the carrying of armes, and tie him from the warre, but if hee should haue made his house his prison, who should haue kept him? if he had designed of reuenge in prison, what would hee haue done at liberty? Many which respect no more the Lawes of Honour, then of Iustice, would haue repayed vnto him, to bring in inevitable mischiefs. There was an intent to faue him. The iron worke was forged in Bresse. The refusal of five hundred crownes, for the Petardier, hindred the execution. As soone as hee was a prisoner, euery one sayd hee was a dead man: and seeing himselfe so carefully guarded, hee said; *That they did not put birds of his sort into a cage, to suffer them to escape*. Hee made that iudgement of himselfe, which the Admirall did of the Earles of Egmont and Horne, when he heard they were prisoners: when they once come to accuse and imprison a man of courage and faction, it is more dangerous to absolue him then to condemne him.

The King sent his Letters to the Parliament, to proceed in the criminall and extraordinary proceffe of the Duke of Biron, according to the formes which are to be obserued in crimes of so great importance, against persons of his quality: all other affaires set aside. The Commissioners appointed for the King, were *Achilles de Harley* first President in the Court of Parliament at Paris. *Nicholas Potier* second President and Councillor of State to his Maiesty. *Stephen Fleury* and *Philibert* of Thurin, Councillors of the Parliament, good Iudges, but not to be moved in crimes of State. Informations were taken at the Bastille. The prisoner made some ceremonies to answer, but being entered into discoufse, hee gaue the Commissioners matter ynough to worke on, confessing in a manner all. From his answers alone, they might haue framed his condemnation, saying ynough to make him lose as many liues as hee had yeeres. Hee had to ill gouerned his iudgement in his prosperity, as it did him no seruice during his imprisonment: yielding some-times vnto griefe, some-times vnto choller, and alwaies to indifferency, speaking as much to ruine himselfe, as to discharge him. He was confronted with the

Letters to the Court of Parliament to make his Proceffe.

Commissioners appointed.

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witnesses face to face; but when as he did see *La Fin*, he fell into an extreame shaking. A

The first President asked the Prisoner, if he would except any thing against *La Fin*. He answered, *That he held him for a Gentleman of honour, his friend, and his Kinsman*. But when he had heard his deposition, he cried out against him as the most execrable man in the world, appealing to all the powers of heaven and earth to iustifie his innocency. *La Fin* grieved that he should hold him for a slanderer (a name common to all wicked men) said unto him; *That he was sorry they were in a place where the one was allowed to speake all, and the other was forced to heare all*. He maintained all he had said against him, and spake more plainly of his conspiracy, then in his deposition. The Prisoner said, *That if Renaze were there, he would auerre the contrary*: He was brought before him, whereat he was much amazed to see him, whom he held to be dead; & who was out of his remembrance as in another world. He then beleued that the Duke of Sauoy had set him at liberty to ruine him, he felt his conscience toucht, when as all things conspired to his condemnation. An admirable iudgment of Gods secret Iustice in this escape of *Renaze*. Mens intentions produce contrary effects. Hee was detained prisoner at *Quiers* in Piedmont, to the end he should not discover this practice; he escapes from his guard, and comes to fortifie his Masters deposition, who else had beene but one witness.

He is amazed  
to see *Renaze*  
whom he held  
to be dead.

No man dares  
sue for him.

Hee had many friends, but not to iustifie his innocency, as *Plato* saith; *That many friends is a signe of wisdom, and want of them shewes the contrary*: There were none that durst presume to sue for his libertie or pardon. The King had made this attempt so detestable & C  
odious to the Princes and Noblemen of the Court, and the meanes to execute it so execrable, as all his friends were silent: there were some that said; That for any other crime, yea, if he had killed a Prince in the Kings Cabinet, they would haue begged his pardon, and would haue sacrificed their children to the Kings Iustice for an expiation of the offence, rather then to lose him. But in this act, friendship was conspiracy, and intercession a crime. His friends went to *Saint Maur* where the King was: they cast themselves at his Maiesties feet to implore his mercy, and to moderate the severity of his Iustice, more in consideration of his father, then for any respect of the sonnes seruices, which could not equal his fault.

The King said, That it was a matter of such importance for his Estate, as he was constrained to leaue it to the course of Iustice; that to haue attempted against him who was his King, and his benefactor, was insupportable; that he could not remit this crime but he must ruine himselfe, the *Queene* his wife, his Sonne, and his Estate. That hee knew they were such true hearted Frenchmen, that as they desired not the one, so they would haue patience for the other. They hauing knowne the foulness of the fact, and the reasons which forced clemency to yeeld vnto Iustice, abandoned the pursuit. The Countesse of *Rouilly* solicited the Court: The Prisoners mother was not there. The King commanded the Court of Parliament to proceede to iudgment without any intermission.

A Peere cannot  
be iudged but  
by his Peeres.

The Prisoner was a Peere of France, the Barony of *Biron* being made a Duchy and a Peere by the King. A Peere cannot be iudged but by the King and his Peeres, but the King is neuer present when he is a party, and that the accusation of the party concerns his person, his honour, or his Estate. And although the order of the ancient Peeres be more in number then by the first institution, for that of the six secular Peeres, five are vniued vnto the Crowne, and the sixth doth no more obey the King, yet the new created enjoy the same priuiledges and prerogatives that the ancient did, and the last, although he be about the number, shall not be iudged but by his Peeres, but may assist at the iudgment of another Peere, and haue his voice as well as the Duke of Burgundy, who is the Deane of the Peeres, yea, the wifes, whose lands are erected into *Payries*, or that hold it by succession may assist. *Mabilla* Countesse of *Arthois*, was called a Peere of France, & deliuered her opinion with the other Peeres at the iudgment of *Robert* Earle of *Arthois*. But if the Peeres being called doe not appeare, they may proceed. The Peeres of France were called to the Arraignment of the Duke of *Biron*, they appeared not.

The Peeres  
could not.

The Court forbears not to proceed notwithstanding their absence. All the Chambers being assembled, the Chancellor accompanied by *Mailles* and *Pontcarre* (two Counsellors of the State) entered into the Parliament, two Sergeants at arms, & some officers of the Chancery going before him. He was receiued at the entering of the Barre by two  
ancient

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A ancient Counsellor, and being saluted by the Court, he set him down in the Presidents place, hauing deliuered the Kings intention; and his assurance of the integrity and wisdom of the Court; vpon an occasion importing the State, and vpon a foule crime in a person other waies recommended for his seruices, he made a signe to *Stephen Henry* the Reporter of the Proceesse to begin. This was done for want of the Peeres. A request was made in the Prisoners name, that it would please the Court to allow him Councillors, to direct him in the forties of their proceeding, whereof he was as ignorant, as he had let all France know how well he vnderstood the art of War. *De la Guesle*, the Kings Attourney Generall, being heard vpon this request, and *Servin* the Soliciter Generall speaking for him, he said; That although this request seemed to be grounded vpon some presidents, for that the King had beene granted vnto the Prince of Conde, yet there was great diuersity, & many considerations for the denying of this. Their opinions being giuen, it was rejected. His request rejected. Cicero pleaded for *Rabirius*, and *Anthony* for *Narbonus*, but there is no Advocate admitted for crimes of State: Counsell depends vpon the conscience of him that is accused, his defence must come from his owne innocency; and hee may well free himselfe from blame, without the mediation of any man, and without the helpe of an Advocate. They which are accused of crimes must plead for themselves.

If he be innocent, truth will confound all the practices of his accusers. If he be guilty, there is no excuse nor euasion but his guiltiness will appeare. It is not lawfull to defend the wicked, and good men haue no need of defence. They spent three sittings to examine the informations; which done, the conclusions of the Attourney General were read and followed. There rested nothing but to heare the Prisoner and to call him before the Parliament.

While they were viewing of the Proceesse, one had set vp a discourse vpon the Palace gate, to moue the Iudges to pity, and that they should not punish the weakness of *Adam* for the Serpents subtilty. The Lord of Montigny came vnto the Bastille about foure of the clocke in the morning; the Prisoner who alwaies slept little (holding sleepe to bee no life) was already vp and at his deuotion: he would not trouble him in so necessary an action, but staid vntill he had done. Entering into his Chamber, he told him the occasion of his comming, that the Court was assembled for his Proceesse; that the Lord Chancellor was there, and had commanded him to bring him: Hee seemed a little troubled, although he had beene aduertised that he should be sent for. Being ready, hee goes out of the Bastille, thinking neuer to returne, and that they drew him out of the cares of Captivity, to lead him vnto the darkness of death, and that he left the prison to lose his life. He was conducted in the Marquis of *Rosnies* Carrosse, through the Arsenall to the *Ri*uers side; where he entered into a boat couered with Tapistry, in which the Kings guards were, the Chief Approaches, the Ports, the Greue, and the Towne-houfe, were manned with *Suisses*. Hee entered into the Palace by the first Presidents garden, and went to rest himselfe in one of the Chambers, vntill he were sent for, presenting him a breakfast before he entered.

E The houre being come, the Register went to call him, and he entered into the golden Chamber: The place whereas strangers haue come to implore Iustice of the King; whereas great Kings haue held it an honour to haue a place: where he himselfe had sat, and beene honoured with the most glorious title of vertue: whereas one of the Kings Solicitors had said; That *Biron* had none before him to imitate, that hee could imitate none but himselfe, and that he made himselfe inimitable to them that should come after him. This place I say, shining with the beames of the Kings Iustice, made him to remember the change of his condition, the which forced him somewhat to blush: an accident which happens to the most assured. These Scarlet Roabes doe more amaze him then all the red caffackes of Spaine, or the most fierce encounters of his enemies. He had no other place then that which was appointed for men accused, being set vpon a stole within the Barre, but finding himselfe too far off to heare, or to be heard, he rose vp and carried his stole nearer, saying vnto the Chancellor, *Excuse my Lord, I cannot heare you, except you speake louder*. When the Duke of *Alancou* was examined before the King, and in open Court, he was set in the midst of the Hall vpon a low stoole; the Constable of Luxembourg, the Duke of Nemours, and the Chancellor of Poyet, were set within the Barre, like to the Duke of *Biron*. Hee sat with his Cloake vnder his right arme, holding his hand sometimes by his side; after a brauing manner, the which  
T t t t t notwithstanding.

His Proceesse  
reported.

His request re-  
jected. They which are  
accused of  
crimes must  
plead for them-  
selves.

He enters and  
is heard in the  
golden Cham-  
ber.

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notwithstanding did not become him ill, having his arme free to lift vp his hand to heaven, and strike his breast, when he would protest of his loyalty to the Kings service. They would not have allowed it in another, being expected that men accused should shew humility outwardly, and feare inwardly.

In this Estate the Duke of Biron thought, that in this great Senate he should finde some one that would doe for him as *Sempronius Gracchus* had done for *Scipio*: that hee would speake openly, that hee would neuer endure the Common-weale should receive that disgrace to see *Scipio* set in the ranke and habite of men accused for crimes. He whom the Court had seene sit vpon the Flower-de-luce, in recompence of the seruices he had done. The Chancelor fired his discourse in such sort, as there was no occasion to call him by his name, nor by those of his qualities. Of many points that were in his processe, he collected five principall, the rest consisted in presumptions, whereof he made no account, for that we must neuer moue the opinion of the Iudges vpon a matter without proofe.

Accusations of  
the Duke of  
Biron.

The first was, to haue had conference with one *Picote*, borne at Orleans, and fled into Flanders, to haue intelligence with the Archduke, and had giuen him a hundred and fifty crownes for two voiaiges to that effect.

The second was, That he had treated with the Duke of Sauoy three daies after his coming to Paris, without the Kings permission, offering him all assistance and seruice against all men, vpon hope of marriage with his third daughter.

The third, That he had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy in the taking of Bourg & other places, giuing him aduice to attempt against the Kings armie, and against his owne person, discouering many things of importance.

The fourth was, That he would haue brought the King before *S. Katherine's* fort to be slain there, and to that end had written to the Governour, giuing him some tokens whereby he should know his Maiesty.

The fifth was, that he had leet *La Fin* to treat with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes. The D. of Biron denied all that he had conselt at his first examination, holding it no danger to suppress the truth, when as confession may hurt.

The Duke of  
Biron answer.

To the first the D. of Biron answered, That *Picote* being his prisoner in the Franche Country, and knowing that he was acquainted with Capitaine *La Fortune* (who was his friend) he thought he might employ him for the reduction of the towne of Sourre, wherein he vied such diligence, as the place was assured for his Maiesties seruice: that since this reduction he had not seene *Picote* but in Flanders, when as he went for the confirmation of the Peace, where he came vnto him with some others, intreating him to be an Intercessor for them vnto the King, that they might returne vnto their goods, and liue in their owne houses, promising him for recompence of his intercession two suits of Tapistry, the which he reiected with some spleene, for that they sought to buy his fauour, and for that they desired from him an assurance for their returne, he sent them to the Lords of Belieure and Sillery, who knew what was fittest for them, and the forms that were to be observed for their returne. That it was true that *Picote* had receiued 150 crowns of him, but not for any other respect, but for the charges he had bene at in the reduction of Seurre, hauing often intreated him and prest him by many letters, to haue pity on him as one that was banished from his house and Country, hauing borrowed this sum to beare his charges in this reduction. That hee had put it to account in certaine summes which hee disbursed for the Kings seruice, and that he neuer had any other busines or conference with him.

To the second he answered, That he came to Paris fiftene daies after the Duke of Sauoyes arriual there, that *La Fin* who accused him, came after him. That it was true, the King dining at Conflans, and the Duke of Sauoy with him, after dinner the King retiring into his Wardrobe, he commanded the Count of Auvergne and him to entertaine the Duke of Sauoy: That the Count of Soissons, and the Duke of Montpensier coming into the chamber, he gaue them place, & went into the Wardrobe, and the Kings parties gaue him drinke, and presently after went to Paris. That vpon some speech which *Renaud* the Dukes Secretary had with him touching the marriage of his Highnes third daughter, he acquainted the King therewith, who hauing since giuen him to vnderstand by *La Force*, that he bid not like thereof, he had no more dreamt of it. And in token that hee had no intelligence with the Duke, nor will to conspire with any of his, the King hauing commanded

A commanded him to accompany him in his returne, and to shew him the strongest towne in Bourgogne, he had excused himselfe, beseeching his Maiesty to dispenche with him, foreseeing that the Duke would not effect the treaty, and that hee should be grieved to make war against a Prince, whom he had accompanied, and made good cheare vnto. Adiuising the Baron of Lux to conduct him through the weakest towne, and not to giue him any time to view their fortifications.

To the third, that hee had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy, in the conquest of the country of Bresse, giuing him aduice to attempt against the Kings army: He answered, That if he had had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy, hee would not haue vnderderraken Bourg, against the Kings opinion, being not assisted by any, but such as were ordinarily with him. That the Gouvernors of places (who were then the Dukes subiects and now the Kings) could witness if there were any fauour vfed, and if in making war he had any other object, but the execution of his Maiesties commandements, that if hee had had any bad intent, he had not yielded vp Bourg so easily as hee did.

To the fourth, vpon the aduice giuen to the Governour of *Saint Katherine's* fort, to kill the King. He beseecheth his Maiesty to remember, that he alone did dissuade, and diuert him from going to view the fort, giuing him to vnderstand, that there were very good Gunners in the place, and that he could not goe without great danger. That vpon this aduice, his Maiesty altered his purpose, saying, that if he desired to see the place, he would bring him a plot of it the next day, offering his Maiesty to take it with five hundred Harquebuziers, and that he himselfe would goe vnto the assault.

To the fifth, That he had treated with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes, by the mediation of *La Fin*: He answered, That being denied the keeping of the Citadell of Bourg, he grew into that despaire, as he had desired to be all covered with blood, being capable to say or to do any thing. At these words the Chancelor asked him, With what blood he desired to be covered? With mine owne, answered the Prisoner, willing to liue no longer after this refusal, and I would haue engaged my selfe in such sort among the enemies, as I would haue died there, or would haue returned all covered with blood: That for two months space he had written and spoken more then he ought, but hee had not omitted to doe well. He added moreover, that *La Fin* had bewitched him with enchanted waters, and by speaking Images, as hee was forced to submit himselfe to his will: That he spake not vnto him, but in secret and vnknown words, calling him his Master, his King, his Prince, his Lord. And scratching his left eare, he spake execrable things against *La Fin*, to moue the Court, nor to regard his accusation and testimony. He that had not seene the fact verified by his owne letters, would haue said it was *Plister* accusation, forging false letters from *Priam* to *Palamedes*. He still fled to his pardon, saying that hauing done nothing since, the Kings clemency should remit his fault, and that if hee must implore it once more, he had his knees as supple as euer to doe it. The Chancelor said vnto him, that he had written a letter vnto *La Fin* since the Dauphins birth; by the which he did aduertise him, that seeing it had pleased God to send the King a sonne, hee would no more dreame of those vanities, desiring him to returne, and if hee had not employed him he would not haue written.

This letter was produced to shew the continuance of his bad designs, whereof hee made vieto iustifie himselfe and to shew his repentance, saying alwaies that he had done well, although he had some thought of doing ill.

The Chancelor said vnto him, that seeing he felt his conscience to cleare, and knowing that he had done nothing, why did he not lay himselfe more open vnto the King, who sought him with great affection at Fontainebleau, to tell him the truth of that which hath bene since discouered by the processe. He wavered at this demand, saying: That he did not thinke the King had knowne any thing of that which passed betwixt him and *La Fin*, for that he had assured him by oaths & feartull cusses, that he had said nothing that might hurt him. That hauing conferred with a religious man of the order of the Minimes, he knew (hauing past his word with an oath to *La Fin*, neuer to discouer what had past betwixt them) he might with a safe conscience say any thing. Hee had answered him: That seeing there was no more any intent to execute the things that were in discourse betwixt them, hee ought not to reueale them: That this resolution continued so constant in his minde, that although the Archbishop of Bourges had visited him in prison,

Proofe by writing  
of the con-  
science of his  
practices.

1602 "and had giuen him many reasons to free him from these scruples, yet hee held it an act vnworthy of a man to falsifie his oath, and that it was only fit for a soule hardened with Atheisme (the spring of all impiety) to sweare with an intent to circumvent. Here his speech failed him with the violence of his griefe, but recovering his spirits, hee spake these words:

"My misfortune hath this consolation, that my Iudges are not ignorant of the seruices which I haue done to the King and Realme, and with what loyalty I haue caried my selfe in the greatest and most important affaires, to restore the King vnto the Realme, and the Realme vnto the King: to preferre the lawes of State, and to settle you in this place, from the which the Saturnales of the League had expelled you. This body (whereof you hold the life and death in the disposition of your Iustice) hath no veine which hath not bene opened, and which I would not willingly open for you. This hand which did write the letters which are now produced against me, is the same which hath done the contrary to that which it hath written. It is true, I haue written, I haue said, and I haue spoken more then I ought, but no man can shew that I haue done ill. And there is no law that punisheth the lightnesse of a simple word, or the motions of the thought with death: my words haue bene alwaies feminine, but the effects of my courage masculine. Choller and despaire haue made me capable to say all, and to doe all, but reason would not suffer me to doe any thing, but what deserved praise and imitation. I haue had bad designs, but they neuer past my thought: at the same instant they sprang vp they were smothered. If I had bene desirous to nourish and make shew of them, I haue had great means and occasions. I could haue done bad seruice to the King, in England and in Swisserland. There are aboue a hundred Gentlemen that can witness of my behaviour in the first Ambassage: & for the second, I desire no other testimony but that of the Seigneurs of *Sillery* and *de Vic*, who know in what manner, and with what fidelity I employed my selfe, to reconcile and vnit to many wils disioyned and withdrawne from the Kings alliance. If you will consider how I came, and in what estate I left the places of Bourgoigne, it will be impossible to haue any bad conceit of my designs. They found not a man of war in my government. I haue left the places without Garisons. I haue giuen the Captaines no other commandement but to serue the King well, and to do that only whereunto they are bound.

He shewes  
by what  
means he  
might haue  
done ill.

The King  
did giue  
him his  
word with-  
out deman-  
ding it.

"Euery man aduised mee not to come to Court. I met a Foot-man by the way, who brought me a letter from one of my dearest friends, who coniured me not to aduance. Being arriued, my Sister of Rouilly sent me another, aduising me to be gone without asking of my leaue: I shewed it to a Gentleman that was with me, who said vnto me, That he would willingly be stabbed in the bosome so as I were at Dijon. I answered, That if I were there, and were sure to receive a hundred stabs at the Court, yet would I come vpon the Kings word. A guilty minde and prest with horror of his conscience, had fallen in peeces with feare and trembling, and would haue embraced another party. The secret knowledge I had of my loyalty, and the innocency of my designs, could not giue me any imagination of distrust: I alwaies said within my selfe, I haue serued the King too well, to haue a thought that he should not account me his seruant. The King hath had too many proofes of my faith, to suspect my loyalty. I could not comprehend, that the Kings Iustice could touch a man, resting in the tranquility of his Conscience, and in the expectation of his commandements. Moreover, I was assured that the King had pardoned me, and that I had not offended him since his pardon. I cannot deny, that I told him not all that had past in this action, but in saying vnto him, that the refusal of the Citadell of Bourg made me capable to say and doe any thing, I did thinke it was not needfull to specifie that which I was ashamed to haue attempted, and that the consideration of the good which I had done vnto the King in his seruice, should alwaies weigh downe the euill that I would haue done, and the which I haue repented. That if he hath not giuen me life, but to put me to death, he must consider, that it is more commendable for a Prince to giue it, then to take it away from him to whom hee hath giuen it, and that his clemency shines neuer more clearly, then vpon offences that concerne himselfe. If it please not the King to regard my seruices, and the assurances which he hath giuen me of his mercy, I confesse my selfe worthy of death, & hope for no health in his Iustice, but in yours; hoping you will remember better then he doth, the dangers I

haue

A haue vndergone all my life for his seruice. I implore his mercy, and although I should not say any thing, yet the wounds which I beare would speake for mee. I hope for it the more confidently, for that it hath neuer bene refused to them that haue done worse then my selfe. I would haue done euill, but my will did neuer passe the termes of their first conception, being ouercast with the clouds of choller and despaire. It were hard if I should bee the first President to bee punished for thinking. Not that I feare death, the which I hold to bee ordayned, not as a punishment, but for the end of Nature, and that it imports nothing to leaue this life in the middle of my course, if it were with as much honour, as I haue had in the beginning. My fault is great, but it was only in conceit and not executed: in desire and not in effect. Great offences must haue great fauours. I am hee alone in France, which feels the rigour of Iustice and cannot hope for the merit of Mercy. Whatsoeuer chanceth, I relye more vpon you my Masters then in the King: who hauing heretofore regarded mee with the eyes of his loue, looks no more on me now but with choller, and holds it a vertue to be cruell vnto mee, and a vice to vse any act of clemency towards mee. It had bene better for mee that he had not pardoned me at the first, then to giue me life and then to make mee lose it with shame and dishonour.

"They gaue him leaue to speake what he pleased, the Chancellor holding it reasonable, that seeing he had no counsell to aduise him what he should say, they should in regard thereof giue him time to speake all, and hearing, to consider his reasons, and the variety of his first answers with the last, in the which there were great contradiction. Those which are accused of any crime take it for a fauour to be heard patiently vnto the end: although for the most part they doe but increase the reasons of their punishments. He spake so boldly and so eloquently, as if a man should iudge of the fauour of a discourse by the attention, there was not any one of long time heard with greater patience in that place. Some shed teares in the place and wept in their houses, for pity, not of his innocency (for that appeareth not) but of his fortune so miserably deferred. Heat is more naturall to a man then cold; and mildnesse more then rigor: but he could expect nothing but Iustice from this great Assembly. It was impossible that passion, fauor or respect, should alter the integrity of their iudgements. The opinions of some weake spirits may be moued, who regard more the apparence, then the essence of things, and which beleuee not the harme vntill they seele it, or that the fire is hot, vntill it burne them. But to blinde so many graue heads from seeing of the truth, it was an enterprize of too great difficulty. A little water may be poysoned, but not a whole Riuer.

The prisoners discourse was so long, as they had no time to giue their opinions. Hee was sent backe to the Bastille, returning more cheerfully then hee came, for as in going forth of the Bastille to the Palace, he imagined that he went to his death, so seeing himself brought backe, he conceived that he returned to life. And for that he had answered the Chancellor to all his demands, and had moued some of his Iudges to lament his misfortune, many to detest his accuser; and all to wish that the fowlenesse of his offence, and the good of the State would allow of his pardon: He thought that he had so ballanced their opinions, as mercy should preuaile aboue rigour. Hee therefore neuer ceased all Saturday, Sunday and Munday, to relate vnto the Captaines, and to the guard, that kept him, all that had bene demanded of him, what hee had answered, and how brauely and discreetly he had satisfied all: adding withall, that he did imagine hee saw the Chancellors countenance going out of the great Chamber: he did counterfeit him in his stayednesse and the grauity of his words, fit for a man of his age and quality, imagining that he spake in this manner; *Behold a wicked man; he is dangerous in the State, we must dispatch him, by despatching his death.* Which words neuer came out of his mouth, hauing caried himselfe very respectfully in this Arraignement, hauing neuer pronounced that word of *Death*: but in concluding the iudgement. And therein he alwaies vsed some words to qualifie his griefe in the Image of his affliction, more then of his innocency, vnable to forget the remembrance of the good that was past, or the feeling of the present euill. These were the last sirs of the prisoners hope, the which finding no solid body, did run after the shadowes of his imagination, and flattered him so pleasantly, as he thought not to die, saying, *That they could not supply his place, if he were dead.* Nothing among all them that thought themselves so capable, great wants and imperfections. Yet in all these excuses hee had nothing

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1602. nothing that lulled him so much asleepe as his owne praises. Sometimes he would say, *It is possible, that the King should be so waine, as to make him to apprehend death, and to think to terrifie him therewith.* But he conceited of things according to his imagination, the which was not answerable to the truth.

The judgment of the proceſſe. On Munday the Chancellor returned to the Palace to determine on his ſentence. They continued untill two of the clocke in the afternoon in giving of their opinions. They were drawne from one principle of truth, as many times are from one center, and did concur all in one reſolution conformable to the conſolutions of the Kings Attourney general. That it was juſt, neceſſary and poſſible to quench theſe burning flames of ambition in the blood of the Duke of Biron, if they would not ſee the Realm in combustion.

The Judges  
opinions. A whole day, and a good part of the night would have been spent, if every one had given a reason of his opinion, those of the great Chamber onely, and the Presidents of the In-  
quizzes spake what they would. This subject is like unto a great and thicke Forest, they  
know not what tree to choofe: it is so full and so rich, as abundance of reasons troubles

Principall reasons of their opinions. The choise: And these were the chiefe. There was a concurrence of a great crime and great merit. All France was a witness of the one: and of the other the truth was apparent. The proofes which are required to discouer a secret crime are here made perfect. Proofe by mouth, and the prisoners answer. Proofe by writings, letters and instructions. Proof by the deposition of witnesses, against whom he hath obiected no exception, which might impugn ether which they said and maintained.

By these three sorts of proofs we see that monstrous attempt against the Kings person verified, and that furious conspiracy to trouble his Estate, and to make it a prey to his enemies, and both the one and the other doth make the prisoner guilty of high treason in the first and second degree. He confesseth that hee would ill, that his intent was written and imparted to others, and yet he neuer did ill. That it neuer past his thought. That thoughts are not to be punished as hee said. That the desire to steale makes not a theefe: It is true, but the guilt of treason is so detestable, as the intent how farre to enee from the execution, is punished and required for the effect. Repenraunce which follows after, and changeth the designe, may well serue for the offence, but it helpes nothing for the punishment.

In treason the intent is punishable.

In treason the  
intent is puni-  
shable.

son. A Gentleman having attempted to kill King *Francis* the first, repented, and revealed it in his confession, yet being accused by his Confessor, he lost his head. As the respect of the Image of God, graven in the Majesty of Kings, frees them from all lawes made by men, so the dignity of their persons doth warrant them from all enterprises and conspiracies of humane malice, the which dares not once thinke so put them in practice against their Images, much lesse against their persons. The proofe of an intent, although it were not resolved nor determined, goes not unpunished, which passeth often times vnto things without life. To houses, images, althes, yea, and to the memory it selfe. This crime troubleth the dead, thirty or forty yeares after their funerals; for that is not extinct in dying, but (the which is contrary to common sense and naturall humanity) they punish the child, the wife, and the family, for the fathers offence, being a contagious Leprosie; and the contagion to all his race. The father cannot excuse his Sonne. And the Senator *Fabius* was commended to haue put his Sonne to death; for that he had beene one of *Cathilins* conspiracy. Let him then plead no more, that hee hath done no euill; it sufficeth that he would haue done it. Lawes are not made for bad actions onely, but for Counsels also, and resolutions. His intent began the crime; occasion had ended it, if hee had not bene prevented. If hee had done no other euill, but to give eare to the promises and persuasions of the enemies, hee were guiltie. For in matters of State, the subtil cannot dispose of his point of his will; without the permission of his Princes. We must not stay till venomous beasts haue bitten, and then kill them, nor Traitors inuent executed, before we discouer the offence. It is then too late to iudge of the crime, but to complaine of indifferen- tion; their they seek no more reliefe from Law, but they flie to Armes. It is not shew time to accuse and to punish, but to weepe and to die. The City of Rome laboured in time to resist *Cæsar*, when as hee had subverted the lawes, vsurped the Dictatorship, and terrified all Italy with the brunt of his forces. If they should haue stayed vntill the prisoners had executed his desires, there had bene no talking of liberte nor of State. You must not stay till the wound be made, and then ready to fall, you must and doe stop it, and repair it.

A **l**ike time. It is a misery: (sayd the Emperour *Damian*) when they will not beleue a conspiracy againe Princes, untill they be slaine by the Conspirators. Now that God by a singular worke of his prouidence hath discouered this conspiracy, it toucheth the health of the State; and the honour of the Court, to punish these Conspirators. Reason requires that the example may make men wot how execrable this offence is, for the which it is lawfull to torment the dead, and terrifie them that bee liuing, to make the children partakers of their Fathers punishment, and to assure them rather of miserie then of life, that the world might haue more horror of his wickednesse then feare of his punishment. The Kings Clemencie hath had his turne, how Iustice must take here, making her authority to be heard and admired like vnto the sea, which is more admiued when the waues are swollen and riſen vp to the clouds, then when it is calme and still. But they consider the quality and merit of the prisoner. First, Iustice hath her eyes blinded, and shut from all diſcretions, but that it holds the offence greater in a great person, then in a meane, and by this proportion, the punishment must be greater. The faults of meane men are hidden in the multitude, their fortune and reputation is one thing. Those which raised to great places, doe good or harme by the example of their good or bad actions, are they which are knowne and discouered to all men.

In matters of rebellion and crimes of State, they regard not what is past, they looke only to the present, and what they may expect hereafter: the most vertuous actions yield to the violence of the bad. The accused hath served the King, it was his duty, he hath bene recompensed. He hath attempted against his service, therein hee hath done what hee ought not. The offence and the punishment are twins: at the same instant that hee hath offended, he drawes vpon him the rigour of punishment. If with *Antipater*, hee hath cried vpon his body the markes of vertue, there is nothing now to bee done but signes of infidelity in his heart. His meritis haue mounted to the greatnesse of the first dignities of France, his ill desertings cast him downe with shame, and shew him to bee vnworthy of those excellent degrees of honour. Good service cannot enter into compassion with bad, nor crimes in parallel with meritis. The offence which is greater then the service, changeth the bond of recompence into punishment. Hee that helpes to build a house, deserves much of the owner, but when he sets fire to it, all the remembrance of his good which he hath done vanishes away. The accused hath had a good share in the restoring of the State, but since he would haue undermined it, and ruined the foundations, he hath praised to make it a prey to the enemy, they can no more returne to that which he hath done, they iudge what he would haue done, and shall haue no other esteeme or reparation, but as an *Ariflas*, a *Nahor* or a *Gatlin*. Hee hath bene profitable to the State, it is true. But he hath offended against the Lawes of State. Their preservation is so necessary, as it were better to lose the most profitable members in an Estate, then to suffer them to be violated: for in putting them to death, it doth but decrease the number of valiant men, but in suffering them to liue, you doe wrong vnto the Lawes, and thereby ruine the quiet of the State. Hee hath done well for the preservation of the State: it is true. But he that seeks to destroy what he hath preserved, makes himselfe an enemy, and the remembrance of his well deserving lies in the injury which he would haue done to the whole body. He hath begun well, but he ended ill. All actions are censured by the end. If hee belee, (that is to say) Constancy and firmnesse, had not failed in *Achilles*, hee had bene immorall. It is not sufficient for a man to begin to doe well, if hee desists in the middle, and continues so to the end? Who did hee better at Rome then *Manlius*, the onely preseruer of the Capitoll against the Gauls? and who was more severely punished then hee, whom they cast downe headlong from the Capitoll, for his factions and mutinies?

¶ If were a crime not to serve the Prince, was it not execrable to hinder, and to conspire against his service? As the services done by the accused, cannot be compared with his offences, for his quality cannot moderate his punishment. Justice hath no eyes to regard a Dukes Crowne, a Marshall of France his staffe, nor a blaw riband. All these are no prerogatives, but that he which attempts to trouble the State, shall be held an enemy to the Majesty of the Prince; and the publicke good. Great men are greatly punished. Dignities aggravate the offence upon him that is bound not to offend. The greater the bond is, the more execrable is the ingratitude.

**There**

Enuill unpunished is sufficient.

A pardon extends but to confession.

A Prince cannot be liberall of his subjects blood.

There is no Gentleman in France more bound vnto his Prince, then the accused. If duties, and bonds, hold no place in the affections of subiects to their Prince, to what Altar shall they goe to seeke assurance of faith? Must not the King in these continuall doubts of disloyalty, trust the guard of his Person vnto strangers, as *Leuis* the 11 did vnto the Scottishmen. And finding no religion nor confidence among men, trust vnto beasts, as *Masius* did? God is offended when a respect of the quality withholdeth the course of Iustice, and threatens that Estate with ruine, when they suffer a wicked subiect to liue. *Abraham* felt the heauie hand of his wrath, for that he saved the life of *Rebecca*. As this furious desire of soueraigne command, troubles all the considerations of Nature, Friendship, and Duty: so in punishing them wee must neither regard the respect of blood, the remembrance of seruices, nor the motions of friendship. The offence is so great a consequence to dissembles it. Hee that doth not punish an euill, allowes of it. But they say it hath beene pardoned, that wee must not open a wound which hath been closed vpon. Kings and Fortune doe often pardon, to punish them more severely that haue abused their pardon. The prisoner confesseth that he did not say all, and a pardon cannot extend, but to those things that haue beene mentioned and confessed, the greatest part of the offence hath remained in the will of the repentant, hee hath confessed but as little as hee might. There was a difference betwixt him that did pardon, and him that demanded pardon. The King pardoned to the end hee should not fall into a relapse of his former faults: and he demanded pardon that he might offend more safely. It appears by his confession, and by that which he hath said in the face of the court, when as he was demanded why hee had not discovered his offences freely vnto the King, when as hee gaue him so great assurance to forget it. He answered, that hee did not thinke *La Fin* had sayd any thing, and that he had kept his word, hauing confirmed it with great oaths, what if hee had acquainted him with that which he had discovered to the King, hee would haue cast himselfe at his Maiesties feet as readily as hee did to craue pardon. There was then something betwixt them that was neuer pardoned: They which offend doe often misrecon the time, seeking to excuse their fault. The conference of times discovers the continuance of intents. The pardon was in January, and after September hee writes, That seeing it hath pleased God to giue the King a Dauphin, hee would no more thinke of those vanities: and *La Fin* adds, that there was a biller of a contrary tenor, that the negotiation was continued, and that the King had no knowledge thereof from the prisoner. The pardon should haue drawne him to repentance, and not to ingage him in new treacheries, the which could not be remitted nor pardoned, for that hee had offended often without punishment. He must not continue his errors, the last payes for all the precedent. The Court allowes not of this pardon in a crime that is beyond all pardon, and whereof the abolishment depends not of the King, who may not bee prodigall of his subjects blood, nor bring the health of all in generall in danger for one in particular. This reason moued *Alexander* to put *Philotas* to death, being giuen so vnderstand, that if hee pardoned him, hee would make him able to attempt new treasons against him, when as he should not be in his power to pardon him. A pardon doth not change the bad intent of a mighty malefactor. This *Philotas* knew well, that they which had exhaled all mercy, and drawne it dry, hauing no more hope, did run headlong into despair. That there are benefites which are odious, for that hee bluntheth to confesse the cause, and to acknowledge himselfe debtor for his life to any one. *Alexander* had enemies enough abroad, he had no need of any at home, and assuring his Estate of these, hee needed not to feare the rest. Kings like vnto Physicians must know the diseases of their States, the accidents that are past, the present, and the future, and employ Iustice as a drugges, the which is good for them that be sicke, and may profit others before the disease hath actually seized on them.

There remains one only consideration, that the Duke of Biron may doe great seruice, and that it is not impossible but he may returne to the way of his first innocency. There is lesse harme not to beleue it, then to beleuee it. Wee must not vpon an vncertaine that is to come, neglect the remedie of a present mischiefe. There is more trouble to absolute him, and more danger to set him at liberty, then to put him to death. He is not likely to doe any more good: we can expect nothing but reuenge from his courage. There is no more any *Enrico Camillus* who changed his exile into a bond vnto his Country that had

Qui sine virtute non sine praefectis, prout exemplum.

A had banished him. Serpents seeme dead in winter, the cold keeps them from hurting: but when as the Sunne recouers his forces, they spend their venom. The prisoners had intents might sleepe for a time, but it should bee to awake againe and neuer to leaue the State at rest. He that can neuer profit by his vertue nor his loyalty, must profit by his example. These were the reasons of the Court, vpon the which by a general consent a sentence of death was concluded against the Duke of Biron. There were few in condemning him but said, that it was fit to arraigne *La Fin*, and giue warrant to apprehend him, and that it was impossible he should be cleane from the slime which he had handled, and that if the affaires of Spaine (which is like vnto the Temple of *Hecatompedon*, the which goes forward in words and not in workes) had beene answerable to the vehemency of their affection, he had sayd nothing. The King was aduertised thereof, who assured *La Fin* by his letters, that he would neuer endure that so great a seruice done to the Crowne, should be his ruine. It was reason, for if the Ancients did appoint Honors for beasts, that had done any seruice to the Common-weale, they should be no lesse thankfull vnto a Gentleman that had saued his Country. Whosoever discouers a Conspiracy against the sacred and inuolable person of the Prince, ought to be rewarded by the publike. So was *Vindictus* by the Romans. Princes loue them for a while that haue done some great villanies for their seruice, the which is soone turned into deadly hatred, lothing to looke on them, for that their presence doth reproach them with the wronging of their conscience. But this happens not to him who without any instigation of the Prince, but moued onely with his duty doth reueale a conspiracy, choosing rather to faile in the office of a friend, then in duty of a faithfull subiect. The Chancelor concluding their opinions, pronounced the sentence of death, and by graue reasons and great examples reconciled some few opinions for the apprehending of *La Fin*. Saying, that the enterprise of the prisoner condemned, was not in his head alone, that there were others, who hauing a desire to say something, would retire themselves when they should see *La Fin* so intreated, who in the common opinion had deserued reward. And although that *Mars* would not haue the day which is giuen vnto him, to be the last to one that had deserued the name of a second *Mars*, yet the shadow of death did enuiron him on Tuesday about Noone, seeing a great multitude of Parisiens about Saint Anthonies gate, he then beleueed that he should be a spectacle vnto them. The Lord of Vitry's Lieutenant freed him from this imagination, making him beleuee that it was to see certain Gentleman fight. Hereupon (and of that which the heart doth alwaies diuine in the like accidents, seeing more signes of death then of life) he framed in his imagination infallible consequences of his death, sending the Siegneur of Baranton to intreat the Marquis of Rhosny to come vnto him, or if hee could not, to be an intercessor vnto the King for his pardon. He answered, that he was extremely grieved that hee durst not doe the first, and had not meanes to effect the second. That the King was sorry that at his comming to Fontainebleau he was obdurate and would not deliuer the truth, which tooke from him the meanes to saue his life, and for his friends to sue for him. This multitude did not run to the gate without some occasion, they knew that the sentence of death was giuen the day before: Certaine Officers of the Court and the Executioner were seene enter into the Bastille, the Scaffold which should be set vp at the Greue was made, but they were ill informed: for the King hauing commanded the Chancelor to send him the sentence, after he had giuen it in the Parliament, that he might let him vnderstand his pleasure touching the execution, *Sillery* who had carried it to Saint Germaine, returned with letters, by the which (for the auoyding the ignominy of his death at the sute of his friends, and for other considerations) his Maiesty was pleased to change the place of the execution, and to appoint that in the Bastille, which should haue beene at the Greue.

These letters being verified, on Wednesday morning the last of Iuly, the Chancelor accompanied with the first President of the Court of Parliament, *Sillery* and three Masters of Requests, and followed by some Officers of the Chancery, *De Vesjon* Register for criminall causes, and sixe Vilers, came to the Bastille about nine of the clocke in the morning, to let him heare the sentence of the Court. At this entry hee commanded them to make the prisoner, dine and not to aduertise him of his comming, remaining in a little Chamber nere the entry on the left hand about an houre and a halfe, where he reioiced who should bee sent for to assist at this execution, of whose names hee made a list. Hee that

The Chancelor pronounceth the sentence of death.

The Duke of Biron desires to see the Marquis de Rhosny.

The Chancelor comes to the Bastille.

The Duke of  
Biron words  
to the Chan-  
celor.

Men condemn-  
ed may speake  
any thing.

Passion  
transport  
the tongue.

Clemency  
a royall  
vertue.

that apprehends death, hath no desire to eate: yet he set him downe, rose againe present-  
ly, and according to his vsuall manner went vnto a window which looked into the Court  
of the Bastile, where hearing the cries and lamentations of a woman, hee thought they  
were for him, and had this sad content to see they wept for him before his death. Soone  
after, the Chancellor goes towards him, who crossing through the Court, the Duke of  
Biron espied him and cried out, *that he was dead. You come (sayd hee) to pronounce my  
sentence, I am condemned vniuissly, tell my kinsfolkes that I die an innocent.* The Chancellor  
went on without any motion, commanding that they should bring him into the Chap-  
pell. The prisoner seeing him come asafare off, cried out: *Oh my Lord Chancellor is there  
no pardon? is there no mercy?* The Chancellor saluted him and puts on his hat. The Duke  
of Biron continued bare, and hauing abandoned all the powers of his soule to griefe and  
passion, he tooke the aduantage to speake first, and to speake all that a tongue ouer-grie-  
ued might vtter, reproaching the Chancellor that he had not had so great a desire to save  
him as to condemne him. He added therunto certaine words, the recording whereof  
is prohibited, and the report punishable. But Princes regard not the railing of subiects  
against their Maiesty, the which returns alwaies from whence it came. The Duke of  
Biron knowing not whom he should challenge most for his misfortune, turned towards  
the Chancellor, and shaking him by the arme, sayd, *You haue iudged mee, and God will ab-  
solue me, he will lay open their iniquities, which haue shut their eyes, because they would not see  
mine innocency: you my Lord shall answer for this iudgement before him, whether I doe summe  
you within a yeare and a day, I goe before by the iudgement of men, but those that are the cause  
of my death shall come after by the iudgement of God.* All which was deliuered with such  
violence, as he cryed out and stormed both against the King and his Parliament. They  
beare with all which proceeds from choller in a condemned man of his humor and  
qualitie. But this excesse to adorne a Chancellor to heauen being seuentie yeares old, was  
held unworthy the great courage of a Capitaine, blaspheming and brauing death, and yet  
ignorant how they plead in another world. Hee was not the first in the like extremities,  
that haue adourned their Iudges before the throne of God. *Iohn Hus* sayd in dying:  
*That those which had condemned him should answer a hundred yeares after before God and  
him:* and the Bohemians who preferred the ashes of his bones and maintained his de-  
scendence, coyned money with this adournment. But the Duke of Biron's affligations  
was vaine: for the Chancellor appeared not, but hath bene more healthfull since then be-  
fore. He found no meanes to enter into discourse amidst the confusion of so many words  
which were like to a violent streame. Yet he interrupted him, to tell him that he had need  
of Gods helpe, and that he should recommend himselfe vnto him. He presently answer-  
ed, that he had thought vpon God, and implored his ayde to giue him patience against  
their iniustice, but neither he nor his Iudges had thought of it in condemning him. Pas-  
sion (said the Chancellor) makes you to speake many things without any colour, and against  
your owne iudgement. There is not any man hath better knowne your merits then my  
selfe, and I would to God your offences had been as much vnkowne as they haue bene  
dissembled. The knowledge thereof was so great and so perfect, as your Iudges haue been  
more troubled how to moderate your paine, then to haue you punished, they haue more  
laboured to iustifie you then to condemne you.

Whilest the Chancellor was speaking, the Duke of Biron turned towards *Roisly* Master  
of Requests, and asked him if he had also bene one of his Iudges. *Roisly* answered, *My  
Lord, I pray God to comfort you.* My father loued you so intirely (replyd the Duke of Bi-  
ron) that although you were one of them that had condemned mee I would forgive you.  
And so returning to his discourse, he addressd himselfe vnto the Chancellor, who was laying  
something vnto *Paisin*. I see well (said he) what it is, I am not the most wicked, but I am  
the most vnforgotten. Those which haue done worse then I would haue done, are fauor-  
ed. The Kings Clemency is dead for mee. Hee doth not imitate the examples of *Cesar*  
nor *Augustus*, or of those great Princes, who not onely pardoned them that would haue  
done ill, but euen them that did ill, and who were euer sparing of their blood, yea of those  
which was least esteemed wherein can the King shew himselfe greater then in pardoning  
Clemency is a Kingly vertue, euery one may giue death, but it belongs onely to Soue-  
raines to giue life. And cruell that he is, doth hee not know well that hee hath pardoned  
me. I had a bad designe, he granted mee grace. I demand it againe, you may easily ad-  
uertise

A vertue him, a Post will soone returne. The Queene of England told me, that if the Earle  
of Essex would haue humbled himselfe and sued for grace, he would haue pardoned him.  
He grew obdurate, and would neuer implore her mercy, taking from her all meanes to  
shew the effects. She like a generous Princeesse desiring to pardon him, euen as she would  
that God should pardon her. Hee was guilty, I am innocent: he sued for no pardon for  
his offence, I craue it in my innocency.  
Is it impossible the King should thinke no more of the seruices I haue done him? doth  
he not remember the conspiracy at Maantes, and the danger he had runne into, if I had had  
intelligence with the conspirators, who found nothing that did more hinder the effects of  
his desire then my loyalty, nor a more ready meanes to attaine vnto it then in causing  
me to be slaine? There is no veine in my body which hath not bled for his seruice? He  
shewes that he neuer loued me any longer then he thought himselfe to haue need of mee,  
hath he forgotten the sieges of Amiens, where they haue seene mee so often couered  
with fire and bullets, and to bee in so many dangers either to giue or to receiue death?  
He now quencheth the torch in my blood, after that he hath vied it. My Father exposed  
himselfe to a thousand dangers, and purchased death to set the Crowne vpon his head.  
I haue receiued five and thirty wounds vpon my body to preferre it for him, and for my  
reward he takes my Head from my shoulders. Let him beware lest the Iustice of God  
fall vpon him. Hee shall find what profit my death will bring him, it will nothing as-  
sure his affaires, but impaire the reputation of his Iustice. Hee doth lose this day a good  
seruant, and the King of Spaine a great Enemy. I am not put to death for that I treated  
with him; my courage raised me vp, and my courage ruines me.

It is not lawfull for a man condemned to dispute of that which hath bene iudged a-  
gainst him. And therefore the Chancellor sayd, that he should not torment himselfe  
any more against his Iudgement, that they had done him that Iustice which a Father is  
bound to pronounce against his owne Sonne if hee had offended in the like sort. At that  
word, choller makes him to breake forth, saying: What Iustice? I was neuer heard bar-  
one, I could not deliuer the fiftieth part of my Iustification. What Iudgement vpon  
the testimony of the most wretched and most execrable man in the world, who neuer  
dame nere mee but with incantments, nor went from mee but he had enchanted mee?  
He bit me by the eare, and made me to drinke enchanted wares; calling me his King, his  
Prince, his Lord. Hee cannot deny but hee made me to see an Image of waxe which  
spake these two words in Latin. *Then shalt dye wicked King.* If hee hath this power ouer  
a senseless Image, what might hee not doe vpon me whose will he did tyrannize vpon by  
his witch-craft, forcing me to doe what hee pleased. But *La Fin* sayes, that hee knowes  
not what this Image meanes. If it be true, these words discover the Diuels policie, who  
speakes the truth in his misery that trusteth vnto his lies, and intrangles him still with in-  
ferable ambiguities. So hee deceived *Crasus* when hee told him that the *Raiser* Ha-  
his should lose a great power, meaning his, not that of *Cyrus*, against whom hee went to  
fight. So the Diuell meant not any other King then he whom *La Fin* saluted by the  
name of King, calling the Duke of Biron his Prince and his King. At euery word now hee  
uttered some execration against *La Fin*, taxing the Court of Injustice, to haue condem-  
ned him vpon his accusation. The Chancellor said vnto him that the Court had con-  
sidered aduicely of his answers and his letters. It is true, said the Duke of Biron, I haue written  
some, but there are some that by an odious wicked selfe premeditated haue bene coun-  
terfeit. Those that were of my hand-writing were not my intention. I disauowed them  
when I wrote them. There are some that can counterfeit letters so artificially, as they that  
are charged therewith are confounded, and beleue they had written that which they be-  
lieue thought. The Marquesse of Verneuil confessed to haue written that which was not  
his hand, nor euer in her thought, and when hee had read the letter, shee cryed out, that her  
hand had betrayed her heart, hauing neuer any thought of that which was contained  
therein. The Chancellor would haue interrupted his discourse, but hee said this in such  
sort as there was no means to make any way. Hee spake of the Kings pardon which hee had  
granted him, as if he had relied vpon his word, not asking any other assurances. Hee told  
what letters the King had sent him to persuade him to come, and the policy of the Presi-  
dent *Lian* to draw him thence, to decoy him, as hee sayd, calling him a Decoy. Hee  
saies of his friends consoling him not to come, with many other vane and foolish discourses.

A condemn-  
ed man  
may not  
dispute.

There is no  
certaine rule  
violence  
that can  
force an  
honest  
man to  
doe ill.

The diuile  
solicits  
are deceitful  
full.

Suppositi-  
on of letters.

Hee said  
that hee  
wrote  
nothing  
as hee  
said.

1602

The Duke of  
Biron delivers  
up the Kings  
order.

The Chancellor to interrupt him, sayd, that the King demanded his Order, the Duke of Biron drawing it out of his pocket, delivered it vnto him, protesting and swearing vpon the saluation and perill of his Soule, that hee had neuer broken the oath which hee had made in taking it. It was true that hee had affected Warre more then peace, to make himselfe necessary, and to maintain the reputation which hee had gotten by the practice of Armes. It seemes he had not well obserued the articles of this Order, by the which no Knight of the Holy Ghost might take any Pension, Entertainement nor money from a foraigne Prince, nor tye themselves to the seruice of any other person during the Kings life, but should faithfully reueale all which they knew did import his Maiesties seruice. The Chancellor would haue had him to read his sentence: hee beseeched him not to intreat him with that rigour, that he knew what it did import, but the King should content himselfe with his Life, and suffer his goods to goe vnto his kinsfolkes, ending his paine with his death. The Chancellor said that hee doubted not but the King like a Prince full of bounty would let his kinsfolkes know that hee had loued him. Although the losse of life is nothing comforted by the preservation of goods, yet this gaue him some consolation, so as the fisme of his choller was suddenly dispersed. The Chancellor sayd, *That hee had brought two Diuines to comfort him, and to prepare him for death.* The prisoner sayd vnto them, *That hee was already prepared, and had his Soule in that tranquillity, as the night before he had spoken with God, and that his guard had heard him laughe in his sleepe.*

He is suffered  
to make his  
Will.

The Chancellor who had much forced his patience, sayd vnto him, wee will bid you farewell. *What farewell said the condemned?* I will come and see you againe after dinner, answered the Chancellor: As he went forth he intreated him to grant him the last consolation that remains for men that are dying, when they may haue their wils to passe after their deaths, and to suffer him to make his Testament. It was granted, and hee disposed thereof with a spirit free from all perturbation. Hee remembered his seruants and friends, not forgetting the Baron of Lux whom he lamented aboue all. He drew three rings from his fingers deliuering them to *Baranson* to giue vnto his sister of S. Blancart, desiring her to weare them in remembrance of him. He had about three hundred Crownes when hee was taken prisoner, a part hee playd, the rest hee gaue away to the poore. Eight or ten of his guard came to take their leaues of him with teares in their eyes. Hee gaue them Apparell, Shirts, Cloakes, and all that hee had in his Coffers. So when the table is taken away, they giue the meat that remains, to them that haue wayted. *Garnier* the Kings Preacher and now Bishop of Mompellier, with *Magnan* Curat of Saint Nicholas of the field, presented themselves to comfort him, to take from him the violent fits, which the opinion of his innocency did giue him, and to withdraw him from the affections of the world. *Voisin* told him that it was the course of Iustice to read the sentence, and that he must kneele downe before the Altar. *Read it saies hee, I will bee as supple as a glove.*

The Duke of  
Biron kneeles  
to heare the  
sentence of  
death.

It was read in these termes: The Proccesse being extraordinarily made, and examined by the Court and Chambers assembled, and by the Presidents and Councillors that were deputed by Letters Patents of the 18 and 19 of Iune, at the request of the Kings Attourney General against *Charles Gentsils* of Biron, Knight of both orders, Duke of Biron, Peere and Marshall of France, Gouvernor of Bourgonne, prisoner in the Bastille, accused of treason, interrogations, confessions and denials, confronting of witnesses, letters, aduices and instructions giuen to the enemy, confessed by him, and all which the Attourney General hath produced. A sentence was giuen the 22 of this Month, by the which it was decreed in the absence of the Peeres of France (being called) they should proceed to Iudgement, the conclusions of the Kings Attourney General being giuen, and the prisoner being heard by the Court vpon the Crimes wherewith hee was charged, all considered it was sayd: That the said Court had declared and did declare the said Duke of Biron guilty of high Treason, for his conspiracies against the Kings person, enterprises against his Estate, and treacheries and traites with his enemies, being Marshall of the Kings Army: For reparation of which Crimes, they deprived him of all his Estates, Honours and Dignities, and condemned him to lose his head vpon a Scaffold at the Greue, declaring all his goods movable and immovable whereto hee was confiscate vnto the Kings: the Seignurie of Biron to lose the name and title of Duchy and Peere for avery, with all other goods held immediately of the King

The crimes for  
the which the  
Duke of Biron  
was condemn-  
ed.

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Hee falls into  
choller after  
the reading of  
his sentence,

A King to be vnted vnto the Crowne of France, decreed in the Court of Parliament the last day of Iuly 1602, and signed by *Bellicourt* Chancellor of France, and *Fleury* Councillor in the Court, and Reporter of the proccesse. He grew into choller thrice in the reading of the sentence: when they said that hee had attempted against the Kings person, he protested with great Imprecations that it was false. That hee had neuer made any conspiracie, that he had his head troubled with some enterprises of State, for that hee would not lye idly in peace, but giue some employment to men of warre. But it was about two and twenty moneths since he had any thought of it; desiring that *Voisin* might raze that out of the sentence. When he heard that he should be executed at the Greue, he said he would not goe thither, but would rather be drawne with foure horses, and that it was not in all their powers to lead him. *Voisin* said, that they had provided for it, and that the King had done him the grace to change the place of his execution, hauing appointed it in the Bastille: *What grace answered the prisoner?* The third point of his sentence was, that he was troubled for the reunion of the Duchy of Biron to the Crowne, the which he said, could not be forfeit to the prejudice of the substitution of his brethren, and that the King should be satisfied with his life.

The Diuines after the pronouncing of the sentence spake more boldly vnto him of death, and to free himselfe of all worldly cares as he had done of his goods, and that hee should haue no other thoughts but of his Soules health. Hee then grew into choller, C swearing that they should suffer him in peace, and that it concerned him only to thinke of his Soule, with the which they had nothing to doe. It is the order in Criminnal executions to deliuer the party condemned into the hands of the Executioner as soone as his Iudgement is read. They would haue done so with him: but *Voisin* went to speake vnto the Chancellor, to know if they should not distinguish him from other prisoners. The Chancellor was in doubt whether they should binde him or not. Hee asked *Sillery* what he thought, who vnderstanding by *Voisin* that the party condemned was well pacified, sayd, it was to be feared that in seeking to binde his hands they would cause him to breake the bonds of patience, and enter into new furies, for that they which are in that distresse, are distempored for small matters.

D Yet the Chancellor would haue the aduice of the first President, who was in another Chamber, for that hee had dined before hee came vnto the Bastille: Hee sayd that it was dangerous to suffer his hands free, and therefore they must binde him. E Every one was of *Sillerys* opinion, who considered not so much what should be done as what might be done, for the party condemned would neuer haue suffered himselfe to haue bene led bound to the place of execution but in Fury and Despaire. The Executioner (who said since that a yong hangman and not experienced would haue dyed for feare) had bene in danger to endure that which he would make him to suffer. In this liberty, his spirit was alwaies free in his thoughts for the last disposition of affaires: the Diuines intreated him to consider that hee was no more what hee had bene: that within an hour or two he should be no more: that he must leaue this life to lye for euer: that his Soule must goe before the fearful Throne of the liuing God, to be rewarded with a more happy and perfect life then that which hee had past in this world: or condemned to infinite paines, in comparison whereof, that which hee should suffer was but a light pricking, in respect of the burning flames of the Diuine Iustice.

Hee then entered into the examination of his Conscience, in the which hee remained about an hour. This action required an humble, penitent and a contrite heart, and yet hee seemed much more carefull of worldly things, and of the affaires of his house, then of his Soules health; and as it were a yong apprentice in the first prayers of his Religion, praying vnto God not as a deuout Christian, but as a Souldier, not as a religious Man, but as a Captaine, not as *Moses* or *Elias*, but like to *Iofua*, who, on horsebacke and with his sword in his hand prayed and commanded the Sunne to stand still. His confession being made, hee walked vp and downe the Chappell, still casting out some exclamation for his Innocency, and some execration against *La Fin*, asking if it should not be lawfull for his brethren to cause him to be burnt.

Hee confesseth  
humblely.

Hercupon *Voisin* comes, who tels him that the Chancellor and the first President were very glad of the constant & generous resolution hee had to die, and that they would come presently to see him. He answered that hee had bene long resolved, and that it was not

Vvunt 2 the

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the paine of death, but the manner that did amaze him. Whilest he attended them, there A  
were many notes brought him, touching his affaires, whereunto hee answered without  
trouble or passion. Hee recommended the payment of some debts which he did owe to  
Gentlemen, that had nothing to shew for it; and among others, to the Ambassadour in  
England: when the Chancelor had dined, he came to see him with the first President, and  
found that as a troubled water growes cleere being settled, so the time which he had giuen  
him to thinke of his affaires, had taken from him the violent agitations of his fantasie, and  
freed his heart from the feare of death: he commanded all that were in the place to retire,  
and they fate downe together about halfe an houre, but their discourse is vnknowne.

He resolves to  
dye.

In the end the Chancelor sayd vnto him, I should doe wrong vnto your courage, if I  
should exhort you vnto death, the hath presented herselfe vnto you in so many places,  
as it is not in her power to trouble the Constancy and Patience, whereunto I beleue you  
are disposed. You find it hard to die in the flower and vigour of your age, but if you con-  
sider that our dayes are limited, and that they depend on the foresight of the Gouernor of  
the whole world, you will receiue this death as by the will of God, who meanes to rectifye  
you out of this world for your owne good, before that some great and long misery shall  
send you. As we may not desire a death which is far off, so may we not reieice that which  
offers it selfe. No, no, answered the party condemned, labour not (my Lord) to fortifie me  
against the feare of death, these twenty yeares it hath not feared mee, and knowing not  
where she would take me, I haue expected her euery where. You haue giuen me 40 daies C  
to thinke vpon it, yet I could not beleuee that it being not in the power of my enemies  
to take away my life, I should be so miserable as to be seized on by death, with the consent of  
my friends. The King (said the Chancelor) hath cut off all that might bee shamefull and  
ignominious. He then asked him if he would speake with any one. He sayd that he desired  
to see La Force and S. Blancart. They told him that they were not in the City, but there  
was a Gentleman of the Lord of Badous, and after that he had demanded for Preuss  
(Comptroller of his house) and that they had answered him that he was gone three daies  
before to a house of his in the Country, he then said, *that he ought not to haue beene there,*  
*that he had all his blankes: adding thereunto these words of compassion, All the world* D  
*hath abandoned me. In these crimes friendship is dangerous, friends faile, and the disease is ta-*  
*ken by acquaintance, as well as by infection. He is wise that knowes no man, nor no man knowes*  
*him.* At these words the Chancelor and the first President tooke their leaues of him  
with teares in their eyes. He intreated them to receiue a good opinion of his life, by the  
assurance which he gaue at the point of death, that hee had neuer attempted any thing a-  
gainst the King, and that if he would haue vnderaken it, the King had not bene liuing  
three yeares since. The Chancelor went out of the Bastille with the first President and  
Sillery, and stayed in the Arceuall vntill the execution was done. The Duke of Biron in-  
treated the Kinght of the Watch to goe after him, and to request him that he would suf-  
fer his body to be interred with his Predecessors at Biron, for although nature hath pro-  
vided that no man shall die without a graue, yet men thinke curiously thereof before they  
die, and imagine, that as glory preferres the reputation of the life, so the graue maintaines  
the remembrance of the body. He that had seen him would haue thought he had not been  
ready to dye, so little care he had of death, or else hee promised to himselfe some vncex-  
pected effects of the Kings mercy, or to escape by miracle. There is no such deceit as imagi-  
nation frames in these extremities, whilste she flatters herself with vain hope, imagining that  
God doth greater wonders, and that they haue seene a pardon come betwixt the Execu-  
tioners sword and Prisoners necke: Voisin asked him if he pleased to say any thing else that  
might serue to discharge his conscience. The Preachers exhorted him not to conceale  
any thing, and to consider that they could not giue him abolution but for what he should  
confesse. He answered, that although the King did put him to death vniuultly, yet hee had  
so much loued his seruice, and had serued him with so great loue and obedience, neuer  
diuiding the one from the other, as hee felt in his thoughts of death, those of his loue, to  
be so liuely and ardent, as he would not conceale any thing that he knew to be against his  
person or state, for all the world, no not for the assurance of his life he would not speake  
any thing that was not true.

He desires to  
see his friends.The Chancelor  
takes his leaue  
of him.

Hee drew Voisin and his Confessors apart and whispered something vnto them, the  
which was presently written. Hauing continued with his Confessors halfe an houre,  
(being

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A (being neere five of the clocke) one came and told him that it was time to part. *Goe we*  
*(said he) seeing I must.* He then kneeled downe before the Altar, makes his prayer, and re-  
comends himselfe vnto God, before he goes out of the Chappell. He asked if there were  
any one that belonged vnto the Marquis of Rhosny, *Arnant* was there, whom he willed  
to present his commendations vnto his Master, in remembrance not so much of him that  
went to die, as of his kinsfolkes which remained aliue, and to assure him that hee held him  
for a good seruant to the King, and profitable and necessary for his seruice, and that hee  
was sorry hee had not followed his counsell. Hee knew one that followed the Duke of  
Mayenne, and intreated him to say vnto him, that if in his life he had giuen him some cause  
not to loue him, yet he desired him to beleuee that he dyed his seruant, and the Duke of  
Eiguillons and the Earle of Sommeriues his children. Hee charged *Baranton* to deliuer  
his last words of loue and affection vnto his brethren, commanding them to keepe the  
faith which bound them vnto the Kings seruice, not to apprehend his misfortune, nor to  
come at Court vntill that time had worne out the skarres of his ignominious death. He  
intreated one of them that had guarded him, to go tell the Earle of Auvergne that he went  
to dye without griefe, but for the losse of his friendship: that if God had giuen him a lon-  
ger life, hee would haue done him more seruice, beseeching him to beleuee that hee had  
said nothing at his arraignment that might hurt him, if it were not that hee had more  
want then bad meaning.

He prayes be-  
fore he goes  
forth of the  
Chappell.

C The Count of Auvergne receiued this farewell as from a true friend, and with a feeling,  
worthy of his friendship, hee intreated him to leaue him a bafe childe of his, the which  
hee would bring vp with his owne. Going out of the Chappell, the Executioner presen-  
ted himselfe vnto him. Hee asked Voisin what he was. It is (said he) the Executioner of  
the sentence. *Retire thy selfe* (said the Duke of Biron) *touch me not vntill it be time.* And  
doubting lest hee should bee bound, hee added, *I will goe freely vnto death, I haue no*  
*hands to defend my selfe against it, but it shall neuer bee said that I die bound like a thiefe or a*  
*slave:* and turning towards the hang-man, hee saide that if he came neere him he would  
pull out his throat. He could not endure the sight of the Executioner: Hee had reason,  
for they torment the body, as Diuels are executioners of the soule. And although  
D they be men and the instruments of Iustice, yet they are held execrable, and had no dwel-  
ling house allowed them in Rome by the Censors Law. The two Preachers led him  
downe, intreating him to resist his impatience, which did but distemper his minde, and  
made him loath to leaue the place which he could not hold against his will. Coming  
into the Court, hee went five or sixe paces without speaking a word, but *ha, ha, ha.* He  
cast his eyes vpon the Lieutenant Ciuill, in whose house *la Fin* was lodged, to whom he  
said, *I am your fr.*, *beware you bee not abused with Sorcerers and Magicians, if you free*  
*not your selfe of them, you will repent it.*

He sends com-  
mendations to  
the Count of  
Auvergne.He grows in-  
to cholier when  
he sees the  
hangmanHe goes to  
the Scaffold.

They had made a scaffold in a corner of the Court of the Bastille before the porrall  
going into the Garden, fixe foot high and somewhat longer, there were five steps to  
E goe vnto it. There were no Ornaments, no Tapistry, no distinction. The most stately  
death is not the least troublesome, the greater the preparation is, the more remarkable is  
the infamy. It is no great honor to kneele vpon a velvet Cushion, vpon a Scaffold stred  
ouer with Tapistry, and to haue by him an Executioner clad in blacke velvet and Crim-  
son Silke, with the sword of Gold of *Heliogabalus*: the death which is least ceremonious  
is the best. The beholders were some at the windowes, some in the Court. There were  
the Prouost of Merchants, foure Sheriffes, three or foure Masters of Requests, some Pres-  
idents of the Chambers of Accounts, and some Councillors, the Lieutenants Ciuill and  
Criminall, and the Kings Attourney Generall. The Duke of Biron coming to the  
Scaffold kneeled vpon the first step, praying in few words, and his eyes lift vp to Hea-  
F ven. He was exhorted to kisse the Crosse in remembrance of his Redemption. Hee  
was attyred in Ruffet Taffata, with a blacke Hat. Hee cast a furious looke vpon the  
Executioner. Voisin perswaded him that it was another, but he knew him well, saying,  
*that they sought to deceiue him, but hee commanded him to stand by, and when it were time*  
*hee would call for him.* Hee threw downe his Hat, and cast his hand-kcher to a boy,  
and presently called for it againe to vse it, seeming in this act that hee had not the cou-  
rage to looke vpon death with open eyes. He put off his dubler, and cast it to the same  
boy, but the Executioners man, got it, and kept it.

Yuuu3

The



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The Executioner offered him a cloth to put before his eyes, the which hee reiected, A saying, *that if hee touch him, but to giue him the stroke of death, hee would strangle him.* Hee sayd vnto the souldiers which guarded the Port (shewing them his naked brest) that he should be much bound vnto him that would shoot him with a Musket: what a pity is it sayd he, *to die so miserably, and of so infamous a stroke?* They might see by his hollow eyes, that his thoughts were distempred. At these words the teares fell from the souldiers eyes. All those of his profession sware by his Spirit, and by his good Angell, as the Ancients did by that of their Prince. The poorest souldier was cherished by him, at the least he had some good words to assure him of his good liking. The Harguebuziers did wound him at the heart, through the extreme compassion they had of him. So were the souldiers of *Eumenes*, moued when they saw him bound and manacled, intreating them to kill him. He asked if there were no pardon, and directing his words to the standers by, hee sayd, *that he had made his soule ready to present it before the face of God, but hee tooke pity of the Kings soule, who put him to death vnjustly: that hee dyed an innocent, and that his death was the recompence of his seruice: Voisin said vnto him, that it was the manner to read the sentence.* He was angry that they would make him to feele death, and to die to often before his death, for he felt himselfe to die cruelly in the repetition of the crimes of his condemnation, being sufficient that they had brought him thither where hee was ready to obey, and that they which did see him were not ignorant of the cause.

When as the Register answered him that it could not be otherwise, he gaue him leave: but vnderstanding the words: that he had attempted against the Kings person and State, he sayd that it was false. That God was his Iudge, that he would be deprived eternally of his grace, if it were true, that for two and twenty moneths past he had neuer any thought of it, and that the King had pardoned him. He talked all the while that *Voisin* read his iudgement, so as neither the one nor the other could bee vnderstood, the Auditors not knowing to whom to giue eare. The party condemned protesting still, and coniuring the Assisants to remember that these two and twenty moneths he had not attempted any thing against the Kings seruice. No man doth at any time condemn himselfe. You shall see few of these great Spirits, that die by their owne confessions, although they be found guilty. Some confesse the Fact, but they hold it no crime, as that yong Gentleman who was one of them that murdered the Duke of Milan, being ready to receive the stroke, he cried out, *that the death which hee suffered was troublesome, but his Reputation should bee eternally glorious.*

His iudgement being read, the Preachers perswaded him to call to God for helpe, and not to thinke any more on Earth, but to yeeld his Soule to the immortall disposition of the Creator, and to leaue his body to that which Iustice had decreed. Hee asked what he should doe, and takes his hand-kercher, with which he blinds his eyes, asking the Executioner where hee should set himselfe: hee answered him, there my Lord, there. And where is that? Thou fcest that I see nothing, and yet thou shewest mee as if I did see plainly: and therewith being in choller, he pulled away his hand-kercher to see: Hee blinded his eyes againe, and for that it is a kinde of grace to bee soone dispatcht, and a great cruelty to languish in the expectation of a paine, hee commanded the Executioner to make an end. He desired to die standing, according to the aduice of *Yeshafaz*. The Executioner answered him that he must kneele, that hee might doe nothing out of order. No no, said the Duke of Biron, *if thou canst not doe it at one, giue thirty. I will not stirre.* They prest him to kneele, and he obeyed, willing the Executioner to dispatch: then hee flart vp suddenly again, casting his eyes vpon the Executioner: & looking vpon the standers by, hee asked if there were no mercy: it was imagined, that either he would haue layd hand vpon the Executioners sword, or that he presumed that when he should be ready to receive the fatal stroke they would bring him his pardon, and that the King would doe him no other harme then feare him, as *Papirius Curser* did one of his souldiers for breaking of his ranke. The Executioner intreated him to suffer him to cut his haire. At that word hee grew into choller againe, he vnbandd himselfe, and sware that if he toucht him he would strangle him. You may see in two persons, two extreme passions. Feare retyred the Executioner within himselfe. Choller transported the Duke of Biron beyond himselfe. The one trembled for feare, the other for rage. *Voisin said vnto him, that he had too much care*

Stantem Imperatorem excelsis  
retorsit deorsum.

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A of his body, which was no more his owne. Hee turned to him in choller with an oath, saying, *I will not haue him touch me, so long as I shall be liuing: if they put me into choller, I will strangle halfe the company that is here, and will force the rest to kill mee, I will leape downe if you thrust me into despair.* His colour did rife, and shewed a distemperature in his face. Those that were vpon the scaffold went downe. The Executioner remained amazed, fearing death more then hee that was to die.

He sweares and  
grooves into  
choller.

But this choller preuailed nothing, it was like vnto *Cresspion*, to kicke against the Moyles heeles. Resty horsles get nothing but purring, they are neither freed from their burden, nor from their iourney, he must resolue to goe this way, the which hee must passe at length. *Voisin* intreating the Preachers to goe vp againe, and to pacifie him, fearing lest hee should fall into despair, for his soule being much troubled with the violence of so tragically an end (entring into these furious motiues) was subiect to great dis temperatures. They goe vp againe, and speake some good words vnto him in his care, the which doth temper his furious rage, and calmes the choller which the Executioners presence did thrust him into: he had alwaies liued in war, he could not dye in peace. All men found these furious passions strange in the last act of his life, the which required a great constancy of minde, and a perfect iudgment to know God, to call to him for mercy, and to pray him to intreat his soule more fauourably then Iustice had done his body.

Hitherto they beleued, that although he were entring into death, yet he thought not to dye, and that he would seize vpon the Executioners sword. Suddenly hee resolues to free his passage, and having receiued his absolution, he said, *My God, my God, my God, take pity on me.* Then turning to the Executioner, he takes the binder that was in his hand, trusses vp his haire behinde, and binds it vpon his forehead: and with his handkercher hee blinds his eyes, and so kneeles downe. The Preachers comfort him in his last resolution, assuring him that his soule was ready to see God, and to be partaker of his glory in heaven. I said he, *Heaven is open for my soule.* And this done hee bends downe his head, presenting it as willingly vnto the sword, as *Agis* did his vnto the halter, saying vnto the Executioner: *Strike, strike, ob strike.* This was to dye in commanding, and to command in dying.

D The Executioners hauing seene him to rife, and to vnbind himselfe thrice, that in turning towards him being not bound, hauing the sword in his hand, he might wrest it from him, thought that there was no way to execute him but by surprize, and therefore hee said vnto him, that he must say his last prayer to recommend his soule vnto God, intreating the Preachers that were gone downe to cause him to say it. At which words the Executioner made a signe to his man to reach him his sword, with the which hee cut off his head, euen as he was speaking. The blow was so sodaine, as few men perceiued it, the head leaped from the scaffold to the ground. The Preachers prayed for the happy departure of the soule, from so vnhappy a body, the which was presently stripped into his shirt, and couered with a sheete. His heart panted, as if in rising against the head, it had said as E *Apollodorus* thought that his did when he dremp that one did hew it in peeces; *It is for thee that I suffer.* This head full of the fumes of Ambition, was the cause of the Hearts death. The Executioner struck him so high above the nape of the neck, as hee glanced vpon his Iawe-bones, and left a great tuft of haire on his neck. Being dead, hee shewed choller in his countenance, as they write of the Souldiers which died at the battle of Cannas. Euery one departed, commending the Kings Iustice, and lamenting the misery of so valiant a man, beleueing that of long time they should not see his equal. His kindnesse thought hee himselfe happily, if the glory of his life might wipe away the infamy of his death, if the shining of his first actions were not obliued with the darknesse of the last, that for a recompence of all his seruices which haue made him so famous, they might obtaine the fauour that they would neuer speake of him. But there is no law of forgetfulness, to deface the memory of that which hath bene, and of that which is. About nine of the clocke at night, he was carried to S. Pauls Church, and buried in the midst of the body, before the Pulpit, the *Celestines* hauing refused to giue him buriall hauing had no permission nor commandement for it. Hee was not distinguished from others by his funerall pompe, nor by the number of Ensignes (like vnto that great Captaine at Granada) but by the holy water which the Parisiens did cast hourly vpon his graue. Such was the end of the Duke of Biron.

He cuts off his  
head.

Great Griefe  
dying had a  
hundred En-  
signes hung ou-  
er his graue.

There

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There is no calme but hath a storme: one would haue said to haue seene him at the height of his prosperities; *That hee had fixed a nayle on Fortunes wheele, that it might not turne,* and yet hee suddenly cast downe. There past but one night betwixt his glory and his ruine. The Flower being so suddenly blowne, the first Northerne winde did wither it, and carry it away. His honours and greatnesse were the meanes to ruine him, like vnto *Abolons* long haire, by the which he was hanged. King *Lewis* the cleuenth did alwaies say, *That pride caried ruine behinde him.* A heart which knowes from whence the good comes which it enioyeth, is alwaies an enemy to Pride. So there is but a moment betwixt glory and ruine. Great trees are long in growing, but are rooted vp in an instant. And it is true, if the Duke of Biron had had a braine, he had not lost his head, and had not brought it into the hands of his Princes Iustice, whom he had so much offended.

The Marshall  
Biron's vertues.

This Marshall had goodly parts, communicable to few, his valour was admirable, and happy in all his encounters; of an inuincible courage, infatigable, and neuer tyred with any toyle, continuing ordinarily fifteene daies together on horsebacke. He was not enclined to voluptuousnesse, nor much to the loue of women, sober enough, the which began to quench that furious humour, as intemperancy and greatnesse encreased, or that rest did moderate his boyling passions. He was extremely vainglorious, yea, sometimes he would refuse his meat, and content himselfe with little, to feed his fantasie with glory and vanity. Hee was of a meane stature, blacke, reasonable good, hollow eyed, and rough in speech and conuersation. Hee was aduenturous in war, ambitious beyond all measure.

His vanity and  
glory.

The excee of his ambition made him to braue it without iudgment. He became so presumptuous, as hee thought that neither the King nor France could subside without him. He was become ill tongued, speaking ill of all the Princes, threatening the Parliaments, and the officers of Iustice, some with death, and to dispossesse others of their places. Hee was advanced from the meane to the highest degrees of honour; of a simple souldier, he became a Captaine, then a Colonel, afterwards Admirall and Marshall, and in the end Lieutenant of the Kings Armies, and in his heart hee aspired to be Duke of Bourgundy, Sonne in law to the Duke of Sauoy, and Nephew to the King of Spaine. If *Sylla* were resolute, cruell, and bloody, hee yielded nothing to him therein: If hee were valiant, this man exceeded him by ten degrees, and all the Romane Princes together.

A comparison  
betwixt *Sylla*  
and the Duke of  
Biron,

Their actions and their ends were almost alike; but that *Sylla* died after hee had vanquished: this before hee could vanquish, and in the midst of his course did feeble vengeance of Gods wrath. Howsoever, he had won the Souldiers hearts, to whom hee gaue all liberty, he purchased credit with them that had neuer seene him (for they that had seene and felt him wished him at the Indies) and made strangers admire his valour: The Constable of Castille in the Franche County, the Archduke at Amiens, and the Marquis of Waranbon in Artois, whom he made to pay forty thousand crownes for his ranfome, with many Spaniards which he caused to be hanged suddenly, for that they had called him Baron. Moreouer, the Kings exceeding fauours, the praises wherewith hee did publicly honour him: his admirable fortune, his comming to the restoring of the last ruines of the State, like to another *Camilus* to deliuer the Capitoll, had made him not onely famous throughout all Europe, fearefull to all the neighbours, but necessary for France. Behold a man that was happy, full of content, which held fortune captiue with all her treasures: he commanded the felicities of this world, he had glory, honour, riches, and those gifts which Fortune imparts to her darlings. He was raised to the top of Fortunes wheele, but he fell, for he that gouernes the helme and all her motions, could no longer endure his insolencie and vanity.

His credit, and  
how he was  
esteemed.

*Sequitur superbus vltor a tergo Deus.* The causes of his ruine are infinite, the contempt of piety is the chief: this ground taken away, all vices abound, and as the Seruant said to King *Atræus*, *O Prince, follow the insatiable way of Piety, and your Scepter shall be durable:* for whereas faith and holinesse hath no place, there is no happinesse; the reason is, for that without God we hold all things indifferent, the Law folly, Iustice frenzie, and faith a fantasie; we hold the words of vertue and vice to be idle, whereas the feare and trust in God, limits our passions and insatiable desires, so as gouerning our actions by a iust proportion, we cannot erre.

Shame follows  
pride.

He was often times leene to iest at the Masse, and to laugh at them of the reformed religion, with whom he had bene bred vp from his infancy. For at the age of eight years, the Lady of Brissambourg his fathers sister, (being of the reformed religion) did so affect him

A

him for his active disposition, as she demanded him of his mother, the which she granted, and from that time she made him her onely heire. Vntill the age of fixtене years, he was called *Charles of Contault* (for then he had an elder brother which died since at the Duke of Alancous voyage into Flanders.) And bred vp at Brillembourg, neare vnto St. Jean d'Angely, where he was nothing giuen to his booke, but wholly enclined to Arms: for which confideration, his father, the Marshall *Biron*, a martiall man, and then a Catholike, tooke him from his Aunt, and led him for a while with him through the countries of Xaintonge, Aulins, and Angoulmois, where he caused him to be instructed in the Catholike religion: but vpon false principles which he did learne of some Courtiers, he did often mocke at all religion. The second cause of his ruine was the alteration of his fortune. After the death of his elder brother, his father caused him to be called Baron of Biron, and brought him to Court, where at the first he had a quarrell with the Lord of Cerency, sonne to the Earle of la Vauguion, the which was ended by a combate of three against three, *Biron*, *Loignac*, & *Lenissac* of the one side, *lue Cerency*, *Esfigac*, and *la Bastie*: their quarrell grew for the Heire of Chaumont, which either of them affected in marriage, yet neither of them had her. The Duke of Epemron got his pardon, the which was confirmed through the credit which his father had then in Court. Some say, that being thus in trouble he went disguised like a Carrier of Letters, vnto one *La Brosse*, a great Mathematician, whom they held to be skillful in casting of Natiuities, to whom he shewed his C Natiuitie, drawne by some other. And dissembling it to be his, he said: *It was a Gentleman whom hee serued, and that he desired to know what end that man should haue.* *La Brosse*, hauing rectified this figure, said vnto him: *That he was of a good house, and no elder then you are,* said he to the Baron, asking him if it were his: the Baron answered him, *I will not tell you. But tell me* (said he) *what his life, his meanes, and end shall be.* This good old man, who was then in a little Garret, which serued him for a study, said vnto him: *My Son, I see, that hee whose natiuitie this is, shall come to great honour, by his industry and military valour, and may bee a King, but there is a CARYT ALOOL which hinders it. And what is that?* (said the Baron of Biron.) *Aske me not* (said *La Brosse*) *what it is. No,* (said the Baron) *I must know it.* In the end he said vnto him: *My Sonne, it is, that he will doe that D which shall make him lose his head.* Whereupon the Baron (as they report) did beat him cruelly, and hauing left him halfe dead, he went downe, and caried away the Key of the Garret doore, whereof he bragged when he was gone. They say he had conference with one *Cesar*, who was a Magician at Paris, who told him, *That onely a black blow of the Bourguignon would keepe him from being a King.* He remembered this prediction being a prisoner in the Bastille, and intreated one that went to visit him, to learne if the Executioner of Paris were a Bourguignon; and hauing found it so, he said, *I am a dead man.*

He went to a  
Mathematician  
to know his  
fortune.

During these last ciuill wars, his Father being Commander of the Kings army, of a young Baron, he was suddenly made a Captaine, and Marshall of the Campe. After his fathers death at Epemron, he was General and Admirall of France, then Marshall and E Lieutenant of the Kings Armies: The defeat of the Spanish succours at Laon, with his exploits in Bourgundy and Picardy, made the King so to loue him, as hee onely was in credit: there remained nothing but to vse his happinesse modestly. Doubtlesse he did great seruices to the King and to the Crowne, but he was rewarded with great fauours, and advanced to the greatest dignities and honours of the Crowne, the which if hee could haue vsed temperately, euen in the height of his fortune, he had bene too happy. It is reported that his father said vnto him, seeing his haughty disposition; *Baron, I would advise thee, when a peace shall be made, to goe and liue priuately at thine own house, if thou must leave thy head at the Greue.*

The Marshall  
Biron's words  
vnto his Sonne  
when he was  
but Baron of  
Biron.

In many things Soueraigne Princes haue a common interest: a blow giuen with the right hand is sensible to the left: A conspiracy in one place, giues example and consequence in another. Who so hinders his neighbour from punishing the felonies of his subjects, binds himselfe to the like, and may suffer the same forme, for every Soueraignes Country is apt to breed sedition and treachery, and as intercessions are odious, so the defence and protection is vnjust. Whatsoever is said, that Princes should embrace them which are persecuted, as one Element defends him that is afflicted by another, it is not to be vnderstood but of persecutions apparently vnjust. Hence growes the custome of Princes to congratulate for the discouery and punishment of treason against their Estate.

All

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Ambassadors  
sent to the  
King to con-  
gratulate.

All Princes that were allied to the Crowne of France, reioyced at the discovery of A the Duke of Biron's treason: The Queen of England, and the King of Scotland, sent their Ambassadors vnto the King, to congratulate that God had so happily prevented this last conspiracy. The King of Spaine did the like by *Taxis*. The Archduke laid all the blame vpon the Count of Fuentes, The Duke of Sauoy sent the Count of Vieque vnto the King, as well to obferue how the Duke of Biron's death had beene taken in Court, and in that great City, whereas there was diuersity of humours and opinions, as to excuse him from the imputation which was laid vpon him to be the Architect of this conspiracy.

The Ambassadors of England, Scotland, and Sauoy, were received on one day at Monceaux. The King in receiving of them made a great difference, for he received them in with one countenance. The last was not vsed like vnto the first, the King leaning vpon a window, shewed by his gesture, that he was not pleased with his excuses, and that words alone could not repara to bad effects, nor make him beleue that the Duke of Sauoy had not beene an Actor to corrupt the Duke of Biron. The Dukes Ambassador made his excuse with a great grace and boldnesse, although it be a very hard thing to discourse of a subject to one that can giue no beleefe vnto it. The Count of Vieque passing through Biron's, visited the Gouernour, and gaue him a letter from his Master, the which hee sent vnto the King, who was very well pleased with his proceeding, and writ vnto him in this sort: It was not needfull to send mee this Letter, but onely to giue me a new confirmation of your loyalty which I hold so assured, as it needeth neither that, nor any other. But the wisest do abhorre the ancient formes, whereas that is one of the principall, not to see nor heare anything from foraigne Princes, without the priuaty and permission of his Master. The King parted from Monceaux to goe to Paris, where hee dispatched the Ambassadors. That of Sauoy came to his Master, being newly returned from Verceil, where hee had visited the Duke of Saxony's brother, passing into Italy. He presented him with eight horses richly furnished, and a Har-band with a Iewell esteemed at twelue thousand crownes. Some after he went to Riouly for his pleasure of hunting, leading *D'Albigny* with him, to whom he made shewes of extraordinary loue. Meas conicatures were not able to pierce into the secrets of that which they treated of together; but they will burst forth before the years shall end. The Count of Vieque came to Riouly in the beginning of October. Every man said at Thurin, that his Ambassage was gracious, and that the King was well pleased with that which the Duke of Sauoy would haue him beleue: yet all Sauoy was full of Souldiers, and no man knew how they should be employed. Some said that the Duke of Biron's death would breed a new storme in France, but all the choller and threats of them that repined thereat, was but a phantastick lightning. The Count of Fuentes would haue done his best to haue bred a storme: his spirit, which hath no rest but in exercise, thinking (with *Teres*, father to *Sitalces*) that nothing doth distinguish him from the rest of his Masters Seruants but war, was so much discontented for this death, as he could not sleepe. Hee did meditate of reuenge, and the King was well aduertised thereof.

It was thought, that vnder colour of passing a new army ouer the Alpes, hee would discover some designe, and the King was aduertised from many parts, that the City of Lyons was not the last nor the least in his chollerick thoughts. That three and twenty Companies of Spaniards (in the which were at the least three thousand men) had past the mountaines, and were dispersed in Sauoy: that the Duke of Sauoy had at Romilly five hundred men, vnder the Regiment of *Valdisers*, and at Anilly fiftene hundred Neapolitans; that they attended some Lanquenques: that neere vnto Genoa there were thirty Companies of Spaniards landed, and that they fortified Saint Genis (against the last treaty of Peace) a fit place to execute any designe vpon Lyons or Vienne. The King therefore forelocting that if they fought any advantage vpon France, it should be rather for Lyons than any other place, hee therefore lodged in the Battions of Saint John and Saint Christeue Companies of the Regiment of *Bourg L'Espinalle*; and those of *Nereflan*, at Montuel and Sciffel.

The opinions of this new Army were as diuers as their designes were secret, yet it seemed that the Duke of Sauoy feared lest his Country should be forced again by the Kings Army; and that he should not haue so good a composition as the first, and therefore hee

The Kings letter to Monsieur de Guise the first of September 1602.

Brutes of war  
after the death  
of the Duke of  
Biron.

These Troopes  
of the Duke of  
Sauoy were  
not for Lyons,  
but for Genoa

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hee provided for all his places in Sauby, but this hatched another great designe, whereof we will speake in the end of this yeare. The King was much troubled to search into the depth of the Duke of Biron's conspiracy. *Lux* was not acquainted with the last resolutions, the party condemned would neuer discover his complices. All this practice was well knowne to the Baron of Lux, who came vnto the King vpon the assurance of his Maiesties word to goe and come freely: yet he was aduised not to approach neere vnto the Count of Parthenay, who would not entertain him more kindly then they had done the Duke of Biron, seeing he had beene embarked with him in the time vessel, and to consider, that Princes promise any thing to discover a treason, but they neuer trust the Traitors, and if happily they fauour them for a time, yet they haue which follows after is more violent and irreconcilable. That they vnto men of Countryman doth his Betts, when they haue drawne out the honey and wax, they chase them away with fire and smoke. The King was so well satisfied with that which the Baron of Lux had said vnto him (haueing talked long with him) as entering into his Carosse, he told the Count *Siffens*, and the Cardinal of Joyeuse, that hee would not for two hundred thousand crownes but haue spoken with the Baron of Lux.

His pardon past in the Parliament at Paris, and he was received in that of Dijon, with the same honours hee had before, and his charge of Lieutenant in the government of Bourgongne, and of the Country of Bresse: his wife came did conduct him in a stormy sea to safe Port, and made him to avoid some dangers, whereas any other would haue left both Card and Compass. The greatest indiscretion which the Duke of Biron had committed, (next to the giuing care to the promises and persuasions of strangers) was, that hee had written his intentions, and had imparted them to another. It is a maxime in matters of conspiracy, not to commit any thing to writing, but all must goe by mouth. They could not haue condemned the Duke of Biron, but by his owne Letters. And of all those of whom hee spake in his Letters, there was nothing found of theirs in writing: Letters serue indifferently for an assurance of the faith that is giuen, and for a proofe of infidelity.

He would dye with that content, that none of his friends should be toucht but him. *Helens* his Secretary endured the Racke, and his patience did misse him, but the Kings words were a more violent torture vnto him, drawing the truth from him, the which hee would not confesse vnto the Court. The Baron of Fontanelles, (who was found to haue intelligence with the Duke of Biron) was broken vpon the wheele by the decree of a great Councell. *Monsieur* Gouverneur of Rennes was committed to prison: Such and knowe him during the last troubles full of resolution and affection for the redressing of Birony to the Kings obedience, lamented his misfortune. The Earle of Auvergne continued two moneths in the Bastille after the execution of the Duke of Biron. The King let him at liberty and received him into fauour, after three or foure daies that hee had purged himselfe, and discharged his conscience to the Chancelor, the Marquis of Roissy, and to *Sillery*. He grew presently familiar with the King, as if hee had neuer beene sequestered from his presence, wherein appeared his Maiesties good nature, and his generous spirits, which doth neuer remember any iniuries.

This generous and naturall disposition to forget offences, hath alwaies bene observable in him when as hee commanded armies. The Author of the free discourse faith, That hee had some within a quarter of an houre after a battle won, the vanquished to follow among the victors, so they could not distinguish them, they came indifferently to him, hee rising and going to bed, to his wine and to his chamber, and to his Chickney, and more: for the most part petty matters of the Campes, of the still wines, who were vnto him as to the King, hee did not baire his enemies, and in this quality they received a good countenance. But the Duke of Bouillon considering what had beene done in the Bastille, vpon the petition of *Henri* a Captaine, would not trust to this great mildnesse, although hee had to great power assured in his hand. The King sent for him, and hee desired to see himselfe in the Chamber at Castres. The King let him vnderstand, that the pretext which hee took to flye vnto the Chamber at Castres for Iustice, was without ground, for hee was not called in question, and when hee should doe but stand there, for that hee should not haue had his name, neither could they haue knowne together of what hee should be examined from his Maiesty. He attended not to vnderstand

The Baron of Lux comes to the King.

Helens the Duke of Biron's Secretary put to the Racke: and Fontanelles broken vpon the wheele.

The Duke of Bouillon refusing to come to the King.

His Letter to the King.

derst and his pleasure more particularly by the President *Caumont* whom he refused to A send vnto him, but tooke the way to Geneva, and so to Heidelberg. The Subject may neuer capitulate with his Prince; but if necessity doth require it, it must not bee betwix two Bars, like to the Constable of *S. Paul*, but as farre off as he can.

The Duke of Bouillon being in the Viceroy of Turaine, when as the King sent for him, he answered him with this Letter: Sir, having understood by that of your Maie. sties owne hand, of the eighteenth of this moneth, that I had bene accused by those which had bene examined in Counsell vpon the conspiracies of the D. of Biron, and that you commanded me to repaire presently to Court to iustifie my selfe: I sent away him presently that came, with answer to your Maiefty, that I would follow instantly, the which I had done, if I had not receiued certaine intelligence who were my accusers: The which made me to change this resolution, and humbly to beseech your Maiefty to consider, that the treacherias and disloyalties against your Person, and State are so fully proued against my accusers, as it disables them to accuse me, and much lesse to condemne me. They haue not, nor cannot haue but lying tongues in their accusations; the which hauing failed them in the execution of their intention (being prevented by your Maie. sties happinesse and wisdom) they employ them, to make you suspect the second Officer of your Crown, and your household Seruant, who haue neuer sought any glory in this world, but what proceeds from your Maiesties grace and fauour, and who hath so long serued you. It is to be presumed, that hauing an intent to hurt mee, they haue intended your displeasure against me, by the most horrible crimes they could inuent. They would make me the Instrument of that which they haue promised to the enemies of your Estate, to periuade you. And seeing they cannot now suborne any others, they will accuse them, who in the like affaires haue made proofe of their innocencies, by so many circumstances, as it is not to be beleued they would haue any thought to the contrary. If they will acknowledge your mercy, to continue still culpable, changing onely their offence. Seeing, that since they are become false witnesses, I will say vnto you, my Liege, as the Psalmist said vnto God: *Lord come not neere me until I be fortified.* I must confesse that I see your countenance (hauing admitted such men to accuse me): seeing that your Maiefty demands my iustification, the which hath retained me, not that my conscience doth accuse me of any fault that is worthy of such an examination. Seeing it doth import your service, it is requisite I should satisfie your Maiefty, your Realme, and mine honour, and free them of my religion from the scandal which they should receiue, if my crimes were not punished, and mine innocency knowne. For the attaining whereof, I assure my selfe that your Maiefty would not deprive me of the liberty which all your subjects of the religion enioy, and the rather, for that no Iudges can bee more interested in these affaires, seeing the question is of the decay of your Realme, to augment that of Spaine, where in all your Subjects haue one common losse; but those of the Religion (whereof the Chambers doe consist) haue a more particular: the which they esteeme more deare than their liues, which is the losse of their exercise. They will therefore bee severe Iudges rather then milde. If they shall finde me guilty they will hate me more then any other, for whom they did least expect it. I most humbly therefore beseech your Maiefty, to send my accusers and accusations, thinking the imputation which is laid vpon me heavy, and the time tedious, vntill your Maiefty may bee fully satisfied of mine innocency: for the speedy effecting whereof, I will attend at Calixtus the iustification of my fault or innocency, iudging that the time which I should haue spent in going to your Maiefty, would haue prolonged the affliction of my soule, remaining accused, seeing that your Maiefty was to send me backe to the Chambers to condemne or absolve me, being the Iudges which your Edict hath giuen me. That it would please you to relinque any mind speedily, in giuing me the means to make my innocency knowne, and that by this proofe you may be reassured of my faithful service, and I shal be content, the which shall be above all things desired of your most humble, most obedient, and most faithful Subject and Seruant, *Henry de la Touraine*.

The Prince of Guinille commended.

The King caused the Prince of Guinille to be committed to the Duke of Guise his brother, *Silley* examined him very carefully, this Maiefty relying vpon his wisdom and integrity. He aduised the Government of Provinces why he did so, saying these words

A I haue committed my Nephew the Prince of Guinille, vnto my Nephew the Duke of Guise his brother, for that he had rashly & indiscreetly given care to certain propositions, that were made vnto him against my service: I will hold him in the same guard vntill that matters be made plaine, but I assure my selfe it concerns him only, wherein those of his house haue no share, neither is there any one named or comprehended with him: whereof I thought good to aduertise you.

We need not feare that the hearts of the French, although they be inconstant, will passe any more into Spaine, the Marshall of Birones head hath stoped the passage. There is no man desirous to giue care to the promises of Spaine, hauing such ruinous effects: and who doth not detest that cruell ambition, which hauing corrupted the best blood of the Duke of Biron, bred in him so violent and continuall a feuer of the minde, as after that it had afflicted him above foure yeares, there was no other remedy but by that shameful letting of blood, which made his soule all bloody, and violently to leaue his body. Those that will not be diuerted by the aspect of this head, and which imagine vnto themselves mountaines of gold beyond the Pyrenes, let them consider that a Prince, and chiefe of his party, hauing followed their desires, hath gotten nothing but ruine, after that hee had engaged his liuing, his wives and childrens, he spent five hundred thousand crownes in ready mony, and became indebted vpon his owne credit and his friends, in about a million of gold, he was in the end so disliked, hated and contemned of them, as in feare of canonizing him, the Duke of Feria did giue aduice to make him away, or to keepe him prisoner. We must resist the first thoughts of despite, discontent and rebellion, and take heed lest the desire of new fauours which we affect of the Prince, make vs not forget the former: for hence grow discontents more powerfull to draw vs to ill, then reason is able to restraine vs to good: from despite spring bad desires, which neuer encrease but by fury and blindness, and produce violent motions of ambition, which binde him to vnderake and to doe any thing, although there be nothing that may dispende the Subject from his duty to his Prince.

They did speak, write, and discourse of this death both in their Prose and Rime, some with so small reason, as they strived to finde innocency in the life, and constancy and resolution in the Duke of Birones death, although that in the last there were more chollier and violence, then constancy, whereof patience is one of the principall branches, and in the first so great guilt, as if the Court had quitted him, his conscience could not absolve him. Such as in these discourses desired rather to seem learned, then wise, repented their knowledge, and were in paine. Herein some one did me a bad office, which forceth me to adde something in this Narration for mine owne defence, and is that which I shall say doth not content slander, yet shall it be according vnto truth, or like vnto bad Musicians, who are neuer wearied themselves though their musick be vntunable.

Presently after the D. of Birones execution, I did write six lines to Lions vpon this subject, to dispende my selfe of a longer discourse which they expected, meaning to referre it for this History; whereunto I added six Verses written (as it was said) by one of the first Poets of France, vpon the heads of the Father and Son, the first struck off with a Cannon, the other with a sword. This letter comming before all aduice of so famous an accident, was imparted and copied out greedily, contrary to my intent. In the end it returned to Paris, and from thence to Monceaux where the King was. Hauing found opportunity there to speake to his Maiefty after supper, of a businesse far from this letter, whereon I dreamed no more: hauing told me his pleasure, he added these words: *Go and speake with Monsieur de Villeroi, I asked if it were for the businesse whereof I had spoken vnto him; No, said he: and drawing me aside, it pleased him to heare me, and to giue mee better words then I could hope for, adding in the end, Speake to Monsieur de Villeroi, without giuing me any farther knowledge of the matter.* I repaired vnto him early in the morning, not knowing what to say, but only to receiue his Maiesties intention after some complements of courtesie, he caused all them in the Chamber to retire, and then he said vnto me; *You are made the author of a Letter touching the Marshall of Biron, which hath gone far out of the Realme: it contains but six or seven lines, & hath prints in it, which his King hauing well considered of, so much the more offended, that hauing made you his Historiographer, it appears plainly what your passion might be, words being the interpreter of the minds affection.*

It behooued me then to protest that I had neither spoken nor written any thing against the Kings Iustice, to lament the Duke of Birones death, who in his life had not giuen

Discourses vpon the Duke of Birones death

Peter Mathew.

1602

uen me occasion to bewaile it, with any other then a common affection, which grieues A  
that so braue a Knight should forget himselfe : that hauing seene a discourse of my  
writing of the causes and effects of the wars betwixt the Houses of France and Austria,  
vnto the peace of Veruins, thinking that I had not spoken of him neither so often, nor so  
highly as he desired, for that all the glory of braue exploits should be referred vnto the  
head, especially being in the Army, he complained to the Chancellor of Belieure, and dis-  
covered his choller more plainly to *De Pic*, Ambassador in Swisserland, adding cruell  
threats to his bad words against me. Here he cut me off, and said; This letter speaks  
not after this manner, and I beleue you will know it by the copy. As the first three words  
I did auow that which was of my stile, if I had denyed it, they could hardly haue repre-  
sented the Originall: but being loath to lye vnto God, I spake my conscience, which was  
free from scruple and apprehension. He approved this freedome, and said; That the last  
line was it which had offended the King; *They which haue his life, doe not beleue his*  
*death*: whereunto I replied, That the copy was not conformable to the Originall, & that  
by an iniurious forgetfulness, or an extreme impolure, they had left out a word which  
did peruert the sense, and had giuen the King occasion to be offended, and that there was,  
*They that haue knowne his life, will not beleue his death*: That besides this omission, there  
was nothing in the letter but might be spoken of so extraordinary an accident, and  
death of that quality, and that there was great difference betwixt writing of an History  
& a letter. And admit he had said that he went as cheerfully to execution, as he had in for-  
mer times to a charge, that he had amazed death, and made the Hang-man to tremble,  
this did not impugn the iudgment of the Court, seeing that the innocency of the con-  
demned is not iudged by his constancy in dying: That it is not strange nor incredible to  
write, that a man which had condemned his life, and braued death in so many oc-  
casions, had shewed courage in this last action.

That if they had obscured violent motions in him, a death of that fashion might well  
put a man of his humour into fury. This letter did also speake of that head which had  
caused the death of the body, saying, That the one was generous, and the other full of  
glorious wounds. But these termes were to be considered according to the simplicity D  
of my intention, which did not iudge of this head as it was upon a scaffold, but for that  
which it had bene in many great actions, and had purchased honourable marks of valor  
for his Princes seruice: That it were a point of great ignorance, or impudent flattery, to  
attribute glory to an act full of shame and ignominy, and to confound the light of his first  
actions, with the darknesse of the last. These reasons did content him, and he ended with  
these words, The King would not speake vnto you of it, for that he hath a good opinion  
of you, but thought fit that I should tell you of it. Thus much I thought fit to say for my  
Apologie, passion hauing moued me to make this little digression. The King hauing since  
bene satisfied of the truth, he returned againe into saueur.

There came fiftene or sixtene Deputies out of Dauphiné to Paris. This Prouince  
was giuen to the Crowne of France, by *Humber* Prince of Dauphiné, upon condition  
that the Kings eldest Son, (the presumptive heire of the Crowne) should be Soueraigne  
thereof from his birth. Hauing made great ioy for this blessing, and to see that which  
they had not seene since King *Charles* the eight, they made choice of some out of the  
three Estates of the Country to go and performe their first duty of subiection, & to know  
their Soueraigne Lord. *terme* of Villards Archbishop of Viennae, was the chief of this  
Ambassage, the which he gouerned and performed happily, and with honour. Ha-  
uing done their duties to the King and Queene, and let them vnderstand the charge  
which he had from the States of the Country, with the other Deputies, hee was led  
to Saint Germaines, to see their new Prince, who was vnder a cloth of Estate in his  
Cradle, vpon a little bed. The Count *Sissim*, Gouernour and Lieutenant Generall of  
Dauphiné, his Gouernesse, and his Nephew by him. The Archb. of Viennae spake vnto  
him standing, all the rest kneeled of one knee. The substance of which speech was, That  
the ioy of France had bene infinite by his birth, foreseeing that her felicity should be  
imperfect without it; and that the blessing of peace could not continue without his  
birth, who should be the death of all pretenses of ciuill warres, but your Prouince  
of Dauphiné hath faine greater cause of ioy, for that it sees in effect, that which  
the rest of the Realme hath but in hope. Those which haue beleued that felicity  
could

A notable im-  
polture.

Humber de la  
Zee Dauphiné,  
giues Daup-  
hiné to the  
first Sonne of  
France.

The Arch-  
bishop of  
Viennae  
spoke to the  
Dauphin.

A could not be in the infancy of a child, seeing it requires a continuance of yeares, and a  
constant knowledge of vertue and fortune, meant it not by Kings Children, and about  
all of the first borne of the Crowne of France, at whose first birth we see all the fauour  
maie vpon his head, the which Heauen can poure vpon them whom it will make happy.  
The same day, my Lord, that you saw the light, the Sonne did salue you a great Prince,  
and the Sonne of a great King, you are borne our Soueraigne Lord, and we are become  
your faithfull vassalls, and most humble Subiects, so as this Prouince, which amidst so  
many afflictions hath sighed about an hundred yeares, for the day when it should see  
borne that sacred Bud of the Royall Flower, holds it the greatest point of glory and  
felicity, not to know any power more absolute and soueraigne then yours, and to obey  
you before you know what it is to command. This Cradle (my Lord, about the which  
the Eternall Providence, which hath a speciall care ouer this Realme, hath appoint-  
ed the Angels for your guard) is the throne wherein we adore in your liuing Image the  
inuisible Maiesty of the liuing God. The rocking of this Cradle hath sealed the felicity  
of France, which began to be shaken by furious and dangerous attempts both without  
and within. It is an extreme griefe vnto vs, that the law of this Cradle will not suffer vs  
where you are, and make vs so happy as to vnderstand you. And if you vnderstand not but  
by the language of Infants, which betraies, you shall know the affections of your peo-  
ples hearts by the reares of ioy which fall from their eies, praising God that it hath plea-  
sed him to giue them a Prince, issued from the first Crowne of the world, who carries in  
his heart the generosity of his father, and in his eies the sweetnesse of his mother. A  
Prince which in greatnesse of courage, and in reputation of braue and immortal actions  
shall exceed the glorie of all the Princes of the land and sea, as the Dolphin in lightnesse  
and swiftnesse passeth all the creatures both of Land and Sea. We acknowledge you for  
our Prince and Soueraigne Lord vnder the King your Father, and the Queene your Mo-  
ther, and we doe now offer vnto your Highnesse our liues, our persons, and our fortunes,  
for homage of our most humble and faithfull subiection. These goodly words were  
accompanied with a rich present: it was a Cupbord of Plate, richly wrought and beauti-  
fied with sundry figures of Dolphins, being valued at twelue thousand crownes. All  
that attended vpon the Prince had presents of some value, or else Medailes made for  
that purpose.

The Sonnes Present serued for the Mother. The King was the better pleased with this  
Deputation, for that it was the first yeare of his Sons infancy: and it is certaine, that of  
all the proofes of duty and affection which the subiects can yeeld vnto their Soueraigne,  
those are most commendable which are done without design. As Dauphiné doth acknow-  
ledge this Prince for their Soueraigne Lord vnder the King: so Bourgongne, and the  
Countries of Bresse, Baugy, Valromey, and Gez, (which are annexed vnto it) had him  
for their Gouernour: But during his Infancie, and vntill he were capable to vndergo the  
functions of that Charge, the power of Lieutenantie was giuen to *Roger* of Bellegarde,  
first Gentleman of the Chamber, and Master of the Kings Horse, who tooke his oath in  
the Kings hands: His Patent was read in the Parliament of Dijon, the Citie receiued  
him with all sorts of honours, and went to fetch him at the Carthouses where he made  
his abode, attending the preparation for his reception.

The Kings desires being seconded with so many prosperities, it pleased him of his  
owne bountie to take pittie of the innes and calamities of his subiects, in reuoking the  
Imposition of the Soule vpon the Livers (or *taxes*) which they called the *Pan-*  
*carte*. He would not that this great reliefe should surprize his peoples hearts, declaring  
his pleasure (some months before it was put in practice, to the end that things being first  
expected before they were enjoyed, might be the more acceptable. The King raised his  
coynes of gold and silver, the crownnes of six shillings, and six pence, the quarter of the  
crownne of fiftene soules, and the strange to some twenty and some Deniers, that the  
coynes of Silver might bee valued after the rate of three pence and four pence to the  
crownne. And as that which is held good and profitable at one time, is not so at another,  
the counting by crownnes (found in the yeare one thousand five hundred threety and se-  
uen, profitable, and now very (noted) is now forbidden, and that of the *livres*  
brought into practice in commandment, and set on foot, as it was before,  
since King *Philip* the Thise, *Francois* the first, and *Henry* the second. There is now which  
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Children  
cannot be  
termed  
happy.

A present gi-  
uen to the  
Dauphin.

The govern-  
ment of Bour-  
gongne giuen  
to the Dal-  
phin.

Reuocation of  
the Pan-



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Dozen is a  
peece of coine  
two parts more  
then a peny in  
twelve.

should be more firme and lesse variable then the standerd of mony, and there is no crime a lesse pardonable then that which offends the Kings picture. For the effecting whereof, all coynes should be of pure metall without mixture, all good, all silver, or all copper. For, as long as mixtures shall be allowed, the Mint-men will alwaies alter the price of that which should be immutable. The abundance of Dozens in France is such, as it is impossible to purge the Realme, but by a generall decay of those that are made, which would bee the ruine and impoverishment of the poore people, or by a defence not to coyne any other hereafter but of silver.

There sprung up a new ioy for all France. The heauens which in former times did raine gold at Rhodes for the birth of *Minerva*, did now poure forth a great shower of ioy for the birth of the Kings first lawfull daughter. The Queene was happily brought in bed on the 22 day of November in the morning, and thanks were giuen vnto God, according to the vsuall custome. The Riuer of Saonne was ouerflowed in that fort as the townes that were seated vpon the banks, were in great danger of this inundation. The bridge at Lions was so shaken, as if it had not been fortified by the weight that was laid vpon it, the two Townes had bene diuided by the riuer. This inundation was greater and more furious, then that which ioynd the Riuer of Roine and Saonne, in the place of Comfort; but not so terrible as another which happened an hundred yeares since, in the moneth of February, with such violence as the waues past ouer the Bridge, and beat downe one of the Arches towards the Exchange.

Mynes of gold  
discovered.

This yeare all the Elements did contribute to the prosperity and blessings of the peace, the Earth did let the King see a new production of his treasure. They discovered in many parts of the Realme mynes of gold, silver, copper, and lead. In the Countrey of Lionnois, nere vnto a Village called *S. Martin* the plaine, which depends of an Earldome of the Church of *S. Iohn* of Lions, there was a Myne of Gold found by a Countryman, who labouring in his Vineyard, found a dirt stone intermixt with gold, whereby they gathered an insatiable assurance, that this member was not without a body. *De Vic* Superintendant of the Iustice at Lions, had commandement from the King to see some to worke in it. The first production was admirable, and among many goodly peeces, one was shewed vnto the King very rich, in the which the Gold did appeare, and put forth like vnto the buds of a Vine, as fine as that of Carauana, so as it might be said, that these fine thousand yeares the Sunne had made nothing more perfect in the bowells of the Earth. For it was not Gold in pepin nor in poulder, as in the running streams of the New-found Land, nor mixt with land, as in Bohemia, but in Stones and in Rocks, all pure gold, or pure silver: for alwaies the one goes with the other, perfect of it selfe without mixture of any other metalls. The King imitating his Predecessors, who had alwaies fauoured the workes of Mynes, which bring infinite commodities, made a generall Edict for the ordering of the worke and worke-men: He created a great Master and a Controulr general ouer all the Mynes of France, with priuiledges to draw in foraigne worke-men, which they could not want. *Bellegard* was the first great Master of the Mynes, who resigned it to *Rust Beaulieu*, Secretary of State. *Blingin*, first Groomer of the Kings Chamber, was Controulr general.

An Edict for  
the ordering of  
the Mynes

The new alliance with the Swisles being concluded, they departed forty two among them, to whom they gave power to sweare the obseruation thereof. They came into France in September, being honourably receiued in all places. The fourteenth of October they came into Charanton, a league from Paris, where they were royally entertained at the Kings owne charge, in *Senays* house. After dinner the D. of Montbazan, and the Lord of Montigny Governor of Paris, went out of the city with an hundred or sixscore Gentlemen to meet them, and to welcome them in the Kings name. At *S. Anthanies* gate, *Burgelme*, Prouost of Merchants, with the Sherifes, Councillors of the City, Quarter-Masters, Chief Bourgeois, and the three companies of the Archers of the city, receiued them, and conducted them to their lodging in *S. Martins* street: where besides good words of welcome, they found presents to procure thirty Gammons of Bacon, dried swer meats, and store of *Ipocras* and choice wines. The next day they dined with the Chancellor. After dinner he went to his Maiesty to the Louvre, desiring them to haue a little patience until the King sent for them. Some after the Duke of Elgillon accompanied with fifty young Gentlemen of the best houses then in Court, went so farth

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A them, and to conduct them vnto the King: entering into the base Court of the Louvre, the Duke *Montpensier*, with many Knights of the holy Ghost, and Noblemen of mark, receiued them in the Kings name: At the staires foot, going vp to the Hall, the Count of Soissons, with many Gouvernors of Prouinces, and old Knights of the Order receiued them, & so conducted them into his Maiesties Chamber, where they did their obeysance, the King taking every one of them by the hand. Then the Aduoyer of Berne, who was their Speaker, said vnto him in his owne language, *That the cause of their coming, was to sweare the renewing of the alliance, and to assure his Maiesty of their faithfull seruice.* *V. gr.* did interpret vnto the King, who after he had answered them, and witnessed the content which he had of the declaration they had made in the behalfe of their superiors, hee told them, *That they were welcome:* from thence they went to kisse the Queens hand, who was in her chamber, with all the Princesses and Ladies of the Court, presenting their seruice vnto her, and the good affection of their Superiors, for the which shee thanked them.

Before the oath was taken, they entreated the King, that it would please him to heare some particular charges they had from their Superiors. The Chancellor was appointed to heare what they demanded: the which the Aduoyer of Berne deliuered vnto him in three demands. The first was, That it would please his Maiesty to augment the summe of foure hundred thousand crownes, which was appointed to be distributed every yeare among them, being not sufficient to pay their interests. The second was, That the priuiledges of those of their Nation, which trafficked in France, might be confirmed. The third was, to giue them the declarations that were promised, as well vnto the five petty Cantons, for the continuance of their alliance with Milan and Sauoy, without infringing that of his Maiesty, as to the Protestant Cantons, that they might not be forced to giue men to make war in France against him of the Religion. To the first his Maiesty made answer; That the ciuill and foraigne wars, wherewith his people had bene ruined, would not giue him means to do better yet, and that they must content themselves with that which had bene promised. The second and third were granted, and the Declarations required by them, signed. Sunday the 12 of October was appointed for the swearing of the Alliance in our Ladies Church, where the Ambassadors were conducted by Monsieur *De Vic*. The King being come to the Church and set in State, the Princes of Condé & Conty went to fetch the two and forty Ambassadors in the Bishops Hall, and conducted them to their places. All being set, the Archbishop of Viennne approached to his Maiesty, carrying a booke of the Euangelists in his hands; and at the same instant the Ambassadors drew neare also. Before them was *Vaguer*, Secretary of State at Solvire, betwixt Monsieur *De Sillery* and *De Vic*, he carried betwixt his armes a cushion of crimson Veluet, garnished with gold, on the which were two Treaties of the Alliance, the one in French, the other in the Germane tongue, sealed with his Maiesties Seale, and those of the Cantons and their Allies. After they had all done their duties, and saluted his Maiesty, Monsieur *De Sillery* said vnto the King; "That these Treaties of Alliance were the same which his Predecessors had made with the Seigneuries of the Cantons; and that whatsoeuer was added, was for the honour and profit of his Maiesties seruice. The Aduoyer of Berne, who deliuered the speech, said; That the Seigneurs of the Cantons, their Superiors, had held it for a great honour, that the King desired their alliance, for the which thinking themselves much bound, they had enioyned them to thank his Maiesty, and to offer him on their behalfe their most humble seruice in all occasions that should be offered, and of all might be expected of true and faithfull allies and confederates, according to the Treaties of their alliance. That they were also sent by their Superiors for the performing of the oath, to the end they might faithfully obserue what was contained in the Treary, and to beseech his Maiesty to doe the like for his part, as it belongs to good and loyall friends, allies and confederates. That by his Maiesties commandement, they presented themselves for the performance of the oath, praying God to poure out his blessings vpon so good an alliance, to the content of both the Estates: with prayers, that it would please God to preferue the King and the Dauphin their new ally, in all prosperitie, and giue him a long life and happy raigne. The King hearing him, stood vp with his hat on, and answered him with a great Maiesty. That he desired to renue the treary of peace and alliance with the Seigneurs of the Cantons, for the great esteeme hee made of the

The Swisles de-  
mands.

The Kings  
answer to  
the Swisles.

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1602 "the valour of their Nation, who had alwaies been partners of the honor of his victories, and had made better triall thereof then any of his Predecessors, having been happily assisted by them. That he did accept the offer of their succours, and did in like sort promise to assist them with all his forces and means, against any one that should seek to oppress their liberty. The which he desired them to beleue, with assurance that he had neuer failed in his promises: being ready to sweare the treaty of alliance with them, & to obserue it inuolubly, as he had giuen charge to the Chancellor to leaue vnderstand more at large.

Oration  
made by  
the Chan-  
celor to  
the Suiſſes.

"The Chancellor made a long speech vnto them to the same purpose, saying: My Masters, you haue heard from the Kings mouth, the contentment he receiued of your Legation, and the esteeme which he makes, and will alwaies make of the good friendship, alliance and confederacy with the Cantons, ancient and faithful friends, Allies, and Confederates to the Crown of France. Whereunto I will adde the ioy and generall content which the three Orders of the Realme doe in like manner receiue. The memory of former ages, and all histories may teach vs, that those Estates haue beene held most powerful and assured, which haue beene supported with most friends, and yet it is seldome seen (what need sower Potentates haue to fortifie themselves with alliance of their neighbours) but that there remains some distrust, that the greatnesse of their Allies will in the end cause the ruine of their Estates. The alliance of France with the most vertuous nation of the Leagues, hath alwaies been free from suspicion. First, there was neuer question, pretension, nor contention betwixt the two Estates, by reason of the Countries which are held by either part. The Kings of France since the Treaties, and long time before, haue alwaies desired to fauour the greatnesse and prosperity of the Nation of the Leagues, whereunto besides their naturall inclination and good will, they were moued by their owne interest and reason of State. The greater and more happy that you haue bene or shall bee, the more they shall thinke themselves fortified with so good a friend. You haue heretofore made the like iudgment of the Kings of France, and his Maiesty here present assures himselfe, that you will continue the like opinion of him, as you haue had of his Predecessors, and will still haue the same confidence, and retain the same good opinion of your friendship.

"He thinke, that your greatnesse is his owne; hee loves and esteemes you for the great and worthy proofes hee hath made of your valour and affection to the good of his affairs; he entreates you to beleue that his greatnesse and prosperity shall be alwaies yours, & vpon your loyalty, at your command, not only bound to the assistance which is promised you by the Treaty of Alliances, but also if it should chance, that any Prince or Potentate whatsoever, without exception, should attempt against your Estates, he hath resolved to let you know by the effects, that your greatnesse is in like recommendation vnto him as his owne, and in such an occasion he will neither spare his Person, nor any means which God hath giuen him. I will tell you, that as you haue found the Kings of France affected to loue and cherish you, so haue you found their Ambassadors most ready to serue you, and to employ themselves in any thing that might concern the good and prosperitie of your affaires, they did neuer thinke that which we haue blamed in some, that they should neuer confirm our vnion, but by diuiding you, and troubling your quiet: but contrariwise, I may speake confidently and with truth, that they haue done the best offices they could, to nourish peace, concord, vnion, and good correspondency amongst you, the which hath made you hitherto fearfull vnto all your enemies, and your Countrey as happy and flourishing as any others of Christendome: The actions of the Ambassadors discover their Masters intentions. The successe of things happened, doe also giue a great testimony of the good that is in this happy alliance.

"In the time of King Francis the first, of glorious memory, we did see in the years 1544, all Germany, the Netherlands, Spaine, and in a manner all Italy had conspired the ruine of this Realm of France, vnder the conduct of the Emperor Charles the fifth, with whom Henry the eight King of England did also ioyne. King Francis had not then any other friend or confederate to succour him but the Nation of the Leagues, wherewith haue fortified his Armies, he won the Battell of Cerisoles: made head against the great forces which the Emperour had gathered together from all parts of Christendome, made him to confume his Army which was entred into Champagne, and forced him to demand a peace, the which was afterwards concluded at Cresp. As the alliance with the Leagues

bath

1602 "hath beene happy for France, so we may say that the alliance of our Kings, hath brought char. happinesse to your Nation, as when they haue seene France vnited and in League with the Cantons, neither the Emperors nor any Prince of his house or others, durst attempt to make warre against you, and yet before Maximilian the first and his Predecessors you haue beene forced, for the preferation of your liberty, to hazard many battells, in the which by the grace of God you haue gotten the victory. We hope, and we promise with the help of God, that this good fortune shall continue on either side, if we do follow the wife counsels and resolutions of our forefathers, remaining well vnited together, and not giuing eare to any thing that may breed alteration, or a coldnesse in our alliance, if we perseue it carefully in the same faith whereon it is grounded, and doe cherish it by all the good offices which true and faithfull friends, allies and confederates, may expect. It is the oath and promise which you make presently vnto the King. It is the oath and promise which the King doth make presently vnto you, and will religiously obserue. These words being ended the Chancellor inuited them to the oath.

"Which done, the Ambassadors presented themselves to sweare the oath, laying their hands by order of their Cantons vpon the holy Euangelist, to euery one of the which, the Chancellor sayd. *You sweare and promise vpon the holy Euangelist, in the name of your Seigneurs and Superiours, well and faithfully to obserue the Treaty of alliance made betwixt his Maiesty and your Superiours, without any contradiction or breach directly or indirectly.* The order which the Ambassadors held in the oath was, first, The Cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, Schwitz, Vonderwald, Zug, Glais, Basle, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffuse and Appenzel. And of allies, the Abbot of Saint Gall, and the Towne of Saint Gall. Of the Grisons, the Canton of Grise, the Cades, the Canton of Droituera, Valais, Mulhus, Rotweil and Brenne.

The Ambassadors  
swore oath.

"After all the Ambassadors had taken the oath, the King likewise sayd: *That hee did sweare and promise to obserue the Treaty as it had beene agreed.* Which done, they dined in the Bishops Palace. The Prince of Conde sat at the boards end, the Princes of Cony, Soissons and Montpensier, the Constable, the Dukes of Neuers and Elquillon, the Earles of Auvergne and Sommeriue, with many others were on the right hand, and the forty two Ambassadors with some French Gentlemen on the left. About the end of dinner, his Maiesty (who had dined apart) came to see them, commanding euery one to keepe his place, then he called for wine, and dranke to all his friends and allies, and so went presently to the Louvre: towards euening bonfires were made and twenty peeces of cannon shot off in signe of ioy. During their aboad at Paris they were feasted by the Prouost of Merchants, the Count of Soissons, the Constable, and the Duchesse of Longueuill, and the Friday after the ceremony of the oath, they tooke their leaue of the King, who gaue to euery one a chaine of gold, with his picture, and what was appointed for their voyage, stay and returne, and so they returned into their Country.

"In the Iurisdiction of the Town of Langres (in a village called Aprez) Claude Berenger, Lord of Pont, and Guillemette of Metz his wife made their residence, haueing also a Nephew of the sayd Berengers with them named also de Pont. This woman being suborned by a Chanons ballard of Langres, named Chauuitty, Nicholas Iourné and Iohn Fernet, called the youth, to satisfie their fleshly lust without suspicion and at more liberty, they reſolued with her and a maid of hers to make away her husband and his Nephew.

"This plot being layd, they found an easie meanes for the execution. These three Adulterers seeing the Gentleman gone to Langres, goe a hunting with his Nephew, whom they flew in the thicke of a wood, and threw him into a deepe hollow place betwixt two high rockes, out of the which hee could neuer be drawne. These murderers seeing themselves rid of this poore young man, reported vnto the Gentewoman what they had done, concluding with her to cut her husbands throat at his returne from Langres, the which they put in practice the same night that hee returned, for this poore Gentleman haueing receiued a kisse (of this daughter of Indas) being very weary, went to bed and slept, the which she knew, and presently brought these murderers into his chamber, who comming easily to this poore young mans bed, being asleepe, they cut his throat, and bury him abroad among the Rockes.

"After this murder they giue it out, that the Lord of Pont was slaine in his voyage to Langres. His wife put on a mourning weed, and makes a counterfeite shew of heavinesse:

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nelle: but God suffers not such offences to bee vntreuealed, a poore man found out the hole where they had buried him, and gaue notice thereof vnto the Iustice, who went to the place, and caused the Gentlewoman to be brought thither, who at the first seemed not to know him, but seeing that he was knowne by euery one, and vanquished by apparent signes, which they shewed her, in the end she knew him. But the Officers did not proceed against her with that dexterity that *Lugely* did to the wife of *Claude Anthoine* Merchant of Vines at Paris, who had also caused her husband *Anthoine* to be flaine coming from a house of his, by souldiers whom one named *Lameau* (her Adulterer) had suborned, for the wife of the said *Anthony* was hanged, and *Lameau* broken alive at the place *Maubert*: but this Gentlewoman *De Pons*, seeing the Iustice to proceed against her by informations, and that they ment to apprehend her, she made an escape with all her complices and her seruants, and could neuer after be taken; yet through their contempt their process was made, and all of them were hanged in picture.

One Scipio at Paris slew his wife and her Adulterer together.

The other accident hapned at Paris, of a Gentleman which slew his wife and her Adulter lying together, in this manner. This Gentleman called *Seigneur Scipio*, being advertised that his wife (a faire yong Gentlewoman) did abandon herselfe to lust, and defiled his bed with a yong man: he admonished his wife, and said vnto her, *That he did willingly pardon what was past, but if she returned any more to her sin, he would kill her with her Ruffian, if he found them together.* The Gentlewoman scornes this aduice, and another giuen her by a wife and vertuous Gentlewoman; *That if she did not cary herselfe more discreetly, without doubts her husband would doe her a shrewd turne.* She answered her, *That her husband was too very a foole to attempt it.*

A pardon promised to all that were of the Duke of Biron's conspiracy.

*Seigneur Scipio* advertised of the impudency and lewd behaiour of his wife, takes his horse, and make a shew to goe into the Country: his wife goes to the Sermon at Saint Germaine l'Auxerrois, *Scipio* returns, and thrusts himselfe into his closet vnknowne of any one. The Sermon being done, she returned presently to her house, and advertised her Adulterer of her husbands absence, who failed not to come at the assignation he gaue him, and then they went into the husbands bed: who coming out of his closet, found them naked together, and flue them; the adulterer had thirty wounds, and the woman feuen and twenty: and so their deservable fin was known by the view of their dead bodies, the which were brought before the Iustice, being a lamentable thing, and pitifull to behold: The husband did easily obtaine his pardon the which proceeds from the Kings bounty. It is a iust griefe the which may suddenly transport a husband, finding his wife with another, as these poore infortunate wretches were. The King about this time pardoned all those, that had bene of the Duke of Biron's conspiracy, so as they came & declared themselves within two moneths, and caused their pardons to be confirmed.

The situation of Geneva.

The discourse of the enterprises and intelligences which the D. of Sauoy and his father haue had, to surprise the City of Geneva, with their pretensions, and their defence on the contrary side to maintaine their Liberties, would make a good volume. They relied vpon the publike assurance of the Treaties of Veruins, Paris and Lions, in the which they held themselves to be comprehended, and thereby assured from all the designs of their neighbours. The Duke of Sauoy did not hold himselfe tyed by the peace, nor to seeke the meanes to become Master thereof, and to reigne there as his Predecessors had done, and that there was no danger to breake his faith with people of a contrary Religion: This City doth so much import his Estate, as it deserves, if not to breake the peace, at the least to straine and wrest it. It is situated at the end of Lake Lemane, which serues for a ditch on the North part: The riuer of Rhofne passeth by the towne on the West side, and vpon the East and South is the County of Sauoy, the great and rich plaines of the Bailiwicks of Thonon and Ternier, and the Countreys of Chablais and Faucigny. The Duke had great pretensions to it, as souereigne of the County of Geneva, and Vicar perpetuall of the Empire. He maintained, that if the Bishop of Geneva had some absolute authority, it was a preiudice to the Souereignty, the which had alwaies remained to his Predecessors, as Earles of Morienne or Duke of Sauoy.

The Dukes pretensions.

The City of Geneva (who to maintaine her liberty findes all propositions of seruile trouble some and strange, hath alwaies decreed the Sauoyards command) sayes; That the Bishops of Geneva haue bene alwayes soueraigne Princes of their City, and that the Earles of Sauoy and Geneva, haue often done homage to the Bishops of Geneva, for the

A the Baronies of Ternier, Remilly, Montfaucon, and for the County of Geneva. That the Duke of Sauoy can pretend no right, as Vicar perpetuall of the Empire, being granted by surpris, and reuoked after examination of the case by the same Emperor, who vpon complaint made vnto him by a Bishop of Geneva, called *Arduin*, declared that hee had bene surprisid in that behalfe, and disanulled all that he had giuen to the Earle of Sauoy his cousin, forbidding him to contradict this reuocation, vpon paine of his indignation, and a thousand markes of pure gold. The parties differing vpon the maine point, the question could not be decided without proofe. The Duke would haue no other production, but his title of Duke and Souereigne of Geneva, to maintaine the which he besieged the Towne, and brought it to extremity, as hath bene shewed elsewhere. It is true, that without the Kings protection this City would not long resist the forces of the Duke of Sauoy.

The defence of the Genevois.

The Inhabitants haue bene reduced to that Estate as they might say as the Capouans did vnto the Romanes, imploring their ayde against the Samnites: It is a grieuous and miserable thing, what our misfortune forceth vs to confesse (fathers conscript) to be brought to that extremity as hereafter we must abandon our selues, either to our friends, or to our enemies. If you defend vs, we shal be yours; if you forsake vs, the Samnites. Being abandoned by the King, there is no defence for them but will proue weak against so mighty a Neighbour, who shall bee alwaies assisted by the greatest forces of Italy and Spaine. And if they be succored by them of Bearne with whom they haue an equall alliance, they shall run the hazard of Common-weales, which in the end haue bene recompenced with a forced subiection. The Suisses propound not bare words in their amities, they ground them vpon equality of profit. The humor of this City is to be free, there is not any Citizen but speaks freely to any Prince how great soeuer, as *Demosthenes* said, when they talked of the milde and easie command of *Antipater*, *We will thus no more after how gentle soeuer.* The Inhabitants of this City haue an hereditary hatred against the Duke, the which is so rooted in them, as if hee did presse them by force to the extremities of a siege, they would resolue with them of Xantho to mingle their ashes with the smoak of their houses. The Duke hauing attempted what he could by force, resolues to surpriseth them now by policy. He made an enterprise as full of proofes of his courage, iudgement and good conduct, as of his misfortune.

It had bene long in hand, and yet nothing was discovered, yet was it well known, that he had caused ladders to be made. That from all parts he drew vnto him men of resolution; that he had good numbers at Chambery well payed, and wel entertained, attending the full ripeness of this designe, and yet they knew not how he would employ them, preparing onely their hearts and armes for the execution of their Princes commandements, referring the conduct thereof to his wisdom. Yet could they not beleue that this designe was against them of Geneva, for that he treated with them of the liberty of traffike, hauing some few daies before, sent *President Rochette* to let them vnderstand, that it was expedient to treat of some manner how to lise for the ease of the people.

They were so well pleased with this motion and his assurances, that although Cities of this condition do not easily beleue them that make warre against them, yet they were lulled asleep therewith, and neglected their preservation, thinking that there was nothing of more power to defend them, then the Treaties of peace betwixt France, Spaine and Sauoy. In the which they thought themselves to be comprehended vnder the name of Allies and confederates of the Cantons. In like sort the Dukes subiects went so freely to Geneva, as the Eue before the execution, certaine Gentlemen who knew something of this designe, being come into the City vpon their horses, *said, That they would come the next day to conclude the bargain*; and others had vied the like speeches for other Merchandize, believing that a heavy duty was assured: but Heaven which laughs at the presumptions of their Imaginations, had resolved to humble them.

The Governour of Lions had speedily intelligence, that the Duke of Sauoy was come on this side the Alpes, and that hee had brought scaling ladders: hee advertised the King thereof, and made promise for the City of Lions, *of which* Lieutenant General for the Duke on this side the Alpes, had drawne them downe, and lodged them in Townes nearest to Geneva. The Duke was at Chambery the time of the execution was referred to the General. The troops began to march about six of the clocke.

Gouverneur

1602

1602

Governor of Bonnes had been a chiefe actor in this designe, holding it so certaine, as he said, *It would die if he did not live in Geneva.* D'Albigny had set guards vpon all the waies to Ray all passengers, that no report might go before them, and that the Duke of Savoies marching might be vnknowne, to whom they represented the execution to be so easie and certaine, as he would needs be there himselfe in person to reape the fruit, and the triumph which his grand-father had begun. He pass the Alpes but with five in his company, and came the same day neere vnto Tremblieres, a village but a league distant from Geneva. They which should execute the enterprise and giue the first attempt, went along the riuer of Albe, that the noise of the water might keepe the Sentinells from hearing them as they marched. Two things hapned that were prediCTIONS of bad successe. There appeared vnaccustomed fires in the ayre. A Hare crossed them many times in their way, and gaue them a false alarm. Many things were seene that night that troubled their imagination, causing them to take Groues for Squadrons of men, and Thistles for Lances, as it hapned once before Paris. About eleuen of the clocke at night, they discovered certaine stakes, on the which the Serge-makers of Geneva did drie their Serge. Those that were in the foremost ranks would haue charged them, thinking it was some Ambuscado. From thence they passe along the riuer of Rofne, placing the body of their troopes in the meadow of Plainpalais. *Brigade* with those that were appointed for the escalado, follow D'Albigny, who leads them into the ditches by the counterscarpe, on the side of the Coartiere, without being discovered by the Sentinells, although the Duckes in the ditch made what noise they could to awake them of Geneva, as the geefe had done at Rome against the Gaules. They passed the ditch vpon hurdels, and planted three Ladders against the wals, they were of a strange inuention, being portable vpon Moyles, and to be make a long and as short as they pleased, and yet were as strong as if they had bene but of one peece. If they had bene as fortunate, as they were well furnished of all things necessary, they had executed their designe happily. They had made prouision of hatchets, hammers, and pin-cers, to cut in sunder chains of Iron, breake open lockes and to pull out great nailes and barres of gates. They had many Petards, and few that could vfe them.

Fortune, which is powerfull in such enterprises fayled them, after that place had brought them into the middle of the towne, and made them Masters of the freets above two houres. There were almost two hundred men mounted by one of their Ladders. *Briguelot* was the first, carrying himselfe more valiantly then wisely. Having recovered the wall, he surpris'd the souldier that stood Sentinell, he got the word from him, slew him, and cast him into the ditch, staying in his place for him that went the round, that he might doe as much to him, the which he effected, coming to give the word in his eare. The boy which carried the Lanthorne fled, and advertised the Court of guard what hapned to his Master, wherewith notwithstanding they were not greatly moved.

This was betwixt one and two of the clocke, attending the houre offoure, for then they had propounded to begin the execution, meaning to give more time to them that were to second them, and to haue the day draw neere, for thain all executions of warre which are done in the night, there is confusion. The affailants had a good hoores respit to mount, and as much time more before they incourted any that made resistance. If D'Albigny had bene within to vfe the benefit of the time, and to dispose more wisely of things, then *Somas, Brigantes, or Attignas* had done, they might boldly haue said the towne had been won. Halfe an houre after two of the clocke, a Sentinell in the tower of the mint, hauing heard some ruffling in the ditch, foot off his peece to giue the alarm, and forced *Brigantes* to discouuer himselfe, charging all that were at the count of guard of the new gate, to plant the Petard there, and to make an entry for the body of the army which was in *Plainspalais*. They forced the count of guard being 25 men: but against the Maxims of warre, which commands them to kill all, they let one escape, who ran away and let downe the portcullis, to make their Petard unprofitable. The towne was full of cries and fearful exclamations, whereof the Spaniards shoud haue made their profit, and increased their courages, as it did daunt the inhabitants, who knew not which way to turne, some crying to one gate, others running to another. But the affailants left themselves in the appearance of so happy a successe, that without thought they giuen an alarm at some gate to diuide the forces of the Towne. Those that were within had no vfe of their hatchets, hammers and pincers: they did forget to fire some houles, and they were hurried with

**The first discovery of the surprise.**

**The Porcullis  
at the new gate  
cut down.**

A dulnesse of spirit, thinking more of booty & spoile, then to make perfect their conquest. In the meane time, the Consul cries as they did sometimes at Rome: *Hee that loves me, let him follow me.* Some Countrymen of the neighbour villages which kept guard in the Towne-house by turnes, being led by some Capitaines and Townesmen, presented themselves to the new gate, they were valiantly repulsed, and yet the first thor they made, slew their Petardier, who was bulke about his Petard.

This first charge had not dislodged them, if the whole strength of the Inhabitants had not come, and charged them so furiously, as they began to give way, shewing neither conduct nor courage. Necessity which breeds assurance, even vnto them that are borne without courage, made the Townsmen so resolute in this defence, as the Sauoyards did presently turne their backs. The nimblest were forced to returne to their ladders, which now could no longer serue them, for a Cannon planted vpon the Bulwarke de l'Oye, against the ditch, had broken them in such sort, as they left foure and fifty dead vpon the place, along the Curtaine of Corrairie, and thirtee that were taken alieue. If the townsmen had had souldiers enough to haue made a fallie in this confusion, those that were at Plainpalais had not returned in so good order. There were thirtee taken alieue, vpon promise that was giuen them that they should be prisoners of warre, for else they would haue preferred an honorable death, before any promise that was made them, to take them alieue, and to disarm them. *Assignac* was amongst them, who fought courageously, and gave the order of Saint *Maurice* (which he wore) to his seruant, willing him to save himselfe, being resolved to dye with his sword in his hand. It had been better for him to haue been slaine at the combate of *D. Philippin*, then to bee referred for so ignominious a death.

The Seigneury would not intreat them as prisoners taken in the warre, but like theeues that had entred the towne by surpriſe againſt the Law of Nations, and the publike faith. They ſaid that the Duke was too noble a Prince to adow ſo wicked and treacherous an A&C. There were many opinions vpon the Iudgement of their death. The moſt moderate concluded to haue them put to ranſome, others to keep them priſoners, that they might ſerue for exchange if ocaſion required, through the continuance of the warre : but the moſt violent ſtirred vp the people, repreſenting vnto them their Religion, the rauiſhing of their wiues and daughters : the murder, ſack and perpetuall ſlauiery concluded againſt them, and the lamentations of their widowes and children that had been ſlaine, the which being well conſidered of, made the mildeſt opinions ſeeme vniſt. So as they were condemned to be hanged. They requeſted their heads might be cut off like Gentlemen, the which was granted them, but it was after they had been ſtrangled. The threecore and ſeuenteeene heads, as well of thoſe that had bene charged, as of the others that had bene ſlaine, were planted vpon the Gallowes, and their bodies thrown into the riuer of Rhodan. On the Tueſday after they made a generall ſalt for their deliuary. They preſently ſent for all their neighbors for ſuccors. They publiſhed in all places, the wonders of this deliuary. & they wrote vnto the Governour of Lions, in this manner.

My Lord, you have vnderstood heretofore, by many of our letters, how his Highnesse of  
Saucy, notwithstanding that he knew, and had confessed, that wee were comprehended in  
the peace made in January 1600 betwixt his Royall Maiesty of France and him: yet he  
hath oppressed vs in, Iudry forts, not only by the detaying of our Reuenues; forbidding  
of trafficke and other violences and extortions, yielding nothing to the many and just ad-  
monitions of his Maiesty; but also hath attempted often to invade and surprise vs in this  
day the 12. of this month, about midnighthead brought before our towne, on the ditches  
of Plainpalais, about 2000 choicemen, horse and foot; and had cast about 2000 iron mor-  
tars, were vnto the old gate of Corraziere, and hauing planted Ladders one within ano-  
ther, he had caused them to mount about three of the clocke on the Sunday morning the  
12. of this month, incouraging them; being himselfe in the ditch; so as being entered in  
the towne, some went to the new gate of Plainville Perard, and so drew in the body of  
their troopes, which inside a Rand in the meadow of Plainpalais others would haue forced  
vpon the Mint-gate, and so haue entered into the middle of our towne. But he pleased our  
good God to looke vpon vs with a fauourable eye, and to giue courage to all such  
as they haue repulst them foralinty; as they haue slain the best part of them: so

1602

**The resolution  
of the Baron of  
Artignac.**

3 The prisoners  
are intreated  
like the uss.

They were con-  
demned to be  
hanged.

Letters from  
the Seigneury  
of Gencua to  
Monsieur de la  
Guiche Guer-

1699 the place, and some others haue bene taken, and since hang'd by our commandment. A  
 "The rest haue cast themselves headlong downe the Walles, so as wee heare that many of  
 "them are dead or grievously hurt. But it is likely that the Lord of Albigny will continue  
 "his hatred against vs, hauing alio intelligence, that his Highnesse is not farre from vs. We  
 "therefore most humbly pray and intreat you with all our affections, that it would please  
 "you duly to consider the preiudice which the taking of our Towne would bring vnto his  
 "Majesties seruice, and to continue your fauor towards vs, and assist vs, with you Wife and  
 "Graue aduice, &c.

They belieued  
 in Court, that  
 Geneva was  
 taken.

The Duke re-  
 turns in post.

His declarati-  
 on by his Am-  
 bassador to the  
 Senate of  
 Berne.

The King pro-  
 misseth to re-  
 scue them of  
 Geneva.

Monsieur Vic-  
 sent to Geneva

War is plea-  
 sing to men  
 that know it  
 not.

Many iudged of the end of this enterprife by the beginning, and were more diligent to write then they had beene to execute it well. The King had intelligence, that the Duke was Master of the Towne, and the manner of the execution was represented with so great ease and happinesse, as there was lesse reason to doubt it then to belicue it. The truth was not known but by letters for the gouernor of Lions, the which came before any discourse that was published by the Towne that was deliuered. The Duke repast the mountains in post, his troops remained a League from Geneva in three places, at Tounon, Fossigny and Ternier. He commanded his Ambassador to give the Senate of Berne to vnderstand, that he had not made this enterprife to trouble the quiet of the Cantons, but to prevent *L'Esclat* dignities from being Master thereof, who intended to deliuer it vnto afterwards vnto the King, who had beene too mighty a Neighbor, and would haue giuen them altogether occasion to feare him. The issue of this enterprife did shew, that God will not haue Treason violated, for the assurance whereof his Name hath beene inuocated, notwithstanding any pretext of Religion. Witnesse *Lewis* King of Hungary in the vnfortunate battell of Varna against the Turkes, where he had broken his Faith.

The King aduertised of the successe of this enterprife, he sent word vnto the Magistrate of this Common-weale, that if their enemy did attempt by a seiled siege, or by open War any thing against them, he would assist them, and employ all his forces for their defence, commanding the Gouernors and Lieutenants General of the neereft Provinces, to assist them all they could. The Cantons of Berne and Fribourg allied to Geneva, being aduertised of this attempt, sent twelue hundred Swisses, and the King who had an enterest there should not fall vnder the command of any other Prince or Common-weale, sent also five hundred French. All prepare to Warre, the Geneuois made some courtes into the Duke of Sauoyes Country, and disprised *S. Geny* of Aouft, they imagined vpon a little good successe to extend their limits vnto *Mont Cenis*. The King commanded *De Fic* his Ambassador in Suisseerland, (who returned then to his charge) to passe by them, to assure them, that he was not of their humors, which frame not their affections, nor bind not the duties of friendship but vpon good euents, louing friends no longer, then they draw profit from them. That he would neuer faile them for their defence and protection, desiring to know of them, what means they might haue to make an offensive warre, to the end, the success he should send them, might be profitably employed. They receiued *De Fic* with a publicke applause, sending forth the French Horse and Foot, to meet him: but as hee was deceiued in this vnspected Ceremonie, so were many others which thought that he came to encourage them to warre. They heard his Propositions in apriu conference, exhorting them rather to a long and durable peace, then to a short warre. They intreated him to propound the like in their generall assembly, which no man else durst doe, euery one holding it a Crime, and a signe of Basenesse, not to preferre the Councils of warre, before any accord, and not to enter in a hostile manner into the Dukes Country. Some which had neuer seene war, but in the Idea, conceiued victories in their imaginations, building vpon the Snow of Mont Cenis. That it would not continue about fix moneths, that the warre would be no lesse profitable for the good of their Common-weale, nor lesse happy, then it had been to their Neighbors, in the time of Duke *Charles*: and that all that had any interest in their preservation would assist them. That all those great Spirits which delighted in the exercise of warre, would come and offer them their Armes and Lises.

*De Fic* through the truth and excellency of his discourse, gaue them to vnderstand, that peace was so necessary for them, and warre so preiudiciall, as they had great reason to imbrace the one, and to shie the other. That although the causes of warre, be alwaies goodly, and the means made ease, yet the effects were no lesse terrible, the successe being not alwaies answerable to their hopes. That a foraine Warre was profitable, and to be vnder-

taken

A taken when as Ciuill Warres could not be otherwise auoyded: but a well seited Estate, which hath alwaies liued happily by Peace, should not seeke these stormes, nor take delight to beate warre with her Neighbours. Thus hee perswaded them to imbrace peace, confirmed by an equal commerce of all commodities, and which should roote out all occasions of Warre. They entred into some truce with the Duke, but hauing required assurance for the obseruation thereof, it being not honourable, they proceeded no farther, and the Duke gaue them to vnderstand that it was indifferent to him, whether they were his friends or enemies. The King, who is a Prince full of iustice and integrity, foreseeing that this warre would not be ended by them that did begin it, desired to maintain the peace which was so necessary for all Christendome, for the which he had layd aside Armes, when as he might hope for most fruit for the increase of his Estates. His Ambassador therefore in Suisseerland perswaded the Cantons of Glaries, Basle, Soleure, Schaffhouse and Appenzel, as least suspected and interested, to be the mediators of this Accord. There was some difficulty, but the Siegneury tyred with a warre, the profit whereof could not repaire the ruines which the want of Peace should cause, and hauing eyed that all the profit they could hope for, depended on their neighbours success. That hope which is not maintained but by forraigne supports, is alwaies ruinous: That they had no means to reuenge the wrong that was done vnto them: that there was no likelihood that the Catholike Swisses would breake with the Duke of Sauoy for their respect: that being so neere they must of force apply themselves to some quiet and equal kind of liuing: they yeelded to the perswasions of their friends and Allies, and by their aduice relinquished many demands which their Councell had refused, and the Duke had reiected as vnjust and dishonorable.

The Conference of the Treaty was at Rouilly with *D'Albigny*; and the conclusion at Saint Iulian, betwixt the Deputies of either part. If the issue hath beene happy and profitable to both parties, they are bound to none but the grace of God and the Kings wisdom, who desiring to entertaine the publicke quiet, hath made a peacefull vnion of those wills that were so much diuided: for at his instance the Swisses had layd aside more Muskets and Pikes which they had provided, then had been sene in Sauoy in ten years before; and they of Geneva did moderate their demands, not so much for any respect of their enemy, as to please the King, yet the malicious gaue it out, that the King had incensed them to war by his Ambassadors. The Consulate of Lions had obtained of the King (at the Queens intreaty, and in consideration of the honor done her at her entry) a Priuiledge, by which none might come to be Sheriffes, that were not Town-born children: it was the same prerogative which *Pescennius Niger* had giuen vnto the Romanes, forbidding any person to be admitted to publicke charges that was not borne and bred a Romaine. Euery Priuiledge which causeth an inequality among Citizens (liuing vnder the same Lawes) is the Apple of discord and cause of diuision, like vnto that of the *Bianchi* and *Neri* at Florence. A great town hath euert too many seeds of diuision, without seeking new. Most commonly the rich are intolerable to the poore, and the poore enuy the happinesse of the rich: there is alwaies some question betwixt the great and the small.

This new distinction of persons must needs cause dangerous innovations in a City, where the inner part is more to be feared then the outward. Those which pretended to bee from their beginning, by birth and affection, of the Country of Lions, seeing themselves perpetually excluded from the most honourable charges within the City, had recourse vnto the King, laying before him the inequality of this Priuiledge, the disgrace which they receiued, and the ruine which should fall vpon the City, when the Inhabitants should abandon the place of their abode, and that they might not remaine in a place where without offence or any iust cause, they were for euer deputed of that little Honor they might hope for, after they had serued the Publike in many burthenome charges. Those which were originally borne at Lions sayd, that the Inhabitants of the Country comming thither, labored more for their owne profit, then for the good of the publike, and did not much affect the publicke good, if they did not hope for their owne private commodities, hauing no hands but for themselves. That it was neither profitable nor commendable to impart the chiefe Honours, and to commit the gouernment of the City to new men, for many reasons which haue beene set downe by the wife, but especially lest they confound the ancient Order and Government with strange Customes and Manners.

Yyyy

The

1603

The Cantons  
 of the swisses  
 mediators of a  
 Peace.

Geneua re-  
 solutes to a  
 Peace.

A Peace con-  
 cluded betwixt  
 the Duc Sauoy  
 and the towne  
 of Geneva in  
 July 1603.

A Priuiledge  
 granted to the  
 City of Lions.



1603

The King will not issue this privilege to be the cause of any division.

The King declares that his meaning was not to exclude his subjects but strangers only from a Office of Consul.

The Chancellor's speech.

Intention to make silke in France.

The profit of the art of silke.

The King considering that a small matter doth trouble a multitude (as the encounter of a ditch doth disorder the ranks of an Army when it marcheth) he gave them to understand that he desired they should agree together, sending them to *La Guiche* Governour of Lyons to reconcile these wills, divided only upon this subject, but united in all other points that concerned the obedience and service of his Majesty. This division began to decrease when as they understood that his Majesties pleasure was to content both parties, to reduce things to the ancient order wherein they had lived happily, and not to suffer the good correspondency which had been betwixt the Inhabitants of one City, to be lost by the quality of this privilege, the which by fruitlesse innovations did alter that which the Ancients had allowed and maintained.

The King therefore commanded that the reasons of either part should be carefully examined and considered of in his Councell. The President *Janin* was reporter of this controversy. The Councell having understood the Kings intention, and considered of the Governour of Lyons advice, thought that as they might not change the ancient customs in the which they had lived well, so it was just and reasonable to gratifie the Original families of the City, for that they had suffered most in these last troubles, and had opposed themselves most resolutely against the faction. They therefore thought it good that there should remaine a distinction with some mark or prerogative of Honour, reserving the charge of Provoost of Merchants for such as were Citizens born, & that those of the country which had continued there for ten years Heads of Families, should be capable of the Consulship, to enter indifferently with them that were borne there. By this declaration both the one and the other had part of their demands. The King sending them backe, recommended vnto them obedience, and respect to their Governour, and Concord and Unity among themselves. And for that in the last Consular Elections there had been something done indiscreetly, the Chancellor vsed some words upon that subject, both grave, just, and worthy the greatnesse of his charge.

*It is my opinion (sayd he) that as the king hath an interest, that none should be chosen for Magistrats of a Towne, but those, of whose Loyalty his Majesty is well assured, so the more the liberty of election is left vnto them, the more obedience should his Majesty, the Governours and Lieutenants Generall of Provinces finde in the Inhabitants, in that which it should please him to command them.*

The King desiring to increase the commodities of the Realm, and to enrich his subjects, having tried in his royall houses of Fontainebleau, Madril, and the Gardens of the Tuilleries, that silke wormes might be bred and brought vp as happily in France, as in any part of Europe, he resolved to adde the art of silke to the felicities of the peace, a speedy and fit remedy to auoyd the transport of gold and silver. Hereupon he had the advice of Commissioners deputed for the establishing of the trafficke, the which hee had chosen as well out of his Councell, as of the Soueraigne Courts of Parliament, Chamber of Accomptes, and Court of Aydes. They gave his Majesty to understand, that for the more speedy bringing in of this new worke, he must of necessity begin by the planting of Mulberry-trees, to feed the wormes that weare and make the silke. And therefore some expert in that Art, did binde themselves to furnish a great number of white Mulberry-trees, and graines to make Nurseries, in foure parts of the Realme, at Paris, Orleans, Tours, and Lyons, who were bound to make their diuisions by the first day of Aprill this yeare, with instructions how to sow and plant trees and Kernels, to gouerne the wormes, to draw and spin the silke, to prepare it, and make it ready to be sold. There could not bee found in this age a more profitable husbandry. The people of Languedoc, Prouence, and Dauphine haue found this labor so successfull within these few yeares, as the onely reuennue of silke doth now bring more money to these Provinces, then the Corne, Oyle, and Weade, although they haue great abundance. It doth also begin very happily at Lyons, and if it continue, this City will be as famous for silke, as Tire and Bulis were for Scarlet.

As the profit is great and pleasing, so the practice is not painful, for one man is sufficient to employ the leaues of three great Mulberry-Trees, to nourish and entertaine halfe an ounce of Wormes; women and children are as capable as men. It is done without any diuersion from their labour, and almost without any losse of time, at such a season of the yeare when as the fruits of the Earth require rather the fauour of Heauen, then the industry of men. It is not done without a perpetuall admiration of the wonders of that

Soueraigne

1903

A Soueraigne hand of the Almighty, by whose order we see these little beasts without flesh, blood, bones, veines, sinewes, or arteries, without scales, or bowels within, without teeth, nayles, or prickles, and without filke, haire, eyes, or eares, to make therein forty daies which all the industry of man could not doe in forty yeares. They are the workers of a stuffe which serues for an ornament in the house of God, and in those of Kings, and furnish the chiefe ingredients for a most wholesome confession, for the cure of melancholly, which is that of Alkermes, which is made by the infusion and decoction of filke in the iuice of Kermes.

The King went to Metz and tooke the Queene with him. The cause of his voyage was the bad intelligence betwixt *Sobole* commanding in the Citadell, and the Inhabitants of the Towne. The Duke of Elspemont shewed in this trouble, as in many other more dangerous, that of the two best things of our life, happinesse is the first, and wisdom the second. *Sobole* was one of them to whom he had yielded a part of that great and incomparable fauour which hee had during the reigne of the deceased King. Having the gouernment of Metz from the King, he made *Sobole* his Lieutenant of the towne and Citadell, in whom he had as much confidence, as he had vowed his affection vnto him.

As the great troubles in the yeare 1589, had made France like vnto a troubled river fit for Ambitious men to fish in, so those which held places of importance began to raise their authorities as high as the liberty of the time, and the forgetfulness of the French would suffer them. Two or three yeares after the Duke of Elspemont was troubled in Prouence, and his credit crackt with the King. They say that *Sobole* began then to cary himselfe more proudly then he was wont, vnto no moderation, which is the perfect ornament of prosperity. He suffered himselfe to be called Gouernor. A title which added nothing to his profit and commodity, and did breed him lealouise with his equals, bad opinion in the iudgment of his superiors, and hatred and feare in the hearts of his inferiours.

There was another occasion which made his carriage more odious, which was the pursuit he made against the principall of the towne, for treason and conspiracy. They were freed from prison being innocent, but they tooke this resolution to free themselves from the command of *Sobole*. It is the humor of the people to write any good they haue received vpon the water, and to ingraue the wrongs are done them in brasse. The duke of Elspemont passing by Metz to goe to the Spaw, heard great complaints against *Sobole*, the which he did but heare, finding that there was some lealouise of his abode at Metz, for as often as he sent for him to eate or play with him, and to bring his brother with him, the one or the other remained still in the City. Yet the Duke of Elspemont entred into the Citadell, and was received with all the honours hee could desire, *Sobole* presented him the keyes at the gate, protesting of his affection, and complaining of those which said hee would refuse him the entry: the souldiers stood with their pikes vp, and their Harguebuzes and Muskets vpon their shoulders, and the Halbards behinde them.

The Duke of Elspemont returned to Court, to understand the Kings pleasure touching these troubles. He made a second voyage to Metz. Their murmuring against *Sobole* was turned into publike complaints, and their complaints into Barricadoes betwixt the Citadell and the towne: the Inhabitants were transported with so strange a passion, as they submitted themselves to any thing, so as they might not be commanded by two the Brethren. This commotion had not lasted long: it had not beene supported. The presence of the Duke of Elspemont gaue them courage, who else would haue beene much amazed. The King first sent *Boissise*, and then *Varenne*, both which serued his Majesty according to his intentions, and disposed *Sobole* to doe whatsoever he should command him, declaring notwithstanding that he would not deliuer the place but to himselfe. This was the occasion of the Kings voyage, who went thither in a very vnseasonable time. Vpon the brute of his going, many Princes of Germany sent to take vp their lodgings at Metz, who notwithstanding (hearing that the King would make but small abode, and the time being troublesome) came not out of their Stoues, so as there came not any but the D. of Deux Ponts, the Landgrau of Hesse, and the Prince of Brandenburg. The King finding the hatred betwixt *Sobole* and the Inhabitants to bee irreconcilable, was aduised to give the charge of the Citadell to *Arquien*, Lieutenant of the Coronells company, of the Regiment of his Majesties guards: and the Lieutenancy of the gouernment of the Towne and of the Country of Messin to *Montigny* his brother, to hold them as Lieutenants of his Majesty

Yyyy

in

1603

Sobole delivers  
vp the Citadell.Foure Iesuites  
come to Metz  
for their reestab-  
lishment.Iesuite speech  
vnto the King.

in the absence of the Duke of Espernon. The King would not enter into Metz before A that Sobole was out of the Citadell. Some thought he would not haue bene so obedient, but he shewed he had no disgrace beyond his duty. This was a disgrace vnto him. Hee blamed his fortune, and Fortune accused his bad carriage. The way hee tooke to maintaine himselfe, ouerthrow him. Men must hold great Commands like simple Commissions, and not as Inheri- tances. They must desire them without Passion, and receive them without Insolency. The King past the feast of Easter at Metz. Where he heard the Iesuits requests for their re-establisment. They could not find a better opportunity to speake vnto the King, then that which *Varenne* (Controller general of the Posts of France) gaue them, giuing them intelligence that the King would come to Metz and there spend the Easter. Hereupon foure Iesuites of Pont a Mouzon, were deputed to goe and doe their duties vnto his Maiesty, and to renew the request for their returne vnto those places from the which they had bene expelled. They came to Metz on the Wednesday before Easter day, and the next day in the after-noonne they had audience in the Kings Cabinet, where as the Duke of Espernon, *Villeroy*, *Genre*, and *Varenne* were present. The King receiued them graciously and would not suffer them to kneele, but commanded them to stand vp: and although he takes no delight in long speeches, knowing that they come prepared with goodly words. Yet he heard father *Ignace Armand* with patience and attention, who made a long and eloquent Oration.

"Sir, since it hath pleased God to make you victorious, and a peaceable possessor of C the Scepter and Crowne which is due vnto you, and that wee had the happinesse to read, and know in your Maiestie those great perfections, which since the memory of man haue not bene found in any great Prince or Monarch, and especially that great clemency, and assured marke of a Noble and generous minde, the which after so many victories and triumphs you haue vsed towards them which had most offended you, wee then conceiued a great hope that you would shew the like clemency and mildnesse to vs.

"But as all things in this world are mutable: When as wee thought to doe you humble seruite, and to yeeld you the obedience which subiects owe vnto their King and naturall Prince, there fell out an vnfortunate accident which troubled all our designs, and seque- D ding vs from you, tooke from vs the meanes to doe you the seruice which we pretended. Yet we can assure you with truth, that notwithstanding all the crosses and contradictions, or the false reports which haue bene raised vp against vs, both within and without the Realme, we haue neither lost the affection we owe to our deare Country, nor our desire to your seruice, nor the hope we had in your clemency and naturall bountie: Assuring us felues that time in the end will discouer the truth, and mollifie all offenses which the misery of ciuill warres haue bried.

"This hope hath much increased since your coming into these parts, which makes vs now to prostrate our felues at your feet, and to beseech your Maiestie nor to deferre the grace any longer which we haue so often demanded, & to giue vs occasion to preach throughout E all the world, that our hopes were not vaine, being supported by the bounty of so great a King, receiuing vs in the end as his most humble subiects, and most desirous to employ our felues for his Maiesties seruice, there being nothing that can be more grieuous vnto vs, then to see our felues in disgrace with the King, and not able to assist our country with those poore meanes which God hath giuen vs, and according to the vocation whereunto we are called.

"We doubt not but they haue laboured to make vs appeare before you, otherwise then we are, by the imposition of the foulest and most odious crimes, which a subiect might commit against his Prince and country, the which we detest as execrable; and if we had once thought to do them, we should thinke our felues vnworthy, I will not say to be re- F ceiued into our country, but to liue vpon the earth.

"They haue in like manner sought to blame our institution allowed in a general Coun- cell, and by so many Popes, and receiued by the most Christian Kings your predecessors, as if it yed vs to obey our General in all things, yea in that which should be contrary to God and reason. Yet I cannot beleuee Sir, that euer any such opinion could lodge in the hearts of those that haue the least knowledge of our institution, being contrary to our constitutions, which do alwaies except in the obedience due to our Superiours, all that which

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A which may not be done without offence to God. But how were impossible, that of so many which enter into our company, and all desirous of saluation, any one should remaine, if they should see that such an impiety, (not obedience) should haue place: was it euer heard of any one that left vs (how great an enemy to vs) that there was any such thing, and that this obedience did derogate from that which we owe vnto Kings & Magistrates, or that it doth command vs to giue counsell to any one that may bee preiudiciall to your Maiesty and State? Many haue also sought to persuade you, that wee did sollicite chil- dren of good houses to bee of our company and religion, to haue their goods and ioyne them vnto ours: It is contrary to the courtesie wee hold in the reception of those which de- fire to serue God in our company, receiuing not any one before we haue made a long tri- all of their vocation, whether it bee by the inspiration of God, or perswasion of men, and that many times for three or foure yeares. If they finde this vocation not to bee of God, they are refused, being an essentiall lert to their reception, and there is not any thing which Superiours recommend more to them of this company, then to bee very carefull not to persuade any one to enter into a religious estate, but onely to excite them to ver- tue and learning, leauing that to the holy Spirit, which is of the perfection of the Gospel, and of the counsell of our Suuion: and for prooffe, the number of them which are in France, is so small as it makes not the twentieth part of them which are of other religions.

"As for that which is said, wee pretend to enrich our felues by their meanes which are receiued into this company, it needs not many words to discouer this fallhood. E Every man knowes the reuenues of our Colledges, I thinke that few men can vaunt that they are much enriched. One thing I can say, that hardly shall you finde one of our Colledges in France, whose foundation is sufficient for that which is necessary to support the charges, and you shall finde many which for the most part liue of almes. That of Paris the chiefe City of your Realm, comprehending the legacies of the Presidents *Saint Andrew*, and *Hannetquin* with all others, hath neuer had aboue a thousand Crownes rent, which will hardly serue to entertaine twenty persons. Such a Colledge requires at the least three- score, for all the sciences and faculties whereof wee make profession. Many of this great City haue entred into our company, and some of good houses, the which haue not left vs a foot of land. If they haue giuen vs any almes in money, to supply the want of our foun- dation, the greatest summe doth neuer come to the eight part of their goods, the which hath bene alwaies fought with the good liking and consent of their Parents. If our Col- ledges haue sufficient foundations, we desire no more. And if any one of our body dispo- seth of his goods, the application is left free vnto him, and commonly if his kinsfolkes bee poore, he leaues them all, if they be rich, he employes some part to goodly vses, and to Hos- pitals, with the liking of his kinsfolkes. We were in truth very miserable and voyde of sense, if hauing quit all the commodities which we had by succession, or might gerby our industry, we would seek them in Religion. And how were it possible we should be so greedy to affect them, hauing nothing in petticular, and if wee had a hundred times more in

common, we should reape no greater commoditie for our own particulars, the ouer- plus being employed according to our constitutions to entertaine poore Schollers, & in other works of charity. They also importune your Maiesties eares continually, and say that we meddle with matters of State. The cause of this opinion and presumption is, for that sometimes Noblemen and Prelates, vouchsafe to vie vs for matter of Conscience, and to direct them in their deuotions and spirituall exercises, whatsoeuer they doe or appoint af- wards, is attributed vnto vs, although we haue had no communication, nor haue medled in the businesse. For in truth Sir, there is nothing so contrary to our estate and intention, nor more forbidden in our company, vpon grieuous paine, then to meddle in like affaires.

"These be Sir, the chiefe points which are objected against vs; and if there be any other, F whereof it shall please your Maiesty to be better informed, we promise to so to answer, by writing or by mouth, as you shall rest satisfied, and see plainly that they are but inuenti- ons, forged either by them which affect vs not, or by such as haue no knowledge of our institution and manner of life. But wee will answer more plainly to the view and contentment of all the world by our workes, when it shall please your Maiesty to vn- binde our hands. Then shall euery man see plainly, what wee say and promise: and your Maiesty shall witness, yea they which are most contrary vnto vs, that wee haue bene true.

Yyyy

That

1603 " That if our prayers and humble petitions can finde no place in your Royall heart, yet A  
 " we will not leave to haue yours alwaies grauen in the bottome of ours, to loue you, with  
 " all gratefull, and happinesse, and so offer our continual prayers vnto God, for the pre-  
 " seruation of your Maiestie, of the Queene your most beloued spouse, of our Lords your chil-  
 " dren, and of your Realme, our most deare Country, remaining in perpetuall sorrow, that  
 " we could not shew by effects, that affectio which we haue desired. But we hope otherwise,  
 " and with this hope wee beseech you to cast the beames of your clemency, vpon this little  
 " company of your most humble subiects, who wish grieffe of heart, vpon their knees, and  
 " teares in their eyes, implore your mercy: Yours I say, being so naturall vnto you, and im-  
 " parted vnto so many. Regard not that which hath bene done and said, with more zeale,  
 " and lesse discretion then was needfull. It was some priuate member, and not the whole  
 " body, the which as it hath neuer allowed of the errors of priuateness, so should it not re-  
 " ceive the preiudice. We doe not implore your mercy, but to serue God and your Ma-  
 " iesty, thereunto tend all our designes and intentions, and therein wee will employ our  
 " bloods and liues. Such as desire not your gratefull, nor of your Realme, reioyce at  
 " our disgrace, thinking (it may be) that we might helpe to make it more flourishing, it we  
 " were restored.

" We beseech your Maiesty, in all humility, that ye will bee pleased to adde this Bond to  
 " many others, which tie vs to your seruice, let not the mercy and clemency which you  
 " shall vnto vs, depend vpon any but your selfe: let it be wholly yours, and let vs not bee  
 " beholden to any but to you. The gift shall be more precious, and our bond much greater,  
 " This will increase our courage to loue and serue you, and excite every one to the like du-  
 " ty. We will not be vanquished therein by strangers, but will rather surmount them. If  
 " they of our company in Spaine, Italy, and Germany, do it, we will rather dye being natu-  
 " rally Frenchmen, but we will yeelde the like duty to our King and Country. The lawes of  
 " God and Nature (common to all) binds vs thereunto, and we shall haue many priuate  
 " bonds to doe it, when it shall please your Maiestie to vnto so great clemency.

" Sir, the holy and sacred time of the death and passion of our Saviour speaks for vs,  
 " That blood which he hath powred forth abundantly vpon the Altar of the Crosse, for  
 " sinners, his enemies, doth inuite you to vnto clemency to those whose heart and affection  
 " are whole yours. We haue not deserued to great a grace of your Maiesty, but he in whose  
 " name we demand it, and who without doubt demands it for vs, after so many prayers  
 " which wee haue offered vnto him, shall haue such power with your Maiesty, who by his  
 " Christian pietie will neuer depart from that which hee shall know to be pleasing, to that  
 " soueraine bounty of our God, whom wee pray that after hee hath made you to reigne  
 " long and many yeeres in this world, he will giue you an eternall and assured Kingdome in  
 " the other.

The King answered them very graciously, *I wish no harme to the Iesuits, and all the ill  
 that I wish to any living creature, let it happen vnto my selfe. My Court of Parliament hath  
 done something against you, but not without good consideration.* He received that in writing  
 which they had deliuered by mouth, deliuered it to *Villeray*, and hauing considered there-  
 of, he declared vnto them expressly how desirous he was, and what care he would take for  
 their returne. *If your businesse (said hee) were not in the Popes hands, I would dispatch you  
 presently, but you know it is not expedient to doe any thing without him. I will haue you: you  
 are profitable for the publike and for my estate.* He added moreover, that being at Paris he  
 would thinke seriously of their affaires. They demanded if his Maiesty would not be  
 pleased that the three Princiuals of their company in France, accompanied by three o-  
 thers should attend there at his returne, and receiue his commandements. There needs  
 not so many, said the King, it shall be sufficient that you and father *Cotton* come. The King  
 made this voyage partly to pacifie some trouble growne betwixt the Cardinal of Lor-  
 raine, and the Prince of Brandebourg, for the Bishopricke of Strausbourg, and this was  
 the cause of their quarrell. The Bishopricke of Strausbourg being voyde by the decease  
 of their Bishop (who was a Catholike) the Cardinal of Lorraine obtained the grant there-  
 of from his Holinesse. But for that they of Strausbourg since the fittes in Germany, had  
 held the confesion of Aushourg, the deceased Bishop had retired himselfe out of the Ci-  
 ty, and liued at a house of his in the Country in his religion, and yet notwithstanding hee  
 receiued his temporall reuenues from them of Strausbourg. On the other side the Mar-  
 quis

The Iesuits fo-  
 road audience.

A controuersie  
 betwixt the  
 Cardinal of Lor-  
 raine and  
 Prince of  
 Brandebourg  
 for the Bishop-  
 ricke of Strau-  
 bourg.

A quise of Brandebourg, Election of the Empire, had obtained an election from them of  
 Strausbourg for one of his Sonnes, who being named to the Bishopricke, and refused  
 by them of Strausbourg, he wilkeney the Bishops rights without any other ceremony.  
 The Cardinal on the other side having received the accustomed order therein, demand-  
 ed the Bishops rights of them of Strausbourg, such as his Predecessor enjoyed, who  
 died a Catholike, and according to the Article of the *Treaty*, set downe by the confes-  
 sion of Aushourg. Hereupon they of Strausbourg made some difficulty, and the rather,  
 for that being neighbours vnto the Duke of Lorraine territories, they haue often many  
 controuersies to decide, as it doth commonly fall out betwixt neighbors. They had also  
 given their consent to the nomination of the Prince of Brandebourg for Superintendant  
 or Administrator, that is to say, Bishop after their manner: for the selfe and other pri-  
 uate reasons, they refused the Cardinals demand.

The Prince of Brandebourg gets possession, and prepares to withstand the Cardinal,  
 all things tending vnto Armes. Many and great leaues of them were made on either side.  
 Those of Strausbourg were also in Alarme, seeking to prevent all disorders if it were pos-  
 sible, yet fauouring the Prince of Brandebourg more than the Cardinal of Lorraine.  
 The Emperour had written vnto them both, declaring that his intention was, that nei-  
 ther of them should haue wrong: The King was intreated to interpose his authority as  
 a Friend to both parties, for the auoiding of all scandall. The Prince of Brandebourg,  
 named the Bishop of Strausbourg, was come into France some months before: And  
 they say he remained some dayes at Troyes, vntill his Maiesty had assigned him a time and  
 place to haue the Honour to come and kisse his hands, the which was done at Loges  
 neer to Saint Germane in Lay, where the King gaue him audience, and so the said Prince  
 was dispatched, with promise of all fauor, to compound the controuersie betwixt him and  
 the Cardinal.

During the Kings abode at Metz, the said Prince of Brandebourg came accompa-  
 nied with the *Lantgrave* of Hesse, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and a Deputy from the  
 Archbishop of Treues, Elector of the Empire: and by their aduice it was determined,  
 that the Cardinal should haue a portion out of the said Bishopricke, and the rest should  
 remaine vnto the Prince, and by that means they should continue friends as before.  
 Thus a Peace was made betwixt them, the which might els haue bene preiudiciall to  
 the whole Empire and to all Christendome. The King went from Metz to Nancy to see  
 the Duchesse of Bar his sister, and the Duke of Lorraine. At that time a marriage was  
 concluded betwixt the Duke of Deux Ponts and the Ladie *Katherine* of Rohan, remain-  
 ing then with the Kings Sister, and so hauing provided for all things necessary for the  
 frontier, he tooke his way to Paris the 7 of April. It is a signe of a happy Reigne when  
 the subiect reioyceth to see his King: Prouence had been possit with this desire fifteene  
 yeares, being the only Prouince of all France that had not yet seene the King. He was  
 expected there with great impatience, hauing promised after his returne from Metz to  
 go thither. As it was reasonable to giue comfort to that Prouince, so was it necessary to  
 fortifie that Coast, and to haue an eye to the designs of the sea army of Spaine, which  
 vnder colour of attempting something vpon Alger, might fall vpon that coast, by which  
 the Emperour *Charles* the fifth held it the easiest to invade France.

At the same time (report which carries all things abroad without distinction of iudg-  
 ment) did publish throughout all Europe, a newes happily false, which was, that the  
 King had bene extremely sicke. He was indeed sick, but not so extremely as they should  
 so iudge of him. He was soone restored to his natural health, and returned to his ordi-  
 nary manner of liuing. The actions of Princes must be alwaies great, not busying them-  
 selves in making of Lanthornes, like to that King of Macedonia. They must alwaies  
 hold their Subjects in this opinion, That in doing nothing, they doe some great worke.  
 It was a great precept which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth gaue to King *Philip* his Son,  
 alwaies to exercise himselfe in some vertue, agreeing with the duty of a King, to hold  
 the Subjects as it were in admiration of his effects, and not to giue their thoughts at any  
 time to fill them with other affections. When occasions of war cease, he must apply him-  
 selfe to those of Peace, as to the administring of Iustice, and ordering of his Realme.  
 To conclude, all the actions of a Prince must tend to the good and health of his people,  
 for whom he liues, and more then for himselfe, as the Sunne doth not shine and giue  
 heat

The King re-  
 turns to Paris.

The King re-  
 lused to go into  
 Prouence.

Brute of the  
 Kings sickness.

The exercises  
 of a Prince.

Building is  
worke worthy  
of a Prince  
which is at  
Peace.

heat but for men and the elements. During the war, no man enquired what the King did, his great affaires provided store of worke, the end of one enterprize was the beginning of another. Now that these tedious stormes are appeased, that the waues are smooth and the Sea calme, that Peace giues him a rest worthy of his labours, that so many paines past make his pleasures more sweet, and that the reward of Vertue makes his triumphs seeme more glorious, there passeth no day, but some one asketh, What doth the King? They need not hardly for an answer, hee is alwaies in action far from idleness. The chiefest aduantage is neuer to be without action, he hath bene so bled vp from his Cradle, he cannot be otherwise: Dees neuer become Drones, great spirits do neuer degenerate, we shall see him on horsebacke at the age of *Maffius*, he will be fearfull to his enemies at that of *Agesilaus*; hee will show himselfe in the head of his armies at the age of 80 yeares, like vnto *Phocion*, his valour will neuer grow old no more then his memory. He contents himselfe notwithstanding to enioy the fruits of peace, and not to thinke any more of war, unless hee be wronged. One of the greatest contentments the peace doeth yeeld him, is that of his buildings, and there is no exercise more worthy of a King then to repaier the ruines of time, if they bee buildings which regard the glory of the Prince, and the common profit of the people, when as the morter is not made with the blood and sweat of his poore Subjects. At one time the King had Mansions in diuers places; in the great Church of Orleans, at Fontainebleau, at S. Germaine, at Monceaux, and at the new Bridge at Paris. All great workes, whether that we consider the building by the designe, or the designe by the building. Among many maruells of his life, that was admirable. That hee did build and make war both together. The first day hee entered into the Louvre hee did designe and set downe what he hath since continued. Hee hath made S. Germaine and Fontainebleau (two houses of the Kings his Predecessors) royal and stately Palaces. He finished in the hottest of the wars and foraigne tempests, that which they had vnderaken in a calme and peacefull season. They were buildings whereof wee may truly say, That the workmanship exceeds the matter, wherein he was serued with as great affection and promptitude, as we way obserue good order and iudgment; and will be the more durable, for that the workemen received commodity, and the Labourers did not sweat for nothing. Many gallant Spirits found out ingenious inuentions which our age admires, and the forepassed haue not knowne. Waters had not yet bene raised higher then their Springs. This present age, and those which are to come, owe this industry to *Montoni*, President of the Minte in the generality of Lion. This aduice affection in the King to royall buildings, made subjects (by an honest and commendable imitation) to raise the ruines which did generally shew a hideous face, and mournfull markes of horrible and furious effects, both in townes and country. The pauerd Caufies which are continued in diuers Prouinces, the Bridges, which by the motion and care of the Marquis of Rosny are built vpon Riuers, where neuer were any, witness with what curiosity, the King sought the ease and commodity of his people.

Exercise of Noblemen at Colours.

We haue seene what the King does, wee must also know whereunto the Court is inclined. How can they liue without warre that thinke it a dishonour to dye in their beds? who are accustomed to triumph our idleness, and rest not but to take new breath? What doe so many Noblemen, which cannot endure rest but with impatience? Some goe a hunting, others dwell and dye among Ladies: many giue themselves to the knowledge of tongues and the Mathematickes: the most quarrellous strip themselves into their shirts, notwithstanding any prohibition of Duells or Combats: the most temperate retire themselves from great expences. Some there are, who loath that ease should triumph over their reputations, goe out of the Realme with the Kings permission. It is a figure of a great and noble courage, to goe and make war vpon a foraigne Theater, and to see the diuersity of people and nations, that he may settle his iudgment, and arme himselfe with experience. When we speake of them that haue well employed the ease and liberty of peace, we must remember the Duke of Neuers. Hee went into England, Flanders, and Hungary, and through a great part of the North. Hee past to the King of Denmark, who for the respect of those two great & famous houses, of Gonzaga, allied to the greatest houses of Europe, and of Neuers, which carries the title of D. of Brabant & Limbourg, but much more for loue of this crown, received him with great & famous honors. The

A league concluded betwixt the Venetians & the Grisons.

An Ambassador sent from Venice.

The navigation of the French to New France or Canada.

The King was aduertised, that the Seignery of Venice would renew a negotiation which they had attempted and left vnperfect twenty yeares since; which they now sought to conclude. *De Vic*, Ambassador for the King in Suisseerland, having discovered, that both parties had begun without the King, gaue them to vnderstand, that they could not finish nor conclude that without his Maiesty. The Count *Fuenter* did also crosse it, for that this new League should make him to lose the hope of that which the Spaniard had pursued so many yeares. As soone as the King had giuen them to vnderstand that he was well pleased therewith, it was concluded: neither party respecting the threats of the Count *Fuenter*, who sware that he would take from the Grisons the trafficke which they had in the Duchy of Milan, and the reliefe of Corne which they received from thence. The Articles of this alliance are set downe at large in *Peter Mathew*. The Count *Fuenter* discontented with this league, made the Grisons repent it, hauing cut off their commerce, and all commodities which they drew out of the territories of Milan, without the which they could not wel liue. The two Countries ioyne together, and the barrenness of the one is supplied by the fertility and abundance of the other. To bring them vnder the yoke of Spaine, and to force them to breake with the Venetians, hee built a fort at the entry of their Country, whereof shall be spoken hereafter.

An Ambassador sent from Venice into France about the same time past by *Lions*, a graue and wise man, and well practised in affaires of State. The Gouernor of Lions did visit him, and among other discourses vnderstood from him, that the Seigneurs of that Common-weale did hold themselves more bound vnto the Count *Fuenter*, then to any man liuing, for that they had made vse of his threats to sharpen their courages, which time had made blunt and dull. His braueries had made them to take resolutions for the good of the State, which they had neuer dreamt of, drowning their counsellors in the delights of Peace, and presuming that they should not feare any storme in so great a calme, but hauing seene the Counts humour to stir vp war in Italy, and that he bragged he had Instruments to draw them in, that had no will to dance, they had so well provided for their affaires, as they feared his hand no more then his tongue. The last yeare the Lord of Pont had bene in new France (called *Canada*) from whence he had brought two *Sauages*, which hee presented vnto the King: they learned of them that the great Riuer which they thought to haue bene but a Gulfe (for that it is eighreene leagues broad where it enters into the Sea) was about 400 leagues long, and past through many goodly Countries and Lakes, into the which many other goodly Riuers did run, and that hee might goe vp into it in Canowes, which the *Sauages* did vse to saile in that Riuer. He resolved with some other Sea Captaines (with the Kings good liking) to returne, and to search into the heart of the Country by meanes of the *Sauages*, as well as hee had discovered along the Sea Coast, where is nothing but rocks and high mountaines, and sands full of Pine trees, Sapins, Cipres and Holly. Hee parted from Honfleur the fiftenth of March, carrying the two *Sauages* backe with him, and the eighteenth of Aprill he came into the great Riuer of *Canada*, where having entred a hundred leagues, in the end hee came to *Tabouac* the twenty fourth, where he found many *Sauages* in Cabines. Going on land, he went with some of his Company to the Cabin of the great *Sagamo*, called *Anabacijon*, where they found him with some fourescore or a hundred of his Companions, which made *Tabagie* (that is to say, a Feast) who receiued them very well, according to their custome, and made them to sit neare him, the *Sauages* being placed one by one on either side of the Cabin. One of the *Sauages* which he had cried with him, began to make his Oration, of the good reception which the King had made them, and of the good vsage which they had receiued in France, & that his Maiesty wished them well, and desired to people their land, and to make peace with their enemies (which be the *Iroquois*) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He told them of the goodly castles, places, houses and people that he had seene, and the manner of liuing of the French. The *Sauages* gaue him audience with great silence. When he had done speaking, the great *Sagamo* began to take Tobacco, and gaue some vnto the Seigneur of Pont Graue of S. Malo, and to his company, and to some other *Sauages* that were neere him, hauing taken it well, he began to make his Oration to them all, speaking deliberately, saying sometimes a little, and then beginning againe, he said, *That in truth they had reason so he greatly contented to haue such a King for their great friend: Whereunto all the other Sauages answered*

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red with one voice, *ho, ho, ho*; that is to say I, I. Then the Sagamo said againe, *That he was very glad the King of France should people their Land, and make war against their enemies: That there was no Nation in the world to whom they desired more good, then unto the French.* Then he gave the Sauages to vnderstand, what profit they might receive from his Maiefty.

After that he had ended his Speech, *De Pont* and his company went out of the Cabin, and then they began to make their Tabagie, or feast, which is done with the flesh of Orignac, which is like vnto beefe of Beares, Sea-Wolves, and Beavers, which is the ordinary meat that they haue, with great store of Wilde-fowle. When they cate they sit of either side of the Cabin, euery one hauing a dish made of the barke of Trees: the meat being foddren, there is one that giuesto euery one his portion in his dish, where they cate very grossly, for when their hands are greasie, they either rub them vpon their haire, or vpon their Dogs, (whereof they haue great store to hunt withall) before they cate, they daunce about their Pans, and after they haue eaten, they returne to their dauncing, euery one taking the head of his enemy which he hath slaine in battell, the which hangs behind him. They made this Feast together, for the victory which they had obtained of the Irocois, of whom they had slaine some hundred. Three nations of Sauages were there assembled, that is to say, the Eschechemins, Algonmequins, and Montagnez, to the number of a thousand, all enemies to the Irocois, against whom they make cruell war by surpris, for that they are more in number then they.

The eighteenth day of the Month, the said Sauages which were then at the point of *S. Mathew*, came to campe at the Port of Todoufac, where the Frenchmen were. At the breake of day the great Sagamo, going out of his Cabin, went about all the other Cabins, crying with a loud voyce, That they must dislodge to goe to Todoufac, where their good friends were. Suddenly euery one pulled downe his Cabin, and the great Sagamo began first of all to take his Canow, and to carry it to the Riuer, in the which hee embarked his wife and Children, with great store of Furses, so as they were neere two hundred Canowes, which goe exceeding swiftly, for although *De Ponts* Ship-boate was very well manned, yet they went faster then it. There are but two persons that doe row, the man and the woman. Their Canowes are eight or nine paces long, and one broad, they are very subiect to ouer turne, if they be not well guided: they are made of barkes of trees, strengthened within with little hoopes artificially made, and they are so light, as a man may carry one easily, and euery Canow will carry the weight of a Pipe. Their Cabins are low, made like Tents, covered with barkes of trees, leauing a hole open in the top, to let in the light: they make many fires in the middelt of the Cabin, whereas sometimes they are ten families together. They lye vpon skins one among another, and their Dogs with them. All these people are of a pleasant humor, they laugh most commonly, yet they are somewhat Saturnists: they speake deliberately, as if they would be well vnderstood, and stay suddenly, studying a good space, and then they speake againe. They vse these customes in their Orations in Councell, whither none come but the principall which are ancients: the women and children assit not. All these nations endure so much sometimes, as they are in a manner forced to cate one another through the great cold and snow, for the bealls and fowle which they vse, retire themselves into the hotter countries. They are apt enough to learne to till the ground, or any other worke, if they might be taught. Many of them are of good iudgment, and will answer directly to any question. They are full of reuenge and great lyars, in whom there is no trust, they promise much and performe little. For the most part they haue no law, and beleue that after that God had made all things, he tooke a number of Arrowes and stickt them in the earth, from the which sprung men and women, which haue multiplied in the world vnto this day, and are growne in this sort. That there is one God, one Son, the Mother, and the Sun which shines, which are foure, yet that God is aboue all, and that the Son, and the shining Sun are good, by reason of the benefit which they receiue, but the Mother is nothing worth, for that she eates them. In like fort they hold, that the father is not very good. They haue an infinite number of other foolish opinions, & they haue certaine Sauages among them whom they call *Pilestons*, which speakes visibly vnto the Deuill, and tels them what they should doe, as well for matters of war, as other things: to whom they obey at their first command. They also beleue that all their dreames are true, and many say that they haue

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The Sauages Canowes.

The manner of their Canowes.

They take vnto the Deuill.

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A scene and dreamt what should happen, but to speake truly, they are illusions of the Deuill which abuse them.

They are all well proportioned, without any deformity of their bodies; and nimble. Their women are well fashion, repleat, and somewhat full: they are yellow by reason of the painting wherewith they anoint themselves, which makes them of an Olive colour. They apparel themselves with skinned one part of their bodies is covered, and the rest bare. In winter they cover themselves with good Furses, whereof they haue great store, where there is great store of Snow, they vse a kinde of Racks, the which is twice or thrice as big as that of France, which they rye vnto their feet, and so go in the snow without sinking, for else they could not hunt nor goe in many places.

They haue a kinde of marriage, when a maide is fourteen or fiftene years old, she may haue as many seruants and friends, and accompany with as many as she please; then after five or six years she will take whom she likes best for her husband; and liue together till death, vntill after some time they haue no children, then the man may be married, and take another wife. After they be once married they are chaste, and the husbands are for the most part iudicious, giuing presents to the father or kinsfolkes of the woman whom they haue married. As for their Interments or Funerals, when a man or a woman dieth, they make a pit, into the which they put all the goods he hath, as kettles, furses, hatchets, bowes, arrowes, apparell, and other things, and then they put the body into the pit and couer it with earth, on the which they lay great peeces of wood, and one peece they set right vp; the which they painted red on the top. They beleue the immortality of the soule, and say that they go to reioyce in other Countries with their kinsfolkes and friends when they are dead. The Seigneure of Pont hauing spent some time to discouer the great riuer of Canada, and some other particularities of the Country, returned the 24 of August, and arrived at New-hauen the 20 of September. The great Turke (seeing the great exploits which the French had done in the wars of Hungary and Transiluania) had often entreated the King not to suffer any French to goe to the wars of Hungary, and to rye him to make a strict prohibition, he granted all and more then his Maiesty could desire for the reparation of publike and priuate iniuries, against the liberty of the commerce, and the safety of the navigation in the Leuant Seas, the which were greatly molested by Pirats.

He sent a Chaoours (which is a Generall or a Conductor of a Carauane) vnto the King in September, with very kind Letters, and a style not vntoall for the Princes of the house of *Ottomans*, who speake as Turkes, and glory to speake proudly and imperiously to the Potentates of Christendome, giuing him this title: *To the most glorious, magnanimous, and great Lord of the beliefs of Ismus, Elected amongst the Princes of the Nation of Messias, the Compounder of Controuersies which happen among Christians, Lord of greatness, Maiesty and riches, and cleer guide of the greatest, Henry the fourth, Emperor of France, that he may end his dayes with peace and happinesse.* The Letter I omit for breuities sake, being not greatly pertinent to this subiect. And for that the great Turke was informed, that the Pirats of Algier and Thunis, made markets of the French which they tooke, and sold them vnto the Moores (who were alwaies cruell and mercilesse vnto the Christians, being forced to endure all without complaining, and to murmur against the figour which Fortune allows the Master ouer his state) hee writ to *Amel* King of Fez, and intreats him to preuent this sale, as against the Iustice that was left them by their Prophet, and to set all the Frenchmen that were in his dominions at liberty. The King laboured to conuert the war of Hungary into a long truce, or an honourable peace for the Christians. He disposed *Mahomet* thereunto by the dexterity of his Ambassador; and if the house of Austria had trusted that of France, they had reaped the fruits of this negotiation. *Mahomet* shew that he had a desire to lay aside armes; presented the Emperour with armes and horses, and to *Matthias* the Archduke he sent a rich Roabe for a present.

There was no take in Court but of the quairrell betwixt the Count Soissons and the Marquis of Rhosny; the which was very hard to reconcile: It grew vpon words reported and disauowed. The Count Soissons was much offended; many framed diuers metheors in their heads; vpon the consequence of this question, some there were that made damnable vowes, the which were as odious and as punishable as those sellers of funerall suffrages that were punished by the Senate of Athens, vpon the accusation of *Demades*. The King foreseeing that his seruice did suffer in this diuision, gaue him to vnderstand by the

Chancellor

Their complexion, apparell, marriage, and interments.

De Pont returns into France.

The Turke's title to the French King.

A quarrell betwixt the Count Soissons and the Marquis of Rhosny.



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Chancellor and *Sillery*, and afterwards by the Count of *S. Paul*, and the Duke of *Mont-Abalon*, that he desired this trouble were ended and he satisfied: he answered them all after one sort, *That he should hold himself unworthy of the honour to be as he was a near-kingman to so great and courageous a King: if he had no feeling of so bloody an injury.* The King considering that this quarrell did nothing advance his service, he made himselfe the instrument of this reconciliation. Hee sent for the Count *Soissons*, and the Marquis of *Rhosay* to the *Louvre*. They came both well accompanied. The presence, authority, and intreaty of his Majesty, was of force to smother the remembrance of all injuries, and to reconcile their wills. Let vs now see what they have done in the National Synode held at *Gap*, held by them of the reformed Religion, whereas many believed, that in giving audience to Ambassadors, and receiving Letters from foraigne Princes and common-weales, they had done more then their condition would allow, and had taken the way to make an Estate in the Estate. I will say no more. The passion of Religion might diminish the belief of the truth. The Synode began the first of October: It treated of things touching doctrine, discipline, and the government of Churches, giving a good testimony that there are among them men full of zeale to the advancement of their religion, and who in their resolutions can ioyne wisdom with doctrine, causing them to blush that have so much suffered the ancient constitutions of the Church to degenerate, and have so much neglected the government and discipline, as the Synodall assemblies of Diocesses, so necessary and profitable, are nothing but vaine and fond ceremonies, where they doe onely exhort them to doe well hereafter, not caring to correct or amend the ill that is gone and past.

Of many meanes which the Church (in her infancy) did use to preferre this spirit of peace and charity, which gave life vnto all the members, and entertained the cymmer and bond of the whole building, that of these assemblies hath bene held the most fruitfull, and should be made twice a year, if they will follow the Canons of the Apostles, and the Decrees of *Nice* and *Sardinia*. There they conferred of the order and direction of all affaires.

There the Pastors taking knowledge one of another, entertained their friendships, renewing the bonds of their affections. It served for a blood letting and a good purgation for bad humors in a corrupted body, to preferre and keepe it in health, purity, and charity of the Faith. There they shewed the power of the spirituall sword vpon the incorrigible, who in the end found the pappes of the Church drye for them, when through error, malice or obstinacy they made themselves unworthy of the sweetnes of her milke. There in the end they did straine the strings of the policy and discipline of the Church, the which being through negligence growne slacke, made no sound nor harmony. In this assembly of *Gap* (after that all the Deputies of the Prouinces of the Realme had shewed their Commissions) they began by the Inuocation of the name of God, the which was followed by the reading of the confession of the faith, wherein they did expound those things that were not plaine enough. The common desire of the Ministers to see the schisme pacified that was betwixt them and the other Congregations of Germany, England, and the Low countries, made them resolute that the assembly should write vnto the Vniuersities, both Lutherans and Calvinists, to desire some meanes to reconcile the contrarieties in some points of their confession.

This Assembly began by a declaration that the Bishop of *Rome* was Antichrist, foretold by the word of God. The Ministers haue for a long time written and preached it, and the Catholike Doctors the contrary. They now made this opinion an article of Faith, & added it to their confession for the 31. And for that many said they were molested because they tearmed the Pope Antichrist in their publike or priuate discourses, they were exhorted to persevere in this confession as one of the principall causes of their departure from the Church of *Rome*, and charged their Deputies in Court to beseech his Majesty not to suffer them to be hindered in making a free confession of that which they believed. The Pope complained vnto the King by his Nuncio, who no lesse affected to the holy Sea then his Predecessors, who had received the glorious title of Christian, was much offended, forbidding the Ministers to proceede any farther, and not to vomit forth those bad words, from whence might spring a new kinde of poyson.

The confession of faith being read and examined, it was sworne by all the Deputies in the

They are reconciled by the King.

A Synode held at Gap.

The profit of Synodes.

Addition of an Article in the confession of Faith.

The Popes complaint.

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At the name of their Prouinces, with promise to continue, and a protestation that it was the same doctrine that was taught in their churches. Which done, they entred into the examination of their discipline: It is the order which should be held for the administration of the word of God, prayers, and the decency of Ceremonies, whereof their assemblies are very bare, and yet notwithstanding being purged from superstitions are very necessary and maintaine religion, as the barke preferres the tree, without the which it withers and dries away. In this reading of the discipline, it was obserued, that some Prouinces had particular formes and ceremonies, in the election and reception of Ministers. The assembly judging by the aduice of the Apostle, that wee must haue but one rule and one forme in matters of Religion, they ordained that all Churches should follow the same forme, in the imposition of hands vpon Pastors, by the which he that should be presented to be received should kneele, and this imposition should be vpon the Sunday, or some other day of solemne assembly, in the presence of the people, and not in Consistories, or Colloquies.

And for that it was shewed that many Ministers in their preaching, used more the authority of the Fathers, then that of the Scripture, the Assembly threatened them with suspension which straying from expositions conformable to the word of God, were carried away to those of the Fathers, or scholasticall Doctors, or deliuering allegories, or discourses of Philosophy, produced the words of the Fathers in the Pulpit, namely, in the time of Lent, or the like season, or tooke the text of Catholike Preachers.

They did also disallow like disputations in Synodes and Colloquies, vpon controversies of Diuinity, lending them to the Schooles at *Saumur*, there to be argued according to forme of Syllogisme, which is the instrument of disputation. They also thought these contentions among Pastors to be dangerous, and necessary to restrain them that would bring them in vfe.

The Discipline hauing bene read and sworne by all the Deputies, in the name of the Prouinces, with a solemne protestation to obserue it strictly, and to cause it to be obserued in all points, and in all their Churches, they produced the acts of the last Synodes, to see what remained to be executed. Then they past Appellations made by priuate men, greceiving at the Decrees of Prouinciall Synodes, after which they iudged of censures, suspensions, and other corrections, whereunto they added that which concerned the prouision and establishment of Ministers, in those places where they were demanded, and whereas the assembly thought them necessary.

Afterwards they treated of the generall affaires of the cause. The petition of the brethren of the Marquitate of *Saluces*, banished from their houses for the profession of this religion, hauing bene read, the Assembly answered; That they should be maintained and confirmed in the vniion of the Doctors and discipline of other Churches, and to that effect petition should be made vnto the King, to recommend them to the Duke of *Saoy*, that they might enioy the liberties granted by the Edicts.

Vpon this question, if in suites depending before the Iudges of another religion, they should vse these words, *Friendes, reformed Religion*. The Synode said; That petition must be made vnto the King, not to force them to say or doe any thing contrary to their Consciences, exhorting all men of this religion to forbear this word of *Reformed*, as contrary to the freedom and liberty of their confession.

They of *Xaintonge* propounded another if it were lawful for a priuate man to appropriate a place for his buriall, and to set it vpon pillars or otherwise, and if it be lawful for Noblemen or other, to set vp their armes in Temples which are built. The Synode answered, That for Sepulchers, all should be obserued according to ancient simplicitie, without appropriating any thing in particular, witnessing their communion with the Saints that were dead, as well as they desired in the happy resurrection. As for Temples they should obserue the same modesty and simplicitie. The assembly casting their eyes vpon spirituall and politike matters, they did carefully consider of that which concerns Schooles and Vniuersities, as the Nurseries of Ministers, and Pastors of their Doctrine, hauing nothing in religion more important then the instruction of youth, the which is made apt to any thing we please, wherefore they ordained, That all the Prouinces should entertaine a certaine number of Schollers in the Vniuersities of this Realme, the which should not be admitted to the Ministry in their Prouinces without good and sufficient testimony

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A memorable  
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ny of their manners and doctrine, from the Pastors and Professors of the Vniuersities A where they had studied. The Vniuersities are also exhorted to haue common Libraries, and especially the great Bible of Antwerpe in many languages.

This yeare the King did graue in the Register of his vertues a memorable example of Iustice: The cause is considerable, and the subiect of consequence. A young Gentlewoman of Normandy visited and courted by her brother, disdained her husband, by whom she had two Children, for that hee was somewhat aged, and made no profession of armes. This inequality of age, together with his condition, made the conjugal affection like vnto a small brooke, whereof when the spring is stopt, the bed remains dry, and there is nothing left but filth for roads and frogs. The Greene grass that was vpon the banks w<sup>th</sup> thereth, yea, the trees that were planted along, dye. This marriage, hauing lost the radical humour of loue, it made all pleasure and content to wither, produced nothing but noise, diffidence, contempt, and quarrell. This miserable woman cared no more for her husband but to draw means from him to make her selfe more pleasing in the eyes of another, delighting in luxuriose and excess of apparell, vnder the which the Deuill is accustomed to make open war to Chastity, and to rauish the honour of a woman, without the which her life is a life without a body, a body without a soule, a soule without a spirit, a spirit without breath, and a breath without ayre.

It seemed that the first acquaintance of this woman with her brother, was nothing but a perfect loue, such as honour and that which they were one vnto another might well allow. Who so had seene the familiarities of this Sister with her Brother, would not haue beleueed that they had made loue, the law of Nature being of greater force then reason, or truth it selfe. In the meane time this fury proued Adultery and Incest, making the wife to abandon the company of her husband, to cleaue vnto her brother, who forgetting nothing that might be said or done to couer his crime, and to auoide punishment, wandered vp and downe the country with her vnder disguised names, but carying still in his conscience the sting and vulcer of so execrable a pleasure. She grew big with child, and beleueing that in hiding her great belly, her offence should be also hidden, she caused her selfe to be conducted into that great forest of Paris, where she continued with her brother the exercises of *Cupid* and *Pysces*. The Fig leaues could not couer their shame. The All-seeing eye of the diuine Iustice discouers them, and will not suffer that so infamous lust should continue. These violent fireames being run out, the mud and filth that was in the bottome appeared presently. The husband oppressed with so iust a griefe (as the Law doth not hold him punishable, whom it forceth to kill, the wife being surprised in adultery) came to Paris, and discovered those which had deprived him both of rest and honor, he caught them to be apprehended and committed prisoners, the one in the great Chasteler, the other in Four l'Euêque. The Sister confesseth her selfe guilty of adultery, to free her brother from Incest, laying the child to one that was altogether innocent. Vpon the difficulty of proofes, the Lieutenant Criminal condemned them both to the rack. He might well haue proceeded to sentence.

A sentence gi-  
uen by the  
Lieutenant  
Criminal.

But considering that they must deliberate well, before they iudge of the life of a man which is not made without care, he desired rather to proceede coldly therein, then out boldly. The husband, whose heart could not be moued to pity, by the consideration of his two children, appeales from this sentence of the Racke. The Court considering that mildnesse doth nourish, and giues more scope to vice, declares the appellation and sentence from the which he had appealed, to be void, and amending it, they iudge the accused sufficiently conuicted of the crimes of adultery and incest, for satisfaction whereof they condemne them to lose their heads. The King, during the Proceffe, was often fied vnto for their pardon. But considering, that in such crimes it were impiety to shew pity: that mildnesse was severity and clemency cruell; and that the most holy and the most iust of his Predecessors, reuoked a pardon which he had giuen to a malefactor, falling vpon that verse of the Prophet *David* in his praiser booke: *Doe iustice as all times said*; That he referred it to the iustice of his Court of Parliament. The father desired to change the infamy of the punishment into a death lesse shamefull, but longer and more cruell, the which the Emperour *Opilius Macrinus* vied, causing such as were condemned for crimes, to be shut vp betwixt foure walls. He offered all his lands to procure his children that manner of punishment. This could not be, for that by the doome of the iudgment,

A Sentence of  
the Court.

1603

The execution  
of the parties  
condemned.  
The Constable  
of Castille pat-  
sage.

A the execution was to be done at the Greue, where it moued pity and compassion in many, lamenting the youth of the brother, the beauty of the sister, and the misery & blindness of them both. The yeare ended in peace, as it had begun in pleasures and sports, there was no new occasion offered but the passage of the Constable of Castille to go into England, for the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace betwixt the Kings of England and Spaine. The King desired of his passage by Bourdeaux, sent to the Marshall d'Ornano to receive him, the which he did, going to meet him with a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Country. The Emperour *Charles* the sixth, passing through France, admired the great and goodly traines of Gouernours of Prouinces, which came to receive him, commending them very much.

The Constable of Castille (full of his Spanish fumes) made no great account thereof, and receiued these honors after a Spanish manner. The Marshall d'Ornano entreating him with the singularitys of this Realme, told him: *That he should see a country, yea a world, in fine Paris*. He answered him; *That hee had left behinde him backe the goodliest Cities of Christendome. But they are not so great nor so well peopled*, said the Marshall d'Ornano. The people, answered the Constable, *add nothing to the excellency of Cities, although it helps something for the strength of the State*. The Marshall asked him, *if he would not see the King*. He shewed by his answer, *That hee was not greatly curious, yet must he see him, with due respect that was due to that Maiesty*. Hee came to Paris with a great traine.

The King of Spaine, spares no cost on such occasions, and thinkes no expences more royall, then those which make his gold to glitter in the eyes of strangers. In like sort, his Ministers and Ambassadors seeing themselves so well followed, and serued, take delight in shewing the greatnesse of their Master, and are not silent when they must publish his power. *Mendoza* who neuer went out of his lodging but on horse backe, in Litter, or in Carrosse, with all his traine, although it were but to goe to the Church, the which was very neare his lodging, he neuer spake three words, but two was for the greatnesse of his Master, saying often, *That God was mighty in Heauen, and the King of Spaine on earth*. Another going out of Rome to accompany the Pope, went with six Litters, six Carosses, euery one hauing six horses, two hundred Groomes, and threecore Carts for baggage, and all for a small journey. The Prince of Parmas traine was admirable and royall, shewing by his equipage the greatnesse of his Master whom he serued. The Constable of Castille did not hide it, neither in his words nor in his traine, hee had alwaies some words of ostentation to shew it.

He went to the Louvre and did see the King in his Cabinet, he entred with a good grace, but stately and proud, the which was suddenly conuerted into great humility, for approaching neare vnto his Maiesty (who was sitting in a Chaire) he kneeled vpon one knee, and continued to a little longer then he thought. The King tooke him vp, embraced him, and shewed him a very good countenance. Hee spake much to assure him that the King of Spaine held nothing more deare, then the preseruation of the peace; and vntill that time should greatly force his will, hee had no other power but to continue it in this resolution, and to bring forth fruits of great loue and friendship, the which is firme and constant betwixt equal powers. Hee heard from the King words of the same affection: then hee tooke his leave to goe see the Queene. Going downe to crosse the Court, where he was attended by his people with forty torches of white wax, hee said to some of his Company, *That the King had receiued him with the Maiesty of a King, and had embraced him as his Kinsman*.

The Constable  
comes to visit  
the King.He lets him  
vnderstand his  
Masters affec-  
tion to the peace

Hauing done his duty vnto the Queene, he demanded leave to goe and see the Dauphin. The King caused him to be conducted the next day to S. Germaine. Being arriued there, they gaue notice to his Gouernesse, that the Constable was there with a great Train of Spaniards. At that word of Spaniards, the little Prince opened his eyes, and makes them speake it againe. They be Spaniards that come to see you; Spaniards, said the Prince, *yea, ye, giue me my sword*. Who so had not knowne that this word came from his owne motion, would haue thought that they had printed in his fantasie the same opinion which King *Charles* the 7, *Lewis* the 11, and *Charles* the 8 had had in their infancie of the English and Bourguignons. And if the Spaniards had heard him, the strangenesse of such a word would haue caused them to apprehend new work, and to feare and beleue that which the French souldier saith, That they must present Milan for the

He shewes the  
Queene and  
the Dauphin.

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the first attempt of this young Eagle. The Constable admired his constant eye, and his Physiognomy, and was amazed at so great a boldness in that age, and so much judgment in that infancy. Monsieur the Dauphin told him tales in his language, and according to his understanding, as *Alexander* did to the Ambassadors of Persia. All the Spaniards did marvel, and the more; for that the doore was open for the least of the traine. They see about him a goodly company of young Noblemen, *Alexander Monsieur*, the Prince of Longueville, and the three Sons of the Duke of Epernon. The Constable of Castille past on to goe into Flanders, he came to Bruxelles, and descended at the Archdukes Palace, where he was well received, and from thence he past into England.

The Kings age.

Although the Subiect ought not to reckon the yeeres of his Prince, but to wish him a long and prosperous life, yet we must say, that with the end of the last yeare, the King began the foure and fiftieth yeare of his age, a yeare which *Cato* held to bee ripe and well advanced, whereunto few Kings of France attained, and yet it hath nothing abated the vigor and strength of this Prince, who is active and disposed, and as lively as he was at the age of thirty yeares. Cares and yeares having onely made his beard white, it is true, that now he begins to feeble some flux of the gout. A disease which breeds with ease, and which comes to Princes rather by excess, then by travell in their youth, and which is sooner gotten by the chase of *Venus*, then by that of *Diana*, there being no pleasure in the world which doth not carry some displeasure behind it. The best course is to repent the euill before they commit it, that is to say, to haue onely intended it, and the means to grow old, is neither to doe nor to care: any thing through voluptuosity. A great condition or quality to whom all things are lawfull that please, will finde this rule of government very hard. Great men commit great excess, and in the end they taste the fruit which they haue sowne. It is reason that after a time infirmities should cease, and cleare the troubles of their soules, as thunder and lightning doth purge the ayre, that diseases (as fore-runners of death, and porters of the prison wherein they are inclosed) should reach them that they are men, and subiect to humane miseries, that they are not raised vpon the Clouds, to be free from a world of miseries that are dispersed vpon the earth, and that they should remember that the more their delights abound, the more their strength decays, and that he that doth least, doth least harme, and passeth the daies of his life with more content and lesse griefe.

The King troubled with the gout.

The King would not complain much of that litle touch of the gout, for that it had bene but gentle, and when that after his recovery, the Courtiers did see him to weare furred boots, they said, It was more to hold the griefe in some reputation, then for any need he had. He did a publike act which hath particularities worthy to be knowne. I doe not forget these occasions, for that they supply the discourse of this History, without the which it should be constrained to seeke for matter far without the Realme: for secret things, and which are treated of in the Councell of the Cabinet, wee must attend the knowledge thereof by the euent, which time shall discover, and not trouble our selues to seeke out the springs of Nilus. A father, how great and how powerful soeuer, cannot thinke too soone nor too often, to breed vpon the youth of his Child in vertue, nor to assure his fortune: I say a Child without distinction: for although the law doth distinguish Bastards from them that are lawfully begotten, yet Nature makes no difference. The King hauing determined to make *Alexander Monsieur* (his base son) of the order of the Knights of Malta, resolved to do it in time, that he might receiue the name & the effect. The great Master repuring it an honour to haue a Prince of their company, issued from so valiant and courageous a Race, sent all necessary expeditions. The King hauing receiued them, would haue the execution to be accompanied with a sumptuous and a stately ceremony. He caused the great Commander of France, & that of Champagne to come to Paris, & commanded them to call the greatest number of Commanders and Knights they could thither. The King had chosen the *Augsperger* Church for this effect, but the Commander of Ville-Dieu (being Ambassador of their Order) beseeched him, that it might be in that of their Temple, as one of the chiefe houses of the Order. On the Sunday morning the King and the Queene went in one Carosse, hauing *Alexander Monsieur* betwixt them, who was deliuered by the King vnto the Grand Prior, who attended him at the first gate with all the Commanders and Knights. As the church was hung with the richest Tapistry that could be found, so was it filled with that which was of greatest worth in Paris. The

An assembly of the Knights of Malta. There were at this ceremony two Grand Priors, twelue Commanders, and fixtene Knights.

Princes

1603

A Princes, the Princeesses, the Cardinall of Gondy, the Popes Nuncio, many Bishops, the Ambassadors of Spaine and Venice, the Constable, the Chancellor, the seuen Presidents of the Parliament, and the Knights of the order of the Holy Ghost. The ceremony began by the blessing of the Sword, and by the change of his habits, to let the Knight understand, that he did bind himselfe to change his life, and to take vpon him the true ornaments of vertue, without the which all the pompe & felicity of the world is but winde and vanity: for being attired with white Satin, laid thicke with gold Lace, the sleeves whereof were garnished with rich Medailles, a Carkanet of stones crosse vnder his arme, a blacke velvet Cap, with a little white feather, and a band couered with great Pearles, he put on a Robe of blacke Taffata, and was conducted neere vnto the great Altar, being accompanied with the Duke and Duchesse of Vendome, and followed by the Commander for the conduct of this ceremony. *Sainste Foy* Bishop of Neuers made him a litle admonition of the greatnes and excellency of the order whereinto he entred. It is the first of Christendome, as that of the Germanes is the second. Of Calatrava the third, of S. Iuques in Spaine the fourth, of S. *Mary de la Mercede* in Arragon the fift, of Christ in Portugall the sixth, of Saint *Lazare* and S. *Maurice* in Sauoy the seuenth, of S. *Stephen* in Tuscane the eight. This exhortation ended, the Masse began, and after the Gospell, *Alexander Monsieur* presented himselfe vpon his knees before the Grand Prior of France, with a burning torch of white wax in his hand, to demand the Order. Hereat the King (who was set vnder a rich cloth of Estate of Purple Velvet embroidered, in the midst of the Quire) left his place, and comming neare to helpe him to answer, hee said aloud, That he left the ranke of a King, to doe the office of a Father. The Grand Prior gaue him the Order after the accustomed manner, and after Masse was done, as a new Knight hee presented himselfe the second time to make profession. The King advanced againe, and promised for him, that comming neare to the age of fixtene yeares, he should make the vovues and profession perfect. They be the same vovues which religious men doe make, Obedience, Pouerty, and Chastity. He did his obedience in the same place, and then being disrobed, the Grand Prior set vpon his brest a platoon of blacke Satin, with a great white Crosse, and so the Ceremony ended with great joy and sounding of Trumpets. The new Knight feasted the Grand Priors of France and Champagne, with the Commanders and Knights at the Temple, and the King went to dine with *Zamet*.

The King doth the office of a Father.

This Order hath alwaies affected two sorts of Knights, some for seruice, and others for honour, and both for the greatnes, defence, and support of the Order. There haue bene Children of the greatest and mightiest houses of Christendome, who although they do to seruice in effect, (being dispensed withall) yet they profit their profession much, by the entertainment and communication of friendships and respects of their houses, to the common good of the Order. Others that are issued from the noblest Families of all the Nations of the world, are bound vnto a viall seruice in the Iland, they haue all the Mediterranean Sea for the bounds of their exercise, and all the world for witnesses of their glory. After that they haue done the seruice which they owe vnto the Order, they cannot grow old in pouerty, and in this assurance they goe more willingly vnto all occasions that demand a prooue of their valour, being reasonable to hazard themselves in great enterprises, to merit great recompences.

Death of the Duchesse of Bar.

Let vs passe to the Duke of Lorraines Court, which we shall finde all in teares and mourning, for the death of the Lady *Catherine* of Bourbon, Duchesse of Barre, and the Kings only Sister, shee had bene tormented with a continuall Feuer, and there were some signes of being with Child. All the Physicians said she was not with Child, onely maintained the contrary, and she belieued his opinion, for that he was of the religion, neither would he take any thing but from his hands, for that we beleue that easily which we desire. She grew in choller against them which imputed her disease to any other cause, saying: *That they neither desired her contentment nor her husbands.* She thought she could not endure too much to become a mother. This belied that she had a child in her body, made her to bring forth death, rejecting all kinds of remedies to preserve her fruit. If the Physician which administered to her as to a woman with child, had not fled to Metz, and from thence to Sedan, all his physycke could not haue kept him from death. The profession of Physicians hath this priuledge, that the Sunne sees their practice, and the earth hides their fault.

Priuledge of Physicians.

Zzzz

The

1603

A marriage of great content.

After five years influence made by the King, the Pope granted a dispensation of the marriage.

The Kings sorrow for the death of his sister.

The D. of Mucou caused an Ambassadors hat to be nailed to his head.

Imposition of thirty in the hundred in Spain.

The Duke of Lorraine did her no less honour after her death, then he had witnessed in her life. He sent unto the King an Inventory of her Jewells. He caused the body to be conducted unto the Frontier of France, in a Carosse well appointed, covered with black Velvet, and drawne with foure horses, the foure Bailiffs of Lorraine carried the foure corners of the cloth which covered the Coffin threefoore Gentlemen marched before with the Guards. The Earle of Chaligny and some Noblemen of the Country went after it. There were twelue Suisses which marched on either side. It was received on the frontier by those whom the King had appointed. The Inhabitants of Troyes would haue recieued it with a Canopy, but *Tintennille* thought it not fit, neither would the King haue taken it well. She was much lamented by the Duke of Bar, who could not haue bene his husband to a better wife, nor the wifeto a better husband. The fifth yeare of their marriage was with as great respect and loue as the first. The affections of this Prince and this Princeesse were in such harmony, that besides the diuersity of religion, you would haue said they were but one soule, not in two bodies, but in one called by two names: for they spake with one mouth, and thought with one heart. And if there bee any content in dying, amidst the contents of this world, this Princeesse protested, That she had neuer content in this world more perfect then in Lorraine. The Duke of Lorraine and the D. of Bar, desired as well to see her satisfied for doubts of Religion. They coniuured her in the extremity of her sickness to thinke of her soules health, but she said vnto them, That she would dye as she had liued. Shee was no more forced in the exercise of her Religion at Nancy then at Nerac. True it is, that she went to receive the Communion without the towne, and had preaching and praiers in her house, but for her selfe onely and her followers, without the which shee had bene much honoured by the Lorraines, and at that time more then before, the Pope hauing granted a dispensation of the marriage. When the newes of her death was brought vnto the King, the chiefe of his Councell came presently to apply some remedy to this wound. He found that they came to that end, and therefore he commanded them to leaue him alone, and that he would resolue with God. He caused the doores and windowes of his Cabinet to be shut, casting himselfe vpon his bed, to weepe more freely, and to ease his griefe in the liberty of his sighs. All the Court did mourne, and the Ambassadors presented themselves in that habit vnto the King, to condole this death in the behalfe of their Masters. The Popes Nuncio was somewhat troubled in this complement, and would not mourne at an accident, for the which those of his profession could not weepe. The King said, That he would not tie him to it against his liking, but he would be glad not to see him vntill his time of mourning were past. Some other would not haue spoken so mildly: and we know that Princes haue shewne strange effects of their choller, against Ambassadors that haue failed in the honour and respect of these complements. The Nuncio being better aduised, refused to apply himselfe to the time, and to doe as the rest, thinking it would not be taken ill at Rome, knowing that he did it onely to please the King, and to haue audience. But he had some difficulty to descypher himselfe when he was to speake vnto the King, for he could not vnder one habit play two contrary personages; neither had hee wordes in his mouth, nor teares in his eyes for this sorrow. He that will ease anothers griefe, must shew, that he hath a part and feeling thereof. He went after another manner, and his spirit did fit him with another kind of complement, the which although it were free, yet was it not vnpleasing. He said vnto the King, That such as knew what he was, & in whose name he spake, would wonder at the office which he did, but he had more occasion then any other, for that all lamented the losse of the body, but his Master, the losse of the soule. The King said vnto him, That he beleened his Sister was saved, for that in the last gaspe an extreme griefe might carry her right into heauen: the Nuncio replied, My Lord, that discourse is more Metaphysicall then Physicall, and so they both entred into other talke.

The King of Spaine and the Archdukes had the yeere before for an imposition of thirty for the hundred, vpon all merchandize that should come out of their Dominions. This was secretly to forbid the French to traffike into their Countries, and openly to break the Treaty of Veruins. This Imposition did very much trouble, and in a manner put all our Townes which traffike commonly into Spaine and Flanders, into a murther. The King could not in the beginning perswade himselfe, that they would tie his Subjects to the obseruation of this charge, commanding his Ambassadors which resided with those

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The French King would die like.

A those Princes, to expostulate the matter, and to aduertise him thereof. Their answers, and the rigor they vied afterwards to his Maiesties subiects to make them pay the Imposition, did witness sufficiently that they would not exempt them. To obserue some equality in the intercourse of publike trafficke betwixt the subiects of the three Princes, the King imposed the like custome vpon all Merchandize, that should come out of the Dominions of the King of Spaine, and of the Arch-dukes into France, and vpon those which should be transported out of France into their Countries. These burthenfome impositions, the rigours wherewith they were exacted, the abuse and deceipts which were committed in receiving thereof, could not induce the two brother-in-lawes to make the trafficke free as it ought to be betwixt good neighbours, which desire to enjoy the fruits of peace which God hath giuen them, as the King protested he would doe, by his declaration, and had alwayes shewed it by the effects.

So to redeeme his subiects from the losses and vexations which they received by this Imposition, the King by the aduice of his Councell, did forbid all his subiects in general, to transport any kind of Merchandize, without exception, vnto any place under the obedience of the King of Spaine, and the Arch-dukes in Flanders; and the entry into his Realme, of all those that might come out of their Countries and Estates. And to the end that the effect of his intentions might not be made frustrate, to the contempt of his ordinances, by such as might lade Merchandize in France, and afterwards cause them to be transported into the said Princes countries, he ordained that all strangers, subiects to other Princes and Common-weales, to whom he allowed free trafficke into his Realme, before they should depart from those places where they had laden the Merchandize which they meant to transport, should giue in good and sufficient caution before the Officers of the Port, to bring backe within a certaine time prefixed, a certificate from the Officers and Magistrates of those places, whether they pretended to carry the said Merchandize, by the which it might rightly appeare, that they had bene discharged there: and if it should bee afterwards verified, that they had bene laden againe, and carried to any forbidden places, the Sureties should bee answerable. And it should be lawfull for the Kings Iudges and Officers to commence sute against them and their posteritie.

Traffick into Spaine and Flanders forbidden.

The Merchants of the coast Towne produced many great reasons to moue him to take away this Imposi: but his Maiesty did oppose others that were more important, the which made him obstinate in this defence. He himselfe receiued the greatest preiudice, for his farmes were much diminished. But he desired in this point as in all other, to doe the office of a good father to his people, and rather suffer this losse for himselfe, then to see an infinite number of families to fall into insupportable ruine, by Bankrupts which these insupportable impositions would make.

Desire and hope of gaine, would make Merchants to sic through fire, if there were no other passage, rather then to lose any occasion of profit: yet notwithstanding many did by the means of Strangers traffike into forbidden places. Neither is there any Decree which doth excuse, and the Treachery of Officers will so violate: wherefore the King did by a second Decree adde corporal punishment, with confiscation of Merchandize against them that should infringe it, their fauourers, counsellors, or abettors, and giuing the moiety thereof vnto the informers: enjoying the Merchant which should haue any Merchandize in the Sea ports, and sedentary Townes, to cause them to be marked and introlled by his Officers, to auoid the abuse and fraud which might be committed by a gainful intention: and whereunto the corporal punishment of some forced others to obey. Some thoughts that these bitter proceedings should soon alter the peevish humours, yet is continued and remained firme and irremediable: neither was there any Decree by which the two Kings made use of another King, Philip being such some complaints which the two Kings made use of another King, Philip being

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Philip of Spaine complains.

1603

The Duke of Lorraine did her no lesse honour after her death, then he had witnessed A in her life. He sent vnto the King an Inventory of her Jewells. He caused the body to bee conducted vnto the Frontier of France, in a Carosse well appointed, covered with black Veluet, and drawne with foure horses, the foure Bailiffes of Lorraine caried the foure corners of the cloth which covered the Coffin: threecore Gentlemen marched before with the Guards. The Earle of Chaligny and some Noblemen of the Country went after it. There were twelve Suisses which marched on either side. It was received on the frontier by those whom the King had appointed. The Inhabitants of Troyes would haue received it with a Canopy, but *Tamille* thought it not fit, neither would the King haue taken it well. She was much lamented by the Duke of Bar, who could not haue bene husband to a better wife, nor the wifeto a better husband. The fifth yeare of their marriage was with as great respect and loue as the first. The affections of this Prince and this Princeesse were in such harmony, that besides the diuersity of religion, you would haue said they were but one soule, not in two bodies, but in one called by two names: for they spake with one mouth, and thought with one heart. And if there bee any content in dying, amidst the contents of this world, this Princeesse protested, That she had neuer content in this world more perfect then in Lorraine. The Duke of Lorraine and the D. of Bar, desired as well to see her satisfied for doubts of Religion. They coniuured her in the extremity of her sickness to thinke of her soules health, but she said vnto them, That she would dye as she had liued. Shee was no more forced in the exercise of her Religion C at Nancy then at Nerac. True it is, that she went to receive the Communion without the towne, and had preaching and prayers in her house, but for her selfe only and her followers, without the which shee had beene much honoured by the Lorraines, and at that time more then before, the Pope hauing granted a dispensation of the marriage.

A marriage of great content.

After five yeeres instance made by the King, the Pope granted a dispensation of the marriage.

The Kings sorrow for the death of his sister.

The D. of Muscovy caused an Ambassadors hat to be nailed to his head.

Imposition of duty in the hundred in Spaine.

When the newes of her death was brought vnto the King, the chiefe of his Council came presently to apply some remedy to this wound. He found that they came to that end, and therefore he commanded them to leaue him alone, and that he would reioine with God. He caused the doores and windowes of his Cabinet to be shut, casting himselfe vpon his bed, to weepe more freely, and to ease his griefe in the liberty of his sighs. D All the Court did mourne, and the Ambassadors presented themselves in that habit vnto the King, to condole this death in the behalfe of their Masters. The Popes Nuncio was somewhat troubled in this complement, and would not mourne at an accident, for the which those of his profession could not weep. The King said, That he would not eye him to it against his liking, but he would be glad not to see him vntill his time of mourning were past. Some other would not haue spoken so mildly: and we know that Princes haue shewne strange effects of their choller, against Ambassadors that haue failed in the honour and respect of these complements. The Nuncio being better aduised, resolved to apply himselfe to the time, and to doe as the rest, thinking it would not be taken ill at Rome, knowing that he did it onely to please the King, and to haue audience. But he had some difficulty to decypher himselfe when he was to speake vnto the King, for he could not vnder one habit play two contrary personages: neither had hee words in his mouth, nor teares in his eyes for this sorrow. He that will ease anothers griefe, must shew, that he hath a part and feeling thereof. He went after another manner, and his spirit did fit him with another kind of complement, the which although it were free, yet was he not vnpleasing. He said vnto the King, That such as knew what he was, & in whose name he spake, would wonder at the office which he did, but he had more occasion then any other, for that all lamented the losse of the body, but his Master, the losse of the soule. The King said vnto him, That he beleened his Sister was saved, for that in the last gaspe an extreme griefe might cary her right into heauen: the Nuncio replied, My Lord, that discourse is more Metaphysicall then Physicall, and so they both entered into other talke.

The King of Spaine and the Archdukes had the yeere before an imposition of thirty for the hundred, vpon all merchandize that should come in by sea out of their Dominions. This was secretly to forbid the French to traffike into their countries, & openly, to break the Treaty of Veruins. This Imposition did very much trouble, and in a manner put all our Townes which traffike commonly into Spaine and Flanders, into a mutiny. The King could not in the beginning perfwade himselfe, that they would see his subjects to the obseruation of this charge, commanding his Ambassadors which resided with those

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A those Princes, to expostulate the matter, and to aduertise him thereof. Their answers, and the rigor they vied afterwards to his Maiesties subjects to make them pay the imposition, did witness sufficiently that they would not exempt them. To obserue some equality in the intercourse of publike traffike betwixt the subjects of the three Princes, the King imposed the like custome vpon all Merchandize, that should come out of the Dominions of the King of Spaine, and of the Arch-dukes into France, and vpon those which should be transported out of France into their Countries. These burthenome impositions, the rigours wherewith they were exacted, the abuse and decoits which were committed in relieuing thereof, could not induce the two brother-in-lawes to make the traffike free as it ought to be betwixt good neighbours, which desire to enioy the fruits of peace which God hath giuen them, as the King protested he would doe, by his declaration, and had alwayes shewed it by the effects.

The French King would did the like.

So to redeme his subjects from the losses and vexations which they received by this imposition, the King by the aduice of his Council, did forbid all his subjects in general, to transport any kind of Merchandize, without exception, vnto any place vnder the obedience of the King of Spaine, and the Arch-dukes in Flanders; and the entry into his Realme, of all those that might come out of their Countries and Estates. And to the end that the effect of his intentions might not be made frustrate, to the contempt of his ordinances, by such as might lade Merchandize in France, and afterwards cause them to be transported into the said Princes countries, he ordained that all Strangers, subjects to other Princes and Common-weales, to whom he allowed free traffike into his Realme, before they should depart from those places where they had laden the Merchandize which they meant to transport, should giue in good and sufficient caution before the Officers of the Ports, to bring backe within a certaine time prefixt, a certificate from the Officers and Magistrates of those places, whither they pretended to cary the said Merchandize, by the which it might truly appeare, that they had bene discharged there: and if it should bee afterwards verified, that they had bene laden againe, and caried to any forbidden places, the Sureties should bee answerable. And it should bee lawfull for the Kings Iudges and Officers to commence sute against them and their posteritie.

Traffike into Spaine forbidden.

The Merchants of the coast Towne produced many great reasons to moue him to take away this Imposit: but his Majesty did oppose others that were more important, the which made him obstinate in this defence. He himselfe received the greatest prejudice, for his farmes were much diminished. But he desired in this point as in all other, to doe the office of a good father to his people, and rather suffer this losse for himselfe, then to see an infinite number of families to fall into insupportable ruine, by Bankrupts which these insupportable impositions would make.

Desire and hope of gaine, would make Merchants to sit through fire, if there were no other passage, rather then to lose any occasion of profit: yet notwithstanding many did by the means of Strangers traffike into forbidden places. Neither is there any Decree which putteth this off, and the Treachery of Officers will so violate: wherefore the King did by a second decree adde corporal punishment, with confiscation of Merchandize against them that should infinge it, their fauourers, counsellors, or abettors, and giuing the moiety thereof vnto the informers: enioying the Merchants which should haue any Merchandize in the Sea-ports, and freshne Townes, to cause them to be marked and shrouled by his Officers, to auoid the abuse and fraud which might be committed against his intention: whereunto the corporal punishment of some forced others to obey. But in some thoughts that these bitter proceedings should soon alter the peace of Veruins, yet is continued, and continued, firme and irremovable: neither was this any secret, but some complaints which the two Kings made one of anothers King, which being offended, that the French King voluntarily to fence the Estates of his neerer Rebels, and did lay a new reduction of Officers, that the King did doe so there with twenty and more, with others which belonged to warfare, and that he had forbidden his subjects to traffike into Spaine and Flanders. But it is impossible for Princes to impose such strict laws vnto their subjects, but they will passe them to conuey themselves into foreign Countries, and in this manner satisfaction; that they did know such a discontentment themselves to goe and serue another without leave, as the King did them which vnder the name of the French King did sell them their liberty, he did but take the which they had

Prise of Spaine complained.

sent



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lent him, and did pay by retayle the gross: which hee had received in his necessity. As A for the defence of traffike, it tended to no other end, but to force the King of Spaine and the Archduke, to discharge that intolerable Imposition, and to make him know that France can better live without the commodities of Spaine, then Spaine without those of France.

The King for his part complained, but with Iustice and Reason. For (sayd hee) I impart my deligens to very few men, and yet they are presently disconcerted to my enemies. The King of Spaine will he neuer leaue to corrupt the fidelity of my subiects? will he alwaies entertaine some traitor within my Realme? my Ambassador complains vnto me by his letters, that he is so ill informed of affaires, and so late, that the King of Spaines Ministers know of them before him. As his Maiesty was much troubled to know from what Spring did rise this pestilent liquor of Trechery, behold, God doth lay open the iniquity of Indas, by means which humane wisdom could not foresee. *Villeroi* (that great French Oracle, who deliueres the answers of the affaires of the Realme, who knows the most secret, and doth manage the greatest) was serued by one *Nicholas Lofse* borne at Orleans, and with the more confidence, for that his father had spent most of his yeares in his seruice. *La Rochepot* going to reside Ambassadour in Spaine, *Lofse* desired to bee entertained by him, and to serue him as a Secretary, and to fashion himselfe to affaires. The recommendation of *Villeroi* gaue him an easie access, by the which in few moneths hee made himselfe so capable both for the language and fashion of the Countrey, as he might well be taken for a naturall Spaniard. The Ambassador having sworn the Treaty of Verrains in the name of the most Christian King, the King of Spaine presented him with a rich chaine of Stones, and with six others of gold of an hundred and fifty crownes apiece, to honor so many of his chiefe Followers. The pride and presumption of this young man made him thinke he should be of this number, seeing that a companion of his had bene found worthy, and his master did not thinke that his youth and small experience, did so foone merit to be placed in the first rankes of his seruice.

As the Humors of Bodies that are altered, doe insensibly peruert the health: So the deuill insinuates into the hearts of men, if they giue him any little entrance. Envy and Jealousie were the windowes by the which he slipped into the soule of *Lofse*: Vanity, Lying, Pride, Luxury, and exesse of youth gaue him full entry. Hee had spent all his money to purchase the loue of a Curtizan, and saw no great meane how he should bee able to finish this great expence of luxury, the which notwithstanding he would not giue ouer: His Masters disdain had made him mad, but he knew the secrets of his cabinet, and discouering them to the King of Spaines Ministers, he giues two strokes with one stone, he is reuenged of this contempt, and preuented the shame which followed him, not to be able to continue his amorous bounty. With this designe he makes himselfe knowne to *Don Francisco*, one of the Secretaries of the State, and shewes him the consideration for the which he is resolu'd to giue certaine proofes of the seruice which hee had long vowed vnto the Catholike King, the which hee could easily performe, hauing the charge of the dispatches which the French Ambassador receiued and sent vnto the King his master. *Don Francisco* heares this proposition, as coming from a young man whose brain was not so well seised, as it did merit much credit: be it may be abhorring the treachery of this bad seruant, who held him like vnto himselfe. The Catholike King (sayd he (but coldly) hath to good correspondence with the French King, as he desireth not to know of his affaires, but so farre as his Ambassador shall informe him. *Lofse* yeelds not at this repulse. He knows that mens spirits being diuers may produce diuers aduices, and beleeues that some other will lend him his eare with more attention, and his heart with more affection: *Tidagus* another Secretary of the State, considering how much it did import a Princesse to know his neighbours secrets: That by reason of State they must buy them with Gold that can reuolue them, and must try all meanes to effect it: That the contempt of so rare an encounter will be against his masters seruice, and the duty of his charge: he gaue eare to the reason of his Traitor, and tasted them: he exhorted him to persist in this good affection, which hee shewed to procure the contentment and seruice of the Catholike King: hee promised to make the report vnto the King his master, and giues him his word that this affection of his should be rewarded with a bountifull recompence.

The Councell thinke it fit that *Lofse* should be heard: *Tidagus* makes him to speake with

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A with the Duke of Lerma, whom lately they called Marquis of Denia. He shewes him the Alphabet of Cipher, by the which the Ambassadour his Master did write vnto the King. And for a prooffe he deciphered vnto the Secretary his Maiesties last dispatch. The Duke inuires him to continue to produce the effects, whereof he had giuen his word: Hee caught twelue hundred Crownes to be deliuered him as an earnest peny of the bargain, by the which this Traitor sold both his Master and the King, and assures him of the like yearly Pension, and of so large a remuneration as hee should haue cause to extoll the bounty of Spaine. From henceforth the French Ambassador receiueh not any dispatch, but the Councell of Spaine is duly informed thereof. But *La Rochepot* being called home, as we haue said, hee deprived this Traitor of all meanes to continue his Traffike; and by consequence merit the payment of the Conventions which he had made and ratified. He must therefore discouer the secrets of the Councell in France, and finds meane to returne into his first masters seruice: But he was kept backe by a controuersie which *Villeroi* had with his mother, vpon some remainder of Accompts. Notwithstanding, hee was farre engaged in the affections of Spaine, and had rather beare this losse out of the portion which fell vpon him by his father, then to see himselfe by his mothers disgrace excluded from all entry into his fauour which he affected. The Ambassadour also hauing at his instant sure giuen testimony of his fidelity and diligence, made his returne easie into his Masters Cabinet. Being thus restored, he becomes more subtile, more active, and more diligent, then all the rest: yea he offers to helpe his companions: but with a designe, that hauing also knowledge of the dispatches which passed through their hands, he might giue the better aduice to the Ministers of Spaine, and assure them of his deuotion to their seruice.

He did often visit and conferre with *Taxis* Ambassador for Spaine; and after his Ambassage ended, with Doctor *Balthazar* of Suniga his Successour, yea so filly as the dispatches came sooner to the Councell of Spaine, then to *Des Barreaux* Ambassadour for France, who aduertised the King, that when he propounded his Maiesties commandements to the Councell, he found them as well and sooner instructed then himselfe, neither could he discouer by what practice it came. It must be of necessity (said the King) that one D of my Councell hath great intelligences with him of Spaine, and yet I know not whom to suspect. The eternall Providence doth often draw very good effects from exceeding bad causes; as one nayle driues out another: so he suffers that the wicked shall discouer the trecheries one of another. *Lofse* had had secret conference with one *Raffis*, who had bene sometimes Secretary to *Lansac*, and a fugitive into Spaine, for many disloyalties which had made him become a Pensioner to Spaine. But they had begun to shorten his pension since the treason of *Fontenelles* Governor of Dornaueneist in Britany, whereof he had bene one of the chiefe instruments: and as by the discouery of his treason, *Raffis* had no more meane to serue the Councell of Spaine, so they held him for an vnprofitable mouth, and cut off his Pension. From that time hee receiued no other commoditie but a free access and vncontrouleable admittance vnto some of the chiefe of the Councell, who notwithstanding did not looke on him with so chearfull an eye, as when they drew from him instructions conformable to their intentions.

*Raffis* finds himselfe now reduced to that extremity, as he is ready to fall into great poverty & misery, on the other side, he sees a goodly occasion offered to preuent it, and a great gate opened, not onely to returne into his Countrey, but also to merit an abolition of his faults, with a notable recompence for so great a seruice which he might do vnto his naturall Prince. Hee therefore directes himselfe to one in whom the Ambassadour did much rely, and tels him how much hee is grieved to haue bene a dealer in the troubles and Rebelloions of France, whereof hee did confesse, that God had alwayes shewed himselfe Protector against all assaylants: That he desired to deface the memory thereof, and to repair them by a notable seruice, which did very much import the King, France, and all Christendome. That although hee did little esteeme the hazard of his life, for so iust and holy a worke, yet would hee not adventure it, but with a generall abolition of that which made him guilty towards his Maiesty. This report made vnto the Ambassador, hee heares *Raffis*, who tels him in general termes, that the King is betrayed, that his designs and most secret affaires are discouered, but he would not name the Traitor, but vnto his Maiestic himselfe. That his pardon being come, hee will free himselfe both heart and body

*Lofse* discouered by another Traitor.

body from those which he hath sufficiently known to be sworn Enemies to the Realme. A The Ambassador doth advertise the King thereof by a confident man. The King gives him authority to treat with *Raffi*. Hee could not verifie his accusation, but by two Letters written by *Losse*, to a great friend of his named *Blas*, a man of the same metall, the which he knew were in a box which *Blas* had, who lodged with him, for the getting of them they find meanes to send *Blas* vnto the Escoriall. In his absence, *Raffi* and *Descartes* the Ambassadors Secretary, breake the Boxe, and take out the Letters, by the which *Losse* did greatly extoll the bounty of the Spanish Ambassador, as exceeding the merit of his seruices. With this iustificacion, and the French Ambassadors dispatch, *Raffi* made them to go vnto a Monastery neere vnto Madrill, there to passe the Feast of Palmes Sunday, as he had beene accustomed to doe at solemne Feasts, sitting opposite to the way of France, to take away all suspition: but he came to Bayonnes with *Descartes* at a certaine day, *Blas* returned, the Feast-day being passed, his Boxe being opened, and the Company absent, made him thinke what it was. The King of Spaines Ministers are perfectly advertised, who instantly dispatched two Carriers to the Ambassador, to let him know that there was one gone, who without doubt would discouer the intelligences & practices of *Losse*. That he should haue a care of his safety, that being not able to be assured but by his mouth, he should be instructed (if he were taken) religiously to obseure the lawes of Silence.

*Descartes* and *Raffi* being come to Paris vpon Easter Tuesday, they created a great fidelity, but not so much discretion as a business of that importance did require. *Villeroi* went the same day to lye at his house, to be the next day at Fontainebleau, where the court was. And hauing met them at Luuiss, they did accompany him vnto *Villeroi*, but did not advertise him on the way of the cause of their coming, nor speake of the treachery of his man, but in deliuering their dispatch at his arrivall. Without doubt hee would haue neglected all other affaires, to assure himselfe of his traitor, who then finished his deuotion at the Charter-house Convent.

The next day he doth early acquaint the King with the coming of *Raffi*, and the detestable and vnexpected Treason of an vngratefull wretch, whose father and himselfe had neuer had better fortune but in his house. As he returns to his lodging, hee vnderstands that two Spanish Carriers are come to the Post-house. He commands one of the Deputies of the Poste to carry them into a Chamber, and that no man might speak with them: and to *Descartes* to watch for the coming of *Losse*, and not abandon him but presently to advertise him thereof. But both the Deputy and *Descartes* doe commit a great error: for *Losse* being come in Post about Noone, this vnadvised Deputy tells him, that there were two Posts come out of Spaine, who inquired of him, and had letters for him: and to adde more to his indiscretion, hee suffers him to goe vp to their Chamber, and to see them. Hauing saluted them, one of them told him in his care, that hee was vndone vnlesse hee fled, and that *Raffi* had discouered him. Terror, amazement, his conscience (whereof he could not suffer the testimonie) and the honour of the iust punishment of his wickednesse, doe easily perswade this wretch to fly, whom the Furies of hell doe violently pursue. Yet he assures his countenance as well as he could. Hee goes out with an intent to take horse, and to recover some place of safety. *Descartes* and *Raffi* find it. *Descartes* salutes him, who (it may be) thinking himselfe sufficient to giue an account of his person, was not curious to advertise *Villeroi*, who was then in his Cabinet with the Bishop of Chartres. The presence of *Descartes* was troublesome to *Losse*: to be rid of him, he said, he would go to his master who attended him. *Descartes* offers to accompany him: he then pretended that hee had not dined, and thinking they had done at the lodging, hee would seek it in a Tauerne. Neither haue I (sayd the other) we will dine together. Finding *Descartes* to follow him in this manner, hee seeks another euasion. I am weary (said he) my Bootes trouble me: *Descartes* adde, that hee desired to drink with him, and that he would be better after dinner. Thus discoursing together, they entered into *Villeroi*'s lodging. *Descartes* leaves him in the chamber, being ignorant that the Carriers had spoken with him, and draws neere vnto the Cabinet, thinking that he had brought him into the snare. But when as he found himselfe free, he goes downe into the Stable, where finding his horse saddled, hee flies directly to Paris. *Villeroi* is in the meane time advertised that his man is come, he commands that hee should enter: but they finde him not, nor his horse in the Stable; neither can they coniecture which way he is gone.

*Villeroi*

*Losse* escapes  
and is pursued.

*Villeroi* advertiseth his Maiesty of his escape: and they send out of all sides to follow him. *Losse* coming to Paris about nine of the clocke at night, he went to take counsell of the Spanish Ambassador, and before the breake of day he departed disguised like a Spaniard, with the Ambassadors Steward to conduct him, taking the way to Meaux to recover Luxembourg in profile. To encourage all men to seeke after this traitor, it was given out, that one of *Villeroi*'s Secretaries had attempted against his Maiesties person. They described his stature, his age, his apparrell, and his horse. The Prouosts of Marshalls went to field. They had forbidden all Poste-masters to giue any horses. But hee of Meaux had notice given too late; he was already on horse-backe. But when he began to gallop, his horse falling, *B* gave his rider a heauy preface of some occurrent ill. Being re-mounted, hee seemed to amazed, as the Guide thought hee had committed some wicked act, for the which he fled. Hee advertised his master thereof at his returne, who remembering the defence which had beene made, presumed that this was he which was in question. Hee presently went to the Prouost Marshall, who prepared to pursue him. Passing the Riuer of Marne, the Prouost learns that hee could not be farre from the first Poste: and coming to the second Boat neere vnto La Ferte vnder Iouarre, hee findes that hee was then passing the riuer: but the force and feare which those Runaways offered vnto the Fermien, preauailed more then the Prouosts commandements and threats. Being past, they thought their Poste-horses would be presently ouer-taken by the great horses which they imagined to be at their backes, who leaving their Guide, commit their safety to the swiftnesse of their feet, during the darknesse of the night, through the thick bushes which did grow vpon the banks of Marne. The Prouost disperse his Archers, makes fires in the field, and sets the Country-men to search. The Spaniard got away: *Losse* went creeping from bush to bush, so terrified with the apprehension of Iustice which he could not auoid, as hearing the Prouost and his men beating the bushes with their swords, hee desired rather to free his body from the feeling of the punishment, which his treason had deserved, and to abandon his soule to the iudgement of God. At the breake of day his hat being leene betwix two posts whereas the current of the water had stayed it, made them presume that the carkase was not farre off. He was found there by the *Abbesse of Iouarre* men (who as Lady of the Iustice of that place) required that the proceesse might be instructed and made by her Officers. The Prouost of Paris and hee of the Kings house did also contend to haue knowledge thereof. In the end it was reuoked and retained in the Parliament by a decree made the 10 of May: the body was drawne from the Chasteler (where they had exposed it to ignominie, according to the custome in such actions) and caried to the prison of the Conciergiere, and the 15 day following, was layd vpon a hurdle & dragged into the Greue, and drawne in sunder with foure horses, and his quarters set vpon foure wheeles at the chiefe approaches of Paris. A worthy reward of an vnworthy Treacher, which hee deserved, if the eternall Providence had not otherwise disposed, that he should haue beene sensible of those torments, whose desperate death was happy for those which could not hope for any health, if any other more pitifull end had giuen him meanes to discouer their practices. This was very displeasing vnto the King, for that this wretch had smothered with his life, that which might haue giuen him light in many things importing his seruice, but exceeding grieuous vnto *Villeroi*, for that the full knowledge of the Traytors designs, and of the wickednesse of his Confederates was forbidden: moreover, that hauing bred him vp, and bound him by the effects of his fauour and loue, hee was so sensible of the ingratitude and treachery of this monster, as hee could neither ease nor sleepe. Besides, as the greatest dignities are most subiect to enuy and slander, hee did foresee that his enemies would take occasion to taxe his loyalty, to blemish his reputation, and if they could, to ruine his fortune. Yet hee had this great consolation, that although hee held the estate of this Realme as it were in his hand, the King knows that he doth not breathe any thing, but what is of his seruice. His Maiesty visiting him to confirme him in this consolation, would haue the world know, that he hath alwaies caried the mark of a good seruant, and the integrity of his conscience did serue him as an inextinguishable rampart against all his ill-willers.

Soone after, the King discouered a new practice against his seruice, and the Dauphins. The windes are inuifible, but they that blow them to gather these clouds together were well knowne, and from what coast they came. They were but sparkes of fire, as soone quenched

1604 quenched as kindled. The King did write vnto some of his chiefe and principall seruants A  
 " in these termes: You must take it for a good signe, that you heare so feldome from me by  
 " letter, for it is a signe that all is well, God be thanked, as well for my person, as for my af-  
 " faires. The Spaniards would willingly haue more matter and oftner, for they cannot  
 " desist from their ordinary practices to corrupt my seruants. I haue of late discovered  
 " some new designe, in the which my Nephew the Count of Auvergne and the Seigneur of  
 " Entraignes are named, the which they haue willingly aduowed and confessed. But I haue  
 " taken for good an order as no inconuenience shall happen.

Crations of  
new Cardinals.

The ninth of Iune, the Pope created eighteen Cardinals, not according to the passion  
 of great Princes that had intreated him, nor to the liking of his kins-men, knowing that  
 his Predecessors had conferred those dignities vpon unworthy persons, set Scarlet Hat  
 vpon heads without vnderstanding, and giuen *Palquin* occasion to complaine, that some  
 approached neere to Saint Peters Chaire that were more stones, and had lesse braines  
 then he had: The King had recommended many great Prelates of France to be remem-  
 bred at the first promotion, to supply their places that were dead. Among them that were  
 newly created, there were two French & two Spaniards. The Spanish Ambassador made  
 great instance to haue more, and notto haue his Master equalled by the French King.  
 The first in the list was *Seraphin Olinari* Patriarke of Alexandria, by race an Italian, but  
 borne at Lions, one of the most iudicious Prelates of his age: only vertue advanced him  
 to this dignity, and the King made great instance for him by *Bertrunes* his Ambassador. C  
*James Dany* Bishop of Eureux received the like Honour by the Kings recommendations.  
 His seruices in reconciling the King with the Pope, his learned Writings, and his  
 knowledge in Diuinity, did worthily purchase him this honour. The rest were all Italians  
 except *Bernard Maiziousschi* Bishop of Cracouia a Polonian. Cardinall *Alobrandin* did  
 also aduance *Hermio* his Secretary to this honour, of whom there is so much spoken in  
 the discourse of the Warres of Sauoy. *Anselme Marzat* a Capuchin of Monopoli was  
 forcibly drawne into the number by the Popes expresse commandement, hauing once  
 refused this dignity, and protesting with teares of the iniurie that was done vnto Saint  
 Francis and the strict rules of his Order. Of all the eighteen that were made Cardinals, D  
 there was not any but this Capuchin but did affect it, and many others that did expect it  
 were disappointed. There was some teare left the controversie betwix the Count of Eu-  
 entes and the Grisons should draw a ciuill Warre into Italy, vnder the pretext of Religi-  
 on. The reason of this trouble grew, for that he would force the Grisons to breake the al-  
 liance they had made the last year with the Venetians, and to makethat which they had  
 with France fruitlesse. The King aduertised of these practices, commanded *De Vic* his  
 Ambassador to goe vnto Coire, and to represent vnto that people the wrong they should  
 doe vnto their reputations in forsaking their faith and obseruation of their Treaties. Out  
 of the discourse which *De Vic* did vnto them, so perswade them to the keeping of their  
 word, these points were collected of the inuoluable firmnesse of their word and oath.  
 There must be many acts of vertue to purchase and maintaine a great and good reputa-  
 tion, one only action to the contrary doth ouerthrow it, and smoothers the remembrance  
 thereof. It is gotten by many commendable and vertuous actions, but that which pro-  
 ceedes from constancy and generosity in the obseruation of promises, is so much the more  
 commendable, for that it is grounded vpon Faith and Religion, which bee the two pillars  
 that doe assure and maintaine Estates.

Troubles be-  
twixt the Gri-  
sons and the  
Count of  
Fuentis.

De Vics dis-  
course vnto  
the Grisons.

Religion one  
of the pillars  
of a State.

The Ancients haue said that Faith was the Foundation of Iustice, the honour of Hea-  
 uen and Earth, without the which the world could not continue in peace, and they ere-  
 cted her Altar neere vnto that of thundering *Iupiter*, to shew that God is the Reuenger  
 of the breach of Faith. And Religion is so proper to Man, and to the society of Men,  
 that as Man cannot be Man without it, so there is no Nation how barbarous soeuer, that  
 liues without some shadow of Religion. As they haue the best part of silence and the  
 solemnitie of Alliances and confederations, in the which God is called on as a witnesse  
 and Iudge of their intentions that doe promise and binde themselves; so is hee greatly  
 wronged in the breach of promises. And therefore the commendations that are giuen to  
 many Nations are held vaine and ridiculous, being separated from this constant and im-  
 mutable affection of keeping their faith. As the Greekes haue bene commended for ma-  
 ny actions of Valour and Vertue, the which notwithstanding vanish away shamefully, in

A in the reproach which hath alwayes bene made vnto them, to deny their words easily,  
 and neuer to binde themselves, but with an intent to hold. And contrariwise, the memory  
 of the Faith and constancy of the Romanes is so admirable, who abhorred the breach of pro-  
 mises, and held it an inexcusable crime to violate their Treaties. It is not armes alone, but the  
 constancy of Religion and their faith giuen that haue raised them to so great a power, as  
 they held in their hands, the Reynes of all the Princes of the habitable Earth. In the  
 beginning, the neighbour people did not esteeme them as a City; but rather a campe of  
 Theues, a nest of Tyranny, and a Citadel in the midst of them, to trouble and practise  
 all the furies of their ambition. But when as they vnderstood that Faith openly and a sim-  
 ple path (all feare of punishment laid aside) did gouerne the City, they grew to such Re-  
 uerence and respect, as they held it a greater happinesse, to obey a people so generous in  
 their actions, so constant in their words, and so religious in their oaths, then to command  
 ouer others. The formes of the Common-weale of the Grisons haue great conformities  
 with the politicke and militarie Lawes of the Romanes: and as it yeelds nothing vnto  
 them in Valour and Generositie, so hath it alwayes preferred (like vnto them) the Religi-  
 on of their word and promise, holding publick faith the Foundation and Ground-work  
 of Estates, as Treachery is the plague and ruine thereof. This sufficeth to shew how  
 odious the perswasions or rather practices and Enchantments of those should bee, that  
 coulde them to reuoke the Alliance, made and sworn with the Common-weale of  
 Venice.

The estate of  
ancient Rome.

Wee must cherish and respect the counsels and remedies of such as loue the sicke Pati-  
 ent, but we must suspect all things that come from the hand of a Neighbour that is an ene-  
 mie; they minister nothing, how sweet soeuer, which causeth not great motions and al-  
 terations in the body. This Hony is worse then that of Cholchos, which did not infect the  
 heart, nor trouble the vnderstanding but for a day. In the distinction and choice of ad-  
 vice, we must preferre those that preface Honour, and augment Posteritie, before those  
 that dissolve the concord and quiet of an Estate. Those (said a great Orator to the Athe-  
 nians) are to bee credited that counsell to entertaine alliances with friends: for there is  
 nothing more befitting a free City, then the care and loue of Equity and Iustice. Those  
 D that by their policies and roughnesse, would separate the Grisons from the alliance of their  
 friends, haue happely some designs vpon their liberty, the which they cannot execute  
 better then by cutting off the number of their friends, the which can neuer bee too great,  
 how great and mighty soeuer they be. And if they haue not this designe, yet their coun-  
 sell is alwayes vniust, seeing the effect concerns the shame and ignominie of this Nation,  
 which cannot goe from the truth of their promises, yalesse they will bee generally taxed  
 for treachery and basenesse. A reproach so much the more to be feared, being certain that  
 as soone as a Common-weale hath giuen any subiect to doubt of her faith, the most iugent  
 new formes of Religion to purchase credit with other Estates, and vnkowne people, to  
 trust vnto their promises; for such as know the deceivers, will avoid the deceit. And al-  
 though among the corruptions of our age, faining and dissembling bee esteemed vertues,  
 and haue in the opinion of the vulgar, notable qualities and operations, yet among those  
 that haue contained themselves within the bounds of ancient Integrity, and know not  
 the policies and deceits of the new-come, the people that are defamed for treachery and  
 disloyalty lose all their friends.

And in the end this alliance hath bene sworn by the most solemne acts of Religion.  
 The name of the liuing God (who should not bee taken in vaine, and is polluted by the  
 lightnesse of an oath) hath been called vpon; it is an extreme impiety, to make that Soue-  
 raigne spirit, that Infinite, Immutable, and Incomprehensible Essence, who is all Iustice and  
 all Truth, a witnesse of our basenesse and lying, that the Holinesse of his name should co-  
 uer our dissembling, his Iustice, our wrongs, his Truth, our deceit, and approve that which  
 naturall reason cannot allow of. And this bond of faith giuen, is of such necessitie, as it  
 must be kept euen with enemies, whereof that great Captaine *Jo: de* hath left a memorable  
 example, refusing to breake the Treatie which he had made with the Cabionites, Pagan  
 Infidels: although he had discovered their Deceit, and was intreated by the chiefe of the  
 army to lose their alliance. The answer he gaue them, was grounded vpon Reason, say-  
 ing, *That they had giuen them their faith, and that they must haue left the fury of God, for  
 whose name they had sworne* should come vpon them. And thus he ended  
 There

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The great promises of the Count of Fuentes to the Grifons.

Religion of the Grifons.

An alliance purchased difficult &amp; impossible.

There was great difficulty to retaine these people inclining to change, vpon the huge and copious promises made them by the Count of Fuentes. They could not resolute in their Councils. The weight and burthen of will and hope caried them away. Hee would reduce them to extreame necessitie, taking from them the Commerce of Milan, without the which they could not live. The Grifons estate is meere popular, consisting of six and twenty Commonalties, the which are diuided into three Cantons. It is a difficultie to finde any thing equall, constant, or well aduised among so many heads bred vp in the Maximes of a Democratic. The Count of Fuentes had debauched foure, who had like to haue corrupted and polluted the rest, as a little Levantine mantes a great lump of Dough. For they stucke onely vpon money, which the one demanded, and the other offered. Hee gaue so go od entertainment to the Ambassadors that came to him to Milan, as they passed as many Articles as hee pleased, applying themselves to his humour of Peace, which being dishonorable, is of worse condition for Free-men then Warre it selfe. But when at their returne they would haue drawne the people to allow thereof, the Ambassador of France argued so happily, as he let them vnderstand the prejudice and wrong that they did vnto themselves. So as the best-aduised being informed of this surprize, resolute not to stray from the obseruation of the Alliances of France and Venice, nor to depend for their passages, vpon the aduice and command of the Count of Fuentes nor of his successors, as he had bound them by his Articles, presuming that he could defend with the sword, that which hee had gotten with Gold. True it is, that they made offer to enter into a new Capitulation of all that might bee without prejudice to their Alliances, to assure a good Neighbourhood with the State of Milan, so as the Count of Fuentes would demolish the Fort within six moneths vpon their Frontier. The great Cantons of the Suisses were aduers in this business, perswading the Grifons to trust rather to courage then to the safety of their Mollities. Matters continued in great suspence. They sent often to Milan, and what was concluded there was dissolved in the Assembly of the people, by the friends of this Crowne, and by the wisdom of the Kings Ambassador, who laid plainly that his Maiesty would leaue their Alliance, if they made not a Declaration that might content him. Those iudgements that were found and not prejudicate, found it reasonable, and in this reason the honour of their faith, and the reputation of their estate; as contrariwise they thought it could not bee an act of glory to sell their alliance, as it was not commendable for the Spaniards to buy it, if they were of the Romanes humour, who neuer sought that by gold, which they might doe by the sword. But against these apparent reasons, the Count of Fuentes had so many tricks and deuices, as the Ambassador of France had much adoe to retaine this people; who promised in words not to forsake the Alliance of France and Venice, doing the contrary in effect. In former times it was credible that the Suisse, so great an enemy to the House of Austria, from whose subiection they had revolted, and the Grifon so contrarie to the Spanish fashions, would incline that way, and contradict the very feeling of Reason and Nature. The Truth hath freed the doubt, and lets vs see that it is of this people as of Vneger, the which neuer freezerh for that it is extremely cold. The Suisses and Grifons (for that they are enemies to the Spaniards) will not haue the power of Spaine to bee their enemy.

The bad successe of this business did not concerne France and the Venecians alone; the best aduised did fore-see that it might draw a ciuill Warre into Italy, vnder the pretext of Religion. Many Commanders and Capitaines Grifons, not able to endure the rigour and threats of the Count Fuentes, were solicited by them of their Beliefe and Religion (lurking in Italy) to hold good, and to attend vntill the Lord came from Edom to disperte their enemies, and to beleue that as there is no warre more glorious then that which is undertaken to free their Countrey from seruitude, so there is none more iust then that which is made to deliuer Consciences from Tyranny, and that both in the one and the other occasion, it is a great happinesse and delectation to sacrifice their liues. The King sent aduice thereof to Rome for the consequence and danger of Religion. Hee did also pacifie the diuision of the people of Valais, who were in Armes, and ready to come to a generall combat for the same quarrell. In the meane time the Grifons remained betwixt the doubtfullnesse of Warre; and the discommodities of Peace, and as in the breeding of such Diuisions, free and curious spirits cannot retaine their passions, they made

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A made Palquins in Italy vpon this subiect, and the Spanish braueries were not mute, the which the Grifons answered with like humour. If the Venecians who were the cause of all the mischief, would haue spoken and set their hand to the worke as they ought, the Count of Fuentes (who did more by example then by any authoritie) would haue intreated the Grifons more mildly. But besides, that Common-weales are not good for an offensive Warre, these Seigneuries who would not hazard any thing, but preferre present and assured things before that which was past and perillous, would haue bene content to haue enjoyed that which they desired without any trouble.

There was a generall assembly held at Illant, at one of the corners of the Grifons, where after great diuersitie of opinions, it was concluded by the greater part, that (seeing the Ambassadors had through their suarice defamed their Legation, and suffered the Count of Fuentes to binde the liberty of their aduice with chaines of Gold, and had exceeded the instructions that were given them) the last Treatie made at Milan, should bee declared void, and of none effect, if the alliance of France and that of Venice were not expressly referred. The Nobles of Spaine had wrought wonders, giuing motion to the most heauy, and speech vnto the dumbe, to fauour the Count of Fuentes inuentions, with a Nation that loues money beyond all measure. But in the end the consideration of their owne health, and the ruines of their liberty were of more force, making them to chooseth the hazard of armes, and of all discommodities, rather then to suffer the fort which the Count of Fuentes had caused to be built, to stand vrnruined. And for that (incensed with this resolution) he had made shew to seize vpon Vatelina, they made a leauy of eightene hundred men in six companies to oppose against him. The Kings intention was, that the Treaty of Milan should not alter the alliances of the Crowne of France and Venice. But if the Grifons should breake with the French, and dishonour their reputation with so foule a defection, the French had no great reason to regard it, seeing it were a losse but of inconstant friends, whose faith was ruined by the same meanes it was preferred. True it is, they should lose a goodly passage into Italy, but when they had any desire to go thither, it should not be by the Grifons. The French Armies were neuer led that way to passe the Alpes. It is true that when the Kings of France held Milan, this passage was necessary for them to draw in Suisses and Germanes for their seruice. But enjoying this no more, they need not to care much to lose that which cost them so deare to maintaine. This was the beginning of the thirteenth yeare of Pope Clement the eight sitting in the pontificall chaire. In his youth a Mathematician told him, that he should be a Cardinall then Pope, and should sit in the seat twelve yeares. A Friar had told Leo the tenth as much (hauing faued himselfe in Mantoua after the battell of Rauenna) assuring him that he should be Pope, before he came to the age of forty yeares. A terme which made this prediction seeme ridiculous and impossible, and yet it was true, for after the death of Iulio the second the young Cardinals being banded against the old, chooseth him Pope. The Astrologian, hath spoken very truly in the two first adventures of this Pope, but hee hath misteckned himselfe in the third, yet some feare it is but one yeare, for this which we shall shortly begin is full of bad confestations vpon that sea, as they hold that haue studied the booke of the Abbot Ischim.

About that time there was a Iesuite that maintained an opinion that was held very bold throughout all the Catholike Church, but most dangerous at Rome. That it was no point of the effence of faith to beleue that Clement the 8 was the true and lawfull successour of S. Peter. He was committed to prison, and if the Ambassador of Spaine had not dealt in it, he had sped worse, and tryed that the body hath often reason to complaine of the paine which the spirit causeth. Another Iesuite propounded a proposition which was held very strange for the nouelty and the consequence thereof. Which was, That confession might be done by Letters and by Posts. These with some other questions were decided before the Pope and the Cardinals in the following yeare.

There fell out halfe a sedition in Rome by the meanes of Cardinall Farneze. One being pursued by the Officers to be caried to prison, fled into the Cardinals Palace as into a Sanctuary, where he found a backe doore to escape. This flight was fauoured by the in-courtesy of some of the Cardinals Gentlemen, who walking in the Court and seeing the Sergeants make anoise at his escape whom they thought to apprehend, they gaue the bad words with some threats, for the small respect they had borne vnto their Masters house.

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The

Predictions of Friar Seraphina of Mantoua.

Curious questions.

Halfe a sedition at Rome.

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The Pope was advertised thereof, and the Governor of Rome went thither with his officers. The Cardinall *Farnese* beleued that all the Consistory was offended at this affront, the which troubled all Rome. They had giuen the Pope to vnderstand that this did concerne the authority of his iustice, without the which the City could not continue happy. They had layd open this boldnesse vnto him by many considerations of his owne private interest. They said that this did but increase the difcontents which many had conceiued against the House of *Aldobrandin*. The tumult grew so great, as one sword drawne had put all the City in armes. The Ambassador of Spaine came to the Cardinals Palace with all his friends, and there spent the whole night, looking on the Rōmane Gentlemen that played in the Hall, and asking who had wonne or lost, they told him that the Duke *Gastan* had lost six hundred crownes : Seigneur Duke (sayd he in Spanish) assure your selfe that you lose nothing this night for the notable seruice you doe vnto the King. Hee was often heard to say these words, which were fuller of vanity then of necessity or reason, *aquí quiero morir*, as if the Pope, who had no forces, would come to besiege him.

The next day the Cardinall *Farnese* retired himselfe to a house of his called *Capratola* five and twenty miles from Rome, whither he was accompanied with the principall men in Rome. The Pope sent the Gouverneur vnto him to receiue his gouernment from him, as if he had lost it for that he had entred into his Palace with his Sergeants. He quenched the heat of those fiery spirits with his teares, and complained that they did not loue him as he did loue, and that therein the intention of true friendship was decieued. But he commanded his Nuncio in Spaine to complaine of the King of Spaines Ambassador, who had openly discovered his passion against him. In the end, the Duke of Parma brought backe the Cardinall to Rome, and all was pacified. As hee came from Monte-cauallo where the Pope was, he was well accompanied and followed into the Court of his Palace, with cries of ioy, *Viva la Casa Farnese*. These were the peoples violent passions, not so much for any loue of him, as in hatred of the Cardinall *Aldobrandin*. But none of them trusted to this reconciliation. The Cardinall, the Duke *Gastan*, and many others of the greatest of the City went out of Rome. The Pope caused six hundred Corles to come, and two hundred Harguebuzziers on horsebacke for the guard of *S. Peters* Bourg, and if he had had the spirit of *Sixtus* the 5, or of Popes that were Predecessors to *Paul* the third, this small beginning had been the cause of great accidents.

The Iesuits  
restored.

The King hauing promised to restore the Iesuits, Father *Cotton* came to Paris by his Maiesties command, with father *Armand* the Prouinciall, and father *Alexander*. They not onely found all things easie, but beyond their conceiued hopes: for the King grew presently into such a liking with Father *Cotton*, as he did nothing but he was called, and in the end his Maiestie granted their returne vpon certaine conditions, and the Edict made for their establishment, (notwithstanding any opposition made vnto the Court to hinder the confirmation thereof) was confirmed in the beginning of this yeare, and their Colledges restored at Lions, Rouan, Bourges, and Dijon. The Seigneur of Varenne (Controllor general of the Posts, and now Gouvernor of the Towne and Castle of Angers, who loued them of this company) besought the King to build a new Colledge at La Fleche in Aniou, with priuiledges like to the other Vniuersities of this Realme, the which the King made of a Royall foundation, and gaue them his owne house, with penfions, for the instruction of a good number of yong Gentlemen, whom his Maiestie would haue bred vp, and instructed there in all Professions, Tongues, and Exercises.

Iesuits at La  
Fleche.

The Edict was : That they might lawfully reside in the places where now they are established within the Realme, that is, in the townes of Tholose, Auch, Agen, Rhodes, Bourdeaux, Perigord, Limoge, Tournon, Puy, Aubenas, and Beziers. And moreover, to settle themselves in the Townes of Lyon, Dijon, and especially in his Towne of La Fleche in Aniou, there to keepe their residences vpon the conditions which follow.

That they shall not erect any Colledges nor Residences in any towne or places of this Realme, Countries, Territories, and Seigniories of his Maiesties obedience, without his expresse permission, vpon paine to lose all that is contained in this present grace.

That all they of the said Societie, being in this Realme, together with their Rectors and Prouincials, shall be natural Frenchmen, and that no stranger shall bee admitted into their Colledges and Residences, without his Maiesties permission: and if there be any at this present, they shall bee bound to retire themselves into their countries within three moneth

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A moneths after the publication of these presents. The Inhabitants of the towne and countie of Aignon, being not comprehended vnder this word of Strangers.

That they of the said Societie, shall haue neere vnto his Maiesty one of their company, which shall be a Frenchman, with sufficient authoritie to seru him for a Preacher, and to answer for the actions of their companies vpon all necessarie occasions.

That all Iesuites within the Realme and others which shall be received into the said Societie, shall take an oath before the Officers of those places, not to doe nor attempt any thing, against his Maiesties seruice, the publike peace and quiet of the Realme, without any exception or reueration whereof the said Officers should bee bound to fend the said acts vnto the Chancelor. And if any of them present or to come, should refuse to take the said oath, they should be forced to depart the Realme.

That hereafter all they of the said societie as well such as haue made the simple vow, as others, may not get any immouable goods, either by purchase, donation, or otherwise without his Maiesties permission. They may not also receiue any succession, be it direct or Collateral, no more then other Religious men. And in case hereafter any shall be disinited from the said company, they may returne into their rights as before.

They shall not take nor receiue any immouable goods from them which shall enter into their societie, but it shall be reserved for their heires, or for such to whom they haue disposed them before they entred.

They shall also be subiect in all things to the lawes of the Realme, and shall be tried before his Maiesties officers, like vnto other Clergy and Religious men.

The said company shall not attempt nor doe any thing, neither in spirituall, nor in Temporall things, to the preiudice of Bishops, Chapters, Curats, and Vniuersities of the Realme, nor of other Religious men: but shall conforme themselves to the common Lawes.

In like manner they shall not preach, administer the Sacraments, neither confesse any but those of their owne societie, if it bee not by the permission of the Bishops within the iurisdiction of the Parliament where they are established, that is, of Tholose, Bourdeaux and Dijon.

The which permission shall not extend to the Parliament of Paris, except the townes of Lyon, and La Fleche. Where they are suffered to reside, and exercise their ordinary functions as in other places which haue been granted them. And to the end that they of the said societie, which are now restored, may haue meanes to liue in their Colledges and Residences, his Maiestie suffereth them to enioy their rents and foundations present and past, with a full discharge of all seizures which haue been made.

The Iesuits being thus restored, many others demanded leaue of the King to receiue them and to giue them Colledges, as Rouen, Bourges and Amiens. The Vniuersities of Orleance and Poitiers could not like of them, notwithstanding they fought much to bee received there, they returned in the end by the Kings fauour and clemency, into their countie of Saint *Leuis*, neere vnto Saint *Paul* at Paris, and had restitution of all their goods and of their Colledge of Clermont in Saint *Laques* street, to enioy their revenues without intrusion. Then the goodly spirits of their Order begun to step into the Pulpit, and were heard with great applause in diuers Churches.

During these great Royall fauours, Father *Cotton* tasted of some private disgrace, for returning one night somewhat late (about the end of February) and passing by the street of the new bridge, to goe vnto the Louvre, there were certaine Pages and Laqueys, which calling for him at the doore of the Carosse, wounded him with their Rapiers, hauing one great wound in the shoulder going towards the necke and the throat, whereof notwithstanding hee was soone after cured. There was great search made for this attempt, but the King himselfe discovered presently whence it might proceed. The Pages and Laqueys of Court had beene whipt by commandement for their insolencie, in crying with diuision, *old Woll, old Cotton* (vpon the complaint of certaine Princes and Noblemen.) Those that say this blow was premeditated by the enemies of the Iesuits, were decieued, and his Maiesties onely opinion (who iudged that it came from the Pages and Laqueys) was true. Some were taken and examined, the King himself heard the examination, first they excused themselves of the fact, then they said that they meant onely to strike the Coach-man, to whom they had cried to goe farther off, and that hee

Father Cotton  
wounded.

Aaaaa

would



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would hurt them, comming so neere the wall, the which hee would not doe, and that A thinking to strike the Coachman, they had hurt Father *Cotton*. If Father *Cotton* had not bene an earnest tutor vnto the King to pardon them, it had gone ill with them, but notwithstanding they were banished the Court, and forbidden euer to come there vpon paine of death.

This yeare the King, besides in his goodly buildings, which shall make his memorie commendable to posteritie, would also shew vnto future ages, that hee had a care of the good of his subiects, who for the commodity of their commerce and trafficke, caused a channell to bee made, by the which all Merchandize should bee caried from the Riuer of Loyre into the riuer of Seine. At the same time when as hee began his channell from Seine to Loyre, which will cost a hundred and fourescore thousand crownes in three yeares, they propounded vnto his Maiestie, an enterprize of greater difficultie, to ioyne the two Seas together, and to make the Nauiation from the one to the other through France, and not to passe by the straight of Gibraltar. By the means of a channell more easie to be made betwixt the two riuers, which passe the one from Tolouise into the Ocean, and the other from Narbone into the Mediterranean sea, then that which is made to ioyne the riuers of Seine and Loyre together. The vnderaker offered Caution to ioyne the Nauiation of the said two seas by this channell, within one yeere for 40000 crownes onely, the which should carie a vessell of foure fadome breadth from one sea vnto the other, for a certaine prooffe of his designe. Which was to make ships to passe afterwards, within a small time, C and for little more charge.

There were many new inuentions for workes deuised and brought into France this yeare by strangers, as weaving of gold after the manner of Milan, and the making of cloth and lines of the barke of white Mulberry trees, more easly then of Nettles or any other trees, and more strong and of longer continuance then any other, the which was inuented by Monsieur *Serres* in Prouence. The making of all sorts of Cipres both curld and smooth, and of all other sorts, which were not made before but in Italy, is now established in the Castle of Mantes. Hangings of guilt leather, of all sorts and colours that may be wished, fairer then Embroidery, better cheape, and of greater continuance, for the easinesse and inuention to make them cleane, and to amend, they are in great shops in Saint Honores, D and Saint James suburbs, to see poore people on worke. There were cutting Mills inuented, and set vpon the riuer of Estampes, where they cut iron into many pieces, and into what forme they will, the which was not done before but by the Smiths. The turning of iron (whereof France abound) into fine steele, the which they were forced to seeke in Piedmont, in Germany, and in other strange Countries, for five or six fould the pound, hauing neuer found any thing in France but iron, the which for the excellency they call course steele of Brie, or of S. *Defer*, the which is sold for two or three fould the pound, at the most. The fournaises are to be scene in Saint Victors suburbs. Vpon the mouth of the riuer of Bieure, the which deferues to bee admired for the excellency thereof, the making of white Lead, the which is a kinde of drogge or quintessence, drawne out of Lead, very necessarie and common for Painters, Farriers, and many other vses, the which they were forced to seeke and buy dearly out of France, is now made there, better and better cheape.

The like inuention there is of pipes of Lead, as long and as bigge as you will, beaten, and as light as iron for Cuirasses, stronger and more lasting then the ordinary pipes of Lead, and better cheape, and which make the waters that passe through them more hol-some for the body of man, by reason of the ingredients of the folding which corrupts the water that passeth by them. Besides the selder doth still leaue some little tongues or drops pierced, the which stayes the slime of the water, and makes the pipe to bend: with many other secrets and commodities that depead thereon, inuented by *Ferner*, dwelling F in the suburbs of Saint Germaine.

Some parts of France as well as of Sicilia were this yeere much afflicted for want of corne. The Dukes of Guife and Vantadour befought the King that he would be pleased to suffer Prouence and Languedoc to be supplied by the other Prouinces of his Realme, where there was abundance. The King hauing giuen liberty, there passed great store by the Citie of Lions, who fearing to fall into the like want, befought the King to reuoke his grant of the passage.

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A The Kings answer seemed to proceed from the heart, not of a Prince onely, but of a father, who desires to prouide equally for all the necessities of his family, and hath a care that nothing be wanting. The principal reasons were, that there is nothing more necessary for the well ordering of an Estate, then to entertaine communication betwixt Prouinces to succour one another, and to haue the trafficke as free and as easie as may bee: Nature hauing so framed them, as they haue need one of another, for if the one restraines on the one side, the other may doe the like on the other side: so as if one Prouince annoyes another, it may also receiue the like annoyance from them: as if they stop the passage of corne at Lions, they of Languedoc and Prouence, may keepe from them, oyles and spice, and many other necessary commodities. That the City of Lions hath no interest in this passage, being lawfull for them, to make what prouisions of corne they please, in Bourgongne, and other places. That he must also haue care of other Prouinces which haue need of reliefe, whom they might easly perswade that this liberty of passage, depended vpon the fauour and good will of them of Lions, and not vpon his commandement.

There wanted nothing in France, but permission to trafficke in the King of Spaine and the Archdukes dominions. The sea townes endured great difcommodities, and in the end, if this prohibition had continued, they would haue said of the greatest, as was said of Megalopolis a great City in circuit of walls, and little in number of Inhabitants. *Magna Ciuitas, magna solitudo*, A great City, a great wildernesse. The Spaniards found this inhibition much more grieuous and insupportable: there was nothing to bee heard amongst them, but publike complaints, for that all things grew extremely deare, and the Artians desperate. This grievance depending vpon the execution of the treaty of Veruins, the Pope commanded his Nuncio to deale in it. The King would not yeeld to any thing, before that the Spaniards who had troubled the water, did make it cleare againe in reuoking the imposition of thirty on the hundred. There he forced his nature, for being so good, as he desired onely the good of his people, and feels in his soule that content wherewith God himselfe cannot be satisfied, he could not heare speake of this commerce, if the King of Spaine did not discharge that Impos of thirty for the hundred, which made the liberty of trafficke an extreme seruitude, and the profit an assured losse. This was most seuer and rigorous. There is not any but is bitter to the Merchants, couetousnesse hauing changed the first cause as well as the quantity of Impositions and Customes. In former times they were not payed, but for the safety and liberty of the passage from one place to another, and for that Princes haue publike wayes in their protection, which for that reason are called, *The Kings high-wayes*, they haue acknowledged this right of protection with some consideration.

In like sort when the Nauiation was vnderaken to the Indies, into Arabia and Ethiopia, the Emperour for the purging of the sea Pirats and Routers, imposed the Gabel or Customs of the Red Sea, for the entertaining of ships of warre against the attempts of Pirats, with the money that should be raised thereby. Such Impositions for so necessarie occasions cannot be but iust. Others are not so, and yet they must beare them, being no more lawfull for the subiect to murmur against the Customes, and Imposts, wherewith his Prince doth charge him, then against the hayle, raine, stormes and tempests of Heauen. Ob-edient children kisse the rod wherewith they haue bene whipt. Reuenge is referred vnto God, who forbids the Soueraigne Magistrates to oppress the people with such charges. He let *Pharao* know so much, when as *Moses* turned his Rod into a Serpent, to let him vnderstand that his Scepter and his reigne was changed into a tyrannic and extreme cruelty. Some said that Spaine (which deliberates long, and resolves constantly) would neuer reuoke this Imposition, for that they would not lose the reputation of the constancy and firmnesse of their Lawes, and not to be taxed of lightnesse, applying themselves to the time and occasion. But they must endure it, and the Deputies of the two Kings, and of the Archduke, being resolu'd vpon that point, there was no difficulty but that the commerce was restored to the first liberty. The Constable of Castile returning into Spaine, came to the King at Fontainebleau. The King sent to receiue him at the entry of Paris by the Duke of Montbafon, who was well accompanied, and the next day at the entry of the forest of Fontainebleau, he found fiftene Caroffes full of Gentleman of the Court, who left them to offer them to him and to his traine, & so mounted vpon their horses which did attend them. It cannot be spoken how royally the King receiued him.

Amongst

No Region, Prouince, or City can passe without their neighbours.

Difcommodities by the imposition of custome.

God neuer tired with doing good.

Nauiation to the Indies.

The trafficke opened with Spaine.

The Constable of Castile comes to the King.

A channell from the riuer of Seine to Loyre.

New inuentions of workes brought into France.

Making of Cipres, Gilt hangings.

Cutting Mills.

Turning of iron into fine steele.

White Lead.

Pipes of Lead without solder.

Scarfe of corne.

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The King receives him with all honour. He lups with the Constable. The House of Velasques.

The Marquis of Rhosny goes into Poitou.

The Dauphins second voyage to Fontainebleau.

Interview of the Dukes of Sauoy and Mantoua.

Among many testimonies of honour and affection, this was not ordinary. *Zamet* invited him to supper, being ready to wash, the King accompanied onely with *Bellegarde* and *Roguelare* enters, saying that he would lup with them. The Constable offered him his napkin, and would haue kneeled, the which the King would not suffer; saying vnto him, that it was not for him to yeeld honours, but to receiue them, for he was of that Houle, being allied to the House of Velasques, to whom the dignity of the Constable of Castile and Leon is hereditary, and is an honour in a manner equall with a Soueraigne; the Emperour *Valentinian* finding no other place wherewith to honor and aduance his brother *Valence*. The commerce which had bene forbidden for some moneths, being restored, there was nothing contained in the Treaty of Veruins but was duly executed, but that which concerned the priuate interest of the Earle of Saint Paul. As for the generall, all went so well, as it might be said the two Kings had neuer had better correspondency, and that their wils (although contrary) had bene like vnto wine and water which cannot be separated. As for the affaires of the Realme, the King found so great respect and obedience in all places, as if there remained any passion in the hearts of his Predecessors, they must be grieved that they were neuer so well obeyed. The Marquis of Rhosny, going to take possession of his Government of Poitou, was at Rochel, where he was receiued with all sorts of honours, causing his Maiesties intentions to be entertained and executed with so great affection, as it did amaze them that knew that since King *Francis* the first, this towne had not bene so obedient as the rest. There are secret murmurings, discontents and distrusts, but they are clouds without water. These are corrupt vicers which draw vnto them bad humours, but the disposition of the body is no whit altered nor changed: In shew all goes well, and we haue nothing else to care for, for men are commonly satisfied with that which seemes, as well as with that which is. It sufficeth that a Prince be well obeyed, be it either for feare or for loue. France being neuer so miserable as when shee had Kings that cared not to be well obeyed.

And what wants a Prince, that is at peace within his Realme, admired of Strangers and redoubted of his enemies, who hath so great designs in hand, for the increase and beautifying of this Estate, as his Predecessors durst neuer thinke of? One Arceball alone can furnish him a hundred Cannons, with powder and munition for a hundred thousand shot, armes for ten thousand horsemen, and fifty thousand foot and treasure ready to pay a greater number. This Prince who knew what it was to make warre without money, will neuer vndertake it without a iust cause, not being in want. Warre which is attempted without cause is seldome happy and successfull, and although they be iustifiable, yet is there alwayes some scruple. He spent the best part of the yeare at Fontainebleau, and found his aboad there so pleasing, and the season so faire, as he sent for the Dauphin. This was the first voyage to the place of his birth, and the second by Paris. Hee made shew that he did participate of the fathers good disposition, for he neither feared nor felt sunne nor Serein, although it be much felt in that place. Thus the yeare past, when as France could not furnish wherewithall to make a perfect Narration. We may now say as it is heretofore sayd of the Gauls that they were more gluen to tillage and to the Government of their families, then vnto Warre and Armes. The most factious thinke of nothing now but of planting of their Orchards. The Grifons doe still pursue the demolition of the fort. They talke of a truce in Hungary, and of a treaty of peace in the Low-Countries. This will be matter to write on the next yeare following.

But we may not forget the enteruiue of the Duke of Sauoy with the Duke of Mantoua. It ministred matter of discourse, and made the Princes of Italy somewhat ielous: to see two Princes send Ambassadors which had continued so long in bad tearmes, and two Princes that were Neighbours which had this aduantage to haue made warre in person, was not without scruple. And although in shew they talked onely of peace, yet are they not the first that haue had peace in their mouthes, and warre in their hearts. *Machiavel* saith, that a Prince of his time neuer talked but of peace and faith, and if he had kept either of them, he had lost his Estate and his reputation.

These two Princes haue lands lying on either side of the river of Po. The Duke of Sauoy was discontented that the Duke of Mantouas people had vsurped something vpon his subiects. This was a great dispute of their confines, the which notwithstanding was soone reconciled: the Accord is neuer difficult betwixt persons neere allied. The Duke of Mantoua

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A toua came to Montferrat, which gaue the occasion of this enteruiue, whereof the cause is vnkowne, if it be not for the marriage of his sonne to the Dukes second daughter. They met in the open field on Sunday the twelfth of December. The Duke of Sauoy was in carrosse, and the Duke of Mantoua and his sonne on horse-backe. They lighted to entertain and salute one another. The Noblemen & Gentlemen which followed them made a great Ring, in the which these two Princes did walke and talked together 2 or 3 houres. The Duke of Sauoy tasted him at dinner the tuesday following, in a little house vpon the frontier of the Marquise of Salusses. They continued together vntill night, when parting, the duke of Sauoy gaue vnto the Duke of Mantoua foure goodly horses, with very rich furniture. B To conclude this yeares worke, there was new matter presently, but it is alwayes bad when as the Princes clemency is forced to yeeld vnto his iustice, when as France doth bring forth spirits so easie to corrupt, as intelligences with the enemies of this Crown are not held for crimes, and their honor as vaine smoak, the which notwithstanding should be so carefully preserved, that rather then to see it blemished or charged with any reproach they should desire and offer themselves to death. The King, offended with the practices of the Count of Auvergne, commanded him to come vnto him, and to trust vnto his clemency, the which was not vnkowne vnto him, *Desfures* made some journeyes vnto him, from whom he brought nothing but delays and excuses.

The King sends for the Count of Auvergne.

The Kings iustice was once contented to make him change theayre for a time. It was the best counsell his friends could giue him: it was the surest resolution he could take: for it was better to be absent with the Kings good liking, then to bee retired and in disgrace. The King was wonderfully grieved at this relapse, and did impute it to an error which great courages detest more and pardon lesse then all other faults: for compare vice with vice, euill with euill, ingratitude is the most odious and the worst. This Prince notwithstanding (who cannot leaue pardoning) sent *Desfures* backe vnto him to cause him to come. He promised to goe, if they would bring him a pardon formally made. The King disliked this kind of capitulation, whereas his owne authority was wronged, and his word held deceitfull. A great King so much feared and obeyed, and of so great authority, should haue his words as much credited as anothers oath. It is not thus. This Prince as with some of his predecessors, who vnder the most smiling and calme countenance smothered most dangerous and troublesome tempests. Hee sent him his abolition in the same forme and manner as he desired, containing all the euill that he had done, and all that he would haue done. It toucheth the honour of a Prince to iustifie himselfe, when as his innocency is any thing mistrusted or suspected of his King. In these incounters hee must leaue the charges which he holds, as *Caius Menenius* did: he must returne in the middest of his voyage like vnto *Marke Anthony*, he must quit all Legations to preuent all occasions, and he must oppose his innocency boldly and courageously vnto slander. But he that hath once offended his Prince, he hath no other remedie or refuge, but to his clemency, or to flight.

A pardon granted with a condition.

This pardon had a condition that he should come vnto the King, without the which the effect thereof should be suspended and without assurance. Hee got nothing in growing obdurate not to goe out of Clermont, representing vnto himselfe that hee could find no better counsell then in the remembrance of his last imprisonment, as *Crasus* did in his miseries. Hee did build much vpon the loue of the inhabitants of Clermont, and of the Countrie. But hee did not consider, that although hee had many hearts at his deuotion, yet would he hardly draw them all together to oppose them against the Kings commandements, when it should please him to seize vpon him in that City, and that it were more safe for him to be free without the Vineyard, then to remaine there, not being absolute master thereof.

Hee refuseth to goe.

Adversity doth instruct.

The King gives order to haue him taken.

The King therefore seeing that he would not come but with conditions that did not agree with a perfect obedience, resolved to haue him by one meanes or other. The first Orderments were made to the two Brothers of *Murat*, the one Lieutenant General in the Prisdiall Court at Ryon, the other, Treasurer extraordinary of the warres, both vehemently affected to the Kings seruice, and for this reason greatly suspected by the Count of Auvergne, who to let them vnderstand the actions that he would haue knowne, did often conferre with them of his affaires, but in like manner as Princes doe communicate with Ambassadors and Spies, and the more freely for that hee thought they were not men to lead him to Paris. But there were others to execute his commandements, and more then of one condition.

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Nothing can be kept secret that many know.

The Kings patience would.

They refused to take him by what means force.

The Duke of Vendosmes company was not in good order at the voyage of Metz.

He is presumed by the diligence of D'Enrre.

condition, all resolute to take him, yea though he were shut vp in a tower of brasse. So A there must be some to take him, and others to conduct him when he was taken. It was necessary that such as had the Kings authority in the Province, and the disposition of his forces and of justice should be in it. The Kings intention was imparted to the Vicont of Pont du Chasteau, to D'Enrre Lieutenant of the Duke of Vendosmes Company, to the Baron of Camille, to la Boulaye Lieutenant of the Company of the Marquis of Verneuil, to Nereffan Colonell of a Regiment of foot, and to so many others, as it is a wonder it was not divulged being in so many heads. In this action all shewed the duties and affections of good men which respected their honours. Many means were attempted, but they were encountered with great difficulties and crosses. True it is, that if Nereffan had not come with reuocation of the Kings first commandments, his taking had beene certaine when as he went a hunting to la Tour of Bruißere, where as a Gentleman should haue hidden him to dinner. The order was changed for that hee had giuen the King to vnderstand that he had meanes to doe him a great peece of seruice in the discovery of great secrets. Some dayes past in the expectation of this miracle, but in the end it proved nothing. The Kings patience being wronged, would beleue no more, but commanded that they should force him to come, and if his bounty had not restrained him, we should haue seene him as extreme in reuenge, as he hath alwayes beene in bounty and clemency. Hee earnestly recommended vnto his subjects the execution of this pise, as a thing of great importance for his seruice, for the preservation of the State, and the assurance of safety of the Lord the Dauphin. The surest meanes (and that wherein there was least trouble and scandal) was the mustering of the Duke of Vendosmes Company, who by the aduice of the Count of Auvergne himselfe, and to please a Lady who desired to be reuenged of some Country-men, dislodged from Saint Porcin to come to Balsac and to Formie, where shee entreated her guests in such sort as they left not provision for three dayes to some one that had beene furnished for three yeares.

D'Enrre who prest Murat (Treasurer extraordinary for the wars) to pay his company a muster, intreated the Count of Auvergne to see it, to the end hee might assure the King that he had gallant men, and good horses, and that all his companions should be wonderfully honoured with the presence of their Coronell. I will part to morrow, said the Count of Auvergne, to hunt at Alezou, and will returne againe on Monday at night, I pray you be here at supper, and lodge your Company at Normaine, to the end that the next day, after wee haue drunke, runne at the ring, and dined, we may see it.

This was done as he had appointed, and it seemes he was an AGor in his owne misfortune, and an instrument of his misery, not being able to discouer the bitterness of those golden pills which they presented vnto him. D'Enrre came to Clermont on Monday at night, and goes vnto him where he supped in one of their houses that managed this business. When as he espied D'Enrre a farre off, he said vnto him, Now sir, am I not a man of my word? D'Enrre thanked him for the paine it had pleased him to take to see his companions, beseeching him to thinke that hee desired it with great affection, to the end the King might know they were not in so bad estate as at the voyage of Metz. The next day the ninth of Nouenber, the morning was spent in running at the ring, of foure courses hee tooke three.

He had intelligence that they meant to take him, and distrusting all, he had refused to come so early to the place of musters, as not finding the company there ready, he should be excused if hee did not attend them, meaning to passe on a league farther, where a Lady that loued him did expect him. D'Enrre hauing foreseene all leauing nothing to hazard that might be gouerned by iudgement, vfed such preuentions, as the subtleties of this spirit preuailed nothing. He commanded la Bady Marshall of the Company, to see his companions in order. He aduertised Nereffan and the Captaines that did assist him, of the place whither they should come, and wrought so, that diligence and courage, which are the wings of great executions, were so supported by the secret of discretion, as none of the troop once dreamed of that was to be done.

They went to dinner, and it was well obserued that the Count of Auvergne had some distrust. He hath since confest, that he was ready to call the two brothers of Murat into his cabinet, and to cause them to be searcht, for that he was well aduertised that they alwayes carried the Kings letters and his commandments. But a great resolution thinking that

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He goes to horse with two more with him.

He is not so much afraid.

He is not so much afraid.

They fit him upon the man.

They conduct him to the place.

The extreme griefe of a Lady that loued him.

A that there is more harme in fearing, then in the thing that causeth feare, feares extremely to make shew that he hath any feare. After dinner D'Enrre asked, if it pleased him to goe to horse to see the musters. He answered him: That it should be presently, and that he should use speed. He retired himselfe soone after into his Cabinet, and went downe, being followed by Mussonde onely, and Liuerne mounted vpon a Scottish horse (which Liuerne had giuen him) the which would haue out-runne all the horses of France. Hee would not attend the other Noblemen for that hee distrusted them, having an intent to passe on, if hee found them not ready. But being come to the place, hee found the company in battell. This great diligence made him somewhat ialous, and they might perceiue him, that pulling vp his Cloake, hee drew his Sword foure fingers out, yet without any amazement.

D'Enrre seeing him make even the reines of his horse, came to him trotting, with his hat in his hand, and hearing him sweare with a great oath that he had beene very diligent. You see my Lord (answered he) I haue caused my companions to aduance, for that I would not trouble you with attendance. Monsieur D'Enrre replied the Earle you are one of my friends, I cannot make any long stay here. To whom D'Enrre sayd, All my companions are not yet here, but if it please you, you shall see this troope, and iudge of the whole by a part. Hereupon hee sees some horsemen come, and demands what they were. D'Enrre told him, That it was Nereffan who had beene as Ryon about a sute of his daughters. He beleued it, for hee knew that Nereffan had stayed some dayes at Ryon, and yet his heart beganne to suspect more. But it was too late, hee was enuironed on euery side, and hardly can one resist many. Nereffan lighted to salure him, and hauing entertained him with some discourse vpon the occasion of his stay at Ryon, or of his returne to Court, he went presently to horsebacke, and thrust on one of the Lacqueyes with his foot, for a signe and token of the beginning of the execution.

One of Nereffans three Lacqueyes takes hold of his horse by the bridle. D'Enrre seeing that Nereffan had taken the right side to salure the Count of Auvergne, went vnto the left, and laying hold with his hand vpon the hilt of his sword, hee said vnto him, that hee had commandment from the King to take him; the other two Lacqueyes pulled him to D roughly from his horse, as he had like to haue fallen to the ground, hee was moued to see himselfe so intreated by Lacqueyes, intreating D'Enrre to call two of his companions to light, and that he might not see those ridiculous shewes. Nereffan said vnto him, that they were fouldiers so attired, to serue the King in this action. A peece shot into the ayre by chance, made him to doubt worse measure, so as hee intreated D'Enrre that hee would not vse his pistolet. D'Enrre freed him from these apprehensions, intreating him to resolute vpon the Kings will, and not to force them to entreat him otherwise then they desired. Well, sayd he, I yeeld: what would you haue me to doe? That you mount vpon the Trumpeets horse, said D'Enrre. It was feared that he would not haue suffered himselfe to be taken so easily nor so quietly, as we haue seene many great courages choose rather to bee cut in peeces, then to see themselves referred for some shamefull end, and others that haue willingly died, for that they would not dye by force.

When as hee sees himselfe in the toyle, enuironed on all sides, Liuerne his confident follower in flight, and his friends the ministers of his captiuitie, he said, *Ab in the despit of mine, I desired all this.* Being mounted vpon the Trumpeets Nag, they conduct him presently to Aigueperse. Before he had gone a hundred paces, hee entreated D'Enrre to lend him one of his troop, to carry some message of his remembrance and of his misery, to a Lady that attended him. De Pleche had the charge. She who had not prepared her heart to witness the assaults of a most extreme and sensible griefe, tooke D'Enrre for the object, against whom shee poured forth the fury of her passions. If I knew (said shee vnto this Gentleman) that I might see him in forcing through your troope, I would willingly doe it, and if I had but tenne Men of my courage and resolution, you should not carry him, where you thinke. But I will neuer die vntill I haue giuen D'Enrre a hundred blowes with a pistoll, and to Murat a hundred blowes with a Sword.

These were the passions of her lone transported with a resolution beyond her power, and which did participate of a man, of a troubled mind, and of ioue. This maketh miracles of maruells, and maruells of miracles, in wits that are equally moued with his inspirations, so it is neuer perfect, if it be not fully and neatly toucht with the accidents of both fortunes,

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tunes, as the Moore is not pleasing but when it is at the full. Shee loved him well, and was well beloued, for the Count of Auvergne had bene beard say, that the King did see him at liberty, and send him backe to his house, vpon condition that he should not see this Lady, he would rather desire to dye. Shee presently ordered the affaires of her house, the disposition of her furniture, and the retreat of her seruants. This passion going from the memory to the thought, from the thought to the heart, from the heart to the eyes, made her poure forth so many teares, as shee lost the sight of one eye for a time.

The Count of Auvergne writes vnto the King.

Being at Aigueperies he writ vnto the King. At the same place hee told the Baron of Camillac, that he was acquainted with the designe of his taking. It is true, said he, I knew it well, and I belecue you thinke I am a very honest man. He said that he submitted himselfe to all the rigours of the Kings iustice, if he had said, done, thought, or attempted any thing since his abolition.

All the way he seemed no more afflicted, then when he was at liberty. He told youthfull and idle tales of his loue, and the deceiuing of Ladies. Hee shor in a Harguebuzze at birds, wherein he was so perfect, and excellent, as hee did kill Larkes as they were flying. Sometimes he would cast forth words of apprehension to enter into that great heape of stones of the Bastile, where he had already tried his patience for the space of foure or fise moneths.

He desires them of his innocency.

Desires met him at Briarre, and there he entred into a Carosse, and was guarded and led vnto Montargis, and from thence he was imbarcked vpon the riuier, and presently conducted vnto the Bastile, without passing by the Arceual and entring into the Duke of Birons chamber, he knew his bed with some feeling of griete, and taking leave of them that had conducted him, he assured them that he would goe out of that place as he had entred, and if they found him more guilty then he had said, he desired them not to pitty him. Entering in, he said vnto *Ruwigy*, that he had rather lodge in a Tap-house in Paris, then in the Bastile. Those that beleue that he is not lodged there to get out, so soone as hee did the other time, thinke also it is the worst that can happen vnto him. But it shall be an incomparable misery to be alwayes deprived of the Kings grace and fauour, without the which the best conditions are most lamentable, and a life of this manner, how short so euer, is a tedious and a languishing life, it is no life, it is to languish and to abuse life.

A hope discovery of conspiracies.

The happy discovery and discovery of all that was done, and in a manner thought against the Kings seruice, is no small signe of the prosperitie of his reigne, and of his fortune, and an assurance that those heads which shall strike against this rocke of Diamond, will proue Gliff. The designes of his enemies haue sometimes shewed themselves like vnto fixed Starrs in the Firmament of their ambition, and in the end they haue proued but Comets and Exhalations, which drawne out of the earth, haue bene lost in the ayre of their vanity and imagination.

The conspirators amazed.

All these practices in the end were like vnto those poore wretched Cottages; built vp of dirt, and covered with stubble. And if all the Conspirators be not yet taken, yet they doe nothing, being discovered and knowne to the eyes of the Kings iustice. Conspiracies are like vnto coales, which in the shadow doe flame, but when as the Sunne shines on them they fall into ashes. It is not the severity nor the rigour of his iustice, neither the terror of examples and punishments, that hath discovered these Conspiracies. He hath not caused the Bell of *Ramire* King of Spaine, to be rung to terrifie all the conspirators with the sound thereof. This King being offended with the conspiracies of his subiects, said, that he would shew them a Bell, the which he had caused to be cast, the sound whereof might be heard throughout all the whole world. Curiosity made them goe, and they found in a great place the heads of the principall men of the Realme, set one vpon another in forme of a Bell. It is the great obedience that is yielded vnto the King, even by them that are least bound to obey, that hath discovered these practices: It is the great wisdom of his carriage, and the order hee hath taken, to bee advertised of all and to know all. It is the authority and respect which neuer was so absolute & perfect in his Predecessors as in him. This apprehension was a famous president. For the time was when he must haue had more men to take the Count of Auvergne and to conduct him to Paris without lett.

Considerations vpon his taking

We may obserue in this apprehension many things that may breed admiration and amazement, and which shew that men doe in vaine furnish themselves with wisdom against heauen, and with intelligences against the King. The Count of Auvergne had aduertisements

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A uertisements from all places that they should take him, and that the Kings Pensioners were in the field to that effect. His most inward and nearest friends, and amongst others *Flarac* knew it, and said nothing vnto him, preferring his duty to his Prince, before all affection.

He must be deceiued, and the King well serued. As Mint-masters say, that it is impossible to refine gold of twenty foure Carats, without a little of some other mettall, so it is impossible to make an execution perfect, if there be not dissembling mixt with friendship, deceit with wisdom, neither must the tongue alwayes speake according to the heart. The Constable was also as well informed thereof as any other, and yet he made no shew thereof. A shew of great wisdom: His duty prescribed him a law to all the bounds of Nature; to shew there is not any one but is more bound to the seruice of the King and his Country, then to his owne health, or to that of his children. A Gentleman being at his Table, speaking of this taking, said, Sir, if the King should command me to take you, I would doe it, although I be your most humble servant; that you march in the first ranks of greatnesse in the Realme, and that all things touching armes, depend vpon your committments. I beleue it (answered the Constable) else you should doe ill, for the King is both your King and mine. I am your friend. There is no loue nor affection to dispent any one from the Kings commandement.

Wisdom of the Constable.

The Count of Auvergne long before and since his taking, hath not said nor done any thing whereof the Kings seruants haue not kept register. He complained of those that were daily about him, that they said nothing vnto him; and they all answered, that they were too honest to tell him any thing. He is a Prince of great vnderstanding, capable of all sorts of designes, of a quicke disposition, warlike, vigilant, and full of inuentions and subtilities. But all this auailed him nothing against the King, of whom we may say, that he hath wicked wretches enough in his kingdom that would deceite him, but they are not cunning enough to doe it.

Soone after that the Count of Auvergne was lodged in the Bastile, *D'Entragues* Governor of Orleans was committed to the Congerery of the Palace, and the Marquesse of Verneuill his daughter guarded in her house, by the Knight of the watch. Shee tried, that he is capable to loue earnestly, may also hate extremely. Wee can say nothing of the causes of this change, but what may be learned by the issue of the proceffe. They be affaires which concerne the King, his person, and his State, and if it bee tolerable to heare what is sayd, yet is it not lawfull to speake or publish it.

*D'Entragues* committed to prison, and his daughter, the Marquise of Verneuill retained.

His Maiesty himselfe hath not yet declared the cause of the Count of Auverignes restraint; and in the Letter which hee did write vnto the Gouvernor of Lions vpon that subiect, hee did onely send him these words: *You haue vnderstood how that I haue againe caused the Count of Auvergne to be apprehended, being advertised that hee continued still in his bad practices, and that hauing sent often for him, he would not come. At the least I will keepe him from doing ill if I can.* They doe basely abandon their honours, which flye to the practice of strangers, who embrace all occasions with vehemency to trouble the tranquility of the Realme. In cases of this quality suspicion makes the crime: yea the children suffer for the iniquity of the fathers, and wiuers of their husbands, as we haue said. Notwithstanding, the King suffers the beames of his naturall bounty and clemency to shine. Hee proceeds not rigorously in a notorious crime. He obserues as he alwayes hath done, the order of his iustice; He giues time and place to the guilty to know themselves, and to flye to his mercy. Hee seekes himselfe all meanes to iustifie them, for knowing that the Earle of Auvergne and *Entragues* were found guilty of crimes which deserued the separation of their bodies from their soules; and that by a sentence given by the Court of Parliament the first of February, they were condemned to dye, and the Marquesse to be led with a good guard to the Abbey of religious women at Beaumont neare Tours, there to be stridly kept, vntill the Kings Prorog general should enforme more amply against her; his Maiesty addes now to all his victories that of clemency: hee causth the execution of the sentence to stand, and changeth the punishment into perpetual imprisonment for the Earle and *Entragues*, the which hee did also moderate for the last, suffering him to remaine in his house of *Bos-Maurel* herbes in Buillfe; hee did also suffer the Marquesse to remaine in her house at *Verneuill*.

The Kings letter to *Guise* from Fontainebleau the fifteenth of November 1604.

Decree of the Court of Parliament.

Changed by the King.

At the same time, when as the Count of Auvergne was taken, the brute was this the *D* of Bouillon had like to haue bene surpris'd. When as he could find no other refuge, he

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his affaires, but to retire himselfe out of the Realme, he hath vsed the liberty of his retreat wisely, and hath alwayes sought the Kings fauour, for the assurance of his returne. Some foraine Prince of his friends aduised him not to returne to Court, to hold all reconciliation suspect, and to beleuee, that when a Prince is once offended, he is neuer quiet vntill the offence be reuenged. That he must not trust to that which he promisseth, nor to that which he swears, holding both the one and the other lawfull for reuenge. That the word of a Prince that is offended, is like vnto *Zeuxis* cluster of grapes, which takes birds; but his oth is like vnto *Parafus* vail, which deceiues men. Those which haue lost the fauour of their master (for that they had intelligence with them whom they could not serue without crime) are alwayes in continuall distrust, the which follows the offence, as the Boat B doth the Ship, vntill they haue quenched and smothered the cause, and made it knowne that they are diuided, and enemies to all their wils, that would distraet them from their duties; for men that are double and dissemblers, are neuer tamed, no more then a Bat, which is halfe a Rat, and halfe a Bird, or the Chastor which is flesh and fish. The Duke of Bouillon patience hauing giuen the King time enough to consider of his intentions, is ready through the Kings clemency, to obtaine all that he could desire to returne to a greater fortune, in the which lesse is allowed then to a meaner estate.

He had bene taxed with many capital crimes, whereof the chiefe accusations were to haue bene a partaker of the Marhall of Birons conspiracie: And although they had seuerall designs, and were of very different humours, yet they were both of one mind to ruine the King, and haue their shares in his spoile, by the meanes of the King of Spaine. It is true, there were no Letters found written from him to the King of Spaine nor his Ministers, nor from them to him, but those that were mediators for the other, dealt also for him; and he was more cunning they sayd, to couer his intent. It is no sufficient iustification to say that he did neither write nor receiue any Letters, the Treaty was made without writing: whereunto he made his answer.

After that diuers crimes had bene dispersd and publicly spoken of to his dishonour, being also priuately aduertised thereof, he wrote a Letter of protestation to the King, to iustifie his innocency in these termes.

" Sir, hauing more carefully examined the consequence of these horrible conspiracies, D  
" whereof false imputation doth cause me so many true miseries, among the which I may  
" iustly hold for the greatest and most insupportable, my debarring from your presence, and  
" the interruption of the faithfull seruice which I owe vnto your Maiesty: God in the end  
" hath sent me this consolation by *Monsieur de Montluet* who hath informed me particularly  
" of that which the common brute of the world could not reach me but in generall termes  
" and confusely. I giue God thanks who hath by this speciall knowledge made me an easie  
" way to satisfie your Maiesty more particularly, hoping that he will dispose the cares and  
" heart of my King and Master to giue a fauourable beleefe vnto the true iustification of his  
" most humble seruant.

" I vnderstand then from him, that I am accused to haue had intelligence with the Mar-  
" shall of Biron. That I haue treated with him, or others, to receiue money from the King  
" of Spaine. That I was resolu'd to quit my Religion. That I had attempted to treat a peace  
" betwixt the King of Spaine and the Estates. That I was acquainted with a conspiracy  
" against your Maiesty, the Queene, and my Lord the Daulphin, and that I made secret lea-  
" uies of men without authority. To all these crimes and others which approach neere  
" them: I say and protest, that if euer my thought, tongue, or hand, my heart, or the least part  
" of my body or affection haue bin infected or once touched therewith, I will be held for the  
" most disloyal man liuing, not only vnworthy to taste of your Maiesties clemency, but also  
" to see your face, yea to tread on the ground which owes you obedience, as polluted by me  
" in so many sorts, as all the blood in my body could not wash away nor cleanse the spots of  
" so foule an ingratitude vnto my King, my Master, and sole benefactor next vnder God. All  
" the fauours which your Maiesty might impart vnto me, would not serue me but as a free-  
" ing from punishment, which the most cauterized conscience in the world would continu-  
" ally giue vnto such a monster of men.

" Again, I swear and take the Searcher of all hearts to witness that I am wholly inno-  
" cent of the aboue mentioned crimes how small soeuer; beseeching your Maiesty, in the  
" name of God, the protector of the innocent, & the Father of truth, rather to giue credit to  
" this

A this iust and true oath made by your most faithfull subiect and seruant, then to the slanders  
" of those whose actions shew that they haue neither God to feare, King to serue, nor lawes  
" to keepe.

In the meane time Sir, as I am as free from all these crimes as any one within your  
" Realme, and haue no more need of the vse of your clemency, then I do feare your iustice:  
" yet I am neither so presumptuous, nor so ignorant of the infirmity of man in generall, or  
" of mine owne in particular, but that I doe freely confesse that I may haue offended your  
" person in diuers sorts, as erring in the iudgement which your Maiesty might haue made  
" of some action of mine: as to haue feared your presence, and not to present my selfe vnto  
" B your iustice, before that I had a speciall approbation from your owne mouth, thinking  
" that I was sufficiently warranted so to doe by that which is comprehended in your Maie-  
" sties Edict. To haue vsed some speeches to the Earle of Saint Paul, which called your loue  
" in question in regard of the vsage of some. To haue sayd that I would neuer see your  
" face but in a picture, words which were represented vnto your Maiesty in a sense contrary  
" to my intention, hauing spoken them rather by way of complaint, and prediction of the  
" continuance of my miseries, by means of your displeasure, then for any designe or de-  
" sire of my will, which cannot be so inconstant as to fly her owne felicity. I vnderstand also  
" that your Maiesty is offended for a Letter which I had written vnto the Churches touch-  
" ing *Renant*, your bountie hath so shined in the obseruation of these Edicts, as you cannot  
" C imagine that I should perswade your subiects to retire themselves: my feare of the inter-  
" ruption of your Edict could not make me to incense them: for the maintaining thereof  
" your Maiesty hath bene offended, I am very sorry, hauing had no intention to draw your  
" subiects to any other motions then the obedience which they owe you. I know and ac-  
" knowledge freely that these things haue displeased your Maiesty the more, for that I haue  
" had the honour to serue you priuately. I sorrow in my soule and am much grieved, most  
" humbly beseeching you to pardon me, and to restore vnto me the honour and only hap-  
" pine of your fauour: resting satisfied with this long and serious repentance which you  
" haue imposed vpon me, and attributing these faults to indiscretion or rashnesse, or else to  
" ouermuch confidence of your bounty, whereof I haue had so great a tryall. Vouchsafe to  
" D receiue of me the seruice which my God, my birth, my confidence, and especially your  
" benefits, bind me to yeld you, and to continue, not with more fidelity (being able to adde  
" nothing to this qualitie) but with more circumspection and care not to incense hereafter  
" him of whom I desire to liue and die,

*The most humble, most obedient, and most faithfull  
Subiect and Seruant, Henry de la Tour.*

The Duke of Tremouille ended his fortune by death. He might haue died when as the  
" King would haue lamented the losse of him more, for he was not now well pleased with  
" certain words which had bene reported vnto him; and if he had liued, he would haue  
" E bene in paine to excuse himselfe of the commandement hee had made him to come  
" vnto him to answer it: From hence springs two fruitfull considerations; the one, that  
" there is nothing so fearefull and terrible as the threats and disgrace of the King; the  
" other, that it is alwayes dangerous to speake ill of his Prince. For the first, *Cassander*  
" greatly feared *Alexander*, euen when hee was dead, for that hee had sene him once  
" transported with choller against him. And although that after the death of *Alexander* hee  
" was aduanced to the throne of Macedon, yet walking in the city of Delphos, and hauing  
" sene an Image of *Alexanders*, who was now rotten in his graue, hee did so tremble as his  
" haire stood right vp, his knees failed him, and the palenesse of his countenance shewed his  
" amazement, by the terrible assault which his memory gaue him: for the second, when a  
" F free speech hath once escaped against the respect of the Prince, hee haue a great and  
" a strong citie as *Lisander* said to defend his liberty of speech. They haue neither friends  
" nor counsell against the King, and if their misery finds any shadow or protection, it is  
" but like vnto *Ionas* gourd of one night. Let them not flatter themselves in the great-  
" nesse of their houses nor their alliances, this quality doth but increase their offence. Prin-  
" ces are not so much moued with that which the common people do, as with the licentious  
" words of great men. *Caius* disguised himselfe into as many fashions as he imagined there  
" were gods. A Cobler seeing him set in his Palace like *Iupiter*, with a Scepter in one hand;

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Death of the  
Duke of  
Tremouille.



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a thunder-bolt in the other, and an Eagle by his side, burst out in a great laughter. *Caius* A causing him to come neere, asked him why he laughed. I laugh at this foolery, answered the Coblent. The Emperour laught also, suffering it to passe freely without choller, yet punishing other speeches feverely which came from persons better qualified.

Ten deniers  
make a penny.

To end this year, the King made a Declaration, containing a dispensation of the for- tie dayes, granted by his Maiestie in fauour of all the officers of this Realme, that desire to enioy the benefite thereof, paying euery year four deniers vpon the liuer or two shil- lings, vpon the value of their offices, as shall be set downe by his Maiesties Councell.

Edict for pay-  
ing of the  
Paulet.

Vpon the demonstrations made vnto the King in his Councell, by some of the chiefe and most ancient officers of his seuerall Courts of Parliament, and other companies of this Realme, that it would please him to set downe some order for the demissions and resigna- tions of their offices: and also auoyding the losse of so notable a summe, as the value of their said offices, they may be no more constrained when they grow old, and by conse- quence are more capable to execute them worthily, to put them into the hands of youn- ger men, and of lesse experience. His Maiesty hauing caused this to be propounded in his Councell, and desiring to testifie his loue and fatherly affection to all his subiects and seruants, hath ordained in his said Councell, that hereafter all the offices of this Realme, as well of iustice, finances, as others of what quality soeuer, falling voyd to his benefite, and being subiect to the rule of forty dayes, except those which shall be found compre- hended in the contracts of engagement, and concessions made in consequence of those lands which haue beene heretofore alienated, as well by his said Maiesty, as by the Kings his Predecessors, shall hereafter be dispensed with from the rigour of the said forty daies, which euery of the said officers should suruiue after the resignation made of his said office, accompting from the day and date of the quittance, for the money paid into his casual parties, euery one paying yearly (that desire to enioy the said grace and dispensation) four deniers vpon the liuer, of the value and estimation made of their said offices, according to the order which shall be set down by his Maiesties Councell: That is for the next year, within the monthes of Ianuary & February, and for the following yeares in Ianu: & vntill the 15 of Febr: comprehending the said day, which being past they shall not be receiued: vpon payment of which money if they shall chance to die during the said year, their offices shall not be declared voyd to his Maiesties profit, but shall be kept for their behoofe to whom they haue resigned them, in regard of the offices subiect to suppression: and for those which are not subiect, to their widowes and heyres, who may make their best profit thereof as they shall thinke good, as a thing belonging vnto them, paying onely into his Maiesties casual parties the eight denier by the said officers or their widowes and heyres, for the resignation thereof, to be taken of the valuation which shall be made. All which officers which haue thus purchased the said right, shall enioy the dispensation of the said forty dayes, during that year, shewing onely an acquittance for the payment made by them for the said right of dispensation, duly signed by Master *Charles Paulet*, Secretary of the Kings Chamber, and Farmer vnto his Maiesty, as well of the reuenues E of the said right, as of his casual parties, together with an acquittance of the eight denier payd by them. Vpon which acquittances, his Maiesties pleasure is, that all necessary letters of prouision shall be granted, vnto the said officers, their widowes and heyres, or others to whom they haue resigned, to enioy the said offices fully and peaceably, with the same honours, authorities, prerogatives, preeminences, freedoms, liberties, fees, rights, taxa- tions, profits, and emoluments, which those officers which were last in possession did enioy, so as they be found sufficient, capable, and pleasing to his Maiesty. And if any of the said officers shall neglect in any one year to pay the said right of four deniers vpon the liuer, they shall be deprived for that year of the said grace and dispensation of forty daies, to the which notwithstanding they may be restored the following yeares, paying the said rights yearly by the 15 day of Febr. And the more to gratifie & fauor the officers, which shall pay the said rights, his pleasure is, that when as they shall come to resigne their offices, they shall not be bound to pay about the eight denier of the last value, in stead of the fourth denier, whereunto resignations were accustomed to be taxed. And as for those which haue not paid the said right of four deniers vpon the liuer, they shall be bound at their resignations, to pay the fourth denier of the last value of their said offices, as hath bin alwaies obserued.

But

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A But for that there may be many frauds committed by some, who abusing his Maiesties bounty and fauour, will not resolute to pay the said right of four deniers, but when as they haue an intent to resigne their offices, that by this meanes they might bee discharged in paying the eight denier in stead of a fourth: his Maiesty desiring to set some order therein, intends that this next year, all they that shall pay the said right of four deniers vpon the liuer, shall enioy, if they resigne within that year, the grace of the eight denier, but if in the following yeares they shall discontinue the payment of the said right of four deniers vpon the liuer, they shall be deprived of the said grace of the eight denier, vntill they haue paid the right two yeares together after the payment whereof, although they B haue discontinued some yeares, yet may they enioy the said grace of the eight denier, that year wherein they haue begunne to pay the right of four deniers vpon the liuer, within the time prefixed.

And as for those that without paying the said right shall chance to dye, before the ac- complishment of the forty dayes, the said offices shall remaine voyd to his Maiesties be- hooof and profit, as it is now obserued: but to the end the said officers may be eased of their paine and charges, being forced to take the said right of dispensation from the said *Paulet*, his Maiesty doth allow him to establish one or more deputies, in euery generality of this Realme, who by vertue of their quittances, may within the said time, receive the money due for the right of dispensation, from such officers as desire to haue the benefite C thereof.

And to preuent the abuses which are committed by concealments in many of the Prouinces of this Realme, many offices which fall voyd by death to his Maiesties profit, whereof notwithstanding he is frustrate. His said Maiesty doth command all his Bay- liffes, Scheneffals, Lieutenants General, and all his other royall and ordinary Iudges, as also his Proctors, and their Substitutes, to transport themselves, with the Deputies of the said *Paulet*, at the first instance they shall make, into the houses of the said officers, thus dead and concealed, whereof they shall be bound to make a certificate, the which they shall deliuer vnto the said deputies, who shall send them vnto the said *Paulet*, to haue them put to the taxe: and for an exemplary punishment of the said concealment, his Maiesties D pleasure is, that the rigour of the ordinances shall bee exactly obserued, against the widowes and heyres which haue committed such faults, by all due courses, as for his owne proper money and affaires, notwithstanding all oppositions or appellations what- soeuer.

And to the end that all officers may be enformed of the grace and fauour granted them by this present Decree, his Maiesty doth expressly enioyne all the said Bayliffes, Scheneffals, and their Lieutenants general, Prouosts and other his Royall and ordinary Iudges, euery one in his iurisdiction, to cause it to be read and published in open Court, whereof they shall be bound to deliuer certificates vnto the bearer hereof, enioining them expressly to haue a care to the entertainment of the said Decree, the which his Maiesty will haue E inuioably obserued in euery point, according to the forme and tenure thereof, notwith- standing all oppositions or appellations whatsoever, whereof if any shall happen, his Ma- iestie hath reserued the knowledge vnto himselfe: forbidding all his Courts of Parliament, and other his Iudges whatsoever. Made in the Kings Councell of State held for the Fi- nances. At Paris the 7 of December 1604.

The King hauing receiued sundry complaints from his officers and household seruants, of the breach of their liberties and priuiledges granted vnto them as well by himselfe, as by his Predecessors, he thereupon made a declaration of his intent and pleasure, after this manner:

Notwithstanding any letters Patents heretofore granted by vs, as well in forme of an F Edict as otherwise, for confirmation of the ancient priuiledges granted by Kings our pre- decessors of happy memory, to our household officers and seruants; yet we receiue daily complaints, of the infinite troubles and vexations which they suffer in the enioying there- of, by the officers of Iustice, Maiors, and Magistrates of our townes, where our said offi- cers are abiding, who haue instantly required vs to provide some conuenient and neces- sary remedy.

Wherefore desiring rather to augment then to diminish the fauors and priuiledges granted in former times to those which haue had the honor to approach neere to the persons

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Priuiledges  
granted to the  
Kings household  
seruants.

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of our said predeceffors, and to take away all difficulties which doe arise to the execution of our will, to the end they may not be of worse condition then those which have gone before them; who were no more careful of their charges then they are. For these causes and other good considerations vs moving, of our special grace, full of power and royall authority, and with the aduice of our Councell, we haue by our said household seruants, to them of the Queene our most deare Spouse, our deare and well-beloued sonne the Dauphin, of our most deare and well-beloued daughter, and those which haue heretofore serued the Kings our predeceffors, the Queenes our most honored Ladies mother-in-law, and sisters-in-law, our most deare brother-in-law the deceased Duke of Anjou, & our most deare and only sister the deceased Duchesse of Barr, which haue bin or shall be hereafter enuoyed in our Court of Aydes, and to their widowes during their widowhood, continued, confirmed, and approued, and by these presents (signed with our hand) continue, confirme, and approue the said priuiledges, freedoms, liberties, immunities and exemptions, granted vnto them by our said predeceffors.

To WE will and our pleasure is, that hereafter, without any other recourse then these presents, that all the said officers and others aboue named, with their widowes during their widowhood, shall fully and peaceably enjoy these said priuiledges, and shall be free and exempt from all manner of contributions, both in generall and particular, borrowings to be made as well for vs as the said townes, and in like manner for the prouision for victuals, and munition for warre, conduct money, and from all taxes, aydes, and impositions, Catches and wards of Townes, Ports, Bidges, Passages and Straits, furnishing and contribution for Staples, and for lodging of Souldiers both of horse and foot: and generally from all other subsidies, contributions and subventions, made or to be made, for what cause soeuer, although they be not here particularly exprest, whereof we doe free, acquit, and exempt them, notwithstanding there be mention made in the commissions sent and to be sent, of exempt and not exempt, priuiledged and not priuiledged, and that they haue omitted to make expresse mention of the exemption, exceptions, and reueration of our said officers and household seruants, with their widowes during their widowhood, meaning not that they should be comprehended, but that they should peaceably and quietly enjoy the said freedoms and liberties. Enjoying our faithfull Councillors, the Treasurers of France, Generals of our Finances and our well-beloued Prouosts of Merchants, Sheriffes and Capitaines of our City of Paris, and all Bayliffes, Scheneshals, Prouosts, Echeuz and Controulers for matters of Subsidies, Mayors, Iurats, Capitous, Consuls, Sheriffes and Capitaines of other Townes of our Realme, Farmers of our Aydes, and other Subsidies whatsoever: that in the enjoying hereof they shall not trouble nor molest them, vpon paine of confiscation, with the charges, damage, and interest.

We doe also expresse forbid all Mayors, Sheriffes, Consuls, and Commonalties of Townes, Churchwardens and Collectors of Parish, not to take any of the said officers, hauing a good and sufficient certificate, which if they doe, they themselves shall pay the said taxes.

We also command our faithfull Councillors, holding our Courts of Aydes, Bayliffes, Scheneshals, Capitaines, Echeuz and Controulers, of our Aydes and Taxes, and others to whom it shall belong, to keepe and observe our graces, gratifications, continuations, confirmations, approbations, freedoms, and exemptions, and to publish and enroule it where soeuer it shall be needfull, causing the said officers, and their widowes during their widowhood, to enjoy them fully, peaceably, and perpetually, and to discharge them of the said impositions, Aydes, and Subsidies, causing all lets and troubles to the contrary to cease, for such is our pleasure. Notwithstanding all Edicts, Ordinances, Decrees, Orders, Commandments, Defences, and Lets to the contrary, to the which for this regard onely, and without prejudice to other things, we derogate by these presents, and to the end it may be firme and stable for euer, wee haue caused our Seale to be set vnto it.

Given at Fontenay-le-Comte in May 1605. The like exemptions and freedoms, were granted vnto the officers and household seruants of the Prince of Conde, and of the Duchesse of Angoulême, which did serue them actually and had their names enrolled.

1605

A Speech made by the Ambassadors of Germany to the King in the chancel of the Duke of Bouillon.

SIR, the Electors, Princes, Common-weales, and Earles most desirous of your prosperity, and of my Lord the Dauphins, whereon they thinke the whole state of your Realme depends, haue deputed vs vnto you to renewe the vowes of this sincere & hereditary affection, which they protest alwayes to maintaine most carefully. The reason which now moves them to make this protestation, is, that some finding themselves bound by alliance, and others tied by the bond of cordiall friendship, to participate in the long and painfull suffering of the Duke of Bouillon, Marshall of France, who they know is much grieved, to see himselfe deprived of the fauour and honour, which your Maiestie hath heretofore so bountifully bestowed on him; and breathing no other thing in his languishing, then the recoverie of this felicity by your fauour. To obtaine the which he doth continually call vpon God, and humble himselfe vnto your greatnesse. Our Masters ioyn their prayers with his, to the one and the other, that it will please him who holds the hearts of Kings in his hand, to mollific vs, towards one of your most faithfull Subjects and seruants, and to restore him to that which his misfortune and no crime committed hath made him lose. Wee beseech your Maiestie to beleue, that they which haue sent vs cannot receive a more worthy Testimonie of the esteeme you make of their loue and affections, then by the favourable reception of their request in this behalfe; and moreover, it will bee an assured prooffe vnto them that the enemies of Religion haue laboured in vaine to bandy your desires and designs against them that make profession thereof.

Behold the third year which good men see him banished from your presence, fauour and Realme! This exile is not felt by him alone, wee know that the griefe extends to your most faithfull Subjects of either Religion, who participate of his affliction: His house makes him allied to the greatest of your Realme, who will take the like part in the happinesse of his reconciliation as they doe now in his disgrace, and we doubt not, but they would haue beene ready to second our Petition if they thought it would haue beene pleasing to your Maiestie, the which hath made our Masters the more bold to undertake it. It is an exact search which they haue made of the behaviour of the said Duke since hee left your Realme, the which hath giuen them such knowledge of his integritye as they assure themselves that there will neuer be sufficient prooffe to touch him in any sort.

We also assure our selues that the Testimonies of so many great Princes and common-weales, whose faithfull affection vnto your person and Crowne hath bin so well knowne, being put in ballance against the doubts and ialousies of those who louing neither the person nor Religion of the said Duke, seeke to incense you, will easily ouerway them and preuaile, considering that any man of wisdom and discretion which shall take the paines to examine the crimes imposed vpon the said Duke, will finde them incredible; as well for their enormities, as for the contradictions: And it is no matter of light consideration in the minds of our Masters the oath made vnto your Maiestie by the said Dukes Letters, deliuered into the hands of the Lord of Sillery by the Seigneur of Montier whereof they haue a Copy, and which they thinke should be of greater weight then all the suggestions made to the contrary, if they be not verified by proofes as cleare as the day. These reasons with the precedent Declarations made by your Maiestie that you would pacifie your displeasure if some formalities were observed by the said Duke: makes vs hope that you will yeld to the intercession of our said Masters, ordaining what shall be necessary for the said Duke to doe, to attaine to his former dignitie, whereby they shall receive so great a contentment by the fruit of this Legation; as they would make no difficulty to interpose their Cautions betwixt your Maiestie and the said Duke if need were, to give you full assurance of the fidelitie which may proceed from the hand, tongue and heart of him whom God hath made your Subject, and is an officer of your Crowne by your fauour; to imploy himselfe wholly to your Maiesties service; for your Royall prosperitie and for the whole Realme; for which bounty and fauour our Masters will hold themselves for euer bound to ioyn their vowes and hands to yours.

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their deuotion as truly by effects, as they haue now begunne to represent it by mouth A vnto your Maiestie. To whose speech the King being somewhat discontented, made answer.

That it was the third time the Elector had prest him vpon this subiect; but hee could giue him no other answer then the former: That it rested in the Duke of Bouillon to come and confesse his faults and to demand pardon: the which if he had done, he would willingly haue receiued him with open armes as a father doth his children. That Bouillon had done him bad seruices, and did continue them still. That he was accused, but hee desired that the accusations might not be verified as they are. That their informations were not good, as Monsieur the Elector knew well, neither was it needfull to tell it vnto them. That he was not bound to giue any account to them, their Masters, or to any others. That they should remember where they were, and in what estate he was.

That he had meanes to doe good to his friends, and not to feare his enemies. That *Monsieur de Bouillon* was subiect, and that hee desired not that they should offer their Cautions for him, or that they should deale with his affaires, no more then he would with any others.

To conclude, if *Monsieur de Bouillon* desired restitution, he should come and submit himselfe ly craue pardon. That he had giuen his promise by word vnto the Elector *Palatine*. That he made no doubt of the continuance of their masters affection towards him, who he confessed had assisted him at his need, and that they should not repent them to haue done it, C that he for his part would alwayes remaine their friend.

Pyramide of the  
Iesuits ruined.

The Iesuits doe cunningly make their profit of this goodly humour wherein they now saw the King vpon the termes of clemency. They had obtained their repale as wee haue said at the voyage of Metz: but the Pyramide set vp for an eternall mark, of a most detestable Parricide, and a perpetuall memory of a iust publike reuenge, was a very troublesome moate in their eyes, wherefore they would not returne into Paris vntil they had obtained a demolition. In the end it was granted them in the moneth of May at the instant pursuit of Father *Cotton*: Iustice had caused to be built, and Mercy to be ruined: a blow with a knife giuen vpon the face of our great King, had caused it to bee set in the most eminent place of the world. All men thought it should haue stood after a thousand Ages, but it scarce continued one age. Such is the certainty of humane things: Thus the strongest resolutions are subiect to change: Thus counsels alter according to occurrences.

But we must subiect our selues to the pleasure of the Prince, to whom his estate is generally bound, to will what hee wills, and not to accuse any one for this demolition, lest wee should accuse his commandement, who hath onely right to say amongst his subiects, *Such is our pleasure*. But from second causes let vs ascend to the first and Soueraigne, who governes the hearts of Kings by himselfe, and disposeth them to receiue such counsels as hee thinke good. The eternall providence prouides for accidents according to the necessitie of the State, and the continuall vigilancy of our *Henry* knowes the motives which presse him to the resolutions which he takes. It is not therefore lawfull for any to iudge of that with impatiencie which they vnderstand nor. The King perswades himselfe that if the Iesuits haue heretofore been blemished in their honours, the remembrance of his bounty and fauour will binde them the more hereafter.

Marquesse of  
Vernueil  
slew.

The like fauour he also shewed vnto the *Marquesse of Vernueil*: for she hauing the space of seuen whole moneths effected the intention of the Decree giuen against her, his Maiefty thought that his Proctor generally, had not onely had time enough to bring new informations against her if there were any; but also that her actions and carlage had giuen an ample testimony of her innocency. Shee therefore besought the King to giue her leaue to take her course in his Court of Parliament, and required that a briefe delay might be giuen to the Proctor generally to furnish her accusation, and to make his proofes: And that for want thereof he should be no more receiued, and she declared innocent of the crimes wherewith she had been charged.

Thus his Maiefty holding it not reasonable that his clemencie & accustomed bounty, should suffer the *Marquesse* to passe the remainder of her dayes in the doubtfullnesse of such an accusation, and that she should bee exposed to the perill of the hatred and slander of any one that should haue will to annoy her: he declared by his Letters, giuen in September at *Fountainbleau*; that as she had not forgotten her selfe in the particular affection where-

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A wherewith he had honoured her: So had she made proofe of the obedience and fidelity which she did owe him, desiring nothing more then to bee iustified of the fact for the which shee had bene called in question: In like manner hee would not forget the affection hee had borne her, and the naturall children hee had by her. Wherefore he ordained that all pursuits and searches against her should wholly cease, and that from that time shee should bee restored and liue in full libertie of her person, and goods, in the same manner as shee had bene before the beginning of the Proceffe. Hee did abolish and suppress for euer the memory of the crimes wherewith shee had bene charged, so as she hath no feare hereafter to be called in question by the Iustice: And hee dispensed B with her for not presenting her selfe in person to cause these Letters of Abolition to be registred in the Court of Parliament, the which were verified there the sixth day of September.

The taking of the Count of Auvergne had ouerthrowne one of the strongest pillars of this tower of confusion, which threatened to aduance it selfe against France: but the whole building was not like to fall at this blow. For many wrought silently vpon the foundations which the Marshall of Biron had laid in diuers Prouinces of Guienne, namely, in Perigord, Quercy and Limosin, and they sprung vp also in Auvergne, whereas the coales did yet smooke which the chiefe fire-brand of this combustion had lately kindled. Languedoc was not free. The Luquisses and others their Adherents had diuers enterprises vpon the C townes of Narbone, Agde, and Beziers; the which were discovered by a singular fauour wherewith the Soueraigne Protector of this Monarchy hath alwaies blest it, and the confederats rewarded according to their merits.

There were already a thousand or twelue hundred Gentlemen which had giuen their faith to declare themselves vpon the first occasion. The faction fortified dayly: This Ganguene did hourly seize vpon some new member, and might in the end corrupt the whole body. The Seigneurs of *La Force*, *Themines*, and others who commanded in those quarters vnder the Kings Authority, had charge to crosse the attempts of these murines. *La Force* hauing intelligence of an assembly which was made in Gascony, whereas some of his owne allies did assist, preferring the publike interest and his Maiesties commandement D before all other respects, he came suddenly vpon them, tooke foure or fise, & dispersed the rest, some here, some there. *Themines* was as troublefome vnto them in other places. *Belina* Captaine of Gascony, of the faction of Guienne, a bold and resolute man, promisseth to kill him. But God would make him an instrument to discouer some part of this Cabal, which was not yet well knowne. His courage failed him, being ready to doe the execution: And finding his designe diuerted by some heavenly motion, hee came secretly to the Court, where casting himselfe at his Maiesties feet, hee demanded pardon, the which he obtained, and declared that the practice was great and common to many Prouinces, but as yet they had no other designe, but to send some of their company vnto his Maiefty to make complaint of the peoples charge, and of the bad Iustice which was administered by E his Officers, and other things whereof they would demand reformation. These were ordinary and goodly pretexes for such as sought to fish in a troubled water, and vnder the shew of publike good make themselves fat with the wretched pouertie of the people, alwayes more susceptible of bad then of good impressions.

The Discouery  
of practices  
within the  
Realm.

The King caused one thousand and two hundred Franks to bee giuen to *Belin*, hee commanded him to returne amongst them, and to discouer particularly the Authors and their motives. Hee returns soone after, being gratified with a second liberalitie for the second voyage: He reported, amongst other particularities, that about twenty of the conspirators were at *Chapelle Biron* with the Lord of the place: That sending them a Pardon they will giue ouer the enterprize, who might informe his Maiefty of more then he, who could not pierce into the depth of it. *Themines* carries it them in forme, and doth summon them to returne to their obedience, from the which they had salne to their own ruines. They answer, that the pardon must be general for them of Auvergne, and for the rest of Guienne: that moreover, hauing not attempted anything against the Kings seruice, they did not thinke they had need of any pardon.

Notwithstanding some companies of horse and foot, sent by his Maiefty to quench these first flames of rebellion, and to assist a Chamber of enquire appointed by the King at Limoges, consisting of the Parliaments of Paris and Bourdeaux, caused most of this F troop

Some found  
sitting.

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Martin punished  
in Guienne.

The Prince of  
Orange resto-  
red to his prin-  
cipalitie.

The death of  
Theodore Beza.

troope that was ready to reuolt, to come before the punishment; and not to grow obstinate against force and duty. Some offered to come and demand their Pardons in person. And his Maiestie knowing that great offences haue not alwayes great punishments, but in the most culpable; he was contented that few should suffer the punishments due to the rashness of many.

The Baron of Caluerac of Quercy: the Seigneurs of Gaispel, Lymosins; *Perigoudon* and *Chassain*, *Perigourdins* and Capitaine *Mathelin* base brother to *Caluerac* lost their heads. *Chapelle*, *Biron*, *Tayac*, *Guerjac*, *Basignac*, *Lugagnac*, and *Reynac*, were executed in Picture, and some others imprisoned, did coole the courage of many hot braines that were ready to reuolt, and restrained such as finding no worse houses then their owne, sought and tooke an occasion for a cause to better their priuate affairs by a publicke reuolt.

The Churches which carie the title of Reformed in France, were for their affaires assembled at Chastelelraud. *Maurice* Earle of Nassau, takes occasion to write vnto them in fauour of *Philip* Prince of Oranges his brother, and to complaine that many as well of the Nobility of the country, as of the Inhabitants of Oranges, did seek to hinder the restoring of his authority, which the liberty of the last troubles had expelled; although that he had often promised, and did now passe his word, neuer to alter any thing touching their safety, but to suffer them to enioy the like liberty that the other Churches of France did, and to deliuer the government of the castle into the hands of a Gentleman, whose piety, zeale, valor, and integritie might not be called in question. *Blacon* a Gentleman of Daulphine, held it by succession since the death of his father: Neither *Philip* nor *Maurice* had any occasion to loue him: for he had alwayes neglected their requests and reiected their commandements. The Prince had often complained that he couered his policy with the cloake of Religion, to vsurpe his goods and authoritie, and that hee had lately thought to pre-occupate the Deputies of the said assembly, to giue them an impression of a sinister intent of their lawfull and naturall Lord against the Church of Oranges, contrary to the declarations and promises which he hath often giuen them.

Count *Maurice* doth now make himselfe caution for the assurance therof: and intreats the Synode to assist his brother with all fauour for his restitution to the Inheritance of his Grandfathers, and to take for assurance the faith which he gaue them by his Letters; and which he promised to giue more expressly (if need were) to any one amongst them that they should choofe to receiue it from his mouth. That by the dismission of *Blacons*, and the change of the Government which he called tyrannous, into one that should bee lawfull and well ordered, there should be nothing altered nor diminished concerning the safety of the Church of Oranges, nor any preiudice done to the Kings seruice, who had long desired that the Prince of Orange should be put in full possession of his principality. Thus the Prince countenanced by his Maiesties expresse commandement, together with the testimonie which the Earle gaue them, touching the intention of his elder brother, recovered that which he had long sued for, and afterwards he married *Eleanor* of Bourbon, sister to *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and first Peter of France, a faire and vertuous Lady.

They of Geneva doe now weepe for the death of the first and most ancient Pastor of their Church. They loued *Theodore Beza* liuing, and they lament him dead: for God had adorned him with graces which may make a man amiable, profitable and recommendable amongst men. He was borne the 24. day of Iune in the yeere of our Lord 1519 at Vazelay in Bourgundy, his father and mother being Noble, hee was bred vp by *Nicholas de Beza* his Vncle, a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at Paris vnder the discipline of *Melchior Volmar* a Germane, professor of the Greeke tongue in the Vniuersitie of Orleans, and afterwards at Bourges. Vnder whom he profited so well in feuen yeares, as at fiftene he not onely gaue a good and sufficient reason of the Doctrine contained in the most famous authors of Greeke and Latine, but also did answer pertinently in all humane and liberall Sciences. He had a naturall inclination to Poetry, and being very young, did publish some licentious Epigrams, whereof he sought to deface the memory, as of the first flowers of his Spring.

At the age of twenty yeares, he was made Licentiate of the ciuill Law, and was furnished with good reuenuues in benefices, but he left all, to retire himselfe where that he might

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A might liue according to the Religion, which did then multiply in Christendom vnder the name of the Reformed. He serued the Seignoury of Bearne for the space of ten yeares, as professor of the Greeke tongue in their Vniuersitie of Lauzanne; and that of Geneva, as professor of Minister and Professor in Diuinity, from the yeare 1560, vnto the 13 of Ianuary 1600. On which day he expounded for his last Sermon, the third Petition of the Lords Prayer, *Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen*, in the eightieth yeare of his age. For hee would not suffer his decrepit age to liue in idleness, as long as he should haue any strength to labour in his vocation. Hee concluded the rest of his course with a firme iudgement, a sound vnderstanding, and a memory not altogether decayed, in prayers, meditations, and serious discourses: giuing alwayes graue and solid reasons of that which was propounded vnto him, either in matters of Diuinitie, or in Politicke affaires: saying hourly with *S. Augustine*, *I haue liued long, and sinned long: Blessed be the name of the Lord.* And, *Lord finish that which thou hast begunne, that I suffer not shipwracke in the Port.* And thus repeating many other Oracles, drawne out of the Authority of the holy Scripture, vntill that the Eclipse of the Sun, which was in October, had somewhat increased his infirmities, yet without paine. His Colleagues thought it fit, that at least two of their company should alwaies beabout him to assist him with their faithfull exhortations, and recommend him to the grace of God. Thus attending the last will and pleasure of God, the 23 of October, hauing caused himselfe to be taken vp about seuen of the clocke in the morning, hee made his accustomed prayers in his family, and walked a little vp and downe his chamber, then as it were feeling the time come wherein he must end the trauels of this life, he demanded if all were well in the town: being answered, yea, hee caused himselfe to be laid in his bed, whereas his senses did suddenly faile him in the midst of a prayer made by *Perros* a Parisien, one of his Colleagues and neighbours, hee yielded his soule happily vnto God, without pangs, without convulsion, and without sighs, hauing liued fourescore and six yeares, three moneths, and nineteene dayes. A man of a reuerent aspect, of a sound iudgement, and happy memory, learned amongst the most learned, alwayes ready to resolue suddenly vpon all questions propounded, practised in any thing that did concerne the Church and government; capable of all abstruse matters, wonderfull eloquent, high in conceptions, quick in his deliuey, and graue in his carriage and discourse, but of an affable, sweet, and most pleasing conuersation.

Comets for the most part are prodigious, said an ancient Poet. Their Decrees are martiall and Mercuriall, that is to say, violent, cruell, fatal, mortal, vncertaine, diuers, mutable and warlike. All that followes, threatens nothing but stormes and tempests. The beginning of this yeare hath giuen vs one, the which shewed it selfe, the third of October the yeare before, in the seuenteenth degree of *Sagittarius*, *Iupiter* holding the nineteenth, *Saturnus* the eleuenth, and *Mars* the two and twentieth degree of the same Signe. At which time there was seene in Hungary, a Rain-bow as red as blood, which staid at diuers times vpon *Cocker*, vpon *Strigonia*, and vpon Mount *Saint Thomas*, and then vanished away. This bearded Starre was neere in greatnesse and likeness to that which was obserued in the yeare 1572, whereof France, England, the Netherlands, Spaine, Portugal, Hungary, and in a manner all Europe in generall, haue felt but two mournfull effects. Many unfortunate concellations which meet together, make the Astrologians foresee that it shall produce in that yeare and the following, great and diuers euents, which are so many Trumpets to summon vs to reforme the peruerse actions of our liues, so many warnings of the wrath of God, vpon those Nations which cannot vlt those graces well which he giues them in his peace: yet his diuine Providence hath alwayes a watchfull eye, to guard those Princes whose raignes he blesteth.

That seditious mutiny in Guienne, that fearfull and prodigious powder-Treason in England, the violence whereof he hath so miraculously diuerred, are sufficient Lessons for them whom hee lately threatened. Behold now another, which teacheth vs, as at many other times, that the blowes of a secret enemy are hard to auoid, and that they must equally esteem the conscience and friendship of those that shall breake it, at the first advantage which treason or insideliue shall open vnto them, without consulting with their consciences, whether it be lawfull to put the sickle into another mans corne, to reape the fruits which they haue not sowne; and whether with their honours they might treat with the subiects of another Prince to the preiudice of the publicke peace, and the faith sworn in the

the name of God, Doubleless such practices are more dangerous then the force of an open enemy.

Ambassadors are sacred persons, and must be so held and intreated: but it followes not that their priuiledges are not restrained within certain bounds and limits, the which they may not infringe without forcing of the law of Nations: they are not to be blamed if they be carefull to aduertise their Masters of all occurrents; The very duty of their charge, the loue and seruice of their Master, and charity to their country doth excuse them, when they bind those vnto them which may fit them with intelligences. But cursed be those subiects whom couetousnesse and ambition transport to practices of Rebellion and Treachery.

Don Balhazar of Suniga, Ambassador of Spain, will not haue the King his master thinke him lesse industrious then his Predecessor, to win those vnto him that would open their eares and hearts to the inticement of Strangers. John Taxu hath conferrd all he could with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuencres, in corrupting many of the best qualified within the Realme, and others of meaner sort, as the course of the History hath obserued. Suniga hath imitated them but too much since his coming into the Realme: as the Treaty of Enragues, and the list of the Earle of Auvergne doe witnesse. They haue reaped nothing but shame and confusion, as bad counsell is alwayes worst to him that giues it. He is now suspected to haue raised a Leuaine of the same Dough, whereof he shall eate the Cake with bitterneffe.

Conspiracie of  
Mairargues.

Mairargues a Gentleman of Prouence, was deputed vnto the King by the States of the country. But he was not long at Court before he made it appeare that they had giuen the purse of the veriest thiefe. Some yeares before, hee had propounded vnto his Maiestie to haue two galleies armed, for the defence of the port of Marseilles, and the coasts thereabouts: one of the slaues in these galleies, a man of spirit and cunning, giues him inuentions to play the Pyrat, with great profit and small shew, and he puts them in practice with happy successe. Thus Mairargues finds him to be an active vnderfaker, and thinks him fit for some greater enterprise. He therefore vnfolde vnto him the web which he was weaving with the ministers of Spaine: to deliuer the towne of Marseilles to King Philip: a matter (said he) which would not be hard to effect, seeing that by means of his galleies, he was master of the Port: besides, to make his designe the more easie, he had by his practices gotten a promise to be chosen Viguier of the town for the next yeare, by which office haue all power at Marseilles; with the keyes of the ports and forts in his hand, hee shall hold the towne at his deuotion. The Galerien makes himselfe capable to vnderstand all the Quintessence of this Caballe, and of the meanes which the Author pretended to follow for the execution. Being well instructed in every point, hee lets the Duke of Guise vnderstand, that if it please him to mediate his pardon and liberty, hee will discouer a matter vnto the King which imports his Estate, and adds withall, that he will desire no liberty if it be not found true. The Duke giueth aduice vnto the King, and the King commands him not to neglect any thing, that he should learne all that might be knowne: for in matters of that consequence, he must seeke all meanes, and set all stones to worke. So the King is aduertised that Mairargues draws from the King of Spaine the pay for the whole entertainment of his Maiesties galleies, and that every yeare hee puts the Kings pay into his coffers, besides the pension which he hath from the Spaniard, of whom he is (as it were) Admirall in the King his masters vessels. That he hath so advanced his trafficke, as hee was within a short time to make the King of Spaine master of Marseilles. At the same time Mairargues came to Court: the King causeth him to bee secretly knowne to La Farenne Gouverneur of Angers, who vnder colour of this familiarity, obserues him, and sets such watches ouer him, as the ordinary going and coming of a Flemming named Brunneau, Secretary to the Ambassador of Spaine into Mairargues lodgings, made them iudge that they hatched an egge which would bring forth a bad Raven. In surprising them they might by the same meanes surpris the papers and instructions of their negotiations. La Farenne and de Fontis Lieutenant to the great Prouost, had the charge from the King. They do it so discretely, as the 5 of December, being aduertised that the Secretary was entered into Mairargues lodging, at the Signe of the Pantofle in the Cloister of S. Germaine of Auxerrois, they goe and enquire to speake with him about nine of the clocke at night: but vpon his seruants answer, that they could not speake with him, being busie with one in his cabinet touching some affaires, they caused one of the Archers to entertaine his man

Discouered by  
a Galerien.

with

Mairargues  
seen with  
Spanish Amba-  
sadors Secre-  
tary.

A with a tale, and in the meane time goe vp to his chamber, whereas they heare at his Study doore a part of their discourse. Coming out of the Study, de Fontis laid hold vpon Mairargues, who euen then pronounced his owne condemnation. I am a dead man (said he), but if the King wil giue me my life, I wil discouer great matters vnto him. The Secretary would haue drawne his sword, but they put him presently into safe keeping. The President Iamie being appointed, with Silley Keeper of the great Seale, to examine them in the presence of Lomenie Secretary of State, they discouered that they should soon put in execution, that which they had long before proiected. The Secretary was caried prisoner to the Chasteler, and Mairargues to the Bastile. The Papers which were found as well in Mairargues chamber and study, as about the Secretarie being hidden vnder his garters betwix two stockings, did sufficiently proue the fact.

Notwithstanding his Maiesty according to his custome tempering the seueritie of his iustice, with the mildnesse of his clemency, knowing, that Mairargues was allied to the Duke of Montpensier, and to the Cardinall of Joyeuse, by reason of his wife, he sent them word, that in respect of them, and for their sakes, he gaue Mairargues his life, but he should remaine in perpetuall prison. Their answer merits to be registred in our History, being generous and like true French-men: to serue for a lesson to posterity, that the Princes seruice, and the loue of our country, is to be preferred before all respect of friendship, alliance, or kindred. They most humbly thanke the King, and beseech his Maiestie not to breake the course of Iustice in fauour of them; That they should bee alwayes glad, that France should be freed from such foules: That treachery is so hateful vnto them, as they themselves would be the executioners, if there were not any other to be found. So the Proccesse being already instructed in the Councell, and by the great Prouost, it was sent to the Court of Parliament to be finished according to the accustomed forme. The Ambassador hearing of the detention of his Secretary, and of the cause thereof, he demands audience: where hee complains, that by his Maiesties commandement, his Secretarie was committed to prison: he cries out with great vehemency, that it was to violate the priuiledges of Ambassadors, and to doe him great wrong by imprisoning him, a greater in detaining him, but most of all in examining him. That hee had not practised Mairargues; but contrariwise Mairargues had very importunately sought him. That neither the Ambassador, nor the Secretary of a foraine Prince, are bound to refuse the Kings subiects to haue access vnto their house, nor to forbear to heare such as would make propositions and offers vnto them, for their Masters seruice. That they are bound to aduertise him of such offers, and are not tyed to reueale to the King of France the bad seruices of his subiects. That there is not any good seruant nor minister of the King of Spaines, which doth not wish and procure by all his endeauours, the increase of his greatnesse, yea, of the absolute Monarchy of the whole world if it might be. That the King of Spaine their Master, hath not made so great brute of an enterprise made by the French in Granado, vpon some places of importance. He doth not forme at their ordinary practices in Nauarre, Biscay, E in Flanders, and other places of the Archdukes country, nor the succours of men, money, artillerie and munition, which the King doth visibly giue, vnto his masters rebellious subiects. That the King of Spaine was a little moued, to heare that the King reioyced too openly, at the good successe of Cont Maurice and the Estates, & was grieved at their losses. That the world will witnesse with the Catholike King, that hee doth patiently beare the bad offices which are done him dayly by the Kings subiects, to the preiudice of the peace sworn betwixt France and Spaine. That La Bodrie being with the Archdukes for the Kings seruice, had fought to practise the Earles of Vanden-bergh, and a Secretary of the Archdukes, yea, by the inductions of his Maiesties chiefe Councillors and Secretaries. And yet neither the King of Spaine, nor the Archdukes, did euer make any complaint, or demand Iustice. To conclude, that hee neuer made any motion to Mairargues, but to haue him to goe into Flanders. That his Maiestie should be better pleased to haue them fauour that party, rather then that of the Enemies of the Catholike Religion. And that if his Secretarie were not deliuered, he protested of violence done to the liberty and safety of his charge, which is the greatest offence that may be done to the King his Master in his person.

But he that will haue credit giuen to his words, must beware that his writings doe not contradict them. The instructions lately surprized sing another note of a contrary temper:

C c c c c

And

The complaint  
of the Ambassa-  
dor.



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And who knowes not that the King of Spaine, since the peace of Veruins hath openly supported the Duke of Sauoy his brother-in-law, against the King, to maintaine him in the possession of those places which he had vsurped of this Crowne? how much doth the Fort built by the Earle of Fuentes import his Maiestie, not only for that it doth annoy his Allies, but also for that it doth hinder the passage and intercourse of the French into Italy? What be the ordinary practises both open and secret of the Ministers of Spaine, to distrust the Suisses and Grisons from the Kings friendship? The onely treachery of *Lesfe*, who discovered all the secrets of the Councell, hath he not done more wrong to his Maiesties seruice, then all that which the Spaniard can pretend against vs? The defection of the Marshall of Biron corrupted by the presents and hopes of strangers, is it not a sufficient proofe of the small esteeme, which King *Philip* makes of an oath, which he had sworne to obserue the peace? A stranger to be found treating at an vndue houre, with a treacherous subiect, against the publike faith, against the duty of an Ambassadour and Minister to a King, who makes profession of friendship with ours, to cause him to lose one of the most important Townes of his Realme: and shall there bee no law to assure himselfe of his person, nor to cause him to be examined, to discover the truth, and vncloud the face of Dissimulation in a matter of such consequence? The priuiledges of an Ambassadour are not so general, but they are restrained, not to seeke by sinister meanes to suborne the subiects of a Prince, neare vnto whom he doth reside: and vnder colour of Peace and friendship, to practise against his Estate. Notwithstanding, the King assures him by the vertue of his royall word and promise, there shall be no wrong done vnto his Secretarie: hee is too great a friend, and a fauourite to Iustice and Equitie, to violate the Rights of an Ambassadours charge.

Finally, as the Ministers of Spaine haue giuen the King great occasion, to hope for little friendship from them, since the peace of Veruins, hauing either begonne or nourished to many fatall Designes to the preiudice of this Estate, and the publike tranquility, as the truth of the History doth teach vs: so future ages will not finde it strange, if hee hath desired that they should not subdue them whom they rearme their Rebels. In this consideration, his Maiesty hath bene more ready and willing to restore them the money, wherewith they had supplied his wants during the warres. Hee hath not in truth made shew to desire their ruine and destruction: yet hath hee not assisted them with Artillery nor Munition, as the Ambassadour pretends. Many of his subiects bred vp in martiall discipline, goe to seeke their fortunes in Hungary, with the Archdukes, and with the Estates, neither is it in his Maiesties power to make them change their inclinations, to serue the one rather then the other. The warre of the Low-countries hath not Religion for the object. It is a meere warre of State, covered with a goodly and plausible pretext to giue the greater lustre to the cause of the assailant. This maske cannot serue him any longer, to disguise the truth of his conceptions. And if there were any question made to fight for the Catholike Religion, France would neuer attend to haue a summons from Spaine: shee would alwayes display her Ensignes first in field, as shee hath euer done in former ages. As for the Conspiracies pretended by *Sumiga*, against the Estates of King *Philip* and the Archdukes: it is well knowne, that some broken by the Racke, and exccesse of torments, others terrified with the horrour of threats, and some wonne by the promises of recompence, hath babbled something. But what likelihood is there, that a people which knowes not how to pardon, would haue sent backe so many prisoners, if they could haue conuicted them of any crime? The King denies not but hee hath sometimes suffered his seruants to make such propositions of themselves, to haue wherewithall at need to crosse the ambushes and bad offices of the King of Spaines ministers. Yet it can neuer be verified, that his Maiesty hath commanded them to proceed, nor that he hath caused his Ambassadours to make Treaties to the preiudice of the Princes, where his Maiesty doth entertaine them, as the Ambassadours of Spaine haue often done, and now lately with *Mairargues* the prisoner. The question is not now of going to serue in Flanders; and if there were no other crime, is it not capital in a subiect which goes to serue a foraine Prince without the liberty of his Soueraigne? The Archdukes Agent had likewise engaged *Terrail* and many others, without any respect that he was a household seruant to the King, & particularly bound to the company of my Lord the Dauphin. The Gouernor of Perpignan hath done the like with the Luquiffes and

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A and their companions, to deliuer many places in Languedoc, to the Spaniard. As for *Bodiere* treating with the Earles of Vandenberg, his Maiestie is ignorant thereof: vnlesse he did happily let them vnderstand how much he did esteeme their valour and generosity: neither are they held to be borne subiects to the Archdukes, but Germanes. *La Bodiere* did feeble the Secretaries pulse, that it was with his priuity; but with no other designe, but to learne newes by his meanes, the which is not reproachfull in Ambassadors, who seeke to serue their Masters wel in like cases. His Maiesty doth excuse the Castilians for the corruption of *Lesfe*, to whom he knowes they addrest themselves to the like end. But when these Treaties passe vnto practices, such as they haue pursued with *Mairargues*, the Luquiffes, and others named in the History, at diuers times, who had no other end, but to ouerthrow the Realme vpon his Maiesties head, and to ruine it quite. An open warre would be more honorable for Princes, and more profitable for their Estates, then to nourish vnder the ashes of a fained friendship, fuming firebrands to kindle a horrible combustion vpon the first occasion in their Estates, who thinke themselves assured vnder the shadow of publike tranquillitie.

The Ambassadours words had moued the King beyond his owne nature. But behold he is now stung to the quicke by the Castilians reply. The King of England (said he) in that which concerns the estate of the Netherlands, doth better obserue the Peace and friendship which he hath promised vs, although he be of a contrary Religion. Some man thinks to reuenge a shame, which doth increase it. All comparisons are odious: and this doth not serue his time that did alledge it. His Maiesty did ruer this nayle with such quicknesse and viuacitie, as he would gladly haue recalled his words: For (said the King) the King of England hath begun betimes to know what trust may be expected from the Ministers of Spaine. I thinke also that hereafter I shall haue the like occasion to commend them. Notwithstanding, as I am content to entertaine peace & good correspondency with your Master if he giue me occasion: So I shall alwayes bee ready to encounter him that shall inuite me. I will cause my selfe to bee informed of the grounds and truth of those things wherewith your Secretary is charged, and will afterwards cause you to be aduertised thereof, to know if you will aduow them or not, and according to your answer, aduise what I haue to doe. Thus the Ambassadour retired, discontent on the one side, that hee could not returne home with his Secretarie; but on the other, being forced to admire his Maiesties courage and wisdom, who doth not any thing in matters of consequence, but with wise counsell, and mature deliberation. Great men doe easily preferre the advantage of an apparant profit before the breach of Faith.

Our *Henry* doth gouerne himselfe after another manner. Hee knowes that Faith must be inuiolably kept euen with enemies, seeing it is the ground and foundation of humane society. This *Bruneau* conuicted of crime, hee could not be honestly aduowed by his Master, and to disauow him were to deliuer him into the hands of the Kings Iustice. But he is so moderate and temperate a Prince, as hee can quire part of his Right to them, that hee could bring into a tragicke Theater, to play a part there fit for so audacious an enterprife. *Mairargues* alone suffered the punishment of his offence, being condemned the nineteenth of December. The same day hee lost his head at the Greue, and his body was quartered, the which were hung vp at the entry of the chiefe Ports of the City. His head was caried to Marcilles, and set vpon a Lance ouer the chiefe Port of the Towne. His goods were confiscate to the King, reseruing 12000 Livres to the poore, 12000 to the reparation of the Palace, and 12000 for the Ports and Hauens of Marcilles. Yet his Maiesty disposed a great part of this confiscation in fauour of the widow. Great summes, which shew that the treachery of this Gentleman, is so much the more detestable, for that hee had good reuennues, and was well allied: and that the holy Scripture doth name covetousnesse the root of all euill, ioyned with Ambition and Treachery, pernicious Councillors of State, verifying the Oracle: *That man hath no miseries but what hee procureth by his owne vice.*

Hee might haue ended his dayes as gloriously vpon the Theater of Vertue, as hee did shamefully vpon an ignominious scaffold. Active spirits which cannot containe themselves in the calme of Peace, finde wherewith to make their courage famous, if any generositie animates them to actions which the spurre of Honour exsites in the noblest resolutions. The example of *Guy* Earle of Lauall inuited him to this tryall. Age and Force

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had

Mairargues  
betrayed.12000 Livres  
is 1200 pounds  
Sterling.

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had scarce brought this Nobleman to this commendable ambition, to learne the Art of A those whom Nature had bred of that quality to runne this Fortune. But behold, hee goes to seeke some schoole of *Mars*, to be as well instructed in the schoole of Honour, as he had beene in the differences of Religion, against the precepts of his birth and first institution. He obtained leave of the King, and parted from Paris the 29 of August, being followed by fifteene or sixteene Gentlemen, with a traine fit for his quality, vnder the conduct of *Marquilles*, a Gentleman of Sologne, being famous for that he had slaine in single combat with a Lance *Lisle Marivault*, despairing to follow the deceased King his good Master: the King had lately made choise of him, to temper the violent heat of this young apprentice, and to keepe him from running into danger vnadvisedly. He was honoured by the Duke B of Lorraine at Nancy: from thence hee tooke his way to Strausbourg, Struckart, Vlme, Newbrough, Ingolstadt, Ratisbone, and Vienne. He saluted the Arch-duke *Matthias* in a country-house, (whither, as the brute was, the Plague had drawne him) who seemed to adde something extraordinarily in the honours he did him, it may bee by reason of the House of Arragon, whereunto that of Laul is allied. The 13 of October he came vnto the Imperiall Armie, which camped about Comorth, too weake to raise the siege of Strigonia, which the Turke did presse: all the Noblemen of the armie, and especially *George Baff* Lieutenant general of the Emperor, receiued him with all the honour and demonstrations of loue they could.

Strigonia being yielded by the treachery of the Germanes; the Turkes disbanding C troops, gaue him occasion, to make proofe of the affection which hee bare vnto this holy warre, in many encounters, skirmishes, alarms, taking of places, and other stratagems, whereas men of honour shew their resolutions. The 25 of Nouember gaue him a fauourable opportunity, wherein hee did shew himselfe the true sonne of his father, who with the greatnesse of his courage surmounted the smallnesse of his body; and Grand-child to a Grand-father, who in the flower of his age, had purchased the title of *Knight without feare*. Fourteene or fifteene thousand horse charged a Regiment of Reistres, which made the retreat; when as the French and Wallons with the whole army following staid their fury, and made them to recover the top of a mountaine: yet often turning head, and witnessing that Feare had not put wings to their feet. In this retreat the Earle of Laul D was noted to haue done as much as any noble spirit encouraged by the sight of an enemy might do, alwayes the last with his followers in the reere-ward, and the first to make head, if the enemy did offer to charge.

But he had scarce made the first flames of his heart to shine, when as behold the 3 of December quencht him in an instant, when as they began to promise more glistering beames. The Turke came to charge the fore-ward in the morning: at this alarm hee armes, but so hastily as he gaue his people no leisure to make fast the Garter which should tye his tassets at the knee. He leapes into the saddle, and runnes with his traine into the hottest of the fight. The joy he had to be in so good an encounter, making him to lose all apprehension of danger. His Armes being gullt, made the enemy to note him for a man of quality. E They discharge a shewer of Arrows, and shot vpon him: one pierceeth the neather plate of his tassets hanging loose, and so passeth through his thigh into his body. *Le Frasnay* Lieutenant Colonel to Cont *Rbinsgraff*, who led the French and Wallons, and Captain *Bourle-Roye*, who commanded a company in this Regiment, are commended for that they desired to succour him being thus charged, if the Marshall of the campe had not forbidden them to breake their ranks, vpon paine of death.

The enemy sometime chafing, sometime chased, desired nothing more then to retire, seeing all the Christian armie to aduance: when as the Earle of Laul breathing more courage then life, returned to the charge, and pursued them a good League, vnto a riuers side, whereas there were one thousand and five hundred slaine and drowned, and nine Corners, with many good horses taken. The riuier, and the greatnesse of his wound stayed him suddenly: hee beganne to stagger. They laid him vpon the ground, and finding himselfe to grow faint, hee called for a little Wine, the which hee had no sooner taken, but lifting his eyes, and hands to heauen, hee ended the trauels of this miserable life, to exchange it with the rest of the most blessed. Happy to haue dyed in the bed of honour, in a iust and holy quarrell, which many of his ancestors haue sealed with the same seale; and most happy to haue left that commendable memory to possesse.

Death of the  
Earle of Laul.

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A poster ike, neuer to haue giuen any man subiect to complaine of him. His body was honorably conducted to Vienne: his followers did not forget any thing, to let those Nations know, in what ranke they held their Master. His bowels were solemnly interred in the most honourable place of the Quire in the Franciscans Church, iust by the Queene of Frances tombe. The body was conuayed with honour and respect into France, and doth now rest at Laul attending the coming of the Soueraigne Iudge.

If there bee an arme to root out the wicked, there is another to maintain the good. Three yeares of imprisonment in the Bastille (as we haue shewed) haue giuen his Maiesty leisure to know, that there was nothing in the actions of *Mombarsot*, contrary to the fidelity which he hath heretofore sealed by many worthy acts, in occasions which had bin offered for the establishment of his royall authoritie. His only sonne had many times cast himselfe at the Kings feet, beseeching him, that seeing his fathers enemies could not conuict him of any crime, it will please his Maiesty to giue him that liberty, which slander, the cruellst torment which a generous minde could feare, had taken from him: Or to suffer him that by his company he might comfort him in his misery, by the seruice which nature binds the sonne to doe vnto the father.

The King moued with the pitie of the soane, and the innocency of the father, verified by so long a tryall: He presently discharged *Mombarsot* in the month of December, from all subiect of his detention, disannulling all pursuits, all Decrees and Iudgements giuen vpon this subiect, so as he might neuer bee molested, nor it prejudice his reputation; no more then that which had beene done by him heretofore within his gouernment, during the troubles past, for his Maiesties affaires, the which are heretofore allowed by other Letters Patents. And moreover, he did restore him to his full liberty; & to the possession of all his goods without further trouble. But not to his gouernment, whereunto (to auoid ieaalousie, and to entertaine concord among his Officers) he had aduanced the Seigneur of Bethunes lately his Ambassador at Rome.

Thus the King hauing dispersed the clouds which threatened France with a Chaos of diuers confusions in general, and taken away the subiect of great partialities for the gouernment of the town of Rennes, there is nothing now that doth afflict his spirit but the affairs D of Sedan; being resolute to bring him to that estate as his Maiesty should not need to haue any feare hereafter on that side, no more then on the other, whereas he hath lately quenched the first flames which haue caused a dangerous fire within the Realme.

The King prepares with all the speed he may, for the siege of Sedan; whilst the people of Paris view the rich beautifyings and new decorations of their capitall City. It hath the last obligation to Master *Francis Miron* Councillor of State to the King, Lieutenant ciuill in the Prouoisty of Paris, and heretofore Prouost of Merchants. Dignities where-with the noblest Families of the City thinke themselves honoured, as with the first publicke Magistracie of the first citie of the world: Paris doth now glory to see her towne-house beautified with a pleasing fore-front, and other goodly buildings. To see her publicke commodities increased, with a stately Port at the Tournelle, & that of the temple repaired, which the miseries of former ages had kept shut about forty yeares. To see before the gate of the sacred temple of Royall Iustice, a goodly Fountaine to spring vp, which doth wash that foule and detestable fury lately marked by a Pyramide, for a Monument which they presumed should haue beene eternall. To see the corners of the streets watered with many other Fountaines, which will for euer refresh the memory of their restorer. Many streets opened, and paved to void the filth and the corrupt waters. Many bridges of Stone made. Many Ports built anew, and paved for the common ease: and many waterings restored. Finally, Paris commends him to haue done more for her ornament in two yeares, then his Predecessors had scarce done in two ages: and doth honour so many acts F done by *Miron*, of piety towards the poore, and strangers, to the sicke and diseased, and to the Church; of wisdome and fidelitie to the common good, to the administration of the publicke Treasure, in his good husbandry, and employing it for the beautifying of the City, in discharge of her debts, in the charges and rents of her demeaunes, for his loue to his country, and his care and diligence to produce so many goodly effects, which recommended his Magistracie, for his painfull indeauours, for the which hee hath made this abridgement of the world to flourish. For his great affection, by the which knowing that his owne health was ioyned with that of the common-weale, hee hath not respected

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etny, nor hatred, which doth commonly follow vertue (as the shadow doth the body) A in regard of that pleasing contentment which a good conscience brings to man, whose actions feare neither censure, nor Ostracisme, to that sweet consolation to leaue his charge with lesse gaine, but more honour; and to haue by his commendable actions, given the King himselfe subiect to propound vnto the successor, the example of his predecessor when as he went to deliuer into his Maiesties hands the keyes and seales of the towne. A graue and sufficient testimony of honour, whereon slander can take no hold.

Suppliations  
of the Clergy  
to the King.

The Kings  
answer.

His Maiesty at the same time gaue audience to the Petitions and Declarations of the Clergy being assembled at the *Augustines* in Paris. They insisted vpon the afflictions of the Church which was troubled. They required with great vehemency to haue the council of Trent receiued. They shew the abules of symonies, and confidencies: And doe commend the choise of capable men in elections. The King acknowledged that all which they had said was true. The Church is afflicted: so he desires to do any thing that depends of him for the restoring thereof. If the publication of the Council be sufficient to restore it, he hath desired it, and doth desire to see the effect: but humane considerations doe many times crosse them of heaven, notwithstanding he will alwayes employ both blood and life, for that which shall be to the good of the Church and seruice of God. As for Symonies, & confidencies, his Maiesty did exhort them to begin the cure by themselves, and to prouoke others by their examples to doe well. They are witnesse how he proceeds in elections. Those which he hath established differ much in sufficiency and merits, from others of former times; and the report which the Clergy it selfe hath made vnto his Maiesty, will double his courage to doe better hereafter.

To conclude, the King assured them as a good Prince, of his affection and sinceritie to any thing that did concerne the peace of the Church, and the protection of them which serue at the Altar. But withall he spake some words vnto them like a good father: that he was offended at the length of their assembly, at the great number of deputies and the factions that were among them. Remember (said his Maiesty) that you are now ready to enter into Lent, what your charges bee; and that your presences are necessary in your Churches. By your tediousnesse you driue the poore Curats to hunger and despair. I will ioyne with them, and with the honestest of your company, to take order for the long time which you haue spent in your assembly, finally make account of my time affection, to the seruice of God and to your protection. The Marshall of Bouillon had in the meane time by his submissions disposed the King to impart vnto him an equal or greater fauour, then before his disgrace: but his Maiesty did not yet finde them so free, as he might conceiue a full assurance, for the intercessions of the *Queene* of England, in the beginning of his retreat, of the Count Palatine, of the Marquis of Brandenburg, of Anspach, of Bade, and of many cantons of the leagues, by expresse Ambassadors, together with the Marshalls long stay without the Realme, as wee haue seene, made them presume that hee had fortified himselfe with diuers forain friendships, so as the King would haue him come in person to iustifie himselfe, and to free him of this imagination. His Maiesty doth summon him like a good Master, and his best friend, and being alwayes more inclined to clemencie then seueritie, he desired rather to induce him by amiable callings, then by Soueraigne Authoritie, or lawfull commandements.

Duke of Bouil-  
lon cannot be  
used to come  
up Court.

Heretofore hee had sent *Monsieur* vnto him; and of late dayes *La Noue* to that end, yet their perswasions were not of sufficient force to disperse all the subiects of distrust which he had conceiued: neither could hee resolve to come but with speciall warrant; his friends doe what they can to entertaine this good will which the King doth now witnesse vnto him: but withall they know what his Maiesties resolution is if hee obeyes not, and exhorting him speedily to content his bounty, by a full and not limited satisfaction, they incite him to follow his duty, and to fly his danger.

The King  
grants him  
all with an ex-  
tra demand.

He demands a  
pawne: he  
sai Lay.

The King was well pleased with the mediation of the Princess Dowager of Orange, by whom his Maiesty grants him freely all that he demands, so as (saith he) he doth witnesse by his actions that he desires my fauour. But it is reason (addes the King) that granting vnto the Duke of Bouillon all the assurance he requires, he should giue mee such a pawne of his fidelity, as I may not hereafter doubt of his duty. This pawne which the King demands, is the guard of the Castle of Sedan, giuing his word not to place any gouernour, nor garison, but of the religion receiued in the estate of Sedan: and not to praiudice the

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A quiet of that Church, nor the rights and reuenues of the Lord, but only to be assured that this place hereafter shall not be in case to hurt him.

The Duke of Bouillon is amazed at this newes; he thinks that to deprive him of this possession, is to exclude him from all tolerable conditions. He makes many offers. He beseecheth his Maiesty to take both his person and the Soueraignty of Sedan into his protection. He offers to receiue his Maiesty with all the honour that is due vnto him, with what company he pleased, without limitation, without restriction, and to beat downe the Castle gates for his enry, the conditions of the protection being by the Kings good pleasure concluded, signed, and verified as they ought. He consents that the Gouernour of the Castle should take an oath of fidelity to the King conformable to the Articles of protection. And in case the Duke should infringe it, the Gouernour should be freed of the oath which he owes him, to keepe the faith which he hath sworne to the King. That the like oath should be taken by the garison and inhabitants of Sedan. That hee will absent himselfe: if it did not please the King he should remaine there, and would lodge his wife and children, in some one of his houses within the Realme, to serue for an assurance to his Maiesty, with all his goods, and remaine so much the more bound to the full obseruation of faith which he owes vnto his said Maiesty.

But for all this, the King will not receiue him into grace, nor trust him vnlesse hee may haue this caution in his hands. The Duke on the other side will by no meanes dispossesse himselfe of the guard of his Castle, and will rather endure all fortunes, all extremities, for it is no lesse troublesome vnto him to be spoiled of this place, then to be separated from his owne moiety, from his flesh and bones: his Maiesty then resolves to constraine him to quit that by force which he will not doe by free will. The inhabitants of Sedan are much troubled, now they hold the Wolfe by the eare, they know not how to keepe him, nor how to let him goe. The Duke of Bouillon is their Lord: his affliction is theirs. Can they or may they abandon him whom God hath giuen them for their Lord? But on the other side, shall they grow obstinate against a mighty King, who is alwayes victorious, a King, against whose force they confesse themselves to be but dust? they therefore humbly beseech his Maiesty to spare a people, which heares nothing in their Assemblies but vows for his prosperitie, who see nothing but the Flower Dewe vpon the Castle gates, who breathe nothing but seruice, and desire nothing more then to spend their bloods for the encrease of his Estate, and who abhorre to be reduced to that extremity, as to defend themselves for their owne preservation. His Maiesty giues them his word, yea with an oath, that if he should take the place by assault, he would leaue the inhabitants of Sedan in the same estate they were, and would maintaine them in the same priuiledges, wherewith he did gratifie them of his Realme. That he had iust occasion to be incensed against a subiect who runnes voluntarily to his owne ruine, for a thing without the which he might well subsist. That he will take this place from him, to take from him the meanes to doe ill, and will not touch the priuiledges of the towne, not meaning to appropriate another mans inheritance vnto himselfe, for he knoweth that the Lord giueth portions to Nations, and separates the children of men one from another; he will not that any man shall remove his neighbours bounds.

The King re-  
solves to be-  
siege him.

The place imports his Maiesty as well for the situation, as for the strength. It is seated vpon the Frontier of France, much stronger then any of that quarter; and by consequence fit to trouble the estate of the Realme, and to breed ambitious counsels in them which seeke for all occasions of inuouation. Out of doubt these were strong reasons: but both the inhabitants of Sedan, and the Marshall of Bouillons friends, together with those that desired to haue these matters managed after some milder course, produced other reasons, considerable both for waight and number, to diuert this designe. Sedan (saith they) is fortified vpon a rocke, inuironed with goodly great Bastions, and deepe ditches cut out of the rocke, the which cannot be taken but by filling of them vp: you must come vnto it by degrees to take the outward part, the which cannot be kept by reason of the good counter-scarpes, flanked of themselves, and flanked moreover by the Castle, and by the Bastions, so as it cannot be taken but by length of time, with great expence of money, munition, and losse of men. The importance of this conduct will force the King to bee there in person: for he knoweth that he is neuer so well serued as in his owne presence: and can more assure himselfe of the fidelity of many, then of their sufficiencies. And the turne

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ture for fifty Cannon which his Maieſty prepares, with an army answerable, led so neere A the Low-Countries, almost into Bourgondy, shall they make so little brute as the King of Spaine will not ſtarle therat? will he not be careful to man his frontier with another army? for Princes conclude their ſafeties more by that which they ſee, then by that which they heare. And he which gapes after all occasions of greatneſſe, who thinks hee hath more ſuffice to ſuccour a Soueraigne affailed within his Eſtate, then they haue to aſſiſt his rebellious ſubiects againſt him: will hee let paſſe this opportunitie if hee can, to make the Duke of Bouillon ſtand obſtinately vpon his defence? will he faile to ſuggeſt all neceſſary meanes, to croſſe him whoſe proſperity he doth not behold, but with a malignant and enuious eye? Is it not credible, that both he and the Archdukes had rather haue the preſent poſſeſſor for their neighbour, then ſo mighty and redoubted a Prince? And is Sedan at this day leſſe able to kinde dangerous combuſtions, then it did betwixt Francis the firſt, and Charles the fifth? So much needy Nobility which bow their necks vnder the burthen of the laſt warres: ſo many malecontents which thinke they haue merited more then the King thinks he owes them, would they not goe to field to foſter their old deſignes, and to breed new? A royall army planted in one of the corners of the Realme, can the extend her wings farre enough to cover the remote Prouinces? His Maieſties Lieutenants, are they all of one temper? a change of affaires, may it not change their affections? doe they all loue, are they equally beloued, to hope for equall ſeruiſe, equall fidelity? will not the ſeaſon make them vary their reaſon? The aſhes of former combuſtion, doe they not couer ſome little fire, which ſome may take delight to kinde, when as the army ſhall haue leiſe meanes to bring water to quench it? But what a diſpleaſure were it to be forced to raiſe a ſiege from another mans Towne, to goe and plant it before one of his owne, affailed by the ſtranger. There is danger to loſe the principall for the acceſſory.

As for ſtrangers, England is ſo wonderfully ſcandalized at the monſtrous attempts, lately diſcouered againſt their Princes, as they will neuer like of a war begonne againſt them of their beliefe, what luſtre ſoever it cary. Italy promiſeth it ſelfe great aſſiſtance of the French againſt the deſignes of the Earle of Fuentes: but it hath not ſo great prouiſion of courage, but it will be much daunted, ſeeing their forces turned another way. The ſuiſſes will blame this deſigne, ſome for that it is againſt a Nobleman, and an eſtate of their confeſſion: Others, for that they will ſay they are abandoned to the Sauoyard and Millanois. The Griſons are in the ſame predicament, and ſaile in the ſame Sea. The Eſtates of the vniſted Prouinces will ſeele a great prejudice in their affaires, by the cutting off the commodities of France, being appointed for other places: The Empire will grow iealous of this approach, and the Germanes by the peace of Hungary which they hope for, ſhall want neither care to thinke of it, nor meanes to preuent it. The French army ſhall haue Liege behind them. The people are already iealous. The conqueſt of Sedan doth alſo purchaſe a title to the Duchy of Bouillon. They deſire neither the one nor the other: and will croſſe the firſt all they can to be aſſured of the ſecond.

All theſe inconueniences may be auoyded. Sedan hath ſerued the Kings of France no leſſe profitable vnder the title of protection, then can be hoped for vnder that of poſſeſſion. And the Duke of Bouillon recouering the Kings fauour, brings vnto his ſeruiſe both his place and that which is more precious, his great ſufficieny, well knowne to his Maieſty, and to all men, well knowne to the Councell of Eſtate, and to the affaires of warre; ſo as a perfect Amneſty may aſſure his returne. But the King cannot reſt aſſured of the Maſſall of Bouillon, nor of Sedan, but by the yeelding of the Caſtle; and the placing of a Governour, and a choiſe garriſon.

His troopes march, with an intent to haue ſixe and twenty thouſand men, and more if need were, with artillery and munition neceſſary to doe a great exploit. There were many commiſſions granted to leaue horſe and foot: young men came from all parts, he was not held the ſonne of an honeſt woman, that did not deſire to make his apprenticeship of armes vnder ſo famous a Captaine, and to ſhew his valour in this warre of Sedan, yet this war was not like to be very violent. The King knows better the ſtate of Sedan, then thoſe which haue diſtaſted him, and the Duke of Bouillon who knows that the ſhorter ſollies are the beſt, will not loſe his Maieſties fauour by his contumacy, the which he will willingly redeeme, at a higher price then the towne of Sedan: rebellion ſits not, but with ſuch as

are

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A are borne for the ruine of their Country. The King before his departure from Piris, declared openly and freely, that he marched towards Sedan, with an intent to receiue the Duke of Bouillon with open armes. Doubtleſſe the beſt way to vanquiſh an enemy, is to doe him good when we may.

Theſe gracious words gaue them occaſion (who were grieued to ſee his Maieſty march againſt a place where the trauell and danger ſeemed more certain, then the purchaſe might be profitable, conſidering the diſcommodities of the Country, and the difficulty of the place) to ſollicite with great vehemency this buſineſſe which they ſaw in ſo good termes. *Nelancourt* a Gentleman of Champagne, noted for his piety, moderation, and integrity, B ſhewed ſo great zeale and affection in this negotiation, as then the King thought him capable to ſerue him, according to his heart in this action: The which being well aduanced, his Maieſty deputed the Lords of Inteuille (Gouernour of Champagne) and Ville-roy, both wholly addicted to procure the good and tranquility of his Eſtate, and his Maieſties ſeruiſe.

The Duke of Bouillon went to meet with them at Torcy, the laſt village of the realm, and there all conditions being examined, debated, and imparted vnto the King without any act of hoſtility, effuſion of blood or ſweat, his Maieſty knowing that mildneſſe is the beſt remedie to cure the wounds of an Eſtate, and tempering his iuſtice by his clemency, and praſtiſing that goodly Oracle, That hatred muſt be mortall, and frendſhip immortal, C he gaue two great blowes with one ſtone: for hee aſſured himſelfe of a place that would haue troubled him, being at the deuotion of men enuious of the proſperity of this Realm, or iealous of his greatneſſe: and reſtored vnto his fauour ſo much deſired, one of the chiefe Noblemen amongſt his ſubiects, the ſecond officer of his Crowne, a great man of State, active in counſell, and well praſtiſed in warre, and whom the triall of a long aduerſity will make more fit to doe his maſter good ſeruiſe.

In worldly affaires, if ſome croſſe of affliction ſhould not temper the ſpirit of man, in the end proſperity will make him drunk. He came vnto the King being at Douchery the eleuenth of April, and preſented himſelfe vnto him in the morning before his riſing: He deliuered vnto him by mouth, the humble ſubmiſſions which his Maieſty required, and demanded an abolition in forme according to the treaty. His Maieſty receiued him as graciouſly as if the Sunne of his fauours had neuer been eclipsed before his fortune. The Queen ſhewed him as good a countenance as ſhe was affected to this reconciliation.

Their Maieſties being accompanied with the Princes of the blood, the officers of the Crowne, and others, entred into Sedan. The Syndics and Sheriffes receiued him vpon their knees, proteſting generally, that they had neuer attended or deſired any more aſſured protection then that of his Maieſty: to which end they wiſhed all proſperity to Henry the fourth, King of France and Nauarre, moſt chriſtian, moſt mercifull, and moſt victorious: to the Queen, the happineſſe of his long and fortunate company: to my Lord the Dauphin, increaſe of vertues, and the fathers felicities. And they receiued from this ſacred mouth the answer which a people might hope for, being transported with the ioy and cordiall loue of a Prince, louing his ſubiects as a good father doth his children: I haue nothing diminiſhed (ſayd he) nor altered the loue and affection which I haue alwayes borne you: I will neuer diminiſh it, whereof I will alwayes giue you good proofes.

Then were the Cannons heard (which ſeemed to be planted for the defence of the towne) to applaud by their thundring this vnuſual action: The ayre did ring againe with cries of ioy, and with acclamations of God ſaue the King, God ſaue the Queen, God ſaue my Lord the Dauphin, ſent vp to heauen with vowes of eternall proſperity: and the inhabitants and Burgeſſes did not breathe any thing but a generall fidelity. Their Maieſties were much moued with the affections of this people; the which did merit this teſtimony from the King, See how this people loues me, (ſpeaking to the Princes, which did aſſiſt him) know they loue me. The Bonfires which were made at night in the ſtreets and publique places of the towne, did witneſſe that they were pure and free from diſſimulation and fraud. The thanks which they gaue ſolemnly vnto God, did ſhew that they tooke this warning for a threatening of his diuine puniſhment, or exhortation to a more hoſtileſt of life: and continuance of the fidelity which both the Soueraigne Prince and the people of the towne and lands depending, owe vnto his Maieſty. The preaching and ordinary prayers made in the accustomed places with all liberty (whereas many of the Court ſinned) are the be-  
taine

The D. of Bouillon makes his accord.

The D. of Bouillon comes to the King.

The King and Queenes entering into Sedan.

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taine effects of the inuolable promise giuen by his Maiestie, that the Church of Sedan A should suffer no alterations nor change in the liberty of conscience.

The small traine wherewith the Duke of Bouillon presented himselfe before his Maie-  
sty, and the company which the King had when he gaue him this fauourable reception,  
did witness the assurance they had one of another: a good master receiues a good seru-  
ant with an open heart: a good seru-ant prepares himselfe to yeeld vnto his good master the  
good seruice which he hath promised and doth owe him: finally, the gratifications and  
shewes of loue which the King had made vnto this people lately trembling, and now as-  
sured, made them know by experience, and confesse by effect, that they had no lesse sub-  
iect to praise God for the fatherly care which his diuine prouidence had now as hereto-  
fore of their good & preferuation. They commend the Kings wisdom and graue iudge-  
ment, being able wisely to discern the capacity of his subiects, fit to serue him in great  
affaires. He left *Netamours* for Gouverneur of the party, whose merits were no lesse plea-  
sing to the Soueraigne then to the subiects of this petty Estate, and on the third day he  
tooke his way toward Paris.

The Duke of Bouillon did accompany his Maiesty vnto Mouzon with a small traine:  
and the next day he returned to giue order for his affaires: within few daies after he came  
to hold his ancient place in Court, as he returned into the Kings heart, who to witness  
the effects of his loue, did abolish and suppress the memory of all things done, knowne,  
or spoken by him against his Maiesties seruice vnto that day, so as neuer any further search  
might be made. And by his especiall grace, full of power and royall authority, he dispensed  
with him for his appearing in person, in his Courts of Parliament, to haue his Letters of  
abolition registred. By the which also he was confirmed in the same estates, honours and  
dignities, which he had held and did yet hold within the Realme.

There is nothing more lawfull nor more commendable in a well gouerned Estate, then  
to prouide for the necessities of such as for a mark of their vertue remaine lame, and haue  
no meanes to liue, after they haue serued the Prince in his warres well and faithfully. Our  
Kings haue alwayes desired to acknowledge their merits: but by the injury of time, or the  
negligence and fraud of officers, their ordinances haue bene without effect, to the shame  
of marriall discipline, which grieues to see many poore Gentlemen and other fouldiers  
made vnprofitable to cary armes, and for all other functions, by wounds, losse of limbes,  
and decrepit age: or that haue consumed their meanes in paying their ranlomes, in char-  
ges to be cured of their wounds receiued in their seruices, or of other infirmities and dis-  
eases which the toyles of warres doe breed, were reduced in their declining age to a mi-  
serable and vnworthy kind of begging.

The King desiring to make them feele the effects of his bounty, to giue them meanes to  
passe the remainder of their dayes in rest, and to encourage his other subiects of all qua-  
lities, to serue him the more willingly in all future occasions, vpon hope of the like remu-  
neration. He giues them by an irrecuocable Edict,

*The royall house of Christian charity, and the money growing vpon the remainder of accounts  
of hospitals, almshouses, leprous-houses, and other such companies, and of the usurpations  
and alienations of the reuenues thereof; reuisions of the said accounts, and abuses and disor-  
ders committed in the gouernment and administration of the said places. Together with the mo-  
ney which shall rise of the places and pensions of religious lay men, in euery Abbey and Priory of  
this Realme, being in his Maiesties nomination: As is contained at large in the Edict verifi-  
ed in the great Councell, the seventh of Iuly. So as all Gentlemen, Captaines, and Sould-  
diers maimed, in doing his Maiesties seruice, in his companies of men at armes, light-  
horsemen, archers, or Harguebutiers on horsebacke, taking certificates from the Captains  
and Colonels vnder whom they haue serued, containing the time of their seruices, their  
valour, with the combats, perils and dangers wherein they haue bene, and in what action  
of warre they haue bene maimed for his seruice, the which they shall bring vnto the D.  
of Montmorency, Peere and Constable of France, to be verified exactly by him, to make  
a life signed with his hand, and to note in the margin what annuall pension euery one  
may merit in his opinion, according to their quality, valour, and wounds. And those  
which haue serued in the Regiments, Garisons, and Companies on foot, shall bring the like  
attestations to the Duke of Epemon, Colonell generall of the French foot, or (in the  
absence of the said Constable and Colonell) to the two eldest Marshalls of France which  
shall*

Pensions ap-  
pointed for  
men maimed in  
the Kings  
seruice.

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A shall be then in Court, to make the like life, and in the same forme, verified by the great  
Almoner of France, one of the Secretaries of State, and the Lords of Souaray, Chasteau-  
vieux, and Rochepor, Knights of the order, and Councillors of State: which life being  
brought vnto the King, and deliuered into the hands of one of the Secretaries of Estate  
whom he shall appoint, there shall euery yeare a roll be made of maimed men, and others,  
whom his Maiesty will entertain, and of the Pensions which shall be assigned to euery one,  
payable by him that shall haue that charge, vpon the paines contained in the order of his  
Maiesties Exchequer, who to iudge of differences according to the accustomed formes of  
Iustice, hath created a Soueraigne Chamber, consisting of the said Noblemen, and other  
worthy personages, as you may read in the Original.

From this godly and charitable act, we passe vnto another, which doth witness that the  
King, as a common father to all his subiects, will not onely maintaine them in peace in this  
age, but will also continue the quiet of their soules, seeing that our ayre cannot be purged  
from trouble, without the cleareness of consciences in diuine seruice. His Maiesty hath  
lent one care vnto the Clergy, & now on the nineteenth of August, he opens the other to  
the humble petitions of them which profess the Religion granted by the Edict of Nan-  
tets: and desiring to make them enjoy the contents of his Edict, and the priuate Articles  
granted in consequence thereof, he ordaines that the modifications and restrictions which  
haue bene made by his Courts of Parliament, Chambers of account, and other officers,  
contrary to the tenure thereof, shall be taken away, and to that end all letters and neces-  
sary commandements should be made. Moreouer, he did enioyne his said Courts, to en-  
roll the said Edicts and Articles (if it were not done) in their Bayliwickes and Schene-  
shals. And commanding all Bayliffes and Schene-shals to send them into their iurisdic-  
tions, to the end that no man should pretend cause of ignorance. Inioyning all Iudges, Pro-  
ctors general, and their substitutes, to cause them to be exactly obserued, and for default  
thereof, to answer it in their proper and priuate names. And granting to them of the said  
Religion, many demands and speciall orders which rise from the Edict: his Maiesty en-  
ioynes them on the other side, to cary themselves according to the Edict, auoyding all oc-  
casion of scandall: and on the other side to Catholikes, to cary the like moderation, and  
wisdom for feare of stumbling. Thus he makes knowne how desirous he is that all his  
subiects should enjoy with concord the peace which hee hath heretofore purchased for  
them with so much toyle and sweat.

As the King seeks by his bounty to entertaine his people with concord, and so to raise  
them to the top of prosperity and happinesse: So wee now see that God doth giue him  
evident signes of the fauour and loue which he powreth forth vpon Princes which reigne  
according to his heart. He doth now seale to vs in particular the wonders of his loue to  
this Realme, by a gage which makes our hearts to leape with consolation and ioy, to re-  
member the feare wherein we lately liued, seeing our selues in danger to fall into the mis-  
eries which threaten Estates wanting an assured successe. And retiring vs from the valleys  
and gulphes of this misery, hee hath giuen vs an ample subiect to acknowledge his free  
bounty. For one of the greatest blessings which heauen can poure vpon man, is to haue  
many children, which cary the image of the father, and make him as it were to reuiue in  
their birth. So as from a luely root grow new plants, which produce the like fruits vnto  
their stocke. The Soueraigne protector of this Monarchy, hath now supported the peace  
and quiet of France, with three precious pillars of his bounty, and we behold them as firm  
supports of his grace.

Their birth hath made them children to mortall Princes, whom the holy Scripture ho-  
nors with the title of gods: and hath opened vnto them the gates of Realmes, and transi-  
tory Principallities: but it was expedient, that by a spiritual regeneration they should be-  
come the children of the great immortal God: and that Baptisme giuing them entry into  
the Church of Christ, it should open them the way also to the immortal and celestiall  
heauen, printing in their faces the Characters of the children of God, as vpon their fore-  
heads, the image of God himselfe. The Sacrament of Baptisme had bene giuen them  
within few dayes after they were borne, but the ceremonies were deferred vntill an oppor-  
tunity. The King had long desired it, if many encounters had not crost the complemen-  
tation. The death of Pope Clement the eight had stayed it. Leo the eleventh (before Cardinal of  
Florence) did in a manner see the last of his dayes with the first of his Papacy: Paul the  
fifth

Wisdom of  
the King to  
maintaine his  
people in con-  
cord.

Ceremonies of  
the Dauphins  
Christning, and  
of the Lady his  
sisters.



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fifth his successor, being advertised that the celebration of the ceremonies and solemnities A was appointed the fourteenth of September, he wrote vnto Francis Cardinall of Ioyeuse, *That he would haue them done by his Ministry in the blessing of the Lord: and shas seeing he could not assist in person, he had made choice of him to performe this complement, according to the dignity of the Apostolike See, and of the children of the eldest sonne of the Church; seeing that by the honour of his rank, by the nobility of his blood, by his wisdom, fidelity and experience in affairs, he was pleasing vnto the King, and acceptable vnto the Realme.*

The Princes and Noblemen in Court did contend who should exceed each other in brauery and expence. A small patterne will make vs to iudge of the whole peece, omitting to relate it all in particular. In the hilt of a stately sword which the Duke of Espernon cauied to be made, there were set eigheteen hundred Diamonds, whereof the richest was at twenty crownes price, and the least at foure or fve; which hilt (as the Gold-smith said that made it) came to thirty thousand crownes. Our Ladies Church in Paris was appointed for this royall spectacle, but by reason of the infection it was translated to Fontainebleau, which the good King Saint Lewis called his desert and solitary place.

Thus the fourteenth of September, being a cleare and bright day, was notwithstanding lighted with many torches and tapers: and the ceremony was performed about fve of the clocke at night in the Court of the dungion (for neither the Chappell, nor the greatest hall in the Castle, was capable to containe so many thousands which came to this rare sight) vpon a great and high Theater, hung about with rich and sumptuous Tapestry; in the midst thereof was a square with fve fadome in compasse, inclosed with barres covered with tapestry, and carpets vnder foot. In the front thereof was an Altar richly adorned with the ornaments of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and covered with a canopie of the ornaments of the said Order. Behind the table there was a degree of three steps covered with Tapestry, and in the midst thereof a kind of great stoole, adorned with cloath of siluer, vpon the which were placed the Fontes covered with an exquisite towell, and ouer them a canopie. On either side of the Altar was a scaffold prepared for the musicke. Beneath it, and on the right hand, was a forme covered with tapestry for many Prelates. Among others there were three Archbishops, nine Bishops, and three Abbots. On the left hand were the Noblemen of the Council: And before the Altar the Cardinall of Gondie, enuironed with many Almoners and Chaplaines, and a great number of beholders, seated as they are in theaters. About the Theater were all the Scuffles of his guard, euery one holding a burning torch in his hand. My Lord the Daulphin, and the Ladies his Sisters were in their chambers, vpon great beds made like a Tribunnall, after a royall manner, vnder a cloath of Estate, with coverings of powdered Ermines, and they were carried to the square table, their gentlemen seruants going before, euery one with a waxe candle in his hand, being followed by the gentlemen of the chamber, with drummes, fifes, trumpets, howboyes, Heralds, and the Knights of the Holy Ghost, with the three honors following. First, for the yongest Lady, the cup, the bason, the pillow, the candle, the cresset, and the saltstiller, were carried by the Baron de la Chastre, by the Lords of Montigny, Rochepot, Chemerauld, Lien-cour, and the Marquis of Ferraques; the Marshall of Boisdauphin carried the Lady, being followed by Charles Duke of Lorraine the god-father, and by D. Iohn de Medicis, brother to Ferdinand great Duke of Tuscane, representing *Christierne* daughter to the Duke of Lorraine, and wife to the great Duke; after whom marched the Duchesse of Guise, the Countesses of Guishe and Saulx, the Marquesse of Montlaur, with other Ladies. The Marshalls of Lauerdin and la Chastre, the Duke of Suilly (before Marquis of Roissy) the Dukes of Montbason, Espernon, & Elguillon, did the like office for the eldest Lady. The Lord of Ragny carried her in the place of Diana Duchesse of Angoulesme, who represented the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, Archduchesse of Austria, being followed by the daughters of Rohan, Montmerency and Mayenna, who were virgins, & the Duchesses of Rohan, Suilly, and others. The third honour for the Daulphin, was serued by the Earle of Vaudemont, the Knight of Vendosme, the Dukes elder brother, (both base children to the King.) The Duke of Montpensier, the Earle of Soissons, the Prince of Cony The Daulphin was carried by the L. of Sourray his gouernor, in the place of the Prince of Conde being sicke. The D. of Guise carried his traine; and the Cardinall of Ioyeuse followed him, representing *Paul* the fifth being Pope: They were attended by *Eleanor* wife to Vincent Duke of Mantoua, and the Princesses of the blood, richly attired,

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A The Daulphin being brought to the square Table, the Cardinall of Gondy being appointed to performe this ceremonie, he came neere vnto him, and hauing heard him answer pertinently to questions he asked him, according to the ordinarie forme, and to rehearse the Lords Praier and Creed in Latine, hee was blest, and anointed, and called *Lewis* by the Cardinall of Ioyeuse the Popes Legat; at the naming of whom they might see ioy appeare in the Kings countenance, shewing by the exterior, the inward contentment hee received, remembering that *Saint Lewis*, the ninth of that name, King of France, is the Author of that family of Clermont, from whence is issued that of Bourbon, sitting at this day in the Throne of his holy Predecessor: and the ioy of the assembly did witness, that his name is very pleasing after another; and the eldest was afterwards carried to the Table one after another; and the eldest was named by the Dutchesse of Angoulesme, representing the Archduchesse her God-mother without a God-father, *Elizabeth*: (which the Spaniards call *Isabella*) the youngest was named *Christierne* by Don Iohn de Medicis, for the great Duchesse.

At the banker, the King was serued by the Princes of his blood. The Prince of Condy held the place of Butler. The Prince of Contie of Cup-bearer. The Earle of Soissons had the place of Lord Steward: And the Duke of Montpensier of Carner. The Duke of Guise, and the Earle of Vaudemont serued the Queene: and the Duke of Suilly, the Legat. The God-fathers and God-mothers were set, and then the Princes, Ladies, and Noblemen. At the dancing, the Duke of Lorraine did precede by the Kings order, in consideration onely that he was a good and gracious Father.

The next day was spent in running at ring, and the Duke of Suilly caused an assault to be given by night to an Artificiall Castle, with an infinite number of Squibs, Canon-shot, and other fire-works. But there was neuer any thing more admirable to the eye, nor more incredible vnto the eare, then the beautie, brauerie, and lustre of the Princes and Ladies of the Court. Mans eye could not endure the shining of the Gold, the brightnesse of the Siluer, nor the glistering of the Pearles and precious stones, which covered their robes, and the Princes and Noblemen were attired in the most rare and precious stufes that could be found out. The Queenes robe hauing two and thirtie thousand Pearles, and thirtie thousand Diamonds, made it to be without peare, and without price.

This yeare about Easter, there were such violent winds and stormes thorowout all France, as the tops of houfes being cast downe, many were slaine and sore hurt in Paris, so as they could not goe safely thorow the streets: In the Countrey old growne Trees were torne vp by the roots, but although there were a great spoile of men, houfes, and trees at land, yet was it not so fearefull as at Sea, whereas many suffered shipwracke and perished in these tempests.

In May the Riuer of Seine being much risen by the abundance of raine which had fallen, the King and Queene coming from Saint Germaines, the Carroch being in the passage Boat and coming to Land, the Horfes going forth, thrust backe the Boat with the force of their feet, and ouer-turned the Carroch into the Riuer, so as the Queene was in great danger of drowning: the Courtiers leapt into the Riuer to rescue her, but *Cassengeray*, (a Gentleman of a Noble Family) advanced the rest, freed her from danger, and brought her to Land, to the Kings great content: she rewarded her deliuerer with a rich chaine of Diamonds.

In Iuly, the Prince of Contie tooke to his second Wife *Catherine* of Lorraine, daughter to the Duke of Guise, that was slaine at Blois, and of *Catherine* of Cleues, who was one of the Daughters and Co-heires of the Duke of Neuers, uniting the houfes of Bourbon and Lorraine in mutuall loue by this Alliance, whereby it seemed all future ieaousies being taken away, both houfes would hereafter continue good friends, for there is no greater bond to tie Noble Families together, then marriages, and the fruitfull issue which descends of them.

The infectious plague hauing begun to disperse it selfe, by reason of their stouie burials, and the little care they had to prevent the danger; in Autumne it grew very violent, and to be generally dispersed ouer the whole Citie: Such as had meanes were forced to retire themselves to their Farmes, and Countrey-houfes, to auoid the danger.

The straightnesse of their Pest-houfe did increase the mischiefe, being easily gotten when as they did lye and conuerse together, for such as were infected did infect others being not lodged apart: the which was not soe terrible in time by the Magistrates: besides the Pest-houfe being in the furthest end of Saint Iaquess Suburbs, such as were infected on the other side of

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The house of a  
dogge to his  
Master.

the Citie, nor able to endure so long a carriage, died by the way, and some yet breathing, were A buried for dead by them that carried them. To prevent the like inconvenience hereafter they began to think of another Pest-house of an admirable structure, in another part of the Citie, as you shall hereafter heare: Winter coming on, the plague ceased in Paris, and was dispersed into the Country, whereas many were thought that had fled from it in the Citie.

I will be bold to relate a memorable accident, though out of France, yet neere vnto the frontier. A Gentleman of Sawoy called *Charmet*, going in September after his accustomed manner, into the next woods to hunt some wilde beasts, hauing no other armes but a peece and a dagger, and for his companion a fierce dogge, of a Mastiue kinde, which would hunt vpon the scent, and finde out their dens: hauing wandred long in this wood, & lost his way, B being very peniue, he comes at last againe into his way, the day being neere spent; he had not gone farre but he was encountered by foure theuees, who with their swords drawne came to assaile him, who finding himselfe vnable to make resistance against so many, he encourageth his dogge, and with his peece kills one of the theuees; the other three presse him in such sort, as he studied how he might flee from them, his dog takes another of the theuees by the throat and staies him, being thus intangled by the dogge, the Gentleman gets away his sword, and then refusing courage, he chalet away the rest, whom the dogge pursued with all eagerness, but his Master beat him backe, who being thus freed from theuees, he went to the next village called *Saint Albaine*, where he tells his misfortunes, and shewes both his and his dogs wounds, perswading both the Iustice and the Inhabitants to pursue these theuees, who presently went into the wood, and followed them by their footing, hauing beene often molested by their theeuings; They could not be long hidden; In the end they found three young men in an hoftry standing out of the way, being a receptacle for such people: one of them being hurt in the arme, argued their guilt, foall being carried to Chambery, they were broken and laid halfe dead vpon wheels, suffering a condigne punishment for their murders and thefts.

Birth of the  
Duke of Or-  
leans.

The King had another Sonne, a great increase for France, the Flower-de-Luce is neuer in danger when there be Males, they be the ruine of home-bred seditions, and a perpetuall support of the Salique Law: this last borne Sonne had the title of Duke of Orleans giuen him. It is one of the goodliest Dukedomes in the whole kingdom, and is next vnto the Dauphin; D the Citie of Orleans stands vpon the Riuer of Loyre; It is very ancient, as appears by national Councils, and decrees of Popes, and in the first race of our Kings it had the title of a Kingdome, when as *Clouis* diuided his Realme to his three Sonnes. There were bonfires and shooting of Ordnance for the birth of this Sonne, and all France did reioyce, to see the old decayed tree, reuiue againe and grow young, by these new plants, vnder whose shadow they should finde refuge, in heat, raine, and tempestuous weather.

Reuenues of  
Nauarre vnto  
the  
Crown.

Henry the fourth, when he was but King of Nauarre, enioyed goodly hereditarie possessions, as well in Gasconie, Guienne, Vendoline, and generally thorowout the Realme, as in the Low-countries, and other foraine parts: being come to the Crowne of France, and to a greater fortune, he made an Edi& in Aprill, one thousand five hundred ninete and two: by E the which he would haue all those his reuenues of Nauarre, with the rest, managed distinctly & a part, hauing a charitable care of his onely Sister, whom he loued deere, and of his Creditors, to whom he had ingaged his Lands before his coming to the Crowne: wherefore vntill this money were paid, he held it no Iustice to vnite those Lands vnto the Crowne: The Kings Proctor opposed himselfe against the Kings will, saying; That by the lawes of France, all that was the Kings, did accree vnto the Crowne, as small streames which fall into great Riuers, and those into the Sea, lose their names. But when as the King had lost his Sister, (who died without children) and had paid those priuate debts, this yeare in Iune, by his Edi& he vnited his Realme of Nauarre, with those other dignities and possessions which he held from his Ancestors, vnto the Crowne, as they might not afterwards be diuided. So as F his Officers of Nauarre lost both their places and fees.

Death of Bel-  
lieue Chan-  
cellor of  
France.

*Pomponius Belliue* Chancellor of France, & the Nestor of our Age, left the corruption of this world, to get an incorruptible life in heauen; He dedicated the first fruits of glory vnto the Senate of Lyon his native Country, but being called so Paris that great light, he was well knowne vnto Kings, and finding himselfe mortifie for the secret counsels of Court and difficult affaires of the kingdome, then to plead causes, notwithstanding that it was his profession, and had supplied the place of President, yet following his owne humour, he gaue his mind wholly

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A wholly to ferraine employments, being sent in many Ambassages, the which he did happily performe. He was buried with as much honour as could be desired for a man of his fashion, being followed at his funeral by many Bishops, Knights of the Order, and the whole Court of Parliament, *Fenouille* appointed Bishop of Montpellier, made his funeral Sermon: he had a Monument of Marble erected, on the which was grauen this Epitaph in golden letters.

## D. O. MA.

POMPONIO. BELLEVIO. FRANCIS. CANCELLARIO. VIRO. PIETATE. DOCTRINA. MAGNITVDINE. ANIMI. SVMMA. IN. PRINCIPEM. FIDE. CLARISSIMO. QVI. SVB. V. REGIVS. HONORIBVS. AMPLISSIMIS. AC. VARIIS. LABORIOSISSIMISQVE. LEGATIONIBVS. PRO. REPVB. GESTIS. PACE. DOMI. FORISQVE. CONFECTA. LEGIBVS. ET. SIGILLO. PRINCIPIS. INTEGERRIME. PÆFVVISSET. GLORIA. NON. OPTVBS. CVMVLATVS. OBJIT. ANNO. SALVTIS. 1607. ID. SEPT. ETATIS. 70. MARTIA. PRVNERIA. LIBERIQVE. MOEST. POS.

In France, to the end that future ages might know, there is a kinde of men whose Parents Edict against them that rob the publicke. C were neuer knowne by name, when as they come with their gripping Tallons to manage the Publicke or Princes Treasure, they sodainly become all gold, as if they had bathed themselves in the riuer Pactolus; in their diet, apparell, traine and pallaces, they exceed the greatest Dukes, how rightly many doubt, how freely all men know; yet they are terrified by an Edict made euery third yeere, but as it were with a still lightning, for hauing paid a small more reuenue out of a great prey, being freed from all their villanies, they giue themselves boldly to theeuing.

This yeere Iudges were chosen to presse this sponge, or rather appointed to reuenge these publicke thefts, abundance of wealth was now fall vnto the owners, neither wanted they any other witnesses, then to enquire of their birth, patrimony, and what they had gotten together, D capital questions were not troublesome, the matter was apparent.

The Marquesse of Allegre had during the ciuill warres traitorously murdered *Halot* at Vernon vpon Seine being vnarmed, coming vnto him vnder a colour of saluting him, being armed and with a traine of souldiers: He presently left the Kings partie (the which hee had maintained constantly) and fled to the League: And to the end he might free both himselfe and the rest that were guilty of this foule murder, he procured that a young man who had serued him as a Page should publicly carry Saint Romans Chafe, not without the emulation of other malefactors. As many as had bene confors in this murder were by the Court of Parliament condemned and executed in Picture, and as many as could be taken, died for the fact: for the suruiuing wife with an incredible charge did offer vnto him the E blond of the guilty, or of those which with a dry hand and ignorant of the Treason were present at the fact; after the restlesse rage of a courageous wife, at length this young man *La* fell into her hands, being in bonds he pleads his cause before the Parliament at Rouen, he seeks to proue his innocency by his renderage, by his duty to his Lord; by his hands that were not imbrued with blood, hauing not at that time euer drawne sword, it is not any guilt for him to looke on, that could not auoid it; the Law doth not condemne any but such as when they might haue forbidden it, would not: The dishonour lies vpon them that be- hold and wink at violence offered, and nor vpon them which are vnable to repell force, but must of necessity be silent and still, *Pisot* cried out to his companions which beheld his ruine, *By Iehv* (thinke off) you make the guilt common.

F *La Moss* Advocate did adde, that his case was farre otherwise, then that which *Iohannes Papid* describes vnto Lewis the Emperour: *He offendis as well as the actor, who when he can correct, neglects to mend*: notwithstanding *La Moss* being doubtfull of his life, and loth to rely too much vpon the concelled hope of his innocency, he hath his refuge vnto the Altars and Churches, as if they were safe guards for Wickednesse. Whilst his cause is in question, he appeales vnto *S. Remane* the reuenger of a pardoned crime, he calls the Archbishops *Ioyeuse*, and the Chanons of Rouen to assist him in this controuersie, and to defend the priuiledges

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of

of their Saint. If it be a guilt to sinne with the eies, for him whose hands were free from murder, notwithstanding although he were the most detestable murderer liuing, by the onely carrying of this chafe, the offence being pardoned, there was no more question to be made vnto him; the ancient priuiledges of Neustria were broken, force and reproach was offered vnto their household-god, the custome had bene obserued for many ages, not newly inuented, when as by the Hebrew law, euery yeere before Easter their custome was, to let a malefactor free: neither were some Cities in Palestina vnto to *Romulus* Sanctuary, being built as a refuge for offenders, *Gregory of Tours* doth generally in his Annals witness, in what reuerence the Altars and Churches of the gods were, and how many offenders haue by that meanes escaped present and capitall punishments. Crimes are not wiped away with blood onely: there is nothing of greater efficacy to pacifie Gods wrath, then repentance, and how acceptable it is, our Sauour teacheth, when as he set the Adulteress free, who was ready to be stoned by the feuerity of *Moses* law: whilst he liued vpon earth, hee did not condemne any Malefactor, but did blesse euen the most wicked with his company and table: as *Paul*, who was afterwards the light of the Gentiles; *Publicans*, as *Mathew*; *Adulteresses*, as *Magdeline*. He did so often wipe away the reproches of insulting circumcised men, as he did publickly confesse, that he came into the world to cure the diseased, and that the whole had not any need of a Physitian. It is no fable that is reported of *S. Romsin*, who slew that monstrous Dragon which annoyed Normandy, as of *Hercules* and his Lemean snake with seven heads. *Saint Romsin* drew this raging monster out of his den, and as it were made tame and bound, brought it to publike fire in the middelt of the City, with the helpe of a Malefactor. It hath bene a custome obserued for many ages, that euery yeere an Offender should be set at liberty, and haue his life giuen him.

Antiquity is a great testimony, and of more force then any Records: it came vnto posterity by tradition: in the affirmation of miracles the faith of Antiquity is more ancient then all monuments. *Saint Augustine* to the end he might confirme the faith of miracles, did thus write vpon them that doubted, *I haue seene Christ, who was seene and did appeare, neither haue I seene them that saw him, but I haue beleued the confirmed opinion of Nations, and the reports which is very authentike, this was commanded from Heauen, this was deliuered vs by our Ancestors, and hath bene obserued vnto our time, to seeke to alter and peruert this, is nothing else but to seeke a sacrilegious way to Religion.*

It hath bene obserued in all ages, that Malefactors were freed from punishment vnto the sight of their gods. *Ninus* did first erect Statues whither offenders might flie: he did set vp an Image like vnto his father *Belus*, whither if any one came, he was pronounced free from the crime and punishment. The Athenians had an Altar of Mercy, The Ephelians gaue refuge to Malefactors in *Diana's* Temple: *Osyris* to the Egyptians, *Apollo* to the Assyrians, *Iupiter* to the Itacenses, *Minerua* to the Lacedemonians, who were their Tutelary gods. Finally, they fallily attribute to Deities, that which Christians doe now giue vnto the true God. At Rome the day before the Assumption of our Lady, there are two offenders brought forth to execution, and giuen to the Virgin, who lest examples of mercy to be imitated, and preidents of Christian clemency to be embraced and followed. On Palme-sunday Eue there is one deliuered out of the Chasteler at Paris.

At Vendosme in the Abbey of *Saint Triade*, a Malefactor, after that hee hath gone naked with a great Torch on his shoulder thorow the towne, being followed by the whole Clergy, and admonished by the Crier to leade a better life, he is not onely freed from his bonds, but being refreshed with good victuals, is set at liberty. The new Bishop of Orleans, at his first entrance into the City, lets all criminal persons at liberty. This was giuen to God, not that through hope of impunity offenders should grow more bold; but that their liues not being taken away, they should acknowledge to haue receiued them againe from God. Who will think that our wise fathers (as some malicious people say) being abused, would so long haue endured this Imposture? as if this age (which is but a step-dame, to the Ancient, and hath fallen into Heresie) had discovered this fraud. But we (a more wicked generation then our fore-fathers) are not wise in heart and beliefe, but with our eies onely: We giue not credit to that wee see, but what wee feele with our hands, when as faith comes by hearing, neither doe we approach to neere vnto God by any vertue, as by Mercy, which consists chiefly in sparing the guilty: for as *Seneca* saith, *The whole world should perish if mercy did not temper anger.* There was much more pleaded by the Advocates for *La Motte*, and in defence

A defence of the ancient priuiledge of the Cathedrall Church at Rouen, the which for breuitie sake I omit.

On the other side *Halots* incensed wife, an implacable reuenger of a wicked murder, powred forth many bitter words: That the Altars of the gods were much defiled with this rabble of wicked men: that they were better pleased with chastity and cleanness then with sacrifices, and therefore it was vsuall among the Ancients, before they beguine the sacrifice, one cried out with a loud voice: *Goe farre from hence ye men that are prophane.* And the Hea then thought that the gods dwelt in their Temples: neither was it vnworthily spoken of one, *The true power of dedication is that which brings in God, and sets him in his appointed place: It is not lawfull for eueryman to doe this, but for such as haue chaste hands and holy hearts.* And who would endure the Temples of the gods to be polluted by wicked murderers and theues, who defile all they touch and breathe on? They wrongfully produce many examples out of the Heathen, Hebrewes, and Christians, when as all Sanctuaries were instituted to protect them only that were guilty of murder committed by chance, or an vn-premeditated crime: for so God the Reuenger commanded: *If any one hating his neighbour, hath laid wait for his life, and hath slaine him flying, and then shall flie vnto one of the aboue named Cities, the Elders shall take him, and deliuer him vnto his neereft kinsmen, whose blood he hath spilt, and he shall die.* Neither was the feuerity of the Churches in old time to be removed, when as *Merone* moued with the hatred of *Fredegond* his step-mother, had fled vnto *Saint Martins* Church, (which was then very religiously worshipped by all men) King *Chilperic* his father (yeelding too much to a bloody woman whom he loued) wrote a threatening letter to *Gregory of Tours*: *Cist that Apostata* (said he) *out of the Church, or else I will fire the whole Country.* The Emperours would not haue their Statues to protect any other, but such as were oppress by the enemy, and power of their enemies. *Lucius* the 3. commands that publike theues and way-layers should be excluded from the immunities of the Church. *Vidus Pape*, the light of the French lawes in his age, makes mention, that being Councillor in Dauphine, there were two murderers drawne from the Altar to execution. The Ancients did rightly call that the Altar of mercy, to the which they were delected by the stormes of angry Fortune, and vnable to satisfie: or that had vnwittingly stricken, or false into any other casual crime, had fled. Neither were pardons granted but to them that were guilty of vnpremeditated murders. When as *Constantine* the great at the birth of his children granted these kinde of graces, he excluded murderers, way-layers, witches, and adulterers: They that maintaine this wonder of *S. Romsin*, to absolve offenders, haue it not confirmed by any Annals and Records, but only by Antiquity. What ancient Writer (being then in a manner all Monkes) would haue past ouer in silence so great a miracle of a diuall power? hauing set downe most triuolous things, yet no man writes of this serpent, which was brought bound to a publike fire, whereby we may rightly beleuee there was not any such wonder. Neither is it credible, that vnder religious Kinges, one Malefactor carrying the chaine, a multitude of wicked men should be freed from bonds and punishment, which is the sinew of ciuill government, especially vnder *Leuis* the ninth, who was most sparing of pardons, and if he did with a trembling hand grant any, yet he still made his Almoner, who was his Confessor, acquainted therewith. But let vs allow that which is written of the most hidden secrets of the Hebrewes, that it is neither recorded in parchment, nor grauen in the barks of trees or stones, lest Time should weare it out, but left vnto vs by our Fathers by long Tradition: yet in maintaining the priuiledge, the abuse is to be corrected, euen by *S. Romsin's* will, who when as in that worthy act, he had but one Malefactor for his companion, would haue but one afterwards to be pardoned. But in our age what a summe of wicked men, being protected by this brazen wall, doe freely laugh at publike lawes? For by this the company of offenders is freed, any one that is past shame, that respects not his reputation, and blushteth not at the faces of men, submitting his shoulders to this holy burthen, which he had so often subiected to the Snake, by his only act he besse all the rest from ignominie, and absolues the absen, the which were in solent with all other Nations. Wherefore the widdowes Advocate demanded *La Motte's* head, with a longer speech, as a sacrifice to the ashes of her deare husband: the cause had many hearings, and much was written by the Clergy of Rouen for the defence of their priuiledge.

In the towne of Metz there was an Ensign of the Garrison called also *La Motte*, an insolent man, and dissolute in his life and conversation, who being extremely in loue with a young Virgin within the towne, resolved to win her by all affirmments: if not, to get her by force.

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In this wicked designe he employed a drunken Gossip, whose profession was to be a bawd: the A abusing this Virgin with an honest shew, brings her into the souldiers house, like a sheep to the wolfe and slaughter; being shut vp into a prison, he rauisheth her: her miserable parents are continually tormented for the want of her: they run vp and downe weeping and crying that their daughter is stolne away, they moue the Iudges to seeke her out and to reuenge: they hauing sent for the Captaines of the Garrison, who were suspected of this rape, aduised them speedily to deliuer the virgin vntoucht vnto her complaining parents. *La Mot* the rauisher flood by, who being struck with the Prætors voice, and the horror of his offence, trembles and apprehends the punishment of his fact: he goes home, and resolues to adde one wickednesse to another, and performs it; if he should restore the Virgin deflowred, there were no meanes B to escape punishment: wherefore the first villany must be hidden by another. This cruel man, who had learned in warlike slaughters not to feare bloud, doth not keepe his cruell hands from the murder of this Virgin: he bereaues her both of life and honour: and left there should be some markes of this murder to discouer him, he cuts the body in peeces, and putting it into a sacke, casts it into the next Riuer. This foule fact lay hidden vntill that this libidinous Ensigne-bearer had taken away another maid from a garrison Souldier with the like lust, who not bearing this indignity, complained to the Gouverneur. *La Mot* with the bawd (who was accustomed to corrupt young maids) and the bawds seruant, were committed to prison: they refuse to be tried by the Iudge of that place. But soone after, the first fact, which he thought time had worn out of memory, began to breake forth: for the bawd and C seruant being examined apart, the truth began to shew it selfe, but there wanted a competent Iudge to proceed in the cause.

Rage and violence of a discontented man.

At length the matter was referred to the great Councell, there to be tried: and they were all carried bound to Paris, where being put to the Racke, the Bawd and her seruant not being able to endure the extremity of the torments, did willingly confesse all the fact, whereupon they were condemned to the Gallows, and *La Motte* to lose his head, who hearing of this fatal sentence, beganne to storme, and refused to be bound and lead to the place of execution: he striues with the Hang-man and Sergeants; in the end being cast vpon the Ground raging like a mad man, they binde him and carrie him out vpon their shoulders, and put him into a Cart: being come vnto the Scaffold, he shewed no more mildnesse, but much D selfe modellie and resolution then was befitting an Officer that professed Armes. Hee renues his rage and violence, and preisteth his friends that were about him to goe to the King to sue for his pardon: He that was now dying did still liue in hope. The Duke of Elperton, remembring his valour, had sued for his pardon: and Queene *Marguerite* going late to the King at night, had beene very importunate for him, but the King, overcome with no prayers, commanded hee should die. *La Motte* being told that the King would not bee moued for his pardon, and being aduised to take his death resolutely, and to forbear these intemperat humors which did not become a gallant Souldier, the which in publike were taken for signes of basenesse: That hee which had so often sought death in the thickest troupes, should now not feare a Hang-man: Being at last made more calme, E he kneeled downe, suffered his eies to be couered, submitted his necke to the blocke, and lost his head.

In the beginning of this yeere the cold was so violent as it killed Corne, Vines and Trees, especially those that had any pith. There had not beene so hard a Winter scene in many ages. The swiftest riuers were so frozen, as Carts laden with great Burthens, went as freely ouer them, as vpon the firme land, the Rockes of Vines euen to the very root withered away, with the force of the cold, neither did they spring againe, vnlesse they were cut off: all Nuts although they were old, and had very hard shells, withered away; and which is wonderfull, Medlar trees and other which are most firme dried away. The breath going hot from the mouth, grew presently white with cold, water taken hot from the fire grew presently hard, F and the Wine which was in the Caves would not runne out of the Vessels: so as in many places they were faine to cut it with Hatchets: as *Belley* reports happened in his time, when as the Kings Army wintered in the Duchie of Luxembourg: The riuier of Seine was so frozen, as the King and Courtiers attending vpon him, passed it daily ouer without feare or suspicion of danger. The people who liued vpon their daily prouision, were much opprest for want of wood.

Death of the D. of Montpensier.

Henry of Bourbon, Prince of the bloud, Duke of Montpensier, and Prince of Dombes, having

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A having languished two yeeres of sicknesse, and wasted to the very bones, being not able to receiue any sustentance, was nourished (as they say) with womans milke. A little before his end, the Duke of Orleans, the Kings second sonne, was made sure to his only daughter; his house hauing this support, by the perswasion of father *Angelo* his father in law, he left all worldly cares, and applied himselfe to heavenly meditations. The sharpnesse of the Winter did halten his lingring end: for the force of it was so piercing, as it not onely dried vp his bowels being weake, but many (the cold growing milder) went away suddenly, as the Physicians said. Being then of the age, which makes a man of a goodly representation, rich in wealth, fauoured by his King, followed like a Prince, and abounding in the gifts of fortune, and the vertues of the minde, remaining still constant in the Catholike Faith: He died in the armes of his father in law and wife, without any motion, like vnto a Lampe whose oyle is spent. His funerall pompe was prepared: an Image of Wax was made like vnto himselfe liuing, and laid in a stately bed with golden Furniture, and the Armes of the House of Bourbon about it, whereas his Table was serued eight daies together in the same state and magnificence as if he had beene liuing. His funerall rites were performed in our Ladies Church.

Marriage of the Duke of Orleans to the Duke of Montpensier's daughter.

Order of Princes obsequies.

*Petrus Fennilius* the Kings Preacher, and appointed Bishop of Montpellier, did after the accustomed manner commend the Prince, with a learned Oration, where as all the Courtiers mourned. But his death hapning about Shrouetide, all their vsuall sports were laid aside, C many grieving at the cost they had bestowed for this pompe. The Dauphins maskes with the young Noblemen about him (for that it had beene importuned in this time of mourning) was deferred, till that *Montpensiers* obsequies were ended according to his dignitie: which done, his bodie was carried to his house at Champigny in Poitou, and there laid in the graue with his Ancestors, with the like princely pompe.

The Iesuites could not be contained in one Kingdome: as they had beene receiued into France, so they did desire to haue free access into Nauarre, and Bearne, for the propagation of Religion: That there was no cause of difference why they should not be admitted into the one Realme as well as into the other, seeing they were subiect to one Lord. They of Bearne opposed themselves with all violence, who hated the Iesuites, no lesse than D *Philip* did *Demosthenes*, and the other chiefe citizens of Athens, who were the defenders of the Atticke Libertie.

Iesuites admitted to goe into Nauarre.

The King being at Blois in the yeere 1599. granted by the Edict to them of the Religion of Nauarre, and Bearne; That no Iesuite should come within their Confinnes, lest they should breed some inuouation that might trouble the publike quiet: yet the Bishops in the country requiring the contrary, the King changing his resolution, decreed, That they should be admitted into all places as well as the other Orders, abrogating the contrary Edict; and protesting that his meaning was to send the Iesuites thither, to assist the Bishops to re-plant the Catholike Faith. All the Iudges and Officers in the Country were wonderfully discontented; for they hated the Iesuites about all creatures liuing, keeping them far from their limits, E and in former times they put them to death like Spies, if they found any: but the Maiestie of Henry the fourth is growne so great, as his power is feared as well at the foot of the Pyrenee Mountains, which distinguish France from Spaine, as in Paris, and as is willingly obeyed. A rare felicitie of a Prince, which happens not to many, whose preferences are respected, but when they are retired, they are like vnto the Sunne, which being set, clouds arise, so doe Factions by their absence.

We will relate a memorable fact, and the fatal end of a most wicked man, and cunning Impostor, of whom all Europe hath spoken. He was another *Proterus*, and transformed himselfe into sundry shapes. Sometimes he called himselfe *Casir Floris*, another time *Francis Faus*; sometimes a Geneuois, another time a Neapolitane: sometimes he counterfeited himselfe a Physician, and sometimes a Merchant, but at his triall he termed himselfe *Francis Faus*, which we will keepe. He was borne in a little towne called Capriola, in the territories of Genoua; he spent his youth in many voyages, professing Physicke: being foure and thirty yeeres old, he came to Nouara, and there making gaine of his physycall profession, he becomes a suter to a Merchants daughter called *Catherina Olina*; the father fearing that this stranger had another wife, desired to haue some certificate of his country and parents. He who was exceeding cunning in counterfeiting of any hand, drawes an instrument himselfe, annexing a seale vnto it, whereby the Iudge of Saint *Sauerin*, a little towne neere vnto Naples, doth certifie

Francis Faus a cunning Impostor.

He all men, that *Faua* was borne there, a frugal man, of the Tribe and Familie of *Fiori*, the A which was an ancient, and no obscure house. The Merchant of *Nouara* knowing no deceit, gives him his daughter in marriage; being at length weary of the place and name, he gets him into a Towne of the Iurisdiction of *Placentia*, called *Castelara*, with his wife and three children remaining, and small store of stuffe: and being impatient of his fortune, finding himselfe vnable to maintaine a familie with so little meanes, he gaue his minde to incredible villanies, and hauing gathered together fiftie Crownes in Gold, he comes to Naples, whereas when he had fought out among the Bankers, that *Alexander Bosfa* was the chiefe, he gets him a long gowne, and counterfeites himselfe an Abbot. He insinuates with this Banker, and persuades him that he hath a Nephew at Venice, which deals in his businesse, desiring him to make him ouer fiftie Crownes to be paid at Venice by exchange by his Correspondent, B *Bosfa* who suspected no deceit, writes his letters, and hauing receiued the money, deliues them to this Impostor, who doth imitate it daily, vntill in the end he could counterfeit *Bosfa's* hand. After fifteene daies he restored the letters againe vnto *Bosfa*, and receiued his owne, pretending that his Nephew, hauing ended his businesse, was gone from Venice. Conuerting thus with the Banker, he gathered vp fume stragling letters, which lay disperfed, being of no moment. And he being from home, he goes vnto his booke-keeper, and desires him to lend him paper and a seale, hauing good opportunitie to write vnto his friends, the messenger being in haste; hauing good leisure in the absence of *Bosfa*, being a speedy writer, he writes fix letters suddenly, and seales them with *Bosfa's* seale; he deuised this fraud that he might obferue the forme of his paper, and the manner of his seale. Finding no such paper at Naples, he buies C the like at Ancona, and counterfeites the seale, the which he keeps for to effect his villanie.

During his abode at Naples, he was encouraged by a pardon granted for the like offence; There was one that had counterfeited a Bankers letters condemned to be hanged, going to execution, and meeting with the Viceroy of Naples, and the Cardinall of Agnania, he was deliuered, so as he expected the like grace, if he were taken in the like offence. Soone after he came to Padoua with a haufen crowne, counterfeiting himselfe to be a Priest. In this habit he goes in the euening to visite the Bishop of Concordia, and faines himselfe to be the Bishop of Venafrey in the Kingdome of Naples, who was forced to flie his country, vpon suspicion of adulterie with the Duke of Caietans Neece, whereof he was fallily accused by his ill-willers: that being banished from his country and house, he had beene at Rome to purge D himselfe vnto the Pope of so foule a fact, but the hatred of his great enemies had made him to yeeld to their enuie, who hauing often sought his life by poison and force, he had secretly escaped out of Rome in a poore Priests habit, and had fled vnto him as vnto a Sanctuary and safe refuge. He intreats him to fauour a miserable man and a vagabond, and that he would finde him some trustie man, vnder whose name he might safely receiue at Venice ten thousand ducats of gold which he had left in trust at Naples with *Ian Baptista Carraciola* Marquis of Saint Elmi: That in his aduersitie the said Marquis and the Archbishop of Bari his brother, had beene his great fauourers: and that he might require this kindnesse with some good turne, he had betrothed his Neece vnto the Marquis with a dowrie of a hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, and the money which he had left in deposito was to buy chaines, iewels, and other ornaments for women, whereby he might purchase his returne into his country. The Bishop of Concordia greewing at his misfortune, promifeth him all helpe, and to giue him a faithfull man to negotiate his businesse, namely, *Anthony Bertholomius* a Banker, by whom he might safely receiue the money at Venice which he had left at Naples. This counterfeite Priest answered that he thought it very conuenient, and hauing giuen him thanks he retired himselfe secretly.

This practise was confirmed by one of the Bishop of Concordias seruants, who said he had seene him at Rome in a Bishops weed, so as if there had beene any suspicion of fraud, the Bishop by the testimonie of his old seruant had easily freed it. *Faua* faines that he had written to Naples to *Carraciola*, and letting passe so many daies as a post might goe from Padoua to Naples, and returne from thence to Venice, he giues a packet to *Olina Olina* his wifes brother, being acquainted with his couzenage; the which like a flying post he brought to *Angelo Bosfa* at Venice, being vnto *Alexander* at Naples: hauing opened the packet, he read the letter that was written vnto himselfe, and other three written from the Marquis *Carraciola*, whereof one was to the Bishop of Concordia, another to him of Venafrey, and the third to *Anthony Bertholomius*.

These

A These three letters are sent from Venice to Padoua, to the Bishop of Concordia: hauing read that which was written to himselfe, he sends for the counterfeite Bishop, and deliuers him his, the third vnto *Bertholomius* being then at Venice, with charge that he should receiue the money for his fellow and friend the Bishop. All these letters were counterfeite, and written by *Faua*, that written by *Alexander Bosfa*, was of that paper which he had bought at Ancona, and sealed with his seale, the other of the Marquis of Carraciola was as cunningly counterfeite. *Alexander Bosfa's* letter to *Angelo* contained these words: You shall vnderstand that the Marquis of Saint Elmi, within three daies after that the Archbishop his brother shall come to Naples, is to deliuer vnto me ten thousand ducats; to the end that you deliuer so much to Anthony Bertholomio a Merchant at Venice, to buy pearles, precious stones, and other Jewels of B that kinde. The letter to the counterfeite Bishop of Venafrey was written in this sence: I haue vnderload by your letters that you are safe in the Bishop of Concordias house, who hath promifed you the helpe and assistance of Anthony Bertholomius a Merchant at Venice, by his meanes you shall receiue ten thousand ducats, which you left with me, within three daies after that my brother the Archbishop shall be returned to Naples, I will send a letter vnder Bertholomius, certifying, that you may receiue that money for the buying of Jewels. That which was written to Bertholomius contained these words: I vnderstand by the Bishop of Concordia, that I am to pay ten thousand ducats to buy Jewels, within three daies he will be here that should deliuer the money, hauing restitued it, I will presently deliuer it to Alexander Bosfa, from whom I will take a bill for the payment of so much to you at Venice.

C Within three daies after, *Faua* suggests that he had receiued fise other letters by a Post, one was written to *Francis Bordenali* factor to *Alexander Bosfa*, another from the said *Alexander* to *Angelo*, the three others to himselfe fallily called Bishop of Venafrey, to the Bishop of Concordia, and to Bertholomius, all counterfeite. The bill of exchange went in these words: Hauing receiued this letter, within three daies after or sooner, without expecting any other aduice, pay vnto Anthony Bertholomius a Merchant and Banker of Venice, ten thousand ducats, the which we haue receiued from the Marquis of Saint Elmi, to buy pearles and Jewels, and if Bertholomius will exceed this summe, doubt not to giue it him, for the Marquis hath left a thousand ducats more in deposito with vs. The letter which was written to Bertholomius, spake thus: I send you bills of exchange for ten thousand ducats, whereof I made mention in my former writing three daies D since, you shall deliuer it to the Banker, and hauing receiued the money, you shall buy precious stones, pearles, gold chaines, and such like, according to the direction of my Lord Bishop of Concordia. He aduifeth *Faua* to goe himselfe to Venice, and to make choise of that rich ware, wherein there was much deceit: he yeelds to his aduice, and hauing letters of commendation to Bertholomius, taking for his companion *Iannu Peter Olina* another of his wifes brethren, he goes to Venice, salutes Bertholomius, and deliuers him the Bishop of Concordias letters. He not knowing what a Scorpion he did nouriish in his bosome, entertained *Faua* for his guest, and did reuerence him as a Prelate: hauing receiued the bill of exchange from him; he presents it to *Angelo Bosfa*, who accepts it, and promifeth payment accordingly, whereupon Bertholomius goes about to make choise of his pearles, he giues a scantling vnto the Goldsmith, E hauing seene the ware, he paises the price that was agreed vpon: During this businesse, this counterfeite Bishop staid some daies in Bertholomius house, where he carried a very religious shew, hauing alwaies a Breniary in his hand, still mumbling his prayers like an Ape, so as he was held to be very deuout; and when as he went abroad, he put on such a countenance, as he was taken of all men for a reuerend Bishop, and was much esteemed by the Generall of the Venetians Gallies, hauing carefully inquired of Bertholomius of the fame and life of this Prelate. And to the end he might more safely abuse Bertholomius, he told him of his misfortunes, of his proseription, of the malice of his enemies, and repeats vnto him what he had said vnto the Bishop of Concordia, adding that he had an intent to goe to Turin, to speake with the Marquis of Este; who was going into Spaine about the marriage of the Duke of Mantouas sonne, with the Duke of Sauoyes daughter; to intreat him to procure him letters to the Viceroy of Naples; that he might be restored to his country and Bishopricke. Whilest he remained with Bertholomius, he discouraged of matters of State, especially about the controuersie betwixt the Venetians and the Bishop of Rome, seeming often to take their parts, yet with such moderation as he differed from the Venetians onely for religious cause. He often and very sildy talked of accidents which hapned vnto him, that he had beene sent Nuntio from Pope Clement the 8. vnto the Emperour *Rodolphe*, that besides his entertainment, he



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he had spent of his owne in this Ambassage 10000. crownes, for the which charge he had A received no grace, when as by the iudgement of the Archbishop of Barry and other Statesmen he had defured a Cardinals hat: *Bertholinus* looking wilyly on him at the Table, said vnto him; *Vileſſe I be much deceiued I haue ſeene you eſſe where, the which Fana did affirme, and vntoſſe my memorie and mine eyes wander, I thinke it was in the Marquis of Palauines Palace, vpon the riuer of Salo, where we did recreate our ſelues with fiſhing.*

True it is that *Fana* was neuer there, yet whether that he had learned of ſome other that *Bertholinus* had bene in the Marquiſſes houſe, and there taken delight in fiſhing, or that he had ſome diuining ſpirit, he did ſo intermix truth with his lies, as *Bertholinus* was forced to confeſſe that which had neuer hapned. The buſineſſe being thus effected by this counterfeit Prelate, he writes vnto the Biſhop of Concordia, that the Jewels being bought according to B his deſire, he meant to depart the next day early, that they might be at Padoua before noone, deſiring *Bertholinus* that going into Piedmont he would let him haue *Martin* his oldeſt ſeruant for a companion. *Bertholinus* hauing taken a diſcharge from the Biſhop of Concordia, deliuerſ all the Jewels to *Fana*, who gaue him a note for the receipt thereof. *Fana* hauing packt vp all, he offered *Bertholinus* a large reward for his paines, beſides his brokeredg, the which in regard of the Biſhop of Concordia he would by no meanes receiue. But heare the villanie of a moſt wicked gueſt, who fearing if for want of money he ſhould make ſale of any Jewels, he ſhould diſcouer his fraud by his want: Whileſt he lay in the Venetians houſe, he had obſerued that there was money in a cheſt in the Chamber where he was lodged, & he picks open the locke, and ſteales ſiue hundred crownes from his Hoſt, and locks the cheſt C againe, ſo as his theft could not be diſcouered. He goes to Padoua with *Bertholinus*, who was ignorant of this villanie, and hauing giuen many thanks to the Biſhop of Concordia, and commended his care who had giuen him ſo carefull an Hoſt and Factor, being impatient of all delay, making haſte as he ſaid to Turin, he retired himſelfe. *Bertholinus* returning home, and opening his cheſt, he found it empty, but to ſuſpect the Prelate of this, his dignitie and profeſſion did forbid him.

Fana robs his Hoſt.

Impoſture diſcouered.

The next day *Bertholinus* receiued nine thouſand ducates from *Angelo Boſſa*: but beheld there comes a Poſt with all ſpeed from Naples, to aduertſe *Angelo* that his Nephew *Alexander* had giuen no bills of exchange to the Marquis of Saint Elmi. The fraud being diſcouered, inquire is made for *Charles Pirrius* profeſſing himſelfe Biſhop of Venafrey, and a warrant granted to apprehend him. *Bertholinus* & *Boſſa* certiſied the Biſhop of Concordia, how they haue bene all abuſed, ſo as they hunt ouer all Italie for him, but in vaine: And they giue notice vnto forraine Nations of the villanie of this man, of his theft and flight, but they make particular mention of the Jewels, and of the weight of the pearle, with the colour and forme of the ſeales. The deſcription of this theft is ſent to *Lumagne* a Banker at Paris, who giues notice thereof to all the Goldſmiths.

*Fana* went not to Turin, as he made ſhew, but gets him home, and acquaints his wife and children with his intent to goe into France, that he had ſtore of gold and pretious ſuffe, whereupon he inſtantly changed his abode, and went backe againe to Venice with his wife, three children, and *Oſtiano* and *Peter Olima* his wiues brethren, and *Oſtiano* miſliking this voyage into France returned home. Paſſing from thence with all his familie through the Griſons and Suſſes, he came in Nouember to Paris, and there hired him a chamber. *Fana* thinking himſelfe in a ſafe country, ſtudied where he ſhould ſetle himſelfe; not at Paris, by reaſon of the concourſe of Italians and other Nations, alwaies fearing the miſfortunes which fell vpon him, but at Poyctiers, or Angiers: He writes to *Francis Corſina*, who gouerned an Apothecaries ſhop at Bruiſels, requiring him to come ſpeedily to Paris, that he had ſtore of gold wherewith they would buy drugs, and ſet vp a ſhop for Phyſicke, and that he ſhould haue an equal ſhare in the gaine. Whileſt he expects an answer from *Corſina*, he offers ſome Jewels to ſell to a Goldſmith called *Burgoing*, intreating him to helpe him ſo a broker, by F whoſe meanes he might make ſale thereof: The Goldſmith promiſeth him his owne labour, and receiues ſoure caſes, for the which he giues him a note of his hand. He ſhewes one of them to *Maurice* and *Turket*, two Jewellers, who viewing by their notes the forme and red colour, finde it to be ſtollen: They make an agreement betwix them to diuide the reward which was promiſed vpon the recouerie of the goods, and then they acquaint the Lieutenant Criminall therewith, who leiſing his habit, did counterfeit himſelfe a Merchant, and attended *Fana* returne, who came ſoone after, inquiring of the Goldſmith, if he had found

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A out any one to buy his Jewels, yes marry haue I, ſaid he, very ſufficient and wealthy men, the which *Fana* thinking to be true, he that had often circumvented others, fearing no deceit in this counterfeit Chapman, he drew forth his caſes of Jewels, the which by the marke that came from Venice were knowne to be the ſame. *Fana* ſeeing the Merchants to obſerue the ſeales very precieſly, began to feare, and to the end he might withdraw himſelfe, he pretended that he had ſome preſent buſineſſe with another Merchant at home, and that he would returne preſently whileſt they were viewing of the Jewels. But the Iudge diſcouering who he was, apprehends *Fana*, he examines him of his other caſes, who doth not denie but he had ten more, the which could not be hidden, whereupon the Iudge went with *Burgoing* the Goldſmith to *Fana* lodging, where they finde the number of the caſes, and the weight of the Gold and Jewels, and take an Inuentorie thereof. This cunning wretch ſeeing himſelfe brought into theſe ſtraights, intreats that he may not be ouerthrowne with the loſſe of ſo rich Merchandize, when as his life, good name, and the health of his wife and children were vnder the protection of the Law and Juſtice.

The day of his apprehenſion he was examined of whence he was; how old he was, and of what profeſſion? He answered that he was called *Francis Fana*, borne at Capriola, a towne in the Territories of Genoa, that he profeſſt Phyſicke, and was ſiue and ſortie yeeres old. That although his chiefe profeſſion was Phyſicke, yet he had bene accuſtomed to deale for Rings, Jewels, and Pearle: that he had bought this Merchandize at Placentia, from one that C was knowne, and two other vnknowne, to the end he might ſell them againe in France and the Low-countries. Being examined againe the thirteenth day of Ianuary, he ſaſ vpon his knees and craues mercy of the Iudges, ſaying, That whatſoeuer he had formerly confeſſed was falſe, that he was guiltie of the theft which was in queſtion, and ſo relates the whole manner of it, as you haue heard.

Examination of Fana.

But he determining to do that vnto himſelfe, which he expected from the Iudges, he reſolued to preuent the infamy by a voluntarie death: Being wrapt vp in his clothes & couerlets, to the end the warme bloud might flow more freely in the cold of winter, he cut the veins of either arme with a Penknife: but the violence of the cold congealed the bloud, and forced him to liue, that would gladly haue died, his ſtrength failing him, he calls for his keeper, his D armes were bound vp, and his life ſaued.

In the meane time Poſts ſlie to Venice with newes of his taking: They preſſe him daily with new queſtions, and bid him tell why he demanded *Martin* of the Biſhop of Concordia to accompany him in his way? He answered, he did it that he might more cunningly hide his fact. Being asked why he returned to Venice after ſo memorable a fact? He answered, that he had made choiſe thereof as his ſafeſt way, and that ſuch as purſued him would thinke he had bene gone farre from thence. The Iudge inquiring whether his wife were guiltie of all theſe villanies; He answered, that the ſecrets of ſuch waightie buſineſſes were not to be committed to a womans wit; that he was of an innocent life and conuerſation, as all Italian wiues be, to whom marriage is a willing ſeruitude: that he had bene alwaies moſt and E obedient, and neuer queſtioning of his affaires, notwithstanding the wife (as if ſhe ſhould be a witneſſe) was confronted with her husband: the hung about his necke, and could not ſpeake for ſobbing, but he hauing more courage, ſpake thus vnto her: *O wife, either my life ſhall be ſaued, or eſſe I ſhall haue a certaine death: If I liue, thou ſhalt enioy a loving husband; if I die, thou ſhalt loſe all cauſe of ſorrow.* When as hee viewed the caſes with the Jewels and Pearle, he accuſed his want of iudgement, hauing ſtil left them with the ſame wax and ſeales as he had receiued them at Venice.

Fana confeſſeth the fact.

Fana ſeekes to kill himſelfe.

But being often vrged that it was not his owne worke and induſtrie, to counterfeit ſo many letters and hands, for that when hee had written to a Biſhop, he did vſe pontificall phraſes; to a Marquis he wrote like a Souldier and Courtier, and to Merchants he vied their F owne ſtile: He answered, that he himſelfe was the inuenter of all thoſe deſeits; that hee was not ignorant of their manner of ſpeaking, and could ſo well counterfeit any mans hand, as it ſhould not be diſcerned from the right; he had no leſſe ſkill in ſeales, as he contended with any grauer in his art. Whileſt his cauſe was in queſtion, *Corſina* comes from Bruiſelles, he viſits the priſoner, and promiſeth him all help and aſſiſtance. *Fana* craues once this fauour, that he would aduertſe him daily what paſt in the Venetian Ambaſſadors houſe concerning him. Vpon the ſiue and twentieth day of February *Corſina* informes him that there was a Poſt come

He confeſſeth himſelfe to be a notable counterfeit.

come

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come from Venice, assuring that *Bertholomius* would be there the same day, and therefore he should speedily resolve of his escape. *Fana* having conferred with *Corfina*, he bewraies his minde vnto him, how he meant to escape; that he would slip into the keepers chamber in his absence, and so get downe into the Court; if he might be assisted with a Ladder of ropes, he would get vp to the top of the wall, and so into the street. *Corfina*, or some other fits his turne, and makes fast such a Ladder vnto the wall about six of the clocke at night, and cast a rope into the Court, with the which *Fana* should draw the Ladder vnto him.

This practise had like to haue taken effect on the seuen and twentieth day of February in a very darke night. *Fana* having sent a seruant of the house forth, to fetch him Wine, in the meane time he gets into the keepers chamber, strips himselfe, and with a rope slips downe into the Court: being there he was long searching for the rope which was tied to the Ladder, for that the night was darke and rainie: hauing found it, he goes vp, but being too thort, he could not get to the top. Whilst he strives to come to the top of the wall, he that went to fetch him wine returnes, and finding him not there, he tels the keeper: he with his seruants finding *Fana*s clothes, take him hauing one foot ouer the wall, and shut him vp close: they presently goe forth with lights to search where this Ladder was cast, and meet with a man flying with his sword drawne. The keeper examines *Fana* of his premeditated flight, and of the Ladder, and he freely confest all, yet he knew not whether *Corfina* or any other had prouided him this meanes to escape.

*Bertholomius*  
comes to Paris.

*Bertholomius* comming to Paris with letters of commendation from the State of Venice, C he is brought vnto the King by the Ambassador, who giues him a fauourable hearing, and promifeth to doe him iustice, commanding the Chancellor that he should not suffer this wickednesse to goe vnpunished. *Bertholomius* to proue him guiltie, produceth all things that might discouer the fact. Hereupon at the suit of *Angelo Bussa* his proccesse is made. *Fana* despairing of all helpe, being weary of his life, hee seekes all meanes to die; The fourth of March he sends for a Barber to cut his haire; he intreats him to helpe him to halfe an ounce of Arsenick, Currans, Roses, and Sugar, with the which (being mingled with the whites of Egges) he would make a medicine for the swelling of his eies. The Barber did as he willed him, but when as he saw the poison mixt with all, the keeper looking on, he told him what it was, the which being taken from him, and asked to what end he made it; he answered, for D the paine in his eies, and although that *Antimonia* was taken for a poison, yet being beaten and tempered it lost his force; that he was so farre from offering himselfe violence, as euer since the cutting of his vciues he had sought to preferue his health. He did abhorre to bee condemned to the Gallies, rather wishing death then seruitude, finding himselfe vnable for that labour by reason of his wounds.

*Fana* poisons  
himselfe.

All proofes being made, his proccesse was ended the two and twentieth day of March. *Fana* hauing some notice that his sentence drew neere, he resolved to prevent his Ignominie by a voluntarie death: The violence of the cold had stoppt his bloud, poison had bene taken from him; and he had cast it vp often hauing drunk it: he must not now attempt death in vaine; he intreats his wife to make him a certaine cake, the which hauing sent by his eldest sonne, he brake it in peeces, and rowling it in Arsenicke he swallowed it: soone after the poison wrought on him with great torments; he tels his wife that his last hour approached, but he speaks nothing of the poison, and requires a Priest to haue pardon of his sinnes: the violence of the poison increasing, he desired to be laid out vpon the straw, and soone after died on the foure and twentieth day of March.

Sentence gi-  
uen against  
*Fana*.

His bodie was opened and the poison found in his bowels, whereupon they gaue sentence against his carkeasse. *Fana* was found guiltie for that he had changed his name, counterfeited other mens hands, stolne Gold and Jewels, and poisoned himselfe: his bodie was condemned to be drawne groueling vnto the common Gibet, and there to be hanged by the heeles: His goods were forfeited to the King, hauing first paid the price of the Merchandize: There was a warrant granted to apprehend *Ottauio* and *Peter*, who had bene companions in all his villanies. It may be I haue bene credulous in relating of these Impostures, but I thought good to set downe this notable villany particularly, that hereafter other men may take heed of such Counsellers.

*Mussardus* com-  
mits a cruell  
fact.

I will add another without any fraud or deceit, but more cruell. *Valerianus Mussardus* not vnkowne vpon the frontiers of Picardie for his valour, during the combutions of France, impatient

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A impatient of peace, and to liue quiet in his owne home, he murders a Gentleman his neighbour, his poore mournfull widow calls her selfe at the Kings feet, and sues for reuenge for the murder of her husband. The Prouost of the Kings house had charge to apprehend the murderer, whereof being aduertised, he presently flies into a strong Cattle called Moyencourt, and there hides himselfe.

He was summoned by a Trumpet, to yeeld himselfe vnto the Kings mercy, the which he refused to doe, wistle hee might haue his pardon granted vnder the broad seale, or that Monsieur de *Craqui*, or the Earle of Saulx his Brother would passe their word for his safety. The Prouost seeing he could not bee perswaded by good words, sends for all the garrison B Souldiers thereabouts, with an intent to force him; approaching neere, he shot five or six of them; being thus obstinate, they sent for Artillery to Noyon, but before they played it, they summon him againe to yeeld vnto the Kings mercy, who had long hands which no private man could escape; but they talked to a deafe man.

Being againe thought fit to moue him by the Parish Priest, who discourfing vnto him of the cares and contempt of this present life; of the future blessednesse, or of the eternall paine, he lost all his labour: They then resolved to attempt that by force, which they could not effect by faire meanes. Whilst they prepare to force him, they sent the murderesse mother (who had bene a companion to him in his impudency and villanie) vnto them: being let into the Cattle, she intreated her daughters and her suer with teares to yeeld, assuring them of the Kings mercy, but the vnfortunate old woman not able to moue either of them, returned; telling the Prouost, that they were both resolved to die willingly, and to prevent an ignominious death. He first let downe a Boy and a Girle in a basket, to the end they might be preferred, then shewing themselves, and increasing the lookers on to pray for them, they went into a pinacle, where seeing they had no longer time to protract their yeelding, the gates being forced, they shot one another thorow, and died. The Cattle being forced, their carcases were found bloudie and halfe burnt (for they had gathered much straw about them, to the end they might be consumed with fire) and were barked to the end they might be reserved for publike infamy.

The five and twentieth of Aprill the Kings third sonne was borne at Fontainebleau, on the D same day that *Lewis* the ninth his Predecessor was borne, he was titled Duke of Anjou: we looke for a fourth who shall bee called Duke of Achacon: I doe not reade that there hath bene more Sonnes of France. *Henry* the second had fo many, but their liues were thort, and their ends were not happy: but our Queene is fruitfuller and more blessed then the first *Medici*, and promifeth more, which is the true meanes to settle the quiet of the Kingdome, to bless their friends and confederates, and to cutte their enemies, enuironing it as it were with strong towers and defences.

Birth of the  
duke of Anjou.

In Iuly *Dau Pedro* of Toledo was sent Ambassador from the King of Spaine to the French King: he was entertained at Fontainebleau, with all the delights and sports that the Court could afford: being gladdened therewith, he went to Paris, where either the beautie of the place, or the importance of his Ambassage detained him long.

Ambassage  
from Spaine.

This year the Country-mans Promise was found true. *That after a sharpe Winter, folloves a hot Summer*; as passengers were wosen with cold, so did labourers in Summer fry with heat, and many were smothered, as if they had bene in the Defarts of Arabia; so as the extreme cold of Winter and the violent heat of Summer spoiled their Vintage, hauing scarce had any raie in three moneths. This year the Duke of Vendosme, the Kings bafe sonne, was made Duke by the Duke of Mercurers onely daughter. The marriage had bene concluded at Angers in Aprill 1598, and a great pension appointed vpon him that should detract.

I doe not hold it vnsit for the History, nor to be left to posteritie, to relate the memorable Doctores of Courts, where is you may obserue their great equitie and feueritie, whereby young people may be terrified from whom and what to learne, and contemp of Parents by the example of the parties condemned. *Yanvrou* a Gentleman borne, sonne to an Auditor of the accounts in Normandy, being seduced by the persuasions of *Iouan Andrew* a bafe woman; he marries her secretly, the Rectors complained to the Court of Parliament against *Yanvrou* for the rape of his young man; pretending that such marriages were forbidden by the lawe of God, and an Edict made at Orleans, without the consent of the father, and *Andrew* himselfe, and all Priests were forbidden to consecrate such holne marriages: the Parents say that a youth yett under the roo, had bene abused by the Inchantments of a bafe woman.

Sentence for  
a clandestine  
marriage.

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woman and of a doubtfull fame, that their sonne was not to dispose of himselfe, and that A he was forced. That these clandestine marriages had bene often punished, and that it was a rape.

In the end at the great Instance of the Parents, and in severitie of publike discipline, the Parliament decreed, that the stolne marriage betwixt James Drouet and Jean Andrew was void and of no effect, being made without the consent of the Parents, and against the lawes of the Kingdome. Joane was condemned to goe with a Torch in her hand, her face covered, and a halter about her necke, and to aske pardon of God, of the Parliament, and of the Parents of Drouet, then to be whipped three daies together at the corner of every street, and so to be banished the Realme, or if she did not obey this Decree, to be hanged. All her goods B were confiscate to the King, having first paid the charges of the sute. James was also deprived of all the inheritance which he could pretend from father and mother, and condemned to a yeares imprisonment, untill that his Parents should be fathers for him. Drouet and Joane were forbidden ever to see one another, or to speake together, by word, writing, or messenger, and not to renew this marriage. Those which had confumated this clandestine marriage contrary to the Decrees of the Councell of Trent, and the Edict of Blois, were also condemned to come into the Court, and vpon their knees with a torch in their hands, to craue pardon of God, the Parliament, and the Parents, being also condemned in a great fine.

Punishment  
of Priests.

It was also decreed, that the Edicts of Henry the Second, and Henry the Third, made at Blois vpon that same subiect, should be every year published on a certaine day, in all the inferior Courts of Normandy, and commandement given to observe them strictly, nor to suffer the banes to be asked by any hired Priests or Vicars, but to pronounce them themselves in open pulpit, three Sundais in the presence of the Parents. The Officials were also charged, not to admit of these banes, vntill they were required by the Parents and Kinsfolkes. James, Joane, the Priests that were condemned, and the Clergie of Normandy ioyning all together, make great instance to the Kings privy Councell to have this Decree disannulled, and declared void, but it was irreligious to offer violence to so religious a Decree, yet with this moderation, as the King was moved to pardon the pecuniary fine, and the banishment of this wretched woman.

Complaint of  
the Clergie vnto  
the King.

The Clergie of France had by their Deputies held a long assembly at Paris the yeare before: their conclusions (which were then kept very secret) burst now forth into a great complaint made vnto the King by the Archbishop of Bourges, in the presence of the Cardinals of Ioyeuze, Gondie, Sourdis and Perron, and thus he spake in the name of the whole Clergie.

" Most inuincible amongst mortall men, if it be lawfull for sorrow to speake, if nothing afflicts miserable men more then imposed silence; The Church plunged in so many calamities and miseries, so that it is ouerflowne and drowned in a Sea of griefe, hauing no passage but thorow thornes and bushes, whose Cup is Worme-wood and bitter Drege, shall receive no small comfort this day, if it shall please your most sacred Maiestie for to lend a fauourable and auenture eare to their iust complaints. The Edict hath exceeded, and faire exceeded it E selfe beyond the torments and crueltie of Iulian the Apostate, who forbade Christians to sigh and weepe, and did enuy this bitter comfort to wretched, more wicked then the Heathen which sung;

*Elete mens casus, est quodam fore voluptas,  
Passus lacrymarum gemitusque dolor.*

Bewalle my case & weeping brings some content;  
Sorrow by teares findeth both ease and vent.

" But now the Church hauing overcome tyrannous impietie, and being laden and crowned with the spoiles of her enemies, adorned with the fauours of Emperors and Kings, and supported by their power, is not afraid to shew her bloody wounds vnto the King. To the King, I say, whose Predecessors have graced and beautified the Churches wedding with a Ring, and other Jewels; an eternal monument of the Kings, and of France her picture. And for that thou hast more then once heard her sighes and groanes being vnworthily increased, and received her (being assailed) into thy armes, she comes more confidently relying vpon your helpfull fauour, being againe deformed with the impuritie and corruption of the world, and with teares of griefe, doth prostrate her selfe at your most Royall feet; she speaks vnto you

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A you not fearfully, but with a free voice, being worthily bound vnto her; hauing powred forth so many teares and praises vnto Almighty God, for your preteritacion and advancement vnto the Crowne, hoping you will not be vnkindfull of so great a pietie.

But oh! Henry thinke there is nothing more worth of a King, then a care to plant, preserve and propagate Religion: It is the eye of an Empire, the life of Government, an arme of thy Arme; and as I may say in a word, a Kingdome hath not a more firme support. The Kings of Persia held it most true, or else their Heathenish superstition did not suffer the children to be advanced to the Kingdome, before they had learned the Myteries of their fathers Religion. Religion & Government are the two supporters of humane society: happy is the coniunction, B if one requirith anothers helpe, they concurre friendly. The Tribes of Israel how did they flourish, when as Moses praised vnto God and Isus fought and vanquished? They are much deceived which impute the ruine of Kingdomes to climactericall and fatall yeares: Farre be it from the thoughts of Christians, who should rather beleue that the fates of Kingdomes depends of Religion, the which being maintained, stand firme, but neglected they goe to ruine: It is a parcell of Gods fauour, and a coniunction of mortall and immortal spirits, and a seale, and bond of the eternall covenant, the which the fates conspiring cannot dissolve: And therefore the wife Romans would haue the names of their Tutelarie Gods, kept from their enemies, lest they should goe into forraigne Cities; they had an Imagination that Sages could not be forced, vntill the God which did protect it were called away. Wherefore the Heathen did thinke the coniunction of Religion and Government to be an inexpugnable fort.

Beleue oh most Christian King! that thou art linked vnto God by Religion, and that there is no greater signe of a declining estate, then when Religion is banished, being appeared by many ancient examples, that God flies the company of mortall men, when as Religion and his worship is neglected. Thinke oh King! that thy state is not settled by any politike Government, or by wise Councillors; there is a secret power from aboue which rules it, euen God who giues and takes away Scepters, he watcheth for thy fastie, preserues thee from thy enemies, and makes thee a spectacle to all Europe by thy victorious triumphs. The same God hath broken the yoke vnder which France lay bound, wiped away the D teares, pacified the ciuill warres, erected the ruined Altars of peace, cured the wounds, restored the Lawes, and (lest I should be tedious) reuiued France that was almost dead, and hath made it a terror to other Nations. Thy glorie is so great as thou hast brought this ship being ready to be cast away by the violence of the storme, into a safe Port, thou hast broken the confederate Armies, and passing so many dangers, dost shine with the spoiles of thine enemies, thou hast releued languishing France, which despairing of all helpe ranne willingly to ruine, if thy inuincible courage had not exceeded the greatnesse of her extremitie.

These, oh Henry! be the Monuments whereby thou hast bound future ages vnto thee, But this is not all: to make thy glory immortal, there rests one thing the which the Church must finish and make euerslasing; Namely, that thou wilt command the Decrees of the E Councell of Trent to be observed, whereby corruption, filthinesse, symonie, bargaines made in trust, and such like wickednesse may be punished. The Synod was celebrated by a generall assembly of the world, confirmed by the Pope, and is observed of all Christians; The which if you shall refuse to publish, that vniuersall garment shall not be cut with any other sheeres, nor the Vale of the Temple rent with any other whirlwind.

Antiquitie which is an incorrupt witnesse, hath worthily honoured France, for that it hath alwaies assisted the Church and saved it from tempest and shipwracke: A field which the heavenly Husbandman hath manured with his owne hand, and purged it from Tares, and Darnell, that the Lilly may flourish, vnder whose shadow it might rest secure from all heat and stormes; a Garden set with most pleasant and sweet flowers, neither is there any Nation more obedient to their Pastors and Ministers. France should lose these goodly Titles, if it should reiect the Councell of Trent.

The Astronomers hold, that the Planets are gouerned by the motion of the heauen: onely the Moone they affirme hath a peculiar and contrary motion. It is most certaine, that sacred Oracles doe in like manner depend vpon Generall Councells, and that the wheele of Gods chariot (which Ezechiel saw) is greater, the which forceth the rest with his violent motion. The Councell of Trent is like a Sphere, which doth gouern the Planets of the French church, to sequester the which from Synodall decrees by the pretence of priuileges & priuate Immu-

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ities, what is it else, but to give a private and opposite motion like unto the Moone? They A  
 that looke into the secrets of Nature, say that theye, which is the window of mans body, is  
 inuironed with seven Arteries, by whose violence it moues, yet the eie is not unwillingly mo-  
 ued. It is not vnlike the liberty of the French Church, the which depends of a greater mo-  
 tion, neither should priuileges make it proud, and moue against theye whose beame it is, but  
 by the motion of Synodall constitutions. It is the Load-star of the vniuersall Church, ac-  
 cording to the which the French must direct her course. Your Maiestie is not prouided  
 hereby, neither doe we with any other expostulation, fight at the taking away of obediencies: If  
 we complaine with more bitterness, the thing it selfe giues vs leave to speake; for this shield  
 taken away, sacred and profane things are confounded; the gouernment of the Church is B  
 troubled; the censor is taken out of the Priests hands; the wall which diuides the holy Veftry,  
 is broken; and the mysticall oyle of the Tabernacle is spilt.

It relts in your singular iudgement to make choise of Pastors, not according to the ambi-  
 tion of the Court, giuing men to spirituall liuings, and not spirituall liuings to men: By this  
 choise the Church doth thin, thou hast made choise of corner stones to support it; thou  
 hast prouided wise Mariners for this mysticall ship; and now the Order of the Seabees being  
 cleansed, defends the Altars and holy things: Although in this age there are many things re-  
 quired to purge the Church, yet the glory is to be attributed to the hauing aduanced worthy  
 Prelates, so as vertue hath no cause at all to complaine that shee is neglected, the which it may  
 please you for to loue and embrace still, and to prosecute it with honours and rewards, that C  
 may glory and shine in all good arts and discipline. There remains how much wee are  
 grieved, and how iustly we exclaime against Symonie, the payson of spirituall liuings, the re-  
 proach and pollution of the Church, *Gibezas* traffike, possession of spirituall reuenues giuen  
 vnto Lay-men; Alienation of Church-lands, contempt of the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction,  
 and erroneous appeales, receiued with all impunitie, so as that which was held a great  
 offence, custome hath made it nothing. It is like vnto the *Leuitian*, or *Iob*es euill spirit, which  
 doth no more lurke in darknesse, but shewes it selfe boldy: these sinnes (like vnto *Adams* in-  
 nocent bloud) cry for reuenge. *Lewis* the Godly hauing polluted himselfe herewith, and  
 straying from the steps of *Charles* the Great his Father, treading Lawes vnder foot, he was not  
 onely a reproach vnto France, but also a contempt and scorne to his children, whose rali-  
 nesse God did reuenge.

That all-piercing eye of heauen, which lookes into the secret sinnes of mortall men, with  
 what an angry countenance doth he behold the holy pledges of the Church, the price of sin-  
 ners, the godly deuotions, the bread of the hungry, and the cloathes of the naked bestowd  
 vpon Lay-men, and employed to filthy vses, as in the time of the Gentiles by a wicked King  
 in despite of the Christians, *Adams* Idoll was set in Christs place, the holy Ornaments of the  
 Sanctuary so prophaned, in the banquets of the Kings of Assiria, as the Almighty hand of  
 Heauen did by the learned wall denounce reuenge.

Pardon me, oh King, if I say that *Adams* Idoll is now set in Christs place, that the holy  
 Ornaments are polluted, the Sanctuary defiled, and the corner stones shaken and pulled E  
 away, if you shall any longer suffer the proposition bread and the holy come to be steele  
 from the Altars by married men, Knights and Souldiers, whose hands are fitter for armes  
 and murders, than for incense and mysticall things.

In the Canticles the mysticall Spouse complaines, that falling amongst souldiers in the  
 night shee was spoiled of her ornaments: The goods of the Church, proceeding from the  
 bounty of religious Kings, may well be taken for the ornaments of the Church: and if you  
 shall suffer her reuenues to be waisted by Courtiers, what is it else, but to abandon the Spouse  
 to be spoiled by souldiers: and although it were with the consent of the Clergy, too indul-  
 gent to this mischief, yet there are many reasons which should perswade you not to fauour  
 it. *Adam* as soone as he had tasted of the forbidden fruit did presently blush at his owne na- F  
 kednesse: the reuenues of the Church is like vnto a tree, which God hath forbidden to touch,  
 whose fruits being once gathered, our nakednesse is presently discovered.

There are many things whereof wee might complaine vnto your Maiestie, but lest I  
 should be tedious, I will end with this petition in the name of all the Prelats of the French  
 Church here present, that you will confirme that which hath beene granted to our order, the  
 which hath beene often neglected. Vnto the end your affaires may prosper, that God may  
 blesse you and your Kingdome, and that your Empire may be permanent, and haue no ter-  
 ming

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A ting but the whole world, stretch forth your assisting hand to releue the Church which  
 faints, helpe her, grieve at her misfortune, ease her afflictions, and cure her wounds. Looke  
 vpon so many hundreds of Parishes with pitié, who whereas they feed their flocks with  
 the food of Angels, they scarce eat the bread of mortall men, liuing most hardly, so cold is  
 pitié, and so sparingly they offer vnto God. Wherefore vow vnto God that you will here-  
 after be a sacrifice vnto him, and labour continually at his Altars, leauing a Testimony to  
 posteritie that Kings should haue a continuall care of the Church and worship of Almightie  
 God.

The Tribes of Israel were forbidden to contract mariage out of their kindred, onely the  
 B Tribe of Iuda had a prerogative, for that it did gouerne the rest, to marrie with the Tribe of  
*Leuie*, the which had the Gouernment of the Altar and Priest-hood: By this Simbole the He-  
 brewes did firstly obserue, that the Priest-hood and Gouernment were fitly ioyned. But oh  
 most Christian King! I shall it bee lawfull to speake vnto thee as the Israelites did vnto their  
 King? *Flesh of my flesh, blond of my blond, and bones of my bones: Let vs hereafter be one, and an*  
*vnindiuied couple: thy weepings are teares to me, thy sobs shall force me to sigh, and being conuer-*  
*ted one into another, I can comfort thee with these words: Daughter of Sion full of sorrow, leaue*  
*off thy teares, I am he that will free thee of thy sack-cloth and mourning weed, and wipe away thy*  
*albes and deformitie, and will make thee shine with Balsamm and sweet smelling ointments.*  
 And as the Hebrew Daughter-in-law did thus flatter her King; I will that posteritie shall  
 C know that I haue clad thee with Purple and Scares, and enriched thee with the first fruits; thy  
 Sabbaths and Holy-daies haue beene worshipped by me: I haue armed thee with the Target of the  
 strong: I haue girt thy thigh with the sword of Ionathan against thine enemy, which cannot be  
 blunted, being accustomed to be goared with his blond. Giue then oh King! vnto the Church her  
 Rights and Tributes; reioyce with thy mother, who hath called thee her first begotten sonne,  
 and hath giuen thee the first kisse, whom aboute all others the world haue rest in her bosome.  
 For so many worthy Titles grant she may bee free. That if *Thyameus* the Philosopher did  
 sometimes lay of *Titus Cesar*, *Titus did vanquish Iurie*, and *Appolonius Titus*; the Church may  
 speake thus; *Henric crowned with victories and happinesse, hath ouerthrowne and*  
*conquered all his enemies Armies, but the Church hath vanquished Henric with her teares and*  
 D supplications.

I may not forget the reception of the new Bishop of Orleans, being rare and singular  
 aboute all the Prelats of France. *Anselme* being chosen Bishop the first day of September,  
 he caused a Proclamation to be made, that on the foureteenth of the said moneth, after the  
 ancient manner, he would make his entry into Orleans, promising impunitie to all male-  
 factors, not onely to such as had slaine men accidentally, but euen for premeditated mur-  
 ders, and for all other crimes whatsoever. Thither flocke the most wicked amongst men: On  
 the thirteenth the Bishop lay in the Abbey of *Saint Hubert*, where the next day the Abbot  
 hauing said Masse, he put on his Mytter and other pontificall ornaments: Staying there, the  
 Chanons of *Saint Croix* came vnto him, with the Doctors and Officers of the Vniuersitie,  
 E and the Magistrats of the Citie. The Bishop goeth forth bare-footed: being come to *Saint*  
*Anians* Church, the Chanons receiue him, who holding his hands close together, praect  
 that they are free from his iurisdiction: yet they bring him to the Altar, after which, his  
 feet are washed and cleansed, and white shooes of Silke put on: then hauing taken an oath  
 not to attempt any thing against their Rights and Priuiledges, he is carried by foure of the  
 chiefe of them in a chaire without the walls of the Towne, where they call forth foure Ba-  
 rons, who are subiect to the Bishop by their fees, and are euery yeare bound on the day of  
 the Invention of the holy Crosse, to bring foure great Wax lights in forme of gutters, euery  
 one weighing at hundred pound weight. These Barons presented themselves to carie the  
 Bishop, but he of his grace freed them of this seruice. Then the Clergie went before in or-  
 F der: being come to *Bourgonie* gate, he was met by the President, the Rayle of Orleans,  
 the Lieutenant criminal, and all the Gouernours of the praediall Court. There all male-  
 factors were let out of prison, who with great exclamations cried for mercy. The Bishop  
 commanded the Iaylor so sayd the prisoners were simple, and whether there were any male-  
 factors detained, who being assured that they were freed from bonds, two of them were  
 commanded to goe before all the rest: being come to *Saint Croix*, the Bishop rung a little  
 bell, and then he made himselfe ready to say Masse, which done he began to pray with the  
 Chanons, the Judges were seated in another room, and all the male-factors in the Bishops  
 hall.

1608

Death of Father Angelo.

hall. After dinner the Crier being a Divine, makes them a sharpe admonition, and wils them A to live better hereafter: the Bishop confirms his speech: which done, they cried often for mercy. In the end, the Bishop giuing them his blessing, dismissed them with this charge, That they should pay all Fines and the charges of Sutes. Thus by the comming of the new Bishop, there were about an hundred freed from the Gallowes: the parents, children, and widows grieving that they were deprived of all meanes of reuenge.

Father Angelo of Ioyeuse going out of France, had past the Alpes bare-footed, by the commandement of his Superior. At Turin a Feuer tooke him, the which when he felt, being no longer able to goe on foot, he caused himselfe to be carried in a Litter to a religious house of that Order at Riouli. The Duke of Sauoy hearing of his sicknesse, sent his chiefe Physician, and an Apothecarie with all kinds of comfortable things fit for the recovery of his health, and Cooks to dresse his meat, being so carefull of his health, as twice a day he sent men in post to bee aduertised thereof. There was nothing omitted that the art of man could inuent: but the violence of his Feuer did make frustrate all their skill. The tenth day of his sicknesse, being the five and twentieth of September, his soule leaving the prison of his body, went happily to heauen. He died as he liued, not in the Court of Turin, nor in a bed of Downe with rich furniture, but in his garment of haire, and coucht vpon straw, in the prison of his Conuent he left the burthen of his flesh. *Renold Walter*, one of the Presidents of the Kings great Council, being there by chance to negotiate some businesse for a Prince of the Blood, as he had bene deare vnto him liuing, so he was still by him in his sicknesse, and receiued his last dying words. His body was imbalmed and laid at Riouli, vntill that France his native Country should require it, as it did the yeare following. *Walter* aduertised the King on the feuen and twentieth of September, of the whole manner of his sicknesse, of his happy end; of the Duke of Sauoy's singular care, and of his last words, by the which he would haue his fatall hour made knowne vnto the Duchesse of Montpensier his Daughter by father *Joseph* of the same familie. So the good father did fore-see his daughter might receive the easier wound: he knew well that *Joseph* was an excellent Artift to pacifie minds thus plunged in sorrow, and without doubt he did much mollifie the bitterness of this fatall message.

Inundation of the River of Loire.

The River of Loire did this Autumne swell so suddenly, as breaking the banks it overflowed the whole Countrey with strange whirl-pooles, rooting vp corne, woods, and old Trees, drowning herds of cattle, and overflowing houses and farmes, or whatsoever withstood the rage of it. At Blois, Amboise and other townes, the arched bridges being broken, and the river swelling suddenly, many were drowned. The Duke of Suilly receiued great losse by this inundation: when as he feared nothing that the violence of the River should any way hurt his castle standing vpon Loire, behold it swels suddenly with such whirl-pooles, as it overthrow some towers of the castle which were very strong. Some Countrymen were seen escaping vpon tables, some climbing vp trees, and to the tops of mountaines, and some by swimming laboured to flee death. And to speake in a word, all was Sea. The ruine and spoile it made, mans wit could not estimate, the which was fatal to the husbandmen for many yeares, their fields being so spoiled with stones, land, and bulhes, as they could not cleane them but with an incredible charge: for the River arising out of the Mountaines of Auvergne, fragments of Rocks came rolling downe, which made the land barren: much vnlike to the River of Nile, whose mud doth make their fields fat, whereupon the Country-men say, Egypt is fertile without raine.

Duke of Nevers sent to the Pope.

The most Christian King sent an honorable Ambassage to Pope *Paul* the fifth, to acknowledge his obedience, by *Charles* of Gonzaga Duke of Nevers. Having made great preparations at Paris for his journey, and taken his leave of the King, he came to Marcellies, where he was transported with his whole traine in feire of the Kings Gallies; and landed at Samona, from whence he went to Genoua, where the Duke and Common-wealth receiued him with great honor, sending forth troops of Soldiers to meet him: being come into the citie, he was brought into the Senate by foure Senators, sat in the highest seat, & had leave to giue his voice. Having giuen thanks to the Genouois, he went on his journey, and came to Cinis-vecchia, (a towne belonging to the Church) where the Popes officers receiued him with a piously entertainment, and that nothing might be wanting, *Fabio Gonzaga* the Duke of Mantoua's Lieutenant, with many other Noblemen, came to congratulate his coming at their departure, he presented them with a great Chain of Gold, the which they refused, nor in disdain of him that offered it, but humbly desired no reward from the Kings Ambassadors but his loue.

The

1609

A The Duke proceeding on his journey, he was met by Monsieur *de Breuil*, the Kings Ambassador resident at Rome, the Marquis of Malateba, the Bishop of Abrincentes, *Marchmont*, and all the French Nobility which was then in the City. Greeting neere to Rome, there went forth to meet him, the Duke of Carpineta, the Marquis of Pallaucino, and *Marke Anthony Victorio* the Popes Nephew, whom the Duke of Nevers did much respect; him hee tooke into his Caroch, and entertained him very familiarly. The Cardinals stood at the entry of the City to receiue the Duke, with the Archbishops and other chiefe Prelates: the Pope had sent forth trumpets, and troupes of horse, with his Guards and an hundred Suisses (being in all two thousand armed men) to guard him. The Duke of Nevers was accompanied with about three hundred of the French Nobility, all mounted vpon Genets of Spaine, Barbary horses, and courfers of Naples. He entered the City by the gate, which goes to Castle Saint Angelo: after the shooting off of the Ordnance, there was all sorts of musick: the windowes were full of Senators, Gentlemen and Ladies, and the streets pesterd with people: having rested himselfe two daies, he had audience of the Pope, and deliuered the Kings letters, the which being read, he was brought vnto Saint Peters Palace, where he was lodged with the French Ambassadors at the Popes charges. The feasting being ended, he had a second audience, treating of matters of great importance; then after much honour done him by the Pope he returned.

There was a troupe of desperate theues, which did wonderfully annoy the Prouinces of C Poitou, Aniou, Britaine, and the neighbour Countreies with their murders and spoiles, whose infoleny and power was such, as they durst encounter the Prouost Marhall with their armed Archers, who being too weake, these theues (who were called Guilleris of their Leader) had free liberty to continue their theueing: being accustomed in the ciuill warres to cruelty and theft, having no meanes to eatearne their licentious life at home in peace, they returned to their former villanies. They drew into woods and ynouth places, Bankrupts, Forgers, men branded for villanies, Rascals, Theeues, and the scumme of all the world. They say that *Guilleris* the elder brother (for there were two of them) shewed some greatness in his theueing, for if he did change to meet any poore passenger, he took nothing from him, but gaue the poore man so much as he thought would suffice his journey. If a rich man fell into his hands, and had no present money for his redemption, he would take his Bill, and so dismiss him, with this charge, that if he failed to make payment, at the day appointed, he would remit no kinde of cruelty to befringed of their breach of promise. This elder *Guilleris* did so despise them that sought after him, as he would often mocke them. He came into an Inne, whereas the Prouost Marhall of Rheims with his Archers was lodged, alighting from his horse, hee sat downe with them, and entertained them with discourses and playing at Dice, till it was very late: rising early in the morning, having payed for his and their charges, he willed his host to tell the Prouost and his Archers, that they were improuident, seeking in vaine for *Guilleris*, with whom they had supped the last night, who hauing wonne their money at Dice, had paid for their supper. Hence you may coniecture what a bold and vndunted these this *Guilleris* was: But now let us see what denne this *Guilleris* lodged, in a deepe Valley, and in the furthest part of a thicke wood, hauing no ordinary passage vnto it, where he had built him a lodge like vnto a Fort. Having taken a Gentleman of good note, he brings him thither blindfold, being in pain, he betwixes him all his theifs store of victuals, and a good armory with a wall, rampier and ditch to repell force: Having dined with him in denne, he dismisseth him, taking an oath that he should not bewray what hee had seene: he keeping his faith, for that he could not discover what hee had not seene; yet he observed the wood, and all the passages, and by this means they went into the Minotaur, who could not bee drawne forth but by a siege, and so into the said peace. Seeing himselfe inuironed by the Prouost Marhall, the Nobility, and the whole Countrey, and prest with smoke, fire, and sword, going forth with his horse men, he takes thorow the thickest Troupes, but being kept backe by their shot, hee forced them unwillingly to kill him; for that hee thought death to be better than that pest him. The youngest brother and about three score others were taken, the rest escaped, who finding no saluage land became Pyrats: the captiues were carried to Rome, and from thence to Rochell, where they were broken vpon the wheele, and executed according to their merites and deserts.

This month, that voyce was sometimes called the Millers bridge was finished and began to be passable: The which was drowned in the River, is now made more beautifull, from

Millers bridge at Paris.

ruine



1609

ruine and shipwracke, it hath received increase and glory: being before contemptible for the A  
safe vie, it is now famous for the worthy trades: being despised before for the ruinous  
houses, it is now glorious for the uniformity of the building, losing the antiquity and the  
name both together: it hath not his name from milles and grinding, but from the flapes of  
birds which distinguish the houses, or from the builder, as passengers may obserue by these  
two Verses:

*Pons olim submersus aquis, nunc mole re surge,  
Mercator fecit, nomen ex ipse dedit.*

I was a bridge late drown'd with flood, now rais'd in richer frame,  
Marchant was he that made the worke, and gaue the worke his name.

B

But now hearken to an admirable and bloudy fact, proceeding from blinde loue: *Peter*  
*Arrices Bourdeus*, a Spaniard borne, an *Augustine* Monke, being for his great learning made  
publike Professor of Diuinitie at Tholose, before all his competitors: who besides his  
scholership, exceeded all others in preaching of the Word, honesty of life, and sincerity of  
manners. In the presidiall Court there was an old Councillor called *Franciscus Geraldus*, an  
obseruer of the Law, free from fraud, and of good fame; but mans life is not knowne but by  
the last act. Both being austere in their manners and behaviour, fall in loue with a young maid:  
she was borne in Portugal, and came to Tholose with her father and Familie: her name was  
*Violantilla* of Castro, whose bewitching eyes and alluring countenance had set on fire the weake  
and decayed Councillor, and this Stoicall Monke. Neither doth loue disdain white haire,  
nor withered cheekes; and although loues fire doth flame in this old man, yet he ioynees with  
the Monke, they diuide *Violantillas* loue and embracings betwixt them, and onely these two  
Coriuals agree together, admitting no other competitor: they had both one care, to enioy the  
wench with equall liberty. In the end they thought it fit to hide the stolne and vnchaste fire  
vnder the ashes of wedlocke. *Geraldus* hee procures the marriage, with a young Advo-  
cate borne in a towne neere to Tholose; the marriage is concluded and consummated, and  
these two Solicitors pay the dowrie. The feast being ended, the new spouse resolves to carry  
his wife home to his friends; these two Sutors repining at it, especially *Geraldus*, who pro-  
mised to procure him many Clients in the Court of Parliament of Tholose, or at the least in  
the presidiall Court. But he (whether finding himself vnfit for the City eloquence, or  
doubting of his wifes honesty, by reason of these iuuals) stood firme in his resolution to car-  
ry her to his owne home. But they forming at the departure of the woman, for that the  
marriage procured for their stolne loue, had not succeeded according to their intents, they  
study how to draw them backe to Tholose. *Geraldus* follows the married couple, he feasts  
there with them a moneth together, and perswades them to returne to the City; but finding  
his words to be of no force, he returns much grieued at the husbands imperious command,  
relating to *Bourdeus*, the mans austere disposition, and the poore womans seruitude: they con-  
sult how they may recouer their old louses, and take away the mans life. To attempt it by  
poison they thought it not safe, they therefore resolved to doe it by the sword: and to  
the end it might bee the more easily effected, they call the husband to Tholose, vnder  
colour of a suit which was then in question. *Geraldus* agrees with a Scholler, or rather  
a murderer called *Candelas*; and another named *Eshaldas*, to kill him; and pates them halfe  
the price of this wicked bargain. The vnfortunate husband, being ignorant of the plot,  
came to Tholose, and was invited to a solemne feast by *Geraldus*: the guests were *Bour-  
deus*, *Candelas*, and *Eshaldas*, where their fare was great, and their entertainment in shew  
answerable: after supper *Bourdeus* retires himselfe; and the rest went forth to walke, being  
in the heat of Iuly: in the meane time *Geraldus* entertained the husband with a long discourse  
vntill it was late, left the light should bewray the murderers: at length being darke, hee  
was let forth, and loone after was taken and led into solitary and vnknowne places,  
where he was murdered with many wounds. The perswader of this murder hearing  
thereof, cries out that his friend and guest had bene let vpon by Thieves; who seeking  
to take away his purse, and he resisting, had slaine him: Hee sent for the Officers of  
the City, and the Captaine of the Watch. *Eshaldas* swearing, and testifying the truth  
of the fact, was taken flying, the dead body was brought into the Towne house, the Monke  
hearing that one of these murderers was apprehended, hee resolved to sic presently with  
*Candelas*

1609

A *Candelas* the diuine murderer, going without his Frocke to Tonius a towne held by them  
of the Religion. Being still tormented with the testimony of his owne conscience, hee  
demanded of a Minister, whether hee might safely remaine there? But being doubtful of  
his life, he presently fled to Millan, and from thence he went to Nismes. This mans flight,  
and the casting away of his professed habit, made the Court to hold him guilty of the fact,  
sending forth letters to apprehend the Monke. The President *Verdun* giues charge to  
the Prouost Marshall to make diligent search after them, the Monke was apprehend-  
ed at Nismes, where they of the Religion tooke him from the publike Magistrate,  
pretending that hee was of the Religion; that hee was maliciously accused for that cause,  
and that hee could not be tried but by the Chamber of the Edict, wherein they preuailed  
so much, as he was deliuered to the Iudges of the said Chamber, both Courts contending for  
their right.

The President *Verdun* having by his letters informed the King of this controuersie, there  
was at length a Decree made by the Kings priuie Counsell, by the which the capital questi-  
on was referred to the Court of Parliament of Tholouse; they of the Religion complaining  
that the Edict was broken. At the length *Bourdeus* and *Candelas* being taken out of prison  
from the Chamber of the Edict, were brought bound to Tholouse, the Court was diuided  
vpon *Bourdeus* triall, some concluding for his present death, others requiring a stay, vntill  
that *Candelas* (being put to the racke) should discouer the whole matter: But in the end  
they resolved not to protract his punishment any longer. *Bourdeus* hearing his sentence  
read, and seeing the Racke before him, he laid open the whole matter as we haue reported  
it: He accused the Countessour as the perfwader and companion of the murder, having  
with him pated the murderers for the fact. He commends the Court for the equity of their  
iudgement, and giues God thanks, who by a momentary punishment had recalled him  
from a sinke of sinne and heresie, whereunto hee was running, hauing fled to them of the  
Religion only with hope of impunity: hee accused *Candelas* and *Eshaldas*, that with their blou-  
dy hands they had done this premeditated villany. He was carried to execution with teares  
in his eyes, and a contrite heart, derelicting much the fact: passing by the *Augustines*, hee staid  
awhile exhorting his fellow Monkes to a more holy life, and entreating them to pardon him,  
for that he had so much defiled their Order by this foule fact: and being come to the place  
of execution he made a long Prayer, and so had his head cut off, and his body quartered.  
After the Monkes execution, the Councillor denies the fact to oblatinately, as if hee would  
haue all men beleue he had bene free from this wickedness: he was put to the racke, yet the  
bitternesse of the paine could not draw a word from him: remaining thus wilfully silent, the  
first President by a witty fiction, and without any force, wrested the truth from him, he threat-  
ned him that his sonne should be tortured: to whom the father answered, that his sonne had  
not defered it; that he was an innocent and altogether ignorant of the fact; then being urged  
to declare the matter and to free him from the present danger, the father was more moued  
with a fatherly affection, then with all their torments, confessing himselfe to be guilty, that he  
might free his sonne from danger; who relating all as *Bourdeus* had done, was condemned to  
the like punishment. *Bourdeus* was executed the fifth of February, *Geraldus* the twelfth,  
*Candelas* the thirteenth, *Eshaldas* the fourteenth, and *Violantilla* the sixteenth, being the onely  
cause of the adultery and murder. She comming to the place of execution, made this speech  
vnto the company.

*Bourdeus* execu-  
ted.

*Geraldus* con-  
demned and  
executed.

O you that assist at this fatal spectacle, to you my friends I speake: Having obtained con-  
fiancy from God to suffer death, I doe now treat the helpe of your prayers at my approa-  
ching end: Learne by my vnfortunate mischance, how deceitfull and fraile vanity is; be-  
hold I am she who euen now abused with the alluring baits of Beauty, desisting others, pre-  
sented my selfe before all, thinking that for beauty and wit not any one did equal me. But see  
the fruits of vanity and pride which I now reape. The enticing baits of the world, bankers,  
dancing, and such like follies did bewitch me, and haue forced me to act this fatal Scene, an  
eternall reproach in respect of the world, but to God-ward a testimony of a contrite and peni-  
tent heart. I giue him thanks, whom it may be in some other kinde of death I should haue  
forgotten. These are the fruits of my youths wantonness: hauing not past the age of six  
and twenty yeeres, I die a scorne to the world: But I would to God in the beginning of my  
being, that my cradle and funerall had bene inseparable. O fortunate and happy death! if  
my life had bene longer it had bene more wicked; and more yeeres had increased my sins,  
dying

Speech of a  
woman  
condemned.

1609 " dying a naturall death I should scarce haue repented: good God pardon a sinner, pardon A  
 " her I say, who exceeds all others in the multitude of her offences. Looke not to my crimes,  
 " but to a heart wounded with repentance, forgive a wretch, which hath forgiven so many  
 " Martyrs; they tellifie thy glory with their blood, and I walk away mine owne guilt with  
 " mine. I am a Sacrifice only for my selfe, although I am ignorant of the conspired murder;  
 " yet sufficiently guilty, for that my vnchaste manners were fatal to so many as haue died be-  
 " fore me. This onely grieues me, that my country and kindred are dishonoured by this in-  
 " famous spectacle: If I had giuen credit to their admonitions, I had not now bene brought  
 " forth to open infamy, but let not innocents be defiled for my guilt. I aduise you againe,  
 " O you matrons and virgins of Tholoua: let not your Sutors (which is the first precept to B  
 " preferre your chastities) abuse you with curlings, paintings, gay clothes, liberrall speeches, ban-  
 " quets and coaches: these are snares and baits for your chastities: I was weary of my beauty,  
 " and my naturall hue did not please me, the which I did abuse with art. But to what end? that  
 " I might inflame a Spanish Monke blacke with rust, and an old decrepit Lawyer, who hauing  
 " bought my chastity, grew companions of my shame. But why doe I abuse your eares any  
 " longer with my filthinesse, but rather being penitent for my offences, let mee intreat your last  
 " prayers and voves for an expiation, deny not this passage to a soule which is going to heauen.  
 " She was speaking more, when as the axe interrupted her last words, and left them vnperfect.

Death of the  
Duke of Cleues.

This yeere in March the Duke of Cleues hauing languished long of sicknesse, hoping of  
 some recovery, was intercepted by death, going a hunting, to the great griefe both of his C  
 subiects and neighbours, for that dying without children, he should leaue a doubtfull con-  
 tention to them that pretended the inheritance, which did seeme to threaten warre and de-  
 solation: the sparkles which did shew vpon his death, gaue cause to feare a great fire, as you  
 shall after heare.

Discourse of  
Terrail's appre-  
hension and  
execution.

I must now relate vnto you an enterprize vpon Geneva, made by Lewis of Combourfier,  
 Seigneur of Terrail, and other places, Vicount of Ranell, Knight of the Order, Cornet to the  
 Dauphin, and Baron of Moyllac, being executed there the ninth of Aprill. About three  
 yeeres since there was intelligence giuen, that Terrail being much discontented, that the Span-  
 iards had not assisted him well in his enterprizes in the Low countries, foreseeing that in the  
 end they would ruine him, he gaue it out that he would serue the Gobet (for so he called the D  
 Duke of Sauoy) laying openly that he had a notable enterprize vpon Geneva. Soone after he  
 came to Paris, vpon colour to recouer the Kings fauour, but they were aduertised that hee  
 should come into Sauoy. His desseignes were then disappointed by the murder which hee  
 committed in the Louvre before the King, who treated of his peace with the Gentleman  
 whom hee slue: so as to flie the Kings indignation, he returned to the Arch-duke, where hee  
 remained, vntill that he undertooke a voyage to Loreto with La Basside, an Engineer, whom  
 he had taken to assist him in his executions. They went on foot, and in their returne had con-  
 ference with the Duke of Sauoy. Notwithstanding that the Earle of Fuentes had disswaded  
 Terrail, telling him that the Duke would ingage him in his enterprizes against Geneva, and  
 that it would be his ruine. At which time the Duke imparted vnto Terrail and his man, his E  
 desseignes vpon Geneva: from which time they continued in Sauoy, hauing made two voy-  
 ages to that effect to Thurin. They of Geneva grew presently into ialousie, hauing had sun-  
 dry aduertisements of a great and almost inuisible enterprize against them, managed by  
 Terrail: being in this perplexity, God sent them some more light, the which did serue them as  
 a meane to enter into the ground of the businesse, and to consult Terrails man, and afterwards  
 himselfe. Hauing played at Tennis at Chambery, and being hot, he retired himselfe into a  
 Chamber, where lying vpon a bed, a seruant of the Tennis-court aying a shirt, he saw La  
 Basside and some others, present a Paper to Terrail, (which was a plot of the towne of Ge-  
 neua) discourring secretly as of affaires of importance. This seruant hearing them name  
 some of the Forts of Geneva, gaue more attentive care, and perceived for certaine that they F  
 deuised of some enterprize against the towne, hearing Terrail (after a long discourse) make no  
 difficulty, but of the meanes to draw a sufficient number of men together for this enterprize:  
 wherein being satisfied by the Assistants, he said openly: They are taken, they cannot avoid  
 it. This being vnderstood by the young man, he hauing a brother in the Garrison of Gene-  
 ua, and desirous to saue him from this danger, went and discovered all to a Burgesse of Ge-  
 neua, who was then at Chambery. This Burgesse made a faithfull report vnto the Magi-  
 strates of Geneva, and to the young mans brother, from which time they set spies to obserue  
 Terrails

1609 A Terrails actions. In the end they were aduertised that they were past the mountaines, conferred  
 with the Duke of Sauoy; and that he returned by the Lake Leman, whereof they aduertised  
 them of Berne, sending all the markes of Terrail, and intreating them to seize vpon his per-  
 son if he past thorow the Country. The which they had expressely commanded, hauing no-  
 tice of the D. of Sauoys practises against Geneva, their Ally, and against their owne Coun-  
 try. It happened at the same time, that a Deacon of Yuerdun, a towne belonging to the Ber-  
 nois, neere to the Frontier of the County of Bourgondy, being at Geneva, came to salute the  
 second Syndic of the Towne, and brought him letters. After some other discourse, hee ac-  
 quainted him with the aduertisements they had receiued, of the enemies enterprizes against  
 Geneva, and the country of Berne, but especially vpon the towne of Yuerdun, a place very  
 important, being the key of the country ioyning vpon Bourgondie: hee gaue him also the  
 markes of Terrails person, whose picture they had gotten at Geneva, doubting that he him-  
 selfe would come to view the towne. Some daies after Terrail returning from Thurin, he past  
 the lake, but with some ill preface by the falling of his mans horse into the water, which  
 made him in a manner resolute vpon his returne, yet in the end being perswaded by his man  
 he passed on, he came into the Country of Berne, but not into any frequented places: passing  
 thorow their Country, he diligently obserued the places of most importance, neuer lodg-  
 ing in any towne, but in villages, hamlets and peasants houses, vntill hee came to Yuerdun,  
 where he stayed not, but passing the bridge he found the Bailiffe and others, whom he saluted,  
 but they obserued him not. Hauing past the bridge, seeming to stay for some other cause, he  
 turned towards Yuerdun, and viewed the situation and defences of the place: the which was  
 well noted by them that were yet vpon the bridge, thinking simply that hee had staid vpon  
 some other occasion: but hauing past a little further, the forelaide Deacon being in a Garden,  
 saw him come a farte off, and hauing obserued his countenance, he beganne to doubt that it  
 was Terrail, and the better to discouer him, knowing that hee was bald, he made him a low  
 courtesie, to moue him to vncouer, the which hee did, and the Deacon being now assured, ran  
 speedily to the Bailiffe, deliuering his opinion. All the Assistants which had noted the coun-  
 tenance of the man to haue turned, and obserued the place, perswaded the Bailiffe to send af-  
 ter him, the which hee did by two men onely, who should obserue what course hee tooke; that  
 if he went not toward Bourgondy, they should returne without any further pursue, but if  
 he went that way, they should follow him to his lodging, without making shew of anything,  
 and obserue particularly the markes which hee gaue them of his person. There hapned ano-  
 ther act of Gods providence, Terrail hauing past a village called Villebois, which is within  
 halfe an houres iourney of Bourgondy, meaning to lodge that night in the Country, passing  
 thorow a quag-mire, where his horse being mired, he returned and went ouer a plank; vpon  
 the which his horse stumbling hurt himselfe, which made him halt: this made him re-  
 solve to lodge that night at Villebois. Being lodged there, the two which were sent from  
 Yuerdun, obserued him diligently, and one of them returned speedily to carry newes to the  
 Bailiffe: who presently sent foure horsemen led by the Capitaine of Yuerdun to bring him  
 backe, giuing them charge also to require aid of the Peasants: arriving in the morning, they  
 found Terrail ready to goe to horse, to whom the host and others being aduertised of the fact,  
 had said that hee could not passe the mountaines, where there were two great guards, which  
 staid all men that had not giuen account to the Bailiffe of Yuerdun. This was confirmed  
 by them that came in the morning, and although that La Basside stormed at this affront, yet  
 Terrail seemed willing to returne to Yuerdun, with 4. or 6. horse, whom hee might haue de-  
 manded, if he had foreseene his calamity. After his intention, he repented him often that hee  
 had not shewed his great courage at that time: but God blinded him, for from that time hee  
 shewed the signes of valour or deuerty, whereby he might often haue escaped, as wee shall  
 see. Being returned to Yuerdun, and intreated by the Bailiffe who was wily and of great  
 F experience, he answered, that he was a Gentleman of Dauphiny, called Pas of Comans,  
 and that he went into Loreto to follow a suite, which did import him much, intreating the  
 Bailiffe to dispatch him presently. Hee was hauing no greater ground, bred more iea-  
 lousie in the Bailiffe, so hee resolved to seize vpon his person, vntill hee had better aduice:  
 whereupon he demanded his sword, the which hee deliuered, and caused him to be lodged in  
 an Inn very carefully guarded by foure men. Among other causes to breed suspicion, being  
 at Villebois, seeing that he must returne, and that there was no meane to escape, the pas-  
 sages being guarded, he called for a Candle, with the which he burnt a long letter written on  
 both

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both sides. Being demanded thereon, he answered that it was a letter written to Monsieur de A Creguy from his kin-foman, to be a mediator vnto his Maieſty for him; the which hee ſtill maintained, and that he burnt it, left his name and quality ſhould be knowne. The Bailiffe for his better ſatisfaction ſent preſently to Geneua, to haue ſome one that knew Terrail: to whom they ſent one of the Magiſtrates of the towne and a ſouldier, who had ſerued vnder Terrail in the Low-countries, and had giuen many aduertisements of his enterpriſes, whereof he had the knowledge from his owne mouth, by the means of ſome of his ſervants. Theſe two being come to Yuerdun, it was held good the ſouldier ſhould enter ſuddenly into the lodging, where Terrail was at ſupper: he enters, and at the firſt ſits downe at the table without making ſhew of any thing. Terrail ſeeing him, was much troubled, ſeeming to be very ill, and deſiring them to warme his bed: thus he retired to his Chamber much diſmaied, whether he ſent for the ſaid ſouldier, whom hee entertained very courteouſly, intreating him to tell if he were not ſent to diſcover him, the which the ſouldier hauing iuſtified, he began to vſe ſtrange ſpeeches vnto him: That he knew not why they of Geneua did malice him: That he had had diuers aduertisements from Chambery, that they laid wait for him at Geneua: And that they would employ the ſaid ſouldier to diſcover him: That he ſhould die a gallant Knight and an innocent. That the Earle of Fuentes, the King of Spaine, and the Arch-duke would reuenge his death: That he neuer had had to doe with the Duke of Sauoy, who he ſaid was an vnworthy and an ingratefull maſter, wiſneſſe the end of *Albion*. He beganne to ſuborne the ſaid ſouldier to helpe him to eſcape, promiſing him a thouſand crownes, if with all ſpeed he would write to the Earle of Fuentes, and goe into Bourgoyny, to the Earle of Charite, to aduertife him of his extreme danger. And *La Baſſide* would haue delivered the ſaid ſouldier an hundred crownes, which he reſuſed. Terrail intreated him to reſume early in the morning, for that he had matters of importance to deliuer vnto him. In the meane time the Bailiffe being aduertised of the truth, & finding it not fit the ſouldier ſhould confer any more with him, cauſed him with his man to be conueyed to the Caſtle, where they were lodged a part, and well guarded. They of Geneua hauing notice of his detention, the Councell reſolved to ſend to the Seigneurs of Bearne to demand him, giuing the charge to one of the *Sindics* of the towne, who being firſt heard in the Councell of *Burgundie*, he let them underſtand the great and iuſt grounds they had at Geneua, to deſire to haue Terrail: that they had certaine proofes of his practices: that the wiſneſſes which they had at Geneua, could not be without danger transported: that the cauſe of both Townes alſyed was common: that the enterpriſes concerned them inſeparably; that in the like caſe, they at Geneua had deliuered priſoners to Bearne: that the Kings men not long ſince had granted them a priſoner for the like attempt: that the conſequence would be very great to diuers undertakers, if they ſaw they could not without danger come about Geneua. In the end, the party Councell of Bearne, being perplexed in this buſineſſe, aſſembled the great Councell of ſix hundred, where the like matters being propounded with vehemency, it was generally concluded, that Terrail ſhould be deliuered into their hands with his ſervant and goods. The Kings Ambaſſador reſiding at Soluerre, did greatly allow of this reſolution.

The aduice of this grant being come to Geneua, they vſed wonderfull diligence and denity to perſwade his brother (which dwells in the Towne of Chambery) to goe thither to fetch him with goodly promiſes: the which hee eſteemed faithfully and ſpeedily, ſo that in three daies he was at Geneua, and did ſerue much in the diſcovery. They alſo ſent the Souldier which had knowen Terrail to Monsieur de Lyons, where they knew that he was a ſouldier which had ſometimes bene his horſe-keeper, and had heard his ſpeeches touching the enterpriſes of Geneua, the which he had oftentimes told to *Balsine* (which dwells at Chambery, his name of Geneua) but the horſe-keeper was abſent: but the ſaid *Balsine* ſent his brother ſouldier at Lyons, his Camerado, who aſſured him that he ſaid horſe-keeper had ſent conferred with him of this buſineſſe, whereof the ſaid *Balsine* took an othe by a Notaries hand. Terrail was deliuered to the *Sindic* of Geneua, and conſidered with a guard from Yuerdun to Morges, a little towne ſeated vpon the Lake Lemani. *B. Jergues* from Geneua, where hee was deliuered in guard to the Bailiffe of Morges, ſayd they ſhould ſend for him to Geneua by water. This was done by a Decree of the great Councell of Bearne; with this proviso, that before he went out of their territories, they ſhould ſeize them ſeuerall vnder the Seale of Geneua, that it was done without prejudice to their iuriſdiction, & of antient grace and cuſtome. Terrail was brought alone from Yuerdun, his ſervant remaining behind, left they ſhould conferre:

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A ferre: vpon the way he vſed ſtrange ſpeeches to the *Sindic*, asking him often, of what death will ye make me to die at Geneua? he ſeemed to feare much to be deliuered into the Kings hands, for which he had changed his name & faſhion: that the King hauing him he will keepe him long in the Baſtile, whereas being farre off, he might make his peace with greater aduantage, yet ſince feeling himſelfe taken, he ſaid he had no will to fall into the hands of them of Geneua, but to be deliuered to the King, hoping by this meanes to make his peace very eaſily. He ſaid alſo, that he had diſſwaded the Duke of Sauoy from the enterpriſe of Geneua: but with ſuch frivolous reaſons, as they might eaſily ſee they were inuented of purpoſe. Being at Morges, he ſo bewitched the Bailiffe with goodly words and promiſes, as he reſuſed him to them that came the next day to fetch him to Geneua by water, giuing Terrail meanes to eſcape, if God had not deprived him both of courage and iudgement. There were ſome of *M. Des Diguiers* men which paſt by Morges, entreating the Bailiffe to keepe him vntill hee had a new warrant from Bearne, whither they went to that end: there was a weake guard in Morges, he had the liberty of the Caſtle, and meanes to ſpeake with whom he pleaſed, and to write to his friends, hauing ſent a very artificiall and paſſionate petition to the Seigneurs of Bearne. Hee had alſo won the fauour of the people of Morges, by his good behauiour, iuſtifications and bounty, ſo as if there had come but twenty reſolute men to his reſcue, he had bin ſafe, and this had bin eaſie to execute; the like in this place being but 3. little French leagues ouer, and right againſt Morges, all being the Dukes, if he had the aſſurance to haue gone out of the Caſtle, he had eſcaped by the means of them of Morges it ſelfe, ſo much they fauoured him. They of Geneua ſent ſpeedily to Bearne to complaine, and to re-demand him, the which was confirmed with much indignation againſt the Bailiffe of Morges, who before any answer made to the Seigneurs of Geneua, had receiued letters of inunction, commanding him ſpeedily to deliuer Terrail vnto them, the which he was forced to doe. For which contempt the Bailiffe was in diſgrace, and there were preſumptions, that Terrail had promiſed him ten thouſand Crownes to keepe him from going to Geneua, or at the leaſt that his man might not come: the which the Bailiffe had promiſed faithfully, hoping to effectuall by the means of his great credit and alliance, but ſell out otherwiſe. The Earle of Fuentes, the Catholike Cantons, and Terrails kin-fmen laboured much at Bearne to ſaue him, but ſome came too late.

D He that was ſent from the Earle of Fuentes, was entertained till the afternoone without audience, vntill that Terrail was deliuered into the hands of them of Geneua. The Seigneurs of Bearne did carry themſelues very affectionate and zealous in this action. Terrail was conducted in an armed Frigate: vpon the way one of the chiefe of the Towne which did accompanie him, entertained him with very honourable and kinde words: That if he would declare that which concerned the ſafety of the Towne, he promiſed him in the name of the Seigneurie, pardon, liberty, courteous vſage, and interceſſion to the King: but he denied all, yet he was much perplexed, ſaying that he was no man of iron, and if they put him to the Racke he ſhould ſpeake any thing. Being come to Geneua the fourteenth of Aprill about midnight, he was lodged in the Towne-houſe well guarded. The next day being ſent for to the Councell, they did in like manner let him know how deſirous they were to ſaue him, requiring him to ſpeake freely, and to helpe himſelfe, for that they had ſufficient in their hands to conuict him, promiſing him liberty and all good vſage, if he would voluntarily declare the buſineſſe. This was repeated about ten times vnto him: but ſill he perſiſted in the negatiue, with great execrations and oaths, ſo as in the end they told him, that ſeeing he would not ſaue himſelfe, there was no more grace for him. Whereupon they cauſed him to answer criminally, vſing ſome rough ſpeeches vnto him, which amazed him much: being confronted by *Balsine* the Souldier, he denied all, yea that which was moſt apparent, ſo as they began by his doubtfull answers to diſcover the whole truth. On Munday morning being the 17 of Aprill, he was led from the Towne-houſe to the priſon: about the ſame time the ſaid *Sindic* with a Secretarie of the State, brought his man from Yuerdun to the priſon, and preſently brought him to his answer, cauſing the young man of Chambery to ſee him, from whom they had their beſt intelligence, who hauing viewed him, affirmed confidently that this was the man which had preſented the paper to Terrail, and had vſed the above-mentioned ſpeeches vnto him: This young man being examined apart, what appeared *La Baſſide* did weare then, he told what hee had ſcene, the which *La Baſſide* did confeſſe, but he denied the paper and the ſpeeches, and ſo did Terrail. In the end, ſeeing that the young man did conſtantly maintaine his ſaying, it was reſolved that *La Baſſide* ſhould be put to the Racke; who

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having endured the strappado twice, being ready to be put to it the third time, he said he would A  
 confesse all. This resolution to put him to the Racke, was also grounded vpon another oc-  
 casion; for that a Burgeisse of Geneva hauing by chance seene *La Basside* the same day in the  
 Court of the prison, did witness that he slept one night with him in a neere Village, and that  
 in the morning the host had told him, that *La Basside* had handled many maps and plots of  
 Fortification, before he parted, so he was knowne by the host to be an Enginer, to whom he  
 confessed it, and yet in prison he denied all. After *La Basside* confession, he was confronted  
 with *Terrail*, who began to disauow him, but *La Basside* persisted in his confession, where-  
 upon *Terrail* being presented the Racke, with teares in his eyes he confessed the whole act vol-  
 untarily, and had no torture: The French King, and the Estates of the waied Prouinces, B  
 were presently aduertised of that which did concerne them. *La Basside* confessed that he was  
 an Enginer, hauing long serued the Arch-Dukes, that since he had given himselfe to *Terrail*,  
 to execute the enterprise of Geneva, and that he had sometimes beene a scholler. He was gal-  
 lant of his person, and cunning in matter of fortification. That about foure or five moneths  
 past, returning from pilgrimage with his Master, passing by Thurin, the Duke discoursed  
 with them, both of Geneva, & of the great desire he had to be master thereof, demanding their  
 aduice: he refused to assaile it, not by sieg or open force, but by enterprise, wherein they  
 offered him their seruice, the which he accepted, with many thanks and promises, giuing to  
*Terrail* 700. Duckers, and a Jewell of 300. crownes price, and to *La Basside* 280. *Philips* Dol-  
 lors. To effect this desire, the Duke gaue them charge to view the gates, Guard, Port, and C  
 state of the Towne, whereupon *La Basside* undertooke to goe into the towne, where hauing  
 viewed all, he brought vnto the Duke a plot of all that which had bin reformed in the fortifi-  
 cation, since the Scalado, according to the which, the Duke did renew his ancient plot. That  
*Terrail* and *La Basside* going to Thurin, they could not agree vpon the meanes of the enter-  
 prise, *Terrail* inclining to surpris a gate with a petard or otherwise, and *La Basside* shewing  
 that it was a matter of infinite danger, by reason of the great number of defences which were  
 at the gates, and their carefull guard. After some dispute, the Duke inclined to *La Basside*'s  
 opinion, to attempt the Port, where there was not so strict a guard, and the which being sur-  
 prized by a sufficient number of men, they should be in the heart of the towne, and could not  
 be in danger before they were entred: the which being executed, *La Basside* made no difference D  
 ty, to accomplish the enterprise, being very easie (as he said) to seize vpon the Port de Rine,  
 which was neere. *Terrail* hauing heard all, yeelded to his opinion, and went with *La Basside*  
 to passe the Lake about Euian, where he remained eight daies, informing himselfe particu-  
 larly, from all the Water-men which went to Geneva, touching the disposition, guides, and  
 defences of the Port, visiting of boats and other things belonging to the navigation of the  
 Lake, by whom he discovered many errors in the Guard: and to be the better assured, he cau-  
 sed *La Basside* to goe ouer the Lake to Morges, to the end that he might passe in one of the  
 Barkes of Geneva, which on certaine daies goe thither to market, and obserue the state of the  
 port, and enter into Geneva without ialousie; the which he performed so cunningly as no  
 man suspected him. The like spie had bin taken some two yeeres before, hauing grossly visi-  
 ted the chaines, who being amazed, and wauering in his answer, confest by force that he had  
 bin sent to view the place, not knowing any more of the enterprise, nor who had sent him, for  
 the which he was hanged. Some thinke he was of *Terrail*'s faction. From that time they had  
 fortified the fort with another ranke of double chaines, but that did not serue to warrant them  
 against this last enterprise. *Terrail* and *La Basside* (who returned vnto him by land) hauing  
 againe visited the Port of Rine, by the which he past, he returned to the Duke, assuring him  
 of the certainty and facility of the enterprise, taking vpon them to be the Leaders and conduc-  
 tors of the execution. The enterprise was plotted after this manner: *Terrail* and the D. had  
 made their desseigne to provide 4. or 5. great flat-bottomed boats, such as doe usually carry  
 wood vnto the towne, especially in May, when as they make their prouision, and to lodge  
 vnder the wood 150. or 200. chesse men in euery boat, the which should approach without  
 suspicion, for that their counterfeited water-men should be attired like vnto them of Geneva. As  
 for the search which was heretofore made within the towne, they did not regard it, hauing re-  
 solved to kill the searchers suddenly, & to leape all together out of their boats: they should at  
 an instant gather their troups together, farre from the commerce of them of Geneva, and at a  
 prefxed time (ship them, when as they should see a favourable Northern wind arise. *Terrail*  
 should be in the first boat, and the D. or his eldest son in the last. The first exploit being done,  
 the

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A the D. or his son should also haue other troups, especially horsemen ready, the which might  
 well be drawne together, vnder colour of the D. of Nemours marriage, which should be cele-  
 brated at Amilly in Sauoy, 8 leagues from Geneva: and although the day of the said marriage  
 did cause some difficulty, yet they had so many other encounters, as they held the enterprise  
 infallible: the facility was, in that they might imbarke them secretly, a favourable wind carry-  
 ing them in a quarter of the time that is required by land: they thought that 500. men or  
 more being entred, would be able to slay all the people, & seize vpon the Canon at the Port,  
 and also at the Port de Rine, by the which the Duke or his son should enter with their land-  
 troups. The enterprise was appointed at such a time, when as the towne seemed to be most  
 vnarmed, by reason of their country labours, & at dinner time when it seemed euery man  
 retires himselfe. They haue confest also (since their condemnation) that their voyage thorow  
 the Country of Bearne, was to obserue it, for the pursuing of their victory, after the taking of  
 Geneva: for although the D. entred alone into this enterprise, and that the Earle of Fuentes  
 had not discouraged himselfe to be of the party: yet *Terrail* said, that the D. had assured him,  
 that the Spaniards which were in Sauoy, had commandement to follow and obey him, as he  
 pretended in this enterprise. *Terrail* went into the Low-countries to take his leaue of the Arch-  
 duke, to retire such meanes as he had yet remaining there, & to bring some of the best execu-  
 tioners that he could finde, with some Mariners. He and *La Basside* agreed both in their con-  
 fessions, being examined apart, wherby they had drawne from them the grounds of the en-  
 terprise, against the which they themselves did afterwards giue them direction to defend them-  
 selves, especially *Terrail* made a draught in paper of the meanes how to preferre any Port  
 from the Pottard: he said, that the D. was so bent vpon this execution, that notwithstanding  
 his imprisonment, if they kept the confessions close, & gaue it out that he had not discovered  
 any thing, but continued in prison still, vntill that time, the Duke would continue his enter-  
 prise, and might be easily taken both he and his son: but this was a forged meanes to delay his  
 punishment, and to giue time to the intercessions which he knew would be made for him,  
 by his kinsmen of Dauphiné, the expedient also was too dangerous. Being demanded if they  
 knew not that it was a capitall crime, to make like desseignes in a time of full peace, & sworn  
 and well obserued, the which they both confessed freely: *Terrail* desired that he might be kept  
 in alle between 4. walls, and *La Basside* intreated, that they would not make him lose his soule  
 by some cruel punishment: being both condemned, *La Basside* disposed himselfe to die with a  
 constant resolution: being vpon the ladder, he said vnto the Spectators; My masters I pray you  
 pardon me, I am more ioyfull to die here ignominiously, then if the enterprise which I had in  
 hand had succeeded: pray vnto God for me that he will pardon me, for the loue of his soune,  
 who shed his blood vpon the crosse for me and for all true repentants. *Terrail* was condemned  
 to lose his head vpon the place of Molard, where he was executed the 19. of Aprill, and *La  
 Basside* was hanged at the same place the 21. They both died very resolutely, especially *Terrail*,  
 who neuer changed his countenance, neither shewed any gesture vnworthy of his fore-  
 passed life: *La Basside* was much grieved that torture had made him accuse *Terrail*, of whose  
 death he vnderstood, desiring rather to haue bene drawne in peeces with foure horses. *Terrail*  
 was interred on the Bulwarke of Loy, whereas the heads of those which were executed at the  
 Scalado were buried. If *Terrail* had made vse of the grace which was offered him in the  
 beginning he had bin saved: but he did not thinke they should be able to conuict him, relying  
 vpon the promises of the Bailiffe of Morges, that his man should not be deliuered to them of  
 Geneva; as indeed he was staid at the instance of the said Bailiffe vntill a second voiage. It was  
 held for certaine that the gouernment of Sauoy had bin promised by the Duke vnto *Terrail*,  
 if the enterprise had succeeded happily. On the eleuenth of Aprill there was a conference  
 between Monsieur *du Moulin*, one of the Ministers of the reformed Church of Paris, and Fa-  
 ther *Gontier* a Iesuite, being seconded by the Barromesse of Salignac: after which it was  
 F red abroad, that *Gontier* had confuted *du Moulin* in diuers points which they of the Religion  
 did hold, *Gontier* himselfe writing a glorious letter vnto the King to that effect. *du Moulin*  
 finding his reputation touched, and the truth mis-reported, was forced to publish a true dis-  
 course of the whole conference. The particular Arguments I must omit, being a more pro-  
 per subiect for them that treat of controuersies of Religion then for History.

On the nineteenth day of Aprill being Easter day, the vines hauing thrust forth their buds  
 vnseasonably by the forwardnesse of the spring in March, were withered with the mornings  
 frost, and the Sunne rising, burned them vp quite, so as that moneth which doth open, and  
 gaue

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Conference  
 between *Du  
 Moulin* and  
*Gontier*.

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The King per-  
suaded to alter  
the coine.

gave them great hope, did presently extinguish it, and they were deceived of their vantage, A especially about Paris, the which was the more grievous, for that three yeeres before they had had small store of wine, so as the poore labourers were terrified from the charge: whereupon they drew so great store of Brewers of Beere out of the Low countries to Paris, as the signes of Alehoules were more ordinary then of Tavernes.

France is not vnlike vnto a fat fertile soyle, the which wish come puts forth Cockell, Dar-  
nell, and such like, so as that kinde of Vultures are more greedy then any Farmers of Impoll,  
who make traffike of diuine and humane things; and know nothing but to suck the marrow  
from the poore people, employing all their policies, cares, and counsels, to scrape what is re-  
maining, and to shake the whole state of the Kingdom by their dangerous inuentions, like y  
vnto Horfleeches, which neuer leaue the skin vntill they burst with blood: They are the  
authors of new Edicts, the which when they had bought for little, they oppress the subjects,  
ruined and spoiled them vtterly. Some of these blood-suckers perswaded the King to abate  
his coine both in goodnesse and weight, by which wickednesse all mens fortunes would be  
shaken, and both ours and foraine trade vtterly ouerthrowne. This publike infection had so  
posselt the King, as he was fully resolu'd to alter his coine, and an Edict being vpon the  
Prestle, should presently be published, yea against the will of the Court of Parliament.

They in whose perpetuall guard the Kingdom is, made it knowne vnto the Kings Coun-  
cell how dangerous it would be to alter the old coine; and what clamours and inuasions it  
would breed. That they had read of examples in former times of great ruine which had  
growne thereby, the which should make them more warie to runne into the like: Next vnto  
ciuill warres and a generall desolation, the abatement of coine is the greatest mischief: By  
this sinew, traffick is maintained, the which being dissolued, France would languish, like vnto  
the Arteries which want nourishment. In the end the courage of Achilles preuailed, or ra-  
ther the eloquence of Harley, that Nestor of our France, with whom the whole Councell  
assented.

The King heard his speech willingly and commended it, chasing those caterpillers farre  
from him.

There was a kinde of people, who hauing gotten great credit by their great trade, taking vp  
great summes of money at interest (they finde many desirous rather to liue vpon the vie of D  
their money, then to purchase lands.) In the end finding themselves oppress with vsurie,  
and vnable to make payment of their debts, they are forced to breake, and to runne away.  
They are the wickedest amongst men, who hauing purchased places of authoritie for their  
sonnes, and married their daughters with great dowries, hauing conueyed great store of gold,  
wares, plate and stufte into forreine parts, they change their soile; the which hath hapned  
often within few yeeres. But the boldnesse and impunitie of these publike theenes, which in  
others haue beene neglected, was punished in one. It was a Merchant called *Pingre*, very  
well knowne for his great trade, whom the fame of his former life, and his abundance of  
Merchandise, had purchast great credit vpon the Exchange. He hauing defrauded his Cre-  
ditors, and conueyed away his goods and his state to his friends and neighbours, and being  
fled into the Low countries, was found by his Creditors at Valencia, and was brought backe  
to Paris, where he was called in question before the Masters of Requests: his *Procresse* being  
made, he was condemned to come into the Court in his shirt, and a torch in his hand, and to  
aske forgiveness, then to be carried thorow Saint Dehins street where his house had beene,  
hauing hanging at his backe these words written in great letters, A TREACHEROVS  
DEFRAYDER OF OTHER MENS MONEY. Whereupon there  
was an aduertisement made touching this crime, in these termes.

As good Lawes spring commonly from bad manners, so we from two great mischiefs  
which began to grow in this Realme, fee two very wholesome Edicts made in one month, to  
suppresse so many Duels, which tend to the ruine of the flourishing estate of the Nobilitie; p  
and to prevent Bankrupting, which we see so ordinarie, or at the least to punish such as shall  
be conuicted thereof, with their complices and adherents.

Leauing Duels for a more ample discourse, we will only speake a word vpon the subject of  
the Decree against *W<sup>m</sup> Pingre*, condemned for Bankrupting, and falshood, both foule crimes;  
the which draw others after them, as theft, couzenage, the robbing of the publike treasure,  
and counterfeiting, all capital. There hath beene some doubt vpon the interpretation of  
these words, to punish them extraordinarily, and capitally, by the Tenor of the Ordinances  
of

Punishment of  
a Bankrupt.

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A of Orleans and Bloys; if the new Edict which it hath pleased his Royall Maestie to send  
vnto his Court of Parliament this month of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1609, had not  
taken away all cause of further doubt, appointing death for such offenders, to the great con-  
tent of all good men.

But for that no Law is good or commodious to euery man, and that *Iupiter* himselfe (as  
the old proverbe saith) whether he send raine or faire weather, cannot content all the world;  
I will yeeld some apparant reasons to them, which hold there is too great severity and cru-  
elty in this Iudgement, and more in the Kings Maesties Edict. They say there must be some  
pitie and commiseration had of those, who hauing lost their goods not by prodigality or  
B fraud, but by some great force, or by mischance, or by the breaking of some one of their  
Creditors; and that our custome and the Ordinances haue often allowed them, respits, de-  
lays, and surceasings by letters or Iudgements, which the Soueraine Courts haue confir-  
med. But admit it were so, and that there are some which are not vnworthy of the miserable  
remedie of cession of their goods, carrying the marke which is a Greene bonnet and hat, I  
say, a Greene hat, to prevent the fraud of such as hauing made cession doe still wear a blacke  
hat, and a little Greene night-cap vnder it, so as it can hardly be seene: Yet can we not too  
rigorously punish; not onely with a ciuill death, which is the losse of their goods and ho-  
nour, but also with naturall death, those that are duely conuicted to haue by fraud or dissem-  
bling taken and carried away great summes of money out of diuers good purfes, and then  
C sie into forraine countries, where they enjoy their spoiles, an infinite number of good fami-  
lies being ruined, and brought to beggery.

These are (saith *Tacitus*) the fruits of vsury, whose biting is like vnto the wounds of cer-  
taine Serpents, whereof he that is stung seemes to feele no paine in the beginning, but in the  
end it brings them to a death full of anguish and paine. There is not any Bankrupt, but hath  
been a Vsurer, active and passive in diuers sorts: And if *Cato* compared an Vsurer to a  
murderer, we may well say that a couzener is a very theefe, seeing he doth with a fraudulent  
intent get, and maliciously carry away the goods of so many poore men, and that by subtil  
and malicious practises, whereof the fraud depends, the which shall be called couzenage,  
if there be no other more significantie.

D Robbing of the publike Treasure, is not often found as it was in the dealing of this *Pingre*,  
yet molle doe deale in it that manage the publike Treasure, whence grows the shame of ei-  
ther side, as well his that takes, as his that giues.

There remains the most grievous crime of all, which is falshood, whereof no man break-  
ing fraudulently, can excuse himselfe: for in stead of making good and loyall bookes of ac-  
compts, they make them false: If they say that all such faults, that are not punishable with  
death, as in a Notarie, Register, or some other publike person, and that by some Iudgements  
they haue beene content to cause them to burne the day: I answer, that by the Roman  
Lawes, such Registers of Bankers which are called *Argentarij*, *Argyroprestes*, *mensularij*, and  
*Cermatistae*, of whom *Seneca* speaks in the preface to his Declamations, is a sufficient testimo-  
E nie in Iudgement, and it hath beene iudged by infinite Decrees, that their Iournall is a good  
prooffe. He then that falsifies that rule, or makes it double, merites no lesse punishment then  
forgers, by a capital: punishment, not onely by the losse of reputation and credit, but by  
losse of life, as the Edict will haue it, and is practised in some Soueraine Courts, namely at  
Rouen. But the equitie and necessitie of this *Senatus* consulu, fortified by Edict, will ap-  
peare and defend it selfe, and the profit and commoditie will appeare hereafter more and  
more. To stop the passage to all those that prepare themselves for the like frauds; and to  
coole their heat, who to affect a greater gaine vpon the place, contemne all honest meanes to  
employ their money, either in purchasing of Land, which is the most safe, or else in buying  
of rents by constitution, which is lawfull both by the lawes of God and man, which is the  
F onely honest meanes to make profit of money with a good conscience. The King therefore  
to prevent these falshoods, published an Edict in May as followeth.

HENRY by the grace of God King etc. To all present and to come greeting. Desiring  
to provide for the disorder and most frequent troubles, which the corruption of manners pro-  
ceeding from the liberty of the foresaied troubles, hath brought in, and to restore Iustice  
to her authoritie, and former beaury, to the end that vnder her our subjects may be better  
used and maintained in their duties: We haue considered that one of the things which we are  
speedily to redresse, is the abuse and apparent dook which is committed vnder the name  
Ffffff 3 and

An Edict  
against Ban-  
rupts.



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and pretext of playing Bankrupt, to the prejudice of poore Widowes, Orphelins, and other A of our good and loving subiects, by the means of which crime, which is growne frequent and in a manner common, for want of being punished as it deserves, the publike faith and trust amongst our subiects is greatly diminished, and the trafficke and commerce almost wholly decayed.

And for that the ancient Kings our predecessors have ordained small punishments against Bankrupts, for that during their reignes, infidelitie and corruption of manners had not so fully crept into the hearts of their subiects: King Francis the first, our most honoured Lord and great Vncle, vpon the aduice which was giuen him in the Citie of Lyons, ordained in the yeere of our Lord 1536, that they should proceed extraordinarily against Bankrupts, which B did breake fraudulently, their factors and dealers, by informations, confrontations of witnesses, and all other extraordinary means, and the fraud being discovered, the culpable to be punished corporally, by condemnations, asking forgiuenesse, to the profit of the parties interested, standing on the pillory, or otherwise, as it shall be determined by the Iudges, and to be kept close prisoners vntill they had made full satisfaction. And K. Charles the 9. also, our most honoured Lord and Brother, vpon the complaints which were made vnto him in the Assembly of the Estates held at Orleans, that the said crime of Bankrupting grew too common: He ordained that such as should fraudulently breake, should be punished extraordinarily & capitally, which Ordinances the last King deceased, had confirmed by an Edict made at Blois, in the yeere of our Lord 1579. and declared his intention to be, That they which C should fraudulently breake, or make cession of their goods, should be punished exemplarily. The which hath made the said crime so familiar, as many of our loving and loyall subiects, have suffered, and doe suffer daily great losses. Desiring therefore to make these complaints which have bene made vnto vs to cease, after mature deliberation, we have held it very fit and necessarie to renewe and augment the said punishments against Bankrupts and cessionaries, which have broken in fraud.

For these causes and many other considerations vs mouing, with the aduice of our Council, and of our certaine knowledge, full power and royall authority, by this our present Edict perpetual and irrevocable have said, decreed and ordained, and doe say, decree and ordaine, will, and our pleasure is, that according to the Ordinance and Lawes of our said D Lord and Brother, vpon the complaint of the Estates held at Orleans, they shall proceed extraordinarily against Bankrupts and Debtors, breaking & making cession of their goods to defraud or beguile their Creditors, their Factors and Dealers, of what estate, qualitie and condition soever they be, and the fraud being proued, they shall be exemplarily punished with death, as theues and publike affronters.

And notwithstanding for that most commonly the said Bankrupts breake with intent to enrich their children and heires, and the better to couer their malicious designs, make Transports and Cessions of their goods to their said children, heires, or other of their friends to keep them for them: We haue by the same means declared, & do declare such Transports, Cessions, and Sales and Donations of goods, moueable or immouable, made to defraud or B beguile the Creditors, directly or indirectly, to be void and of no force at all; forbidding all our Iudges to haue any regard thereof: But contrariwise if it shall appeare the foresaid Transports, Cessions, Donations and Sales shall be made to defraud the said Creditors; we will that the Cessionaries, Donataries and Purchasers, shall be punished as complices of the said frauds and breaking.

We will also and it is our pleasure, that they which, contrary to the truth, shall iustifie themselves to be Creditors to the said Bankrupts, as it often happens by Monopolies and intelligences, to the end they may draw the true Creditors to composition, shall be also exemplarily punished, as complices of the said frauds and bankrupts: forbidding all men expressly to retie the said Bankrupts, their cautions, factors or dealers, goods, moueables and papers, R nor to giue them any comfort or assistance in any sort whatsoever, vpon paine of being punished as Complices, as is said. We doe also inioyne all those that are true Creditors (vpon paine of losing their debts and actions) not to make any accords or contract, or to giue any time vnto the said Bankrupts, or their mediators, but to pursue them by the course of Iustice, according to our intention. Allowing any one of our subiects, yea without Decree or Warrant, to stay any Bankrupt flying away, and to present him vnto Iustice, notwithstanding all Iudgements, Decrees, and Outcomes to the contrary. We command our loving and full

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A full Councillors holding our Court of Parliament at Paris, Bayliffes, Seneschals, and all other our Iudges to whom it shall belong, to cause these presents to bee ready published, inrolled and observed, according to their forme and tenor.

And to our Proctor Generall and his substitutes, to haue a care thereof, and to certifie vs of the contraventions which shall be made to our present Edict, as they will answer to the contrary, for such is our pleasure. And to the end it may be firme and stable for euer, we haue caused our seale to be set to these presents.

Given at Paris in May. 1609.

Signed Henry.

The King at the same time being much troubled with the daily combats of his subiects, one calling another to field vpon every light occasion, whereby many Gentlemen of Noble families did vntimely lose their liues, by the aduice of the Princes of the blood; the Comfortable, the Marshalls of France, and other Officers of the Crowne, hee made an Edict to suppress it, as followeth;

HENRY by the grace of God, &c. To all our subiects greeting. The Kings our Predecessors and we haue made diuers Edicts and Ordinances, for the restraining of the too frequent vse of Duels and single Combats, in this our Realme, moued as most Christian Kings with our duty and the discharge of our consciences towards God: and as loving and good fathers tending the safety and preferuation of our subiects: hauing likewise a care to maintain our soueraine Authority, which is much interested by the disordered and vntimely liberty of the said combats. To this end we haue by our Edict dated in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeeres of our Lord 1602. with the aduice of the Princes of our blood, Officers of our Crowne, and others of our Council, which did then assist vs, declared all such as vnder colour of drawing satisfaction from any one, for a pretended injury, shall challenge, or cause to be challenged, guilty of high treason; and withall we did ordaine they should be punished accordingly, as also they that should answer to any such priuate challenge, or assist and second them; expressly forbidding all our Officers, of what quality soener, to dispense with any that are guilty of the punishments prescribed by the Lawes of our Realme, for treason, or to moderate the same vpon any consideration. Hoping that the terrour of the said punishment would be a meanes to suppress that detestable custome of combats.

E But we are so farre from attaining to our iust desire, as to our great griefe, and the contempt of Almighty Gods Commandements and ours, these Duels haue since bene more frequent then before, which we haue chiefly observed, for to proceed from a false, and rorionous and long conceived opinion, too deeply rooted in all the hearts of our Nobility (who haue alwaies more valued their honours and dignities then their liues) That they ought not to seeke any satisfaction for received injuries, but by armes, without disparaging and disgracing their reputations, and incurring some blemish of cowardise, especially in those cases which they thinke cannot be sufficiently repaired but by armes.

Notwithstanding that, we, to free them from this doubt and colour, haue by our said Edict shewed that we haue bene willing to charge our selues with whatsoever might bee objected in this regard, against those that should subiect themselves to the observation thereof.

Moreouer many, as malicious, as rash, not considering how severely we doe censure such actions, doe oftentimes willingly ingage themselves, to the hazard both of soule and body, thinking thereby to increase their reputations, and to get the advantage of others. Howbeit in effect it is contrary to true honour, no way becoming a true Christian; and altogether displeasing vnto vs: so as they are to hope for so little fauour from vs, as we hate those that practise these Duels, as a more then brutish madnesse.

Being

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Being therefore very desirous how to satisfie them that build such opinions vpon so dangerous and deceitfull foundations; and by the same meanes provide (as much as in vs lieth) for the inconveniences and difcommodities which fall our daily by this vnrestrained liberty; Experience teaching, that it is sometimes necessary and commodious for the publike good of the whole common-weale, to alter and change Lawes and Decrees, and to accommodate them to such accidents as shall happen in succeeding times, to make them the more profitable and beneficiall: wee likewise haue thought it good and requisite, with the aduice of the Princes of our bloud, Officers of our Crowne, and other great personages neere vnto vs, who by expresse commandement haue often met about this subiect, to adde to those precedent Edicts and Ordinances, made by our former Predecessors and our selfe against the said combats (without reuoking or disannulling them in any sort) this Edict, which wee will and commaund to be inuiolably obserued and kept by all persons of what estate and condition fouer they be. Expressely forbidding all persons: As also the Queene our deare and welbeloued Spouse, with all the Princes of our bloud, and our chiefe Officers and Seruants, nor to make any petitions, supplication or suit vnto vs to the contrary, vpon paine of our displeasure. Proceitling and swearing by the euerliuing God, neuer to grant any grace nor pardon, that may derogate from this present Edict, nor to dispence with any man for the punishment thereby prescribed, in fauour of any whatsoeuer, nor for any cause, colour, or particular respect, that may be propounded, pretended, or vpon what ground fouer alleaged.

He enioyned all his Subjects to liue in peace and concord, nor to prouoke one another by priuate scandals or open injuries. That they should respect all men according to their births and dignities, and that they in like manner should forbear to wrong others. That all Controuersies amongst his subiects, whereof the decision did belong to Iustice, should be ended by the ordinary course of Law, vpon paine to lose the thing in question, for him that should attempt the contrary. That no man should demand the combat of the King, Constable or Marshalls of France, by another, of any supposed wrongs done vnto them. That they should addresse themselves to the Governours of Prouinces, & in their absence to the Kings Lieutenant generall, to deliuer their grieuances, and to demand their combat; which if it could not be otherwise ended, they should aduertise his Maiesty, and receive directions from him. That the party offending should appeare before the King, the Constable and Marshall of France, or before the Governours and Lieutenants generall, when they should be called; who not appearing after due notice giuen, should be suspended for bearing armes for his contempt, and turned ower to the Courts of Parliament, to be punished as breakers of the Kings Edict. That if any one should refuse his Iudges to whom hee was referred, and the causes thereof found frivolous, he should be returned with blame to the said Iudges. That whoeuer should demand the combat vpon so light an offence, should be returned with disgrace. That he that did offer wrong to any other to the prejudice of his honour, should be suspended from all honours, offices, dignities and pensions, for the space of six yeeres, and neuer to be restored, vnlesse he should demand pardon of the King, and satisfie the party interested, and withall recouie a new declaration of his Maiesties pleasure. That whoeuer had no office, or dignity nor pension, should lose the third part of his yeerely reuenues; & if he had nor any or lesse then 20. pound a yeere sterling, he should remaine in prison two yeeres. That whoeuer should carry a challenge for any other, or be the bearer of a dishonourable message, should be for euer degraded of his Gentry, and kept in perpetual prison, or put to some infamous death, and withall should lose a moiety of his lands and goods. That whoeuer should make his own challenge, hauing not formerly demanded leave, should for euer be held incapable to make his party good by armes with any one, nor recieue any satisfaction for the wrong which he shall pretend to be done vnto him; and if the party called should giue notice thereof, as was ordained, then the officer or pension which the Challenger enioyed should be giuen vnto him, if he be a man fit to hold the place; but if the party challenged repaire to the place without giuing notice, hee shall vndergoe the same punishment with the party challenging; If any fight and kill one another; he that killeth shall suffer death according to the Law, and vnill he be taken, he shall be deprived of all dignities and pensions whatsoeuer; and lose halfe the reuenues of his lands, to be disposed of by his Maiesty, giuing no satisfaction to the heires of the party slaine in regard of his disobedience. And if both parties were slaine, their bodies should be deprived of buriall, and the thirds of their lands to be imploied at the Kings pleasure. And if they had not any, their children should be declared ignoble; and sub-

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A left to tax for the space of tenne yeeres; or if they were taxable, to bee held vnworthy for euer to be counted noble, or to hold any royall dignity or office. That all which should assit at such combats, if they did once draw their weapons, should lose life and goods: if they were but lookers on, and yet went to the fray, should be degraded from bearing armes, and lose their offices and pensions. If they came accidentally, and did not seeke to part them, should be suspended from their Offices and pensions for six yeeres, and not restored vntill they had asked pardon from the King. That whoeuer did fight in single combat, should incur the paines of death, or perpetual imprisonment with the losse of halfe their goods, and vntill they were apprehended, should be degraded from their Nobilities, and deprived of all their liuing during their liues. In the end be enioyned the Constable, Marshall of France, and all other Officers belonging to the Crowne, to whom the decisions of the point of honour did belong, to haue a carefull regard of the obseruation of his Edict, and not vfe any moderation, nor to suffer it to be infringed by any fauour or conniuenue, notwithstanding any command that should come from him, as they desired to please and obey him.

There was a Turke of Constantinople, a man of good yeeres, who had bene taken prisoner by the Knights of Malta: he spake the Siriake tongue very well, and did write it perfectly. A Dominican Friar at Malta, learned both in Diuinity and Philosophy, and very delirious of the tongues, obtained his liberty, and brought him to Paris, where he instructed him in the principles of Christian Religion, and vpon our Ladies day he was brought to Saint Benets Church to be Chrified. Being examined of his demand at the Church doore, the Dominican being his interpreter, he answered that he desired to be a Christian, whereupon (hauing abured the superstition of the Alcoran) he was baptized, hauing noble witnesses. *Alphonso d Ornano*, Marshall of France, and the Kings Lieutenant in Guenne, was the one, and *Mary of Seneton*, a Lady of an honourable house, was the other. There was so great a concourse of people, as this spectacle was preiudiciall to many, who being sore bruised and hurt, could hardly retire themselves out of the presse.

Charles of Gonzaga Duke of Neuers, had laid the foundation of walls in the furthest part of his Country, neere vnto the riuer of Meuze, and caused his surveyors to measure our ground for the building of houses: he determined and resolved to make and erect a goodly new Towne, imitating Sedan, Iametz, and many such other petty Princes, who the neerer they are to Germany, hauing freed themselves from the Eagles talents, which did sometimes oppress the world, tooke vpon him a kinde of command, he drew new inhabitants to settle themselves there, with promise of immunities, and would haue it called Charleuille, making a new coine with this Inscription, *Carolus Gonzaga Dux Niuerni. Et Rethel. sup. Principis Archenfis.*

*Joachim* of Chetardy a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at Paris, one of the Clergy, died in Iuly; But why should I ioyne him (though a man of a singular good life, and well deserving his purple roabe) with great personages? his goodly Act, deserving eternall memory, makes him worthy.

He was Prior of Saint Cosme, neere vnto Tours vpon Loire, the which he repaired and restored, being decayed and ruined, as well by the violence of ciuill warres, as the negligence of his Predecessors, and not onely tooke away the long deformity, being in old time a holy and sweet place, seated in the Elisian fields of France, but also finding great *Rensards* bones to lie in a bare, mure and illiterate coffin, more iust then they that had bene aduanced by his rich spoiles: he would not suffer his ghost to lie any longer neglected, causing a stately Tombe of Marble to be made for *Rensard*, and a liuely Image to be cut by the Phidians of Paris, with a short inscription; for it was sufficient to admonish Passengers that there lay *Rensard*; neither did he need this care and charge of mortal men, who in his life time saw his owne eternity, whose glory after death cannot exceed that, which he did reape liuing: yee this goodly and bountifull Councillor, by this good Office hath deferred much of all them that honour learning. And as it was sometimes said of a Roman, who when he had erected another mans decayed statue, that he had fixed his owne, so *Chetardy* building vpon *Rensards* monument in dumbe marble, he hath placed his owne in the monuments of writers. Vpon the Tombe these words were grauen.

Epitaphium

Turke baptiz-  
ed at Paris.Charleuille a  
new towne  
built by the  
Duke of Ne-  
uers.Iacobus of  
Chetardus  
death by the  
Duke of Ne-  
uers.

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# Epitaphium Petri Ronsardi Poetar. Principis & huius Cœnobij quondam Prioris.

D. M.

CAVE. VIATOR. SACRA. HEC. NUMVS. EST.  
AEL. NEPASTE. QVAM. CALCAS. HVMVS.  
SACRA. EST. RONSARDVS. ENIM. IACET.  
HIC. QVO. ORIENTE. ORIAT. MVSAE. ET.  
OCCIDENTE. COMMORI. AC. SBCVM. IN.  
HVMARI. VOLVERVNT. HOC. NON. INVIDE-  
ANT. QVI. SVNT. SVPERSTITES. NEC. PA-  
REM. SORTEM. SPERANT. NEPOTES.

In cuius piam memoriam Ioachim de la Chetardie in supr. Parif. Curia Sena. & illius viginii  
post annos in eodem sacro Cœnobio successit, posuit.

Marriage of  
the Duke of  
Vendosme.

In the beginning of Iuly the King performed an Act of great content to himselfe, which was the marriage of the Duke of Vendosme his base sonne, by the Duchesse of Beaufort, with the sole daughter and heire of the Duke of Mercuer, which marriage had bene formerly concluded vpon at the said Dukes reconciliation vnto the Kings seruice: But the Duchesse her Mother was drawne, and perswasiuely induced vnto it with great difficulty. She was one of the greatest marriages of France, for besides her fathers inheritance, she was by her mother heire of the house of Marignies in Britanny, a House of great possessions, and issued from the Dukes of Britanny. The King would haue this marriage solemnized at Fontainebleau, with as much pompe as might be, and therefore the Courtiers spared no cost to please the Kings humour: and the more to honour it, he called the Princes of the blood, the Officers of the Crowne, and the chiefe Noblemen to Court: among others came the Prince of Condé, the first Prince of the blood, and the first Peere of France, who some few moneths before had bene married to the Constables daughter, one of the fairest Ladies of France, whom the King did very much affect, and was the chiefe meanes of the making of that marriage. In consideration whereof, they say that the King augmented the Princes pension to ten thousand pounds sterling by yeere, being before but eight, and that he gave vnto the young Princess a pension of two thousand pounds sterling more. The marriage day at Fontainebleau being come, it was put off vpon some pretended cause, and so was protracted from day to day fifteen daies together vpon many coloured excuses: but those that knew best the humour of the Court, said, that the King did it of purpose, that he might the longer enjoy the sight of that faire Princess of Condé, whose beauty had made him great a breach in his heart, as hee could no longer dissemble it, nor hide it from the eye of the world. But the Prince was not well pleased with these long delays, protesting that if the marriage were not consummated the next day, he would be gone home to his house, whereupon all excuses were laid apart, and the ceremony performed, after which were great triumphs and sports, especially running at the Ring, where the King himselfe won the prize from all the Gallants of his Court, hauing taken the King three times in foure courses. The sports being ended, the Prince of Condé hid him home with his Lady to his house, meaning (if it were possible) to prevent that which he feared, and to keepe his honour vntainted. The sequell you shall heare hereafter.

Rumor in  
France of  
warre against  
Cleues.

The marriage being ended, the King retired to Paris, where they beganne to consult in Counsell of making warre in the Duchy of Cleues. It was generally thought it would be so, for that the King had called some of his companies of men at armes, and given them their Rendezvous by a certaine day in diuers frontier townes in Champagne vpon the way to Luxembourg. There was Artillery provided, Leues for forraigne forces set downe, and all preparation for war: but it went so slowly forward, as they might easily iudge of the event by the beginning. In the end they began to treat of a peace by their messengers with no doubtfull hope,

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A hope, the Duke of Neuers (whose mother is issued from the House of Cleues, as appears by the name she beares, and Henry de la Marke, Earle of Mauleurier, and Titular Duke of Bouillon, being a younger brother of that House, who pretends no small interest to the Earldome of La Marke, sent their Commissioners to an Assembly held at Delpord, where being heard, they were willing to shew their Titles: but the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Newburg challenged the whole inheritance: what the success will be you shall heare in the following yeere.

We haue said in the yeere 1606. that by reason of the straitnesse of the Pest-house, which was built in S. Iaques Suburbs, the plague was wonderfully disperst in Paris, and very violent, whereupon the Magistrats of the Citie, and such as had the charge of the publike health, resouled to build a more spacious one on the other side of the Citie. The worke did equal their designe: for in Saint Martins Suburbs they made so large and spacious a building of Free-stone and Bricke, covered with Slate, with such chambers, porches, and walks, as it doth equal or exceed many Palaces. Which worke was finished in three yeeres: vpon the front of it this was grauen in Marble.

Pest-house  
built at Paris.

HENRICVS. QVARTVS. FRANC. ET. NAVAR. REX. CHRISTIA-  
NISSIMVS. BONO. REIP. NATVS. PACI. DOM. FORISQVE. PARTA.  
AD. ORNANDAM. VIREM. CONVERSV. INTER. CAETERA. ANIMO.  
INVICTO. DIGNA. OPERA. PROPTER. QVARE. VBI. RESTITVTO.  
NON. MINVS. QVAM. PATER. PATRIAE. ET. ARGNI. FVNDATOR.  
DICI. MERIT. HOC. QVOQVE. PAOCROTOPHYM. VETVSTATE  
COLLAPSV. PRO. SVA. ERGA. DEVM. OPT. MAX. PIETATE. ERGA.  
AFFLICTOS. LIBERALITATE. ERGA. OMNES. CLEMENTIA. RESTI-  
TVENDVM. CVRAVIT.

On the five and twentieth day of November the Queene was brought in bed early in the morning of a daughter: France being sufficiently supported with fonnets, had now need to be strengthened with daughters, by whose marriages it might get alliances with forraigne Princes. If euer children came happily, they doe at this time, when as the ancient enemies of France renew their old practise, whereby they seeke to withdraw the chiefe men from the duty and obedience which they owe vnto their Prince and Country, they receive such as flee away, who thinking and desiring to returne, they disswade them with assurance of safety, vainly seeking the ruine of France, which hath fallen out to their owne losse. So in the memory of our Grand-fathers, the Burgondian receiued Charles the seventh his sonne, flying from his father, who commanding him to returne, he kept him and entertained him seven yeeres. But Charles sent the Burgondian word, that he did feed the Fox, which would one day deuoure his pulleine: which Prophecie he proued true: for Lewis pursued his receiuer and nuce with all force and policy, vntill that by his vnfortunate death, at the siege of Nancy, he left France, Lorraine, the Suisses, and in a manner all the borderers in peace.

The Queene  
brought in bed  
of a daughter.

At this time there fell out an accident which did much trouble the whole Court, but especially the King. The Prince of Condé had during the Queenes lying in, come to Court to doe his duty to the King, who receiued him very graciously, and dealt earnestly with him to bring the Princess to Court to see the Queene in child-bed. The King prest him so much, as in the end he promised to goe and fetch her: and so he tooke his leave, seeming to haue no other intent, but his thoughts were farre otherwise: for being come home to his house which is about 16. leagues from Paris, vpon the confines of Picardy) whither he gaue it out that he would goe a hunting, so as within two daies after he tooke his Caroach with the Princess, one Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, and without any other traine or prouision, hee set off with all speed possible thorow Picardy to recover the Arch-Dukes Country. Two daies were past before the King was aduertised of his retreat, who vnderstanding the manner of it, conceived what his intent was, when that he was very much discontented, holding it a great affront & dishonour to haue the first Prince of the blood abandon his country after that manner, without his leave or priuity. He sent the Knight of the watch with other in post after him, to bring him backe if they could ouertake him; but they came too late, for he was gotten out of the Kings dominions. At his returne the King vnderstanding where he was, he sent Monsieur de Praslin one of the Captains of his guard to the Arch-dukes, to demand the Prince,

Prince of  
Condés re-  
treat.

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Prince, and to request them to persuade him to returne into France. He had charge also to tell the Prince how highly he had offended his Maiefty, who notwithstanding would pardon what was past, and receive him againe into fauour: the Archdukes dealt with the Prince to that end, who answered, that he was his Maiefties most humble subiect and seruant, but there was no safety for him in France, vnlesse the King would grant him a towne for his assurance. With which answer Monsieur de *Pratin* returned. The King holding it an indignity to haue his subiect (who had offended him) capitulate with him, yet before he would take any seuer course against him, he resolved to make him another summons: whereupon he sent the Marquess of *Coeuvre*, brother to the Duchesse of Beaufort, in ambassage to the Arch-dukes; who with Monsieur *Brulard*, Ambassador Leager for the King, and some others, repaired to the Princes lodging, and there in the presence of the Prince of Orange (the Prince of Condes brother in law) did intimate vnto him the greatnesse of his offence, and his Maiefties iust discontent. That he affected him as a father doth his childe. That by the mediation of the Arch-Dukes, he had promised to pardon all his offences, and to restore him to his dignity and fauour. And that contemning the Arch-Dukes counsell, he had incensed his Maiefty by refusing his grace; yet they said they had commision to make the like offers vnto him, if he would obey the Kings will. The Prince answered, that vntill he might haue some better assurances from the King, there was no safety for him in France; saying withall, *My masters, take not this if it please you for disobedience*: The Ambassadors summoned him againe, in the name of the King his loueraigne Lord, to returne speedily into France, vpon paine of the Kings indignation, and to be held as a Rebelle, and guilty of high treason. The Prince desired to haue an act of this Summons, vnder the hand of a publike Notary, the which was sent him. The Prince returned an answer in the like forme, intimating that he was the Kings most humble seruant and subiect, borne of the royall house of France, and neere allied to his Maiefty, and that he was ready to obey his Commandements, hauing reasonable assurance for himselfe and his family, beseeching his Maiefty that he would not take his answer for any disobedience, and withall he protested nullity for any thing that should be afterwards done to his prejudice. This Act of the Prince was sent by a Notary to the Ambassadors lodging, who grew much discontented therewith, & would haue offered him some violence if he had not bene restrained by the respects he bare to the Arch-Dukes. D

The last yeere was spent in Conferences, Messages, Ambassages, and Treaties touching the affaires of Cleues and Iuliers, to see if the question for the inheritance might be quietly compounded, but being of diuers humors and dispositions, the controuersie is not yet ended. *Sigismund* Marquess and Elector of Brandebourg, before he would goe to armes, published his pretensions after this manner. About some 100. yeeres since, there was a marriage made betwixt *Mary* daughter to the Duke of Iuliers and Berke, and Countesse of Ravenspourg, and *John* Duke of Cleues, and Earle of Marke, and then it was concluded, that all those Estates & Seigneuries should be for euer vnited by an indissoluble knot, and neuer diuided. As wandes bound together are hardlier broken then when they are dissolved, so they thought their houses and families well conioyned, would with greater difficulty be shaken and broken. Of this marriage betwixt *Mary* and *John* were borne *William*, *Sybilla*, and *Amalia*: in the yeere 1526. *Sybilla* married with *John Frederick*, Duke of Saxony, vpon these conditions: That if either of them died without heires male, that then those vnited Provinces should descend vnto *Sybilla* the eldest daughter, and *John Frederick* of Saxony her husband, vpon condition they should giue dowries to two Sisters answerable to their qualities.

But that *William* was married in the yeere 1545. to *Mary* of Hongary, after that he returned into fauour with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, from whom hee had fallen being in league with the French King. From him he obtained a grant, that if there were no issue male of him and *Mary*, or they should chance to die, that then those three Dukedomes should descend to the daughters of *William* being liuing, or if they were dead, to their heires. *Charles* being dead, F and his brother *Ferdinand* succeeding in the Empire, he confirmed this coniunction of those States, and would haue it indissoluble: after him *Maximilian* and the Emperour *Rodolphus*, now liuing, renewed this first Decree, by a perpetuall Law, that the heires of *William*, in the direct line of either sex, sonnes or daughters, should enioy the whole inheritance. This *William* thinking to haue made a firme coniunction of his Estates by the Emperours letters, in the yeere 1572. married *Maria Leonora* his eldest daughter to *Albert Frederick* Marquis of Brandebourg, and Duke of Borralia, with these conditions; that if he and his wife *Mary* should

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A should die without any issue male, then the Duchies of Iuliers, Cleues, and Berke, with the Countie of *Maria* and *Rauenspourg*, and all their dependancies, should come vnto *Maria Leonora*, and to *Albert Frederick* Duke of Borralia her husband, but with this caution, that *Albert* should out of his owne money, pay a portion set downe by *William* his father in law, vnto the Sisters of *Maria Leonora*, in regard of their pretensions to those Seigneuries, and one of the Sisters dying, that money which she should receiue in lieu of her inheritance, should accree to her surviving sisters, with this condition, that at the payment of the money by *Albert*, the future husbands of the said Sisters, should renounce, and vterly disclaime all their right vnto the inheritance.

B Of *Maria Leonora* and *William*, the eldest was *Anne* wife to *John Sigismund* of Brandebourg: who by the disposition and conveyance of Duke *William* his father, was called to these vnited Estates. It happened that the second daughter, being married to *Philip Leopold*, Count Palatine of Newbourg, committed this decree, expressing words, her interest to the inheritance it should befall to her without children: The like was done by *Magdalene* the younger sister, marrying with *John*, the Count Palatine of Rhine: and with this caution Brandebourg right was sealed and confirmed, drawing his beginning from the elder: Notwithstanding that by the contract of marriage betwixt *Maria Leonora* and *Albert Frederick*, not only these and the heires male that were to be borne, but also the women by right of substitution were called to the succession. The Duke of Newbourg, defended his right, by other letters and grants, but hee soon agreed with Brandebourg, and they two ioyned their forces together, and vnited their martiall powers against the other Pretendants: whereby it appears, the Christian King could not iustly refuse his succours to the confederate Princes of Germany.

The greatest Pretendants against Brandebourg, were the Electors of Saxonie, and *Leopold*, who had obtained a right and iurisdiction from the Emperour. He contends that the Duchies of Cleues and Iuliers, are fiefdomes taken from the Eagle, bought from the Hocke, and beames from the Sunne. And therefore a Fee belonging to Males cannot fall to women: for if any one will search into the Record of Antiquitie, he shall not only finde, that the Emperours of Germany, but also of Rome, haue giuen Provinces and Lands conquered from their enemies in warre, in reward to their old soldiers, vpon condition, that as often as the Empire should be prest with war, they should willingly serve in, by reason of their fees. And no man will deny, but the Electors of the Germane Empire, the chiefe Ministers and Officers, are tied to a manly seruice and duty, both in peace and war, at the Emperours pleasure. The Lawes of the Empire haue excluded women from all iurisdiction and publike charges, yea in private causes, much more where the Maiefty of the Empire is in question. In France (which falls not to the distaste) after the death of *Charles* Duke of Bourgondy, who was slaine at Nancy, the Earle of Nevers might iustly haue challenged the Countee of Bourgondie, for that a disposition made in fauour of *Philip* the Hardy, extended to the women, who notwithstanding by the publike lawes of the Empire are excluded. By which example the Law made in the Contract of marriage betwixt *Maria Leonora* and *Albert Frederick*, is to be held vaine, void, and of no force. *Tacitus* hath obserued in his booke of the manners of the Germanes, that they did not only fauour males, but did hate the women kinde, and that it was their manner and accustomed order to leaue the whole inheritance to the eldest sonne as his lawfull right, left being diuided into diuers parts, it should runne to nothing, and to their younger children they gaue their cattle, money, plate, busse, and other furniture belonging to an house.

The Electour of Saxonie pretended the inheritance of Cleues by two titles: first, by a grant from the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, who gaue Cleues and Iuliers in Fee to *Albert* of Saxonie, for the great seruice he had done vnto his Maiefty, and *Maximilian* did grant the same vnto *Ernest*, the Earle of Saxonie brother. His other title was grounded vpon the contract made at the marriage of *Sybilla* with *John Frederick* of Saxonie. These were the words: That if Duke *John* and *Mary* Duchesse of Cleues, Iuliers and Berke his wife die without any issue male, or if she males issued shall leaue no heires, in that case it was agreed, that all those vnited Seigneuries should descend to his daughter *Sybilla*, and to the children that should come of her and *Fredericke* of Saxony.

The Electour of Brandebourg did impugn the title of Saxonie, as that grant made by *Fredericke* the third, and *Maximilian* the first, Emperours, vnto *Albert* and *Ernest* of Saxony,

*Leopold* title by the Emperours gift.

Pretensions of the Electour of Saxonie to Cleues.

was held as abandoned after the departure of William Duke of Juliers and Berke, the Saxons never obtained that possession of the foile, which the Interpraters of Fees teaching *William* would: or if they had, they lost it for want of use. Such is the nature of Fees, that they suffer an Ineffect to be made to another, and makes not his claim within the year, is excluded from the Fee, much more so that suffers another to enjoy the Fee, ten, twenty, thirrie, or fortie yeares, and neither makes any question to it. Neither did it auaile the Saxons to haue made a protestation of their right, wherein no due forme of Law was observed, and had beene made void by prescription. Whenas it first began, and continued three yeares together, is void: and fillall causes if they are not produced in time, after a long Indemnition are reiecte.

Duke William, and the sonne of William, receiued the Ineffecture of these States, from the Emperor and King of R. maine, without any question or opposition made by the Saxons of their pretended right, so as their first protestation made by words onely, is to be held void. For it is receiued by the ciuill Lawes, that these protestations are void, which are not often repeated, and fortified by formes of Law, and therefore the Saxons right (if they had any) is lost by their owne negligence. Neither is the Saxon to be tolerated, who so much brags, that *Adolphus* had deposed the Ineffecture of the Emperor, for his warlike exploits, when as he and *Brabant* by their continuall silence fouredecie yeares, haue silently renounced it. How often did they (being alive) cease *William* Duke of Juliers and Cleues, in their private letters, writings, and titles? It makes nothing to the question, whether it be a Masculine Fee, and in patience of a woman's command. For the clause which is contained in the Emperor *Fredrick* the third's grant, if the Duke of Juliers shall happen to die without issue male, is to be referred to the first case, that is, when as *John* and *Maria* should die without sons, and that by the opinion of Lawyers, who hold, That every disposition speaking of any *Alc*, is only to be understood of the first: and he that is once excluded from the succession of a Fee, is neuer more admitted. For a Right being once extinct it self no more, as in the yeere 1511, the Estate of Cleues was giuen to *Maria*, daughter to Duke William, by *Maximilian* the first, so all true Right of these Estates was giuen by *Charles* the fifth, and after him by a new grant, vnto the daughters of William and their heirs.

But it appeares by the Annals, that the Estates of Cleues and Juliers are falsely termed a Masculine Fee, where it is manifest that *Arnold* Duke of Guelders & Juliers, giue vnto *Charles* Duke of Bourgondy, Guelders, Juliers, and the Countie of Zutphen, who dying, they came to *Maria* his onely daughter, wife to the Emperor *Maximilian*, whence it happened, that in the yeere 1511, whereas William Duke of Juliers died, not the house of Saxony, but his daughter, and wife to *John* Duke of Cleues, challenged her fathers inheritance, with whom there was neuer any controuersie. It hath bene obserued in all ages, that the four Dukedomes of Juliers, Cleues, Guelders, and Berke, the illust male falling, the inheritance hath by right come vnto the women. *Maria* after the death of *Edward* her brother, succeeded in Guelders, and afterwards marrying with William of Juliers, she brought it as her dowrie.

*Renold* made *Joane* his Sister heire of Guelders and Juliers by his testament. *Engilbert* Duke of Berke, having lost his sonne, hee left the Earledome to his suruiuing daughter. And the daughter of *Theoderic* of Cleues, wife to *Adolph* of Mark, obtained the inheritance of Cleues. In Henault and Holland it is receiued, that such Estates should come vnto the Daughters: neither is that insoient law allowed of in the greatest Kingdomes: neither in old time were women tied to their distaues. Among the Sutchians *Thomyris*, and once the Egyptians *Schirramis*, *Arfinoe*, and *Cleopatra* did reigne. And now England, Spaine, Scotland, Ireland, and Naples, are subiect to the Government of women; yea women are called to such Kingdoms, not onely by right of inheritance, but also by testament.

*Charles* the fifth in his last Will made 1554, and in a Codicill 1558, ordained, that if *Philip* his sonne should die, then *Maria* his daughter, Queene of Bohemia, should succeed in all his Kingdomes. And likewise *Philip* in his last Will made 1597 prouided, that if his son should die without heires, his daughter *Isabella Clara Eugenia* should then be heire of all his Estates. It is therefore manifest by these examples, that women are called not onely to Duchies, but to great Kingdomes. And *Cornelius* in his booke of Fees, proues, that Cleues is subiect to the rule of a woman. The nature (saies he) of the Fee of Cleues is, That no male remaining, the females are called to the succession in their order.

Whereas the Saxon and others pretend the Emperor to be Judge of this controuersie, they flatter

A flatter themselves with an error: although it be provided by the Imperiall Lawes, that if there grow any controuersie for a Dukedome, Earledome, or any other great fee, they must goe vnto the Emperor, as to the head of all Fees, that he may determine of the possession, and command them to be quiet which offer violence to the possessors, yet this was not alwaies obserued, but it hath bene often tried in other Tribunals, and euen that hath bene lawfull for the Saxons, when as they were oppressed and grieuouly iniured by the Emperors feueritie, and the preminence and power of their ill-willers.

Moreover, the grant which *Leopold* hath obtained, it comes not from the Emperor himselfe, neither is it gotten by iust suffrages, but by the sinister praisties of Courtiers, the which was not allowed by the Electors and Imperiall Cities, who haue of late required by their Deputies, that it should be made void. The Saxon knowes it well by many familiar examples, that the Emperor decrees nothing priuately in such controuersies, but hath sent for the Electors, Princes, and Vicars of the Empire: In their Decrees they obserued more strict formes, then in these which are granted in fauour of the Saxon and *Leopold*. No man but knowes, that the Electors and Princes cannot be called by any Libell or Edict out of Germany, into a forraigne Court: as the Bohemians and they of Prague may not (by the Lawes of the Countrey) be called out of their owne limis.

No man is ignorant, that *Leopold* hauing left the course of Law and Equitie, hath fetled all his Interest in Armes, hath leuied Souldiers, hath called in the aides of his Confederates: forced Townes and Castles, built new Forts, hath called religious men to accompany him in this warre, who attentive to the Trumpet, as if the question were for their Altars and Religion, and not for a prophane thing, haue promised him money to make a ten yeares warre. If the Saxon be not blinde, he will easily see, that these attempts are not for his good, nor for the dignitie and greatnesse of the House of Saxonie, but that the Spaniards may be the more mightie in Germany, (who haue already swallowed it vp in hope) that they may vndermine it, and quite ruine it, the which his Predecessors of Saxony haue long since made trial of, to their owne losse, when as they like true Germains, and louers of their Countries libertie, suppress that violence and imminent destruction which began to disperle it selfe thorow their Countrey.

*Brandebour* who pretended to be before all others in the right of inheritance, when as he had protested his Right by written Tables after the manner of Clients, thoroughout all Germany and the Netherlands: yet admonished by the examples of the Ancient, that the controuersies of Princes are not decided in Iudiciall Courts, but that their Right consists in Armes, left if his Competitors should seeke to oppress him by force, he should be found vnprepared. He draws his Allies and confederate Princes of Germany vnto him, who were not slow to assist him, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wittemberg and the Prince of Anhalt, who being sent Ambassador from the rest to craue aide and succours of the French King, he found him very tractable and willing, and the rather in that respect: for if his heires should be debarred or deprived of their Inheritance, it were to be recouered by iust Armes, and the vniust possessors to be expelled by force.

The instance of the Prince of Anhalt, and other Germane Princes, moued him to ioyne with him in this warre: for that when as the King was oppressed with ciuill warre, they had sent him great succours. He therefore thought that aide was not to be denied them, who siffit of all had so well assisted him. And to the end he should not fildie his friends being in danger, and might remoue all violence and oppression from them, he sent *Baiffe*, a man of great wisdom, of sound iudgement and knowledge, who had bene intployed in many Ambassages, and had performed weightie affaires, and important negotiations, vnto a generall Assembly of the Princes of Germany: who whist he remained there in the Kings name, to obserue their Councils, and to perswade them to that which concerned the libertie and dignitie of Germany, and whilst that in this assembly they contend with words and speeches, they make preparation for warre in France: money is giuen to Captaines to leuy men, Arillerie, Powder, and Shot is drawne out of the Arsenall, it is purto Bords, and carried vp the Riuier in Champagne, that if happily they should fallow open warre for the question of Cleues, all this preparation might be ready, and the Christian King performe that in deeds, which he had promised in words. In the meane time *Baiffe* deliuered the cause of his Ambassage vnto the Germane Princes, in these termes: *What shall I say, when I shall see you, the beginning of my imposed charge* (most renowned, mighty Princes, Electors, of the sacred

*Baiffe* speech to the Princes of Germany.

G g g g g 2



1610 " sacred Romane Empire, worthy and noble Eagles, magnificent and honorable Ambassadors A  
 " of the Cities of the Empire, shall rise from the manifold health, wherewith *Henry* the most  
 " Christian King of France and Nauarre, my Soueraigne Lord, greeteth you, Wilhing that in  
 " this Assembly you enter into such sound counsels, as the imminent danger which now threa-  
 " tens Germany, may be repelled, and that you may proceed in your affaires well and coura-  
 " geously: moreover, he willeth you, to expect such good offices from him, as you may iust-  
 " ly hope for, from a most friendly King, your kinsman and associate. But when as by the sin-  
 " gular grace and mercy of God, and the victorious armes of the King my master, the practises  
 " of the most wicked were preuented, and that France began to enioy her ancient peace and  
 " tranquillity, his Highnesse out of his most Royall disposition, thought it not sufficient for B  
 " the glory and honour of his name, vnlesse he might also prouide for the generall peace and  
 " quiet of Christendome. Of which his commendable intent, the ten yeeres Truce in the Ne-  
 " therlands, obtained by his mediation and authority, are sufficient witness, whereby those  
 " Prouinces are now refreshed, and Italy freed from the feare of a most cruell war by the recon-  
 " ciliation made betweene the Pope and the Venetians. But there was nothing, whereof his  
 " Highnesse tooke like care, as the safety and liberty of your country of Germany: the which  
 " when he saw to be many waies infringed, after the example of his worthy progenitors, he hath  
 " profest himselfe a champion and defender thereof. Thus much he thought himselfe indebted  
 " vnto you, both in respect of ancient amitie and league of the Kings of France with the Prin-  
 " ces of the Empire, and for your owne great merits, and good offices conferred towards him-  
 " selfe and his Kingdome, in his greatest extremity: which kindnes that he might sometimes re-  
 " quite, he thought he should doe a matter worthy and befitting himselfe, if he were carefull  
 " for your generall safeties. When therefore not many yeeres since he obserued many things to  
 " be attempted to your ruine, as the depopulation of your countries, and the vsurpation of your  
 " townes and cities, contrary to the lawes and priuileges of the Empire, and that there were fa-  
 " ctions nourished amongst the Princes, he could not chuse but by the lawes of friendship to  
 " admonish you, how necessary true loue and vnitie was among you, the better to repell those  
 " iniuries; and herein he dealt the more earnestly, for that he did preface to himselfe, that Cleues  
 " and Iuliers, and other Prouinces of the house of Cleues would be the subiect of all troubles &  
 " dissensions in Germany, touching the which, he oftentimes treated with you in the Dukes life D  
 " time. And since his death (because that businesse seemed directly to concerne the peace of  
 " Germany) how willing and ready he hath beene euer to vndertake the protection of lawfull  
 " heires, I thinke you doe all know sufficiently. And to the end he might manifest his minde the  
 " more plainly in that cause, wherein the safety of Germany is in question, he thought good  
 " to publish the same to all the Princes in Europe, that he would neuer faile in so iust a cause  
 " to assist his friends and associat Princes, to whom those Estates by lawes defended, the which  
 " he did not, thereby rashly to intangle those Princes in war (for who hath knowne the hazards  
 " of war better then himselfe?) but rather the King his Master out of his great wisdom was  
 " highly pleased with that Treaty obtained by the labour and counsell of that most excellent,  
 " prudent, and most courageous Prince the Landgraue of Hesse, touching the getting possession E  
 " of those countries, and referring the contention & variance between the Princes pretendants,  
 " to the iudgement and ordering of friends, which busines that it might be the more safely effe-  
 " cted, he sent afore-hand some troups of horse to the confines of the kingdome, to be assisting  
 " to these Princes, howsoever things should happen: for he knew very well, that some neighbour  
 " Princes had long since plotted, by what means they might adde those countries to their own  
 " Dominions. But after the possession of those countries gotten, when the Princes seemed some-  
 " what remisse, neither did impart their resolutions to the King, he fearing lest that delay might  
 " hinder their affaires, in respect of the warlike preparations then made against them, he thought  
 " good to admonish them by letters and secret messengers, that they should beware that they  
 " were not surprized whilst they were in consultation of their business. But in the meane time, F  
 " whilst that the messengers went and came from one to another, the noble Prince of Anhalt  
 " came secretly to Paris, being most deservedly welcome to the King my master, as well for his va-  
 " liant & worthy seruice in war with his maistie vnder your fauours, as also for his great know-  
 " ledge and praise-worthy experience in marshall affaires, wherein he excelleth and is renowned  
 " amongst the Captaines of our age: who by letters brought from the excellent and mighty  
 " Princes, the Elector Palatine, and Duke of Witttemberg, signified to my Lord the King,  
 " That he was resolved by the confederate Princes, to defend by force of armes the possession of

A of the Princes the heires, if so his Maiesty would supply them with those aides which they  
 " expected. How royally and friendly he was entertained, and how affable and tractable he  
 " found the King, you haue heard by report of the Prince himselfe. He treated further about  
 " sending an Ambassador, that might confirme the Confederates in their resolution, and might  
 " thoroughly certifie them of the Kings intention: to which charge though vnfit for it, I was by  
 " his Maieste chosen, and sent to be as it were the interpreter of his good pleasure and liking.  
 " Now therefore, most excellent Princes, it is your parts to looke that the Common-weale be  
 " not dammed, nor that the Princes your kinsmen be not vnworthily cast out from their an-  
 " cient seats by forreine Princes that are no friends to you, who by possessing these countries  
 " B lay themselves out a way to invade Germany. As for that which concerns the K. my Lord  
 " and master, although he be not ignorant that by taking your part, he doth (as it were) draw  
 " vpon himselfe much trouble and discommoditie, yet the interest of his friends shall be euer of  
 " more force with him, he will protect and defend you and your Counsels against all violence  
 " and wrong, with men, mony, and all kinde of helpes, which he hath already prouided and in  
 " readinesse, wherein notwithstanding there will nothing be attempted against the Maieste or  
 " right of the Emperour: neither hath he any private respect herein, but this only he desireth,  
 " that Germany being the Bulwarke of the Christian Common-weale, may enioy all happy  
 " peace and security, and that his friends and well-deseruing associate Princes, may still retain  
 " their owne rights and priuileges, if so as their Ancestors haue done, and you haue constant-  
 " C ly performed, ye doe still remaine in league and amity with the King my Master.

The Marshall *d'Ornano*, famous for his worthy seruice in the wars, brought ynder his  
 " father, a Colonell of forreine fouldiers, that were then stipendiaries to the French Kings.  
 " Afterwards he grew renowned by many prosperous exploits done vnder *Charles* the ninth,  
 " and *Henry* the third: for in the yeare 1587, he defeated *Chastillon* leading two thousand Suisses  
 " by crosse waies thorow the countrey of Auvergne for them of the Religion, where he tooke  
 " diuers of their colours, and mightily annoied that partie. *Henry* the third being cruelly mur-  
 " dered, *Alphonse* was a violent and vnreconciled enemy to the league, from whom he tooke  
 " Lyons and many other strong towers and forts in those parts, at length being taken prisoner  
 " by the Leaguers, they offered to giue him his libertie, with the chiefe charge of the Army, and  
 " D other aduancements and preterments, if he would quit the Kings party, yet he rather chose  
 " his freedome by the payment of fifty thousand Crownes, then by his defection to ioyne with  
 " them, which thing in a fouldier is like to a white crow: he was an vniuersall and frequent seruer  
 " of God, and more zealous in his prayers, then many that were religious, and had taken holy  
 " orders, as he that had a daily custome to sing his Psalter.

When as the passage of his vrine was stopped, and that with much torment he eased his  
 " bladder, he was content to be cut, which falling out vnfortunately, he died of that deadly dis-  
 " ease at Paris, whose death was a great griefe both to the King and all true louers of the Com-  
 " mon-weale: For he not only shewed by his valour how much he loued his countrey, but he  
 " did also without feare in August last past, disswade the King constantly and coutagiously  
 " E from certaine Edicts too greivous and bitter to the people, and so much preailed by that  
 " his worthy and manly speech, as he made certaine horseleeches and brokers (which make  
 " sale of our soules) to blush, and tooke the morsell out of their lawes.

He being dead, how few *Alphonse's* hath the court, which play not the claw-backes, but are  
 " vpright and iust Counsellors? In his last words he willed his body should be carried to Bour-  
 " deaux: and because all power of a Testament dieth, if the liuing neglect the behests of the  
 " dead, his body being embalmed and put in a Caroch couered with blacke, drawne with foure  
 " horses, was brought to that graue which himselfe had appointed; all the States of Aquitaine  
 " bewailed him; not only as the Kings Lieutenant, but as their father, and the want found by  
 " his death, shewed how honest his life was.

F But after that France had lost *Alphonse*, the most Christian King substituted in his Office  
 " and place *Desgignieres*, equally vnto him, if not superiour in valour, who being brought forth  
 " by the Duke of Vendosme, and a most chiefe company of fouldiers to the Court of Parlia-  
 " ment, was for this noble exploits publikely praised; in an eloquent Oration, as truly in this  
 " last ciuill war, he had serued the King very valiantly: A while after he was sent to treat with  
 " the Spaniard, about most weighty affaires, which I will publish a little as they come to  
 " light for whatsoever is worthy the knowing, both in this and the yeeres ensuing, I will adde to  
 " my Commentaries, if I may steale so much leisure from other lites.

Death of the  
 Marshall Dor-  
 nano.

*Desgignieres*  
 made Marshall  
 of France.

Interesse

1610

Conspiracy  
against Gene-  
ua.

We shewed in the preceding yeere, that the attempt of *Terrail* and *Bastide* against Geneva A did not only remaine vnaffected, but that it was publickly reuenged by the death of them both: This yeere an attempt not vnlike the other, not by frangers and Catholics, but their owne home-bred and native Citizens, was renewed and reuenged, so they will neuer cease from treacheries and stratagems, both within the walls and without, vntill either by surprize ora siege, it lose all command and power. *Canalis*, a man not meanly reputed of, both for his knowledge in phylicke, and the languages, was drawne into suspition of treason, detected by obscure signes, and his inconsiderate speech increased the same: for such is the force of truth, that it will breake forth euen in spite of the offender, and being tortured, he confessed all things more plainly: He being a man of good reckoning, and not the last or lowest B amongst the Treasurers and Decurions of the Citie, did by spies certifie the Duke of Sauoy of all the counsells of the Citizens, hauing promised him all his faithfull endeavour, and if at any time he intended the surprize of the Citie, by some stratagem in the night or by scalado or wilde fire, that then he would priuily fire the powder, that thereby he might avert the Citizens (being euery where scattered and busied in quenching the fire) from keeping out the enemy: Neither was there ability wanting to performe his treachery, inasmuch as to his custodie the powder and munition was committed: He accused also (as priuie to this villany) one *Maitlerie*, before that time found guilty and imprisoned for robbing the Treasury, and one *Blondie*, whose brother for the same cause was before executed. But I heare that *Canalis* being found guilty as well of that first conspiracy, whereof we formerly made mention, and C which was not farre from effecting, as also of this new and fresh remembered treason, was condemned, and his body broken, and so laid halfe dead on a wheele vnbound, he was cast from thence to be burned in a fire vnder him. It is strange that so often treacheries against Geneva haue bene undertaken in so few yeeres, or rather that before a yeere compleat (the treason of *Terrailus* being discovered and punished) another within the same yeere should breake forth.

A godly insti-  
tution.

So neglected is the knowledge of holy things, as they which professe themselves Christians by name, did daigne to expresse the same in deed, being children in faith, so as they are ignorant of the rudiments thereof, and they which are most quicke of sight in prophane matters, are most blinde in matters of faith, which thing when *Nicholas Pellegens* matter in the chamber of the Kings accounts did obserue to be done, to the great desight of Religion, and hindrance of saluation, being a man of singular godlinesse and learning, he instituted for a yeerely stipend a holy Preacher of the Dominican Order, who out of the publike pulpit euery Sunday in the yeere should euidently shew to the youth, & the people, the rudiments of faith by short questions or oppositions (which we call the Catechisme) a Counsellor excellently well determining of the Christian commonweale, which hath renewed the godly institution of the primitive Church, for they which were willing to beare the name of Christians, before they were baptized, were instructed by preaching of the holy mysteries. Which custome by degrees through the negligence and ignorance of the parish Priests is discontinued, and of so many hundreds of Ecclesiasticall persons, only the Iesuites in their Colledges haue not suffered this B light of faith to be extinguished. Many perchaunce will account me idle to make mention of such a popular matter, although posterity ought not to know any thing more, then those things which are ordained to reach vs how to lead a godly and blessed life: Neither ought that to be a reproofe vnto me, which the Protestants reckon as a great honour to *Sleidan*, who spends himselfe wholly in the commendations of his reformed Religion.

About the end of February it was seriously debated by the means of Cardinall *Perrou*, *Augustus Thimannus* and other wellwillers of learning, concerning the enlargement of the Kings, or Cambray Colledge, and the increasing the number and stipend of the professors, and also for the pulling downe of certaine cottages, which hindered the prospect of the Court and Orchard, and now the Surueyors haue set out the bounds of the place, although in deed the Vniuersity hauing bene long waste, and like a wilderness, needs not so much large walks and Colledges, as Students to frequent and liue in it.

We heare also that *Leopoldus* and the Saxon haue had some bickering with *Brandeburg*, as it seemes rather in some accidentall light skirmishes, then any set or generall battell. The Marquess of *Brandeburg* had sent afore-hand some thousand foot without ordinance, to winne, or more likely, to surprize a little towne, whilst he kept himselfe with his footmen not farre off in his *Campeto* bee ready to releue his men, if need required: but the businesse succeeded

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Skirmish be-  
twixt Lewis  
and Brande-  
burg.

A succeeded not as he expected, for whilst the *Brandeburgers* were ouer-long in winning the place (being vnprovided of Ordnance) *Leopoldus* being aduertised of the townsmens necessity, sending some field peeces before him, set vpon them on a sudden with a great power of horse, at the first vollee of whose Ordnance the Count of *Salmi* Colonell, and at the second vollee his Lieutenant were both slaine: the rest being terrified with their death, and afraid of a greater power of the enemy approaching, tooke them to their heeles. The Marquis hearing of their flight by some runne-awaies (who are quicker in coming home, then going to the field) came in all haste with some troupes of Horse, and restrained *Leopoldus* in time, who hauing the victory in his owne hands, knew not how to vse it, for if hee had pursued them B more speedily, whilst they were disperfed, and in that perplexitie, he might vtterly haue defeated them, but by these euents the *Brandeburgers* were well warned to bee more prudent. But oh the inconstancy of humane things! that no Nation hath peace permanent, and quiet fastned with some sure hold, for behold the *Germaines* and the high *Dutches*, who since the death of *Charles* the fit, haue so long obtained from domesticke armes, who by their helps maintained warres abroad, are now informed to vse them for themselves, and to desire helps from others, shaking off the rust from their swords, and the rest of so many yeeres.

Our Ancestors (saith *Tully*) would neuer suffer a poore man to lose his cause for want of a Patron, or Aduocate to defend it. When many in France through their great pouertie vnable to defray or sustain the charge of their suits, being destitute of helpe or counsell from Aduocates, were constrained to forsake their intangled, though wealthy inheritances, or whatsoeuer else they had, and to yeld them vp into the hands of the mightie and more powerfull partie: it was decreed in the Kings Counsell, that in euery Court Parliament as other Courts, there should be chosen Aduocates and Proctors of approved integritie, that should helpe poore men with their best counsell and furtherance without any fee or reward: so straightly was the law *Cincia* imposed vpon them, that if they were lame and crippled, they should not take so much as a wand of their needy Clients, but that contenting themselves with the Kings allowance, they should look for a greater reward in heauen: for euen amongst the heathen it hath bene accounted glorious to helpe the distressed, and to defend and support those that are oppressed, as it was also accounted most wicked and execrable to abandon D or deceiue the Client: for *Cato* against *Leuulius* did earnestly auouch, that there was nothing more religiously obserued of the ancients then to defend Orphans, and to be faithfull to their Client: inasmuch as it was lawfull for Aduocates to witness for their Client against their own Kinsmen, but by all meanes prohibited for their Kinsmen against their Clients: questionlesse a godly decree, but no longer of force then the like good and excellent lawes, whose setting or fall hath not bene much distant from their first rising.

Religion and custome require of necessity to anoint the Kings of France with that sacred oyle which is kept at *Rhemes*, as anointing was necessarily imposed vpon the Kings of Israel by the Hebrew Law: but for the *Queenes* of France to be anointed, it is more of custome E then of precept. Neuerthelessse, it is now growne to that order, that the *Queenes* also be installed with those Christian ceremonies: Neither ought we to enuy that this honour is done them, from whom spring young grafts, and stens for the *Flower-de-Luces*, who are companions of the bed and Scepter, who also are *Regents* of the Kingdome, either in the sicknesse, or after the death of the Kings their husbands, to whom only the law *Salique* enuieh the royall throne, although through them it is neuer empty: with the like step of honor haue the *Cæsars* dignified their Emperresses. For Princes (saith *Papinian*) honor their Princellesses with the same priuileges which themselves haue, and *Plinian* doubts not to mention the Treasury of *Cæsar* and the Impresse by one and the same title: hence it is, that in ancient Monuments and Coines, we behold the portraictures of Kings and *Queenes*, circled with *Lawrell* and

F Corall. After the golden Mines of India were discovered, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* caused both their Images to be grauent in that new gold, as it were the one beholding the other: In like manner *Katherine de Medice*, caused to be coined a peece of Gold with the Sunne vpon it, so made and called in her owne praise and application: and now of late the Archdukes *Albertus* and *Isabella* in this Low countries, haue caused their coine to be stamped with their two faces. The managed makes *Queenes* companions, so as they may well say, according to that old Prouerbe, where Women challenge to themselves halfe the charge and command of Saint house, Where thou art Caius, there am I Caius. They report out of the three wilbes of Saint

Augustine,

1610 *Augustine*, that he wished to see the *Cæsars* and the victorious Consuls going vp to the Capitol in their triumphant Chariots, but I wish to see a Queene drawne in a golden Chariot.

In such a Chariot as *Cybele* rides,  
Thorow Ida's towred townes.

But now the Court of Parliament (according to the ancient custome in the happy and joyfull Inauguration of Kings and Queenes) prepareth to remove out of the ancient house of *Themis* and the lawes, into the house of the *Augustines* next adioyning, not to returne thither againe, till the publike triumph be accomplished. Not vnworthily sometimes, and very fel- dome in many yeares, doe the Lords of the Councell lend this house (appointed for ministeration of right and iustice) to the Kings and Queenes for some few daies, as the Kings haue confirmed the same to them for euer; for therein they hold the Royaltie of their Court and coronation. This removing hath hapned three times in this age, as I gather out of the *Annales*, the more ancient of which was, when *Charles* the fifth, Emperor, hauing safte conduct to passe out of Spaine thorow France, advanced himselfe to repress the infolencies of the Gantois: the next, when *Henry* the second espoused his daughter *Elizabeth* to *Philip* the second, King of Spaine, and his Sister vnto *Philbert Emanuel* Duke of Sauoy. The third and last, was in the yeere 1562. That I am more tedious in a matter that is yet to come and vnexpected, my desire to see it constraineth me; and desire to enioy the pleasure of it, carrieth me C beyond my selfe.

*The Coronation of the Queene.*

THE King after he had receiued the protestations of the King of Spaine by his Ambassador, not to infringe nor alter any thing in the peace, nor to meddle in the action of Clieues: hauing bene also intreated by the Emperor, to be an Arbitrator in that businesse, knowing that the Pope sent the Seigneur *Rimarello* Bishop of Nazareth to that end; that the Protestant Princes did wholly incline to his intentions, and that the Archdukes had assured him of passage, victuals, and of their owne forces: Hauing resolved to see his Queene crowned with as much State as might be, all things for the solemnitie being prepared, they came D to Saint Denis in France, on Wednesday the twelfth of May 1610, being attended on by the Daulphin, the Ladie *Elizabeth* his Sister, Queene *Marguerite* Duchesse of Valois, and by many Princes and Princesses, with a great number of Noblemen and Ladies: the next day being Thursday, the Act and Ceremony of the Coronation was done, as followeth.

There was a great Scaffold built in the midst of the Quier of the Church in the Abbay of Saint Denis, set before the great Altar, about nine foot high, being eight and twenty foot long, and two and twenty foot broad, to the which there was an ascent made of many steps. About the midst of this Scaffold inclining somewhat towards the backe part, there was another Scaffold aboue a foot high, hauing two steps vp vnto it, which Scaffold & steps containing about ten foot in length, and six in bredth, were couered with Carpets, on the which was set the throne or chaire of State, appointed for the Queene: which chaire was couered with azur'd veluet, imbroided with Flower-de-Luces of Gold, and ouer it a cloth of State of the same sute: the great Scaffold and staires were couered with crimson veluet, imbroided with gold. There were other Scaffolds both on the right hand & the left, as well for the Princes, Knights of the Kings Orders, Gentlemen of the Chamber, and other Noblemen, Captaines, and men of marke, as for Ambassadors, Ladies, the Queenes women, and others: within the compasse of the high Altar, there was a forme couered with cloth of Gold, for the Cardinals of Gondy, Sourdis and Perron, and behinde them was another for the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats, appointed as well to serue at the Coronation and Masse, as to assist there.

Ioyning vnto the Altar on the same side, there was a Table honorably prepared for the great and lesse Crownes, the hand of Iustice, and the ring appointed for the said Coronation: On the other side on the right hand, there was a chaire couered with Violet colour Veluet, imbroided and fringed with Gold, hauing two long cushions, for the Cardinall of Ioyeuze who did the Office, and behinde on the same side was a table richly appointed for the bread, wine and candle, vntill that the master of the ceremonies should come to fetch them, and deliuer them vnto Ladies appointed to carrie them vnto the offering.

The

A The floore of the Quire, and from the great scaffold vnto the high Altar, was couered with crimson veluet imbroided with gold, with good and rich carpets round about the said Altar, and ouer the said carpets was a covering of cloth of gold.

The said Thursday being the thirteenth day of May, the Queene was found ready in the morning in her chamber, attired with a kirtle and bodies of Ermines, a mantle ornament of her head, and other royall habits. Her mantle was of blew veluet imbroided with Flower-de-luces of gold, and furred with Ermines, hauing a traine seuen ells long. The attire of her head was all garnished with pretious stones, her bodies were also of blew veluet, couered with Flower-de-Luces of fine gold, and her kirtle enriched with great diamonds, rubies and B Emeraude, all of such riches and excellency, as the value was inestimable.

Being thus attired, shee was conducted with great state vnto the Church, being attended on by the Daulphin, who carried the traine of her Royall mantle, being assisted by Moun- sieur de Vitry, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Queene *Marguerite*, and by many Princes and Princesses, and other Noblemen and Ladies in very good order. The Queene being come into the Church, shee kneeled downe vpon a cushion before the great Altar, whereas shee found the Cardinall of Ioyeuze in his pontifical ornaments, accompanied by the Cardinals of Gondy, Sourdis and Perron, and a good number of Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates, of either side of the great Altar, after which shee did prostrate her selfe, praying very devoutly, which being ended shee was raised vpon her knees, & then bending her head the Cardinall of Ioyeuze pronounced this prayer in Latine: O Lord God heare our prayers and supplications: that that which is to be done by the Ministry of our humility, may be filled with the effect of thy vertue through Iesus Christ our Lord, &c. This prayer being ended, he tooke the phyll in which was the holy vnction, and poured so much into a vessell of gold as he thought necessary, and anointed the Queenes head, and then her brest, saying, In the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, this vnction of oile may profit thee in honour and eternall confirmation. After which vnction he said this prayer: God eternall and almighty, pacified by our prayers powre the abundant spirit of thy blessing vpon thy servant, to the end that this day being instituted Queene by the imposition of our hands, shee may alwaies remaine worthy by thy sanctification: and that shee may neuer after be separated from thy grace, as unworthy, throughout Iesus Christ, &c.

D The Cardinall proceeding in the said Coronation, hee tooke the ring and put it on the Queenes finger, saying: Take the ring of faith, the signe of the holy Trinity, by the which thou must auoid all hereticall malice, and by the vertue which is giuen thee call the barbarous nations to the knowledge of the truth. After which he said this prayer following: God from whom proceeds all power and dignity, giue vnto thy servant by this signe of faith the prosperous effects of her dignity, in which faith shee may alwaies remaine constant, and strue continually to please thee, by our Lord Iesus Christ, &c.

Then the Cardinall put the Scepter into the Queenes hand, and the hand of Iustice, which done, he tooke the great Crowne which he offered to set vpon the Queenes head, being in the meane time supported by the Daulphin and his sister, and then was taken away; and in stead E thereof was set on another of lesse weight enriched with Diamonds, Rubies and Pearles of infinite sumable value. The Cardinall setting the Crowne vpon her head, said these words: O Lord the fountain of all goodnesse, and giuer of all honours, graunt vnto thy seruants well to gouerne this dignity which hath taken, and fortifie in her by good workes the glory which thou hast giuen her by our Lord Iesus Christ, &c.

The Coronation being ended, and the prayers said, the Queene was placed in her Throne, which was prepared vpon the Scaffold, and the great Crowne set before her vpon a stobbe couered with cloth of gold, and a cushion of the same, and on the right hand there was a Nobleman which held the Scepter, and on the left another, which held the hand of Iustice.

The Queene being thus seated in her throne, masse began to be celebrated by the said Cardinall of Ioyeuze. The Gospell being read, three Ladies carried vp the offering of bread, wine and candle, to the which there were thirteene peeces of gold added. After the elevation of the Sacrament, when they came vnto the Altar, they presented the Pix vnto the Queene, who kisse, who was afterwards lead vnto the high Altar, where shee receiued the Sacrament with great deuotion and reuerence, which done, shee said her prayers, and then was conducted backe againe vnto her throne, where shee heard the end of Masse.

Masse being ended, the Queene descended from her Throne, and was conducted backe vnto her Chamber with the same order and Ceremony that shee had bene brought vnto the Church.

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there may be present order given concerning his service, and the good of his State; which cannot be well governed by the Queene, during the minority of the King her sonne; and that it would please the Court to declare her Regent, that the affaires of the Kingdom may be governed by her. Whereupon having consulted, the Court hath decreed, and doth declare the said Queene (mother to this King) Regent in France, for the government of this State, during the minority of the said King, with all power and Authority.

The King goes to the Court of Parliament.

ON Saturday the fifteenth day the King, being assisted by the Queene, the Prince of Concy, and other Princes, Noblemen, Prelats and Officers of the Crowne; for the Earle of Soissons was yet at his house and came not till Monday) went vnto the Court of Parliament, where sitting in his seat of Justice, he made a little speech vnto them without interruption: but the Queene beginning to speake shee broke downe in a twone, but in the end the Chancellour wonne great reputation for the order and success of this action, the which was as famous for the manner of it, as pitifull for the teares that were shed.

It seemed that Heaven and all creatures did feele the mourning of men; all was so horrible and desolate, both in Court and City, and much more in the Countrey. At that time the King made a declaration, confirming the Decree of the Court of Parliament for the Regency of the Queene his mother, as followeth.

A declaration made by the King.

THE King sitting in his seat of Justice, by the advice of the Princes of his blood, Prelats, Dukes, Peeres and Officers of the Crowne, having heard the request made by his Attorney Generall, hath declared, and doth declare (according to a Decree made by the Court of Parliament) the Queene his mother Regent in France, and to have the care of the bringing up of his person, and the government of the affaires of his Kingdom, during his minority. Commanding this present Edict to be introlled and published in all the Ballewicks, Snes, chaulhes and other iurisdiccions depending vpon the said Court of Parliament, and in all other Parliaments of this Realme.

Given in the Court Parliament the fifteenth day of May, 1610.

Infants sent for to successe the Kings heart.

THE King vpon the foundation of his royall Colledge at La Fleche for the Iesuites, had resolved to have his heart layed there, after his death; the which they remembring, sought all means to recover it, and to preserve this precious peece of that cruell shipwrack, Monsieur De La Ferme who had from the beginning laboured to aduance this Colledge, did now shew his love and affection to them. He remembring the Queene of the deceased Kings will, who willingly granted that it should be executed in every point; whereupon he presently sent vnto the Iesuites being in their preest house of Saint Lewis, that they should be ready to come and receive this Treasure when they should be sent for, and soone after he sent them certaine Carosses, in the which they were brought into the Louvre, to salute the King and Queene and to offer them a new their most humble service, on Saturday the fifteenth of May.

Infants come to the King and Queene.

Being come into the Kings chamber, and having done their ordinary obeysance, his Majesty having embraced the chiefe of them, father Coton made a speech for them all, witnessing the extreme griefe which the company felt, by the incurable wound it received by the deceased Kings death, and that they were resolved for to spend and consume themselves in the service of his Crowne. The King assisted by Monsieur De Sorens his Governour, assured them that amongst the other qualities which he desired to inherit of his Lord and most honoured father, was his love to this order, and that continuing to affect his service, they should finde the like affection.

This being done they went vnto the Queenes Chamber, whom they found accompanied with certaine Ladies of her Court, and some Noblemen and others. All the fathers having humbly saluted her, father Coton made offer of the like service as he proposed vnto the King. To whom the Queene said, The deceased King my most honoured Lord and husband loved you dearly, as every man knowes, and in testimony thereof, he would have you after his death to be the depositors and guardians of his heart. I have commanded it shall be deli-

Queene's speech to the Iesuits.

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And vnto you; and that his will be effected. Having this precious peece, and continuing towards the King my sonne in that duty which you have shewed vnto him; my love and affection cannot faile you. As for your selves I will maintaine you, and will haue great care of your preferation, as men who I thinke doe watch for this our Royall Edict. On this word and in the sound of the bell, the Iesuits, who having taken their oaths were directly to the Chamber where they did inhabit the Kings body. A lamentable sight, namely for those who but two daies before had seen him for pleasant and full of health. The Prince of Concy arrived presently after, who melted in teares: He knelt downe before the royall heare, and his prayers being ended, takinge up on a cushion, he delivered it into the hands of Monsieur Jacques, Superior of the house of Saint Lewis, who being attired in a surpise and roale, he reclosed it in the name of the whole company, with profection of the eternall bond which the whole Order should owe vnto the memorie of this deceased King, in that he had honoured them with so precious a peece. Then being accompanied by his brethren, and followed by a great number of the Nobilitie, many torches being light, he was conducted to the great gate of the Louvre, whereas the Caroches did attend them. He went with foure others of the same Order, and two Gentlemen which carried torches in that where the Kings heart was, which was the same wherein this good Prince had received that lamentable and bloody wound of death. The guard, appointed by Monsieur de Vary, did accompanie this dolefull convey, the which came to Saint Lewis about eight of the clocke at night, on Saturday the fifteenth of May.

Iesuits receive the Kings heart.

The furniture of this mournfull convey, made the afflicted Parisiens (who love their Kings with passion) easily to discover what it was; so as many notwithstanding the raine and the great discommoditie of the time, went on with the troupe, the most to witness their affection to their deceased Prince, and not satisfied to have cast holy water vpon his heare, they would, in imitation of the Iesuits, kiss it one after another, yea if it had bene possible a thousand times, euer detesting the memory of that damnable parricide and wicked slaughterer that had decepted them of their dearest Jewell, the which was not done without great lamentation, and fudding of many teares.

After three daies rest in the Iesuits Chappell; it was conveyed with a solemne pompe to La Fleche, where after great ceremonies, it was laid in a place of rest, vnill a stately Vrine might be prepared.

This sudden and lamentable disaster did wonderfully afflict all the French in generall, and bred strange apprehensions in the mindes of many, who remembring the miseries and confusions which had growne through the factions of great men, during the minority of former Kings, praised generally for vnitie, and some did write of that subject among others, one Pelleter, discoursing of this miserable accident, concludes with an exhortation to great men to live in vnitie, for the generall good of the Estate.

It is not (saies he) the propertie of great men to speake, for teares and heart-breaking sighes are the best demonstrations of greatest passions; the which maketh me to expresse in few words, the great griefe and publicke sorrow wherewith France is now afflicted: Know then, and let future ages for euer lament, that on Friday the 14. of May, the next day after the Queenes coronation, our great Henry (of most famous memory) King of France and Nauarre, passing thorow the Citie in his Caroch, as a Prince which lived without feare or suspicion of his subjects, accompanied with some few of his Nobilitie, and without any of his vittal Guard, was murdered by an accursed and execrable Assassin, called Ravaillac, borne at Angoulesme.

A discourse made by Pelleter.

Is it not a wonder to the Christian world, to see France a second Affricke, breeding such detestable monsters? How infamous is this age; in regard of that of our fore-fathers? What a misery is it, that a French King should not be free from the rage and state of a cur-throat villaine, one of his owne subjects? Accursed villaine, thou hast deprived vs of this great Prince, whom we lament with teares, and whose losse we shall euer feele. Thou didst thinke in thy damnable designe to swallow vs vp in a gulf of miserie and desolation: but God in his goodnesse hath preserved vs; and otherwise disposed the hearts and affections of the French, than thou in thy frenzie didst conceive, or the hellish counsell of Satan suggested. The darke prison wherein thou art now detained, where new torments are prepared for thy offence,

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offence, will not let thee see how (notwithstanding thy sicked A.B.) that all things continue a constant in the same tranquillity as they were in before. It is so God please to whom we are bound for this grace, yet will we not forget to give due praises to those instruments which haue brought us to this situation: for our Princes, Officers of the Crowne, the honorable Court of Parliament, with the Magistrates of Paris, haue all with one heart and common consent assured the Estate: for there is not any the least mutation or sedition amongst this great multitude: but submission and modestie, which make the Petitioners to be much commended, and so as an example to all other Princes of the Realme. I might say more, I should not be here, but the charity of this horrible sentence, all the nobility can be content making offers and procreations of themselves, and of their children, to be sold now though the substance be taken away, the soule is left, to succeed in this Government: though he be young, yet shall he be fortified with the wisdom of great Princes, and of the Queene his mother, who amidst her griefs, sorrowes, will not forget the common good, and hath vouchsafed for our comfort to accept of the Regency and Government of the Kingdome in the presence of the Princes, Peeres, Countable, Chancellor, Cardinals, Marshalls of France, and other great Officers of State, all assembled in the great Chamber of the Palace, with authority of the Court of Parliament, his lawful Successor sitting in his throne, was solemnly acknowledged and proclaimed King of France.

To conclude, this young Prince is so worthily brought vp, in the love and feare of God, with all other virtues, which becometh a great King, that reaching in the first steps of the late King his father, he will shew the Religion, loue Iustice, he generous, meeke, affable, gracious, and shine in a full lustre, like a glorious Sunne over all France. All things shall flourish vnder his reign, his people shall be blessed him, and wish eyes lift up to heauen, pray for God for his preservation.

This now we see this Prince happily sealed, and so well supported with the forces of France, advice of his Counsell, and the loue of his subjects, as it shall be in vaine for any one to pretend to attempt any innovation without condigne punishment: seeing then his coming to the Crowne is so blessed, and seconded by the fauours of heauen, let vs not provoke the anger of God by our ill dispositions: let vs each one haue this cursed murtherer not only detested of all French-men, but also held in abomination of all strangers: Let vs remember, that contrary winds cause stormes and tempests at sea, so diuision and factions trouble a State. If our owne judgement cannot instruct vs, let the schoole of reason teach vs: let vs consider, that as if an humane body there is a head, and vnder that head many members, that the member appointed for one seruice, shal not execute anothers office, the legges will not be the armes, nor the lungs the heart: Even so in a well-governed State, one is acknowledged for head, and giue life to all the other members, which moue not but vnder his command, so as every one discharging his duty by a good vniuersall and correspondency, Kingdomes are preferred, and of small become great, whereas contrary by diuisions and factions great States are ruined and come to nothing.

Remember, that it is about 1200 years since this Realme of France hath bene held for one of the greatest Monarchies in the world: Let not pastieitie reproach vs, that it hath bene ruined in our time, and that by our intemperate rage, we haue overthrowed that which our Ancestors haue built vp by their wisdom and valours: and if the publike interest doe not moue you, yet let enery man respect his owne particular: we are all imbarke in one vessel, it is perill, hardly will any one escape: we are all in one house, if it falle, we shall be buried in the ruines. Let vs not forget, that we are yet drenched with our last shipwracke: that we haue not beene long freed from ciuill warre, the which neuer comes alone, but is attended on by plague, famine, and all other calamities and miseries, as losse of goods, imprisonment, ransoming of our bodies, the sacke and spoile of our townes, the ransoming of our wives and daughters, and the slaughter of our children.

Let vs know, that experience is the mistress of fooles, and let vs not attend repentance after our errors. We are now in peace, let vs continue, preferue, and seeke to maintaine it with the assistance of God. Let vs not be like vixen Magicians, which procure stormes by their charms, contrary to the course of nature. Calamities and miseries come but too soone, let vs not provoke them, or goe to meet them. You great men which haue the charge and government of the State, in Gods name, haue no other object before your eyes, but the good and seruice of your King: his diuision, which like a bad Counsellor, seeking to ruine others, overthrowes

overthrowes it selfe. Assure your selues the greatnesse of the Estate is your owne, her tranquillitie is the Basis and foundation of your owne families. Studie not who shall ruine his companion, but who shall serue his Countrey with greatest loialtie. It is incident to men of weak iudgements to be full of enuy, malice, and dissimulation: carry your hearts in your faces, loue one another, that you may the better serue one Master. It shall be your prosperitie, and doubt not but there are more good then bad in an Estate, and that there was neuer any one so malicious & factious, but in the end he was curbed by the Authoritie of his Soueraigne. You haue at this day a King redoubtable, our whole person the eie of the diuine Providence doth so watch, as although he be young, yet shall he not be left obeyed and feared thorough all his Kingdome: the Edicts of the deceased King his Father shall be observed as his owne: you shall haue him a common father to all his subjects.

It is said, that Alexander made no distinction betwixt Greeke and Barbarian, but onely by their virtues, not regarding the difference of their habits. So our King will iudge who are good and bad French-men, by their obedience and fidelity, every one shall be partaker of his grace and fauour, as he shall make himselfe worthy by his seruice. So as all things being thus firmly settled within the Realme, we shall haue no cause to feare any danger from abroad: The King is in peace with his neighbours, and we assure our selues, that there is not any one of them but he is so generous, as he doth deplore this lamentable accident befallen our late King. And although he had before the death of this Prince, some designes to preiudice France, yet now he will turne his hatred into loue, moued onely by commiseration of this disaster. And if we may hope for this kindnesse from forraigne Princes, what ought we to expect from those which are naturall borne French-men.

God indeed in this dangerous confusion, did heare the praies & vowes of good men, and did to vniue the hearts of great men, as every one did striue by emulation, who should do best seruice to the King and State: but above all, the Queenes constancy was admirable, who in the midst of her greatest afflictions laboured continually, and did not neglect any thing, that might tend to the publike quiet of the Realme, causing the King the two and twentieth of May, to make a Declaration for the entertainment of the Edict of Pacification made at Nantes, as followeth:

LEWIS by the Grace of God, &c. Since the most vnfortunate and detestable murther of our most honored Lord and Father, the King late deceased (whom God absolve) the Queene Regent our most honored Ladie and Mother, (hauing alwaies teares in her eyes, and sorrow in her heart) hath not let to labour incessantly, and with great magnanimitie and wisdom, lest this fatall accident should be preiudicial to our person, our state and subjects, holding her selfe bound vnto this duty, not onely for the naturall affection which she beareth vs, but also for that she hath bene declared Regent, and in this qualitie charged with the government of the affaires of the Kingdome, by the sufrages and consent of the Princes of our blood, and other Princes, Peeres, Prelats, and chiefe Officers of the Crowne, and the Judges of our Parliament, being all assembled there together (we sitting in our seat of Iustice) wherein her endeouours were so happy, & the affection of all our Subjects which were then neere vs (especially of the inhabitants of our good Citie of Paris) so great and sincere towards vs, as we cannot with nor desire more in their obedience and loialties, then in the good and well government of the Queene Regent, our most honored Lady and Mother. Hauiing also had intelligence by the aduice which comes daily vnto vs, that in all parts of our Kingdome all our Subjects, as well Catholikes as they of the pretended reformed Religion of all qualities, strue by a commendable emulation, to exceed one another in readiness of obedience, and in actions which may yeeld some testimony of their loialties and duties: for the which we haue great cause to thank God, and to hope that as it hath pleased him heretofore to preserve this Realme from great dangers, so make it flourish to many ages, that he will still by his bountie take our young Iewels into his protection, and giue vs leisure to grow in pietie and vertue, hereafter to employ the greatnesse, whereunto he hath raised vs to his honour and glorie. The which we heartily craue at his hands; and that he will inspire which shall be fittest and necessarie for the well gouerning of our Subjects in this time, and to waite them in peace, vnitie & loue, one with another as being the true grounds, whereon (when after God) depends the safetie and preservation of the Realme: Experience shewing that in times of great dangers, that the fury and violence of Armes, had

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not onely beene vnprofitable to draw vnto the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romane Church, A their subiects that were diuided from it, but was rather hurtfull: which made them haue recourse by a more happy counsell, to mildnesse, granting them the exercise of the said pretended reformed Religion, whereof they made profession: In whose imitation, the deceased King, our most honored Lord and Father, had made the Edict of Nantes, to reconcile all his louing subiects: The obseruation of which Edict, with the Orders made in consequence thereof, haue serued an assured quiet amongst them, the which hath euer since continued without any interruption. By meanes whereof, although that Edict be perpetuall and irrevocable, and by that meanes hath no need to be confirmed by any new declarations; Notwithstanding, to the end our said subiects may be assured of our loue, and that our intention and will is to cause the said Edict to be inuolubly kept, being made for the good and quiet of all our subiects, as well Catholikes, as those of the pretended reformed Religion:

We make it knowne, that it hauing beene propounded in our presence, by the Queene Regent, our most honored Ladie and Mother, we haue by her good aduice, of the Princes of our bloud, and other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of our Crowne, and many notable personages of our Counsell, decreed, and ordained, and our pleasure is, that the aforesaid Edict of Nantes in all points and Articles, together with all other Articles which haue beene granted vnto them, and the Orders made, and Iudgements given vpon the interpretation, or execution of the Edict, and in consequence thereof, shall be entertained and kept inuolubly, and those which shall infringe it, severely punished, as troublers of the publick quiet: inioyning all our Officers to this effect, to see it very carefully kept, as they will answer to the contrary, whose negligence shall be punished as rigorously as the disobedience of such as haue broken it.

We also command our louing and faithfull Iudges of our Court of Parliament at Paris, to cause these presents to be proclaimed and inrolled, and the Contents to be kept, entertained, and obserued in euery point according to their forme and tenor, not suffering anything to be done to the contrary. For such is our pleasure. In witness whereof We haue caused our Seale to be set hereunto. *Given at Paris the two and twentieth of May, 1610.*

Signed. LEWIS.

And vnderneath was written, *By the Queene Regent his mother being present.*Arraignment  
of the murder-  
er.

THE State being somewhat settled, and freed from all feare of factions and alterations: the Court of Parliament proceeded to the arraignment and condemnation of the infernall monster of nature, *Francis Raulillac*, borne at Angoulesme, by profession a Lawyer. Being prisoner in the Concergerie, (which is the prison for the Court of Parliament) his proccesse was duly instructed and made, in the Chamber of the Tournelle (which be the ordinary Iudges for all criminall offenders,) who being put to the Racke on the 25 day of May, on the 27 day sentence of death was given against him, by the which he was declared, duly arraigned & convicted of treason in the highest degree, both against God & man. His execution was according to the sentence, after this manner. He was brought out of the prison in his shirt, with a torch of two pound weight lighted in one hand; and the knife wherewith he had murdered the King, chained to the other; and then he was set right vp in a numbrell or dancergate, & so he was conducted with a good guard vnto our Ladies church, where being condemned to doe penance, he had beene torne in peeces by the peoples rage, if the Officers had not restrained them. After this he was accompanied to the place of execution by two Doctors of Diuinity, who still perswaded him to saue his soule from euilllasting punishment, by revealing his associates, the which he would not, but still maintained, that he did it only by the instigation of the deuill, and the reason was, for that the King did tolerate two religions in France. In this manner he was carried to the Greue, where there was a strong scaffold built for his execution. *Da Vie* the Kings Attorney was appointed to assist at his execution, and there to gather his life might be some further light of this hellish conspiracy. His death was terrible, and drew all murderers from the like attempts. At his coming vnto the scaffold, he stood himself in figure that he died a Papist, then he was bound vnto an engine of wood, made like unto a *Scaldring* Crosse, which done, his hand with the knife chained to it (where with he had labored the King)

Execution of  
the murder-  
er.

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A was put into a Furnace, then flaming with fire and Brimstone, wherein it was in a most terrible manner consumed, and yet he would not confesse any thing, but cast forth horrible cries, like a soule tormented in bell: and surely if his torments might be felt on earth, it was proued in this mans punishment, the which (had not the foulness of his fact beene so horrid) would haue moued all the lookers on to pitee and commiseration. After which, the executioners hauing made pinners red hot in the same furnace, they did pinch his paps, the brawnes of his armes and thighes, with the calues of his legs, and other fleshy parts of his bodie, pulling out collops of flesh, and burning them before his face: then they powred into these wounds, scalding Oyle, Rozen, Pitch, and Brimstone molt together: after which, they did pour a hard roundell of Clay vpon his nauell, hauing a hole in the midst, into the which they powred molten Lead; yet he revealed nothing, but roared out most horribly, like vnto him that was tormented in the brazen Bull of the tyrant *Phalaris*. But to make the last act of his Tragedie equall in torments to the rest, they caused foure strong horses to be brought to teare his bodie in peeces, where being ready to suffer his last torments, he was againe questioned with, touching the discouery of this truth, but he would not reueale any thing, and so died, without speaking one word of God. But his flesh and ioynts were so strongly knit together, as those foure horses could not of a long time dismember him, nor pull him asunder: but one of them fainting, it is remarkable to see the affection of a Gentleman who was present, mounted vpon a mightie strong horse, who seeing one of the horses straine but faintly, hee lighted from his owne, and taking off his saddle, hee tied him to one of this wretches members, yet for all this, they were constrained to cut the flesh vnder his armes and thighes, with a sharpe Razor, by which meanes his body was the easier torne in peeces: which done, the fury of the people was so great, as they pulled this dismembered carcase out of the executioners hands, which they dragged vp and downe thorow the dirt, and cutting of the flesh with their knives, the bones which remained were brought to the place of execution, and there burnt, the ashes were scattered in the wind, as being held vnworthy of earths buriall: the people shewing by these exterior acts, the great and sincere affection which they bare vnto the deceased King, our common father, and restorer of the estate. By the same sentence of condemnation all his goods were declared forfeited to the King; and moreover it was ordained, that the house where he had beene borne should be beaten downe (a recompence being giuen to the owner thereof) and that neuer any other should be built vpon that ground. That within fiftene daies after the publication of the said sentence, being proclaimed by the found of a Trumpet in the Towne of Angoulesme; his Father and Mother should depart the Realme, and neuer to returne againe, which if they did, they should be presently hanged without any other forme of proccesse. His Brethren, Sisters, Vncles, and other his Kinsfolks, were forbidden euer after to carrie the name of *Raulillac*, inioyning them to take another; vpon the like paines, the substitute of the Kings Attorney Generall hauing charge so to see the execution of the said sentence at his perill.

It was an admirable thing after so great a disaster, to see the vnion & tranquillitie which was generally in the State, there remaining not any markes of so great a mischief; but the mourning weeds which all men did weare, and the sighes which all good French-men did breathe forth for the losse of their good King: neuer King was more lamented, nor Parricide more detested. This wicked murderer confessed no other motive of his crime, but the booke of *Marians*, a Spanisht Iesuit (so horrible a fact could not be committed if a Iesuit were not an Actor) which booke by a decree made by the Colledge of Sorbonne, and confirmed by a sentence from the Courts of Parliament, was for that cause condemned to be publicly burnt before our Ladies Church in Paris: the Tenor of the sentence was; The Court, the great Chamber, the Tunnelle, and the Chamber of the Edict being assembled, hauing scene the decree of the facultie of diuinitie assembled the fourth of this Moneth of Iune, according to a sentence giuen in May last, vpon the renewing of the censure in matter of doctrine made by the said facultie in the yeare 1423: confirmed by the holy Councell of Constance; that it is an heresie full of impietie to maintaine that it is lawfull for subiects or strangers, vpon any pretext or cause whatsoever, to attempt against the sacred persons of Kings and Soueraigne Princes. The Booke of *Iohn Marians* intitled, *De Rege et Regis insublimitate*, Printed as well at Mentz as in other places, containing many execrable blasphemies against the deceased King *Henry* the third of most happy memory, the persons and estates of Kings & Soueraigne Princes, and other propositions contrary to the said decree: vpon the conclusions of the

Parents of the  
murderer: be-  
nished.Marians booke  
burnt.

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Kings Attorney General, the matter being propounded; the said Court hath and doth ordaine, that the said Decree of the fourth of this present month of June, shall be entered into the registers thereof, and heard at the instance of the Kings Attorney General, and read every year on the like day on Sunday, in the Parishes of this Citty and Suburbs of Paris. It doth also ordaine, that the booke of *Marians* shall be burnt by the Executioner of Justice, before our Ladies Church in Paris, forbidding all men, of what estate, qualitie and conditions soever they be, upon paine of high treason, to write or cause any booke to be printed against the said decree & sentence. It doth also injoyne, that Copies taken out of the Originals of the said decree, and this present sentence shall be sent vnto the Bailewicks and Seneshallshouses of this iurisdiction, there to be read and published after the accustomed manner and forme. And B moreover at Euenſong, in Parishes, in Townes, Suburbs, and other Burroughes the first Sunday of June. Inioyning all Bailiffes and Seneshals to proceed to the said publication, and the Substitutes of the Kings Attorney General to have a care of the execution, and to certifye the Court of their diligence.

*Given in Parliament the 8 of Iune, 1610.*

Boy condemned for words.

Yet those holy men had such power and credit, as they staied the publication of the said sentence for a time, whereat many were much scandalized. Presently after the execution of this Parricide, there was a young Boy of the age of thirteene yeares, dwelling with a Weauer, apprehended, for that he had said, that if he had the knife and the characters which *Rauillac* C had, he would doe as much to the young King, whereupon he was condemned to be hanged by the Prouost of Paris, from which sentence he appealed to the Court of Parliament. And the Prouost of Pluuiers, twentie leagues from Paris, being accused to haue said, the day that the King was murdered, that he was slain or wounded that day, strangled himselfe in prison.

Succours of Clenes refused on.

Another man of Meaux making profession of the religion, and reputed for a very honest man, came vnto the Duke of Bouillon (being accompanied with letters from the Minister of that place) to let him vnderstand that the Deuill had appeared vnto him, and had incited him, to kill the King, saying; That if he would not doe it, another should effect it before the end of Iuly. In the beginning of the Queenes Regency, all her care and endeavour was for the preferuation of the peace and the safety of the Realme; She sought to giue contentment D to the Princes at home, and to entertaine the alliances of France, which made them resolute (though not without some opposition and difficultie) to pursue the desſeine of Clenes, and to send the 10000 men which the deceased King had promised vnto the Princes, but the number of horse was not so compleat; the Marshall of La Chastre was chosen Generall of this Army, and *Monsieur de Montigny* was made Marshall of the Campe; there were foure peeces of Artillery, commanded by the young Marquis of Rosny (who was newly made Master of the Ordinance) to begin his Apprentitship there. This army began to march but slowly in Iuly towards Metz. The Marshall preparing himselfe for the voyage, there came two Iesuites to seeke him out, who told him that he could not goe his iourney, nor carrie succours vnto Heretikes with a good conscience, seeking to terrifie his conscience with threats, E as that if he undertooke it, he could not be saved. But the Marshall giuing no credite vnto their words, sent them away with a sower answer; yet soone after they came vnto him to change their language, and to pacifie him.

They now prepared for the Kings Funerall, and the Duke of Elsperton with Mounſieur de Bélegarde, Master of the Kings horses, were sent to Compiegne to fetch the body of King Henry the third, which made many thinke that his Funerall should haue bene ioynt with the Kings, but his body was carried directly to Saint Denis, where it was interred without any pompe and ceremony.

The Prince of Conde being aduertised of the Kings death, he sought to make his peace and reconciliation, writing letters full of humility and obedience to the King and Queene Regent, whereupon their Maiesties did write graciously vnto him, by a Gentleman whom the Princesse of Conde his mother sent vnto him with 20000 Crownes to desgage him from the Spaniards. At this time the Government of Normandy was giuen to the Earle of Soissons, and that of Dauphine to his Son, which bred great debate betwixt the Prince of Cony and the Earle his Brother, the which did much trouble the Queene, who could not well tell how to pacifie the Prince; The Court of Parliament at Rouen, refused to verifie the Earles Patent for the said Government, whereupon they had a new commandement sent them:

They

A They grounded their refusal vpon this reason, for that they had already received the Duke of Orleans for their goernour, by a commandement from this deceased King.

After the execution of the Parricide *Rauillac*, and his confession, that the Booke of *Marians* the Iesuites, had bene the onely motive to draw him to that damnable attempt; there was a fowle imputation laid vpon the Iesuites, and many condemned them as abettors and fauourers of the murderers of Princes; wherein they were the more confirmed; for that *Marians* booke had bene condemned to be burnt by a decree of the court of Parliament. Further Cotton a Iesuite, who had bene in more credit and fauour with the deceased King than any one of that company, seeing their credit now in question, and that this brand of infamy was like to stick vpon them, hee imployes all his Art and eloquence to wipe it off, and to that end hee writes a letter or declaration vnto the Queene Regent, of the Iesuites doctrine, in the which hee disauowes *Marians* Booke in the name of their whole Company. And to winne them the more credit, hee procures their a Testimoniall from the Bishop of Paris, the which he plants in the Preface of his discourse. The Bishop writes, That whereas since the cruell Parricide of the deceased King, there had bene many bruits disperſed in Paris; to the prejudice of the remarkable Order of the Iesuites, we being desirous to provide for the honour and reputation of the said Order, knowing well that such bruits proceed only from ill will, grounded vpon spleene against the said Fathers; We declare by these presents, that the said bruits are impossibilities, and handers in C nented maliciously against them, to the prejudice of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, and that not only the said Fathers are free from all such blame: but also that their Order is as well for doctrine as good life, profitable for the Church of God, and to this E state. In witness whereof we haue signed these presents. After all this, Cotton begins his declaration vnto the Queene Regent after this manner.

Bishop of Paris writes in the behalfe of the Iesuites.

Madams: God ordained in the old Testament, That they should not see the Kid in the mothers milke: to teach vs, (as *Philos* the law doth expound it) that we must not surcharge him with new affliction, that is otherwise oppressed. According to this rule being of the same nature, those of our Societie did hope; that after this fatal accident which hath shaken the two Poles of Christendome, they should at the least haue had free liberty to sigh after their D incomparable losse, a losse which is as particular to them, as it is common and general to all. But it is befallen them, as vnto those that are vnder the ruines of a great building; whereas one stone attends not another, to couer and ouerwhelme those vpon whom it falls. We were buſied both hearts and bodies at the translation of that precious gage, which it pleased your Maieſtie to cause to be conſigned into our hands by my Lord the Prince of Cony, and to this which the chiefe Noblemen of France yielded the last honours, when as some (in affected to the Catholike Religion, and to them of our profession, to desame vs, and make profit of our absence) disperſed bruits, so far from likelihood and probability, as no man could thinke such flanders could enter (no not in dreaming) in the conceit of any reasonable creature. This grew by reason of a bad booke, the doctrine whereof hath bene iustly condemned by the E Court of Parliament: some maintaining that the doctrine contained in the said booke was common to all the Iesuites; others, that it was so particular to the Author, as many of the same company had written against it; and altogether condemned it in a Provinciall congregation, many yeeres past. A controuersie which the least passionate will decide, concluding, that a disauow were a satisfaction, and that they should attend what we could say. Whereupon (Madame) having bene particularly named, it hath made me now to set pen to paper, to represent vnto you (as to her who is wholly affected to the true Religion, the most interested in the good of this State, and the most assured Sanctuary which innocency can finde) that which the Doctors of our Company haue written of that libellous, knowing that the greatness of our affaires will now suffer you to heare it, nor the little loue which our ill-willers beare vs, to make you a true discourse of it.

Cotton the Iesuites letter to the Queene Regent.

After which he cites some Authors of that Societie writing of obedience to Princes; which held, that it was not lawfull for subjects to be stranger to attempt against the life of a Prince, although he doth abuse his authority, and is condemned the error of *Marians*. And then he sets downe the opinion of the whole company, touching the question of obedience to Princes, concluding, that it is not onely vnlawfull to attempt against the persons of Princes, but that it is an execrable Parricide, a prodigious offence and a detestable sacrilege.

This

Earle of Soissons made goernor of Normandy.

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Anti-Cotton.

This Declaration was printed, but therein as a refutation presently written, called *Anti-Cotton*, in 1599, that the actions of the Iesuites allowed and maintained the parricide of Kings, and the rebellion of subjects, which had procured out of their own Authors. Francis Rahadine, writing of the parricide of *James Clement*, he saith; Forasmuch as the resolution which Henry the third took upon him, was the advice of a Politician, and a Machiavell, not conformable to the rules of a King. *James* behold the reason, was by the just judgement of God, the said Henry was killed by a young man, and died by the stroke of a knife. A Cardus Scribanus a Flemish Iesuite, who calls himselfe *Clarus Samaritanus*, in his booke intitled, *Amphibatrachum honoris*, saies, That if it so fell out, that a *Demetrius Machiavellus*, or an Aristotimus, masters of their ages, oppress France, shall not the Pope have absolute power to annuete against them some *Dion*, *Timoleon*, or *Philopontes*; that is to say, tilters and oppressors of monarchs. And afterwards speaking of a tyrant wasting France, Will no man (saies he) take armes against that tyrant wasting France? Will no Pope set fire to the noble kingdom from the stroke of the axe?

3 He cites *Bellarmine*, who although he condemneth treason against Princes; yet in ambiguous termes he seemes to approve it, by commanding *Garnet* the Iesuite in these words: *Wherefore was Henry Garnet, a man unmatchable in all kinds of learning and holiness of life, so punished in the highest degree, but only for that he would not desert that, which with a safe conscience he could not.* And the same Author in his booke *De Pontifice Romano*, saies, *The Pope may dispose of kingdome, taking from one, and giving to another, as being the superior Prince Ecclesiasticall.* And the Iesuite *Gretzer* saies, *We are not such disloyals, as we feare to affirme openly, that the Pope of Rome may (if needfull he require) free his Catholike subjects from their oath of obedience, if their Sovereigne intreat them tyrannically: yea he addes in the same place, Thus if the Pope doe it discreetly and warily, it is a meritorious work.* After all this he quotes the doctrine of *Tolet*, *Mariana*, and *Iohn Guignard*, a Iesuit Priest residing in Paris, who had written a Treatise in praise of *James Clement*, with diuers motives to make away the King which last died, for the which he was executed. But *Franc. Verena. Constant*, exceeds them all: he affirmes, *That notwithstanding the Council of Constance, it is lawfull for any private man to murder Kings condemned of heresie and tyrannie.* And *Emanuel Sa* writes, *That the rebellion of a Clerke against the King is no treason, inasmuch as he is not subiect to him.* The which *Bellarmino* in a manner confirms, saying, *The Pope of Rome hath exempted Clerks from their subiection to Princes: Kings are now no more superiours of Clerks.* And to proue their doctrine of killing Kings more plainly, he produceth the equiuocations and euasions of *Garnet*, being apprehended for the powder-treason, the which is iustified by many of that Societie: *Iohn l'Heureux* writing thus; *When any man is drawne into question under an vnjust trial, no man standing bound to reforme against himselfe (as the law of nature teacheth vs plainly) he may peremptorily and freely denie that for which he is called into question, without any longer faison, because he alwaies vnderstands this clause, Ve teneur dicere.* Which doctrine is confirmed by diuers other Iesuites: One of them affirming, that the doctrine of Equiuocation is grounded vpon the memorable example of *S. Francis*. In the end he shewes their opinion touching concealing of confessions, which they hold ought not to be revealed. *Iohn l'Heureux* writing of that subiect, saies; *That a thing sealed up with the most holy signes of Confession, cannot be broken without doubtfull sacrifice: and thus there cannot fall so great a mischief for the revealing of it, which is lawfull to betray a Confession.* And *Suares* adds, *Yea though the Iesuite of the whole Common-wealth should stand upon it.* By all which proofes he shewes, that it was not *Mariana's* doctrine alone, to murder Kings, but that all the Iesuites haue erred with him in this, whom *Father Cotton* cannot iustifie in generall.

*Anti-Cotton* having set downe the Iesuites doctrine, he proues it by their actions. And first, by the fact of *Iohn Chaffel* Clerke, brought up in the Iesuites College; who having Barbed the King in the mouth the 27. of December, 1604. being examined vpon sundry questions, and among others, whether he had studied *Quintina* in the Iesuites College, he answered; *That he had beene there vnder Father Garnet, with whom he had continued two yeeres and a halfe.* And being asked if he had euer beene in the Chamber of Medications, whether the Iesuites vnder colour to reduce them to a better life, thereby to cause a perturbation in their minds, and consequently vpon such resolutions, to thrust them forward to the vndertaking of some great action: His answer was, *that he had often been in this Chamber of Medications.* And being questioned,

Iesuites doctrine proued by their actions.

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A questioned, whether the killing of the King were not an ordinarie discourse among the Iesuites, he answered, that he had heard them say, *It was lawfull to kill the King, and that he was no member of the Church, and that we ought not to obey him, nor hold him for our King, until he had receiued approbation from the Pope.*

*Peter Barriere* being apprehended at Melun in April 1593. being discovered by an honest Friar, confessed that he came purposely to Court to kill the King, and that he had bene perswaded thereunto by one *Parade* a Iesuite, whose daily practise was to defame the King with vile speeches, by whose perswasion he had provided a knife to doe the fact. He first of all discovered his intent to *Aubry*, Curate of *S. Andrew des Arts*, who directed him to *Parade* Rector of the Iesuites College, who confirmed him in his resolution to kill the King, assuring him, that in case he were put to death, he should obtaine in heauen a crowne of Martyr-dome, and adiuuring him vnto this action, vpon the Sacrament of Confession, and the holy Communion. And omitting many other actions of Iesuites both at home and abroad to proue their damnable doctrine, he concludes with *Garnet*, *Hall*, and others of the Sect, who were complices in that powder-treason, which was practised to ruine the King and the whole Estates of England.

Iesuits guilty of the Kings murder.

In the end he seeks to proue by many pregnant presumptions, that the Iesuites are guilty of the murder: First, by an advertisement sent from *de la Force*, the Kings Lieutenant in Bearn, that a Spaniard described by him, was come into France with an intent to kill the King, which Spaniard was brought vnto the King by *Cotton*, but the King hauing receiued these letters, shewed them to *Cotton*, and commanded him to bring the Spaniard againe, but he could not be found.

Secondly, the seditious preachings of *Gontier* and *Hardy* both Iesuites, the Lent before the fact was committed; inasmuch as the Marhall *d'Ornano* told the King, that if *Gontier* had preached so at Bourdeaux, he would haue caused him to be cast into the riuer, and yet he was a very zealous Catholike.

Thirdly, the confession of *Rauillac*, who iustified vnto Father *Aubigny*, that he had told him in confession, that he had bene sent to give a great blow, and that he had shewed him the knife, hauing a heart grauen vpon it. But the Iesuite protested, that God had giuen him the Grace to forget that presently, which was revealed to him in Confession; whereby he saved his life.

And last of all, the predictions before the Kings death; as at Bruxelles, where the Iesuites domineere, it was spoken of 12. or 15. daies before it happened. At Prague, a Iesuite had giuen it out, that the King was dead, before it fell out so, and moreover, he told them, that after his death, the Dauphin should not be King, but the King of Spaine, and that for some reasons which *Gontier* gaue in his Sermons in Lent last: And then the prediction of the Prouost of Pluuiers, that the King was either slaine or hurt that day. He was a Iesuite in faction, and hath a sonne a Iesuite.

Predictions of the Kings death.

The King being dead, the Queene with all the Nobilitie, propounded in Counsell to yeeld him the last dutie in his obsequie: three giues order, as well to pray for his soule, as for all things requisite for the ornament of the Funerall of so great a Monarch. Two daies after the death of this great King, his bodie was laid in a bed, his face bare to the view of all; and then they opened his bodie to embalm it, out of the which they took his heart to carry to la Fleche, and his bowels to *S. Denis*, as he had appointed in his life time: the which being done, he was laid in a coffin of lead, coated with purple velvet, on the which was a great croffe of white satten. On Whitsunday about foure of the clocke in the morning, his heart being honourably embalmed, and laid in lead, was carried to la Fleche, as we haue said. The bodie being laid in a coffin was set in a chamber hang'd with rich tapestry; and either side were Altars, where there were daily mass said: In the chamber were many formes richly couered, for the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, Cardinals, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests, Abbot, and other Brethren, and Officers of the Church, and nere vnto the holy-virgin *Mary*, vnto *S. Hieronimus*, and other *S. Fathers* were many other seats for religious men, who did ling day and night. Vpon the Kings bodie, were his Crowne, his scepter, and the hand of Justice, vpon a cushion of ambered erize: The Kings bodie remained in the said chamber till the 15. daies together, then was it carried down with great honour, and ceremony into the great lower Hall at the Louue, being intended on by the Bishops, Prelates, and Noblemen of the Court.

Kings heart carried to la Fleche.

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Hall of honour

Bed of honor,  
his image.

The said great Hall was hanged with the richest of the Kings Tapistrie, from the top to the bottome, and the pillars and planchers were covered. Along the said Hall there was a Gallery on either side, for the coming in and going forth of Princes and Noblemen, which Galleries were covered with rich Tapistrie. At the vpper end of the said Hall, there was a scaffold made with foure steps, vpon the which was set a great bed-dead, covered with cloth of Gold, vpon the which the Kings Image (being made in wax) was laid, hauing his hands ioyned together, and attired in his royall Robes, with a Crowne vpon his head, the which did rest vpon a Cushion of rich imbrodery. Vpon his royall Mantle was the Collar of the Order, and on either side, were laid the Royall Scepter, and the hand of Iustice, the Scepter on the right hand, and the hand of Iustice on the left.

Neere vnto the said Image were two Altars richly adorned, of either hand one, at that on the right hand was sung a Masse of *Requiem* in Musicke, and at the other were said foure other great Masses: Ouer either Altar was a rich Canopie, and betwixt the Altars were many seats for Prelates and religious men, who sung as in the foresaid Chamber, and at the lower end of the Hall there were many other Altars richly adorned, wherethey said Masse. The said Image being made as like him as might bee, was daily serued with meat to his table, by his Stewards, Sewers, Cup-bearers, Caruers, Almner, and all other Officers, and all order was duly obserued, as if the deceased King had bene liuing, and then the meat was distributed vnto the poore. The one and twentieth of Iune, the said Image and hangings were taken away, and the said hall both top, sides and floore were hanged and covered with blacke cloth, and the body of the deceased King being in his coffin, was set in the place of the Image, couered with a paul of black veluet, which hung downe to the ground, with a crosse of white fatten, and a cloth of State oner it of blacke veluet: vpon the Kings Coffin, were the Crowne, the collar of the Order, the Scepter, and the hand of Iustice. At the foot thereof was a great crosse of silver, vpon a cushion, neere vnto the which were two great tapers burning continually, and a holy water-pot of silver: on either side of which stood a Herald, the which were euery two houres releued by other of their companions which took their places. On the 25. of Iune, Lewis the 13. now reigning, dined in Longueville house,

King goes to  
cast holy water  
vpon his fa-  
thers body.Order of the  
Kings going  
to the Louvre.

after dinner he was conducted with great state to the Louvre, to cast holy water vpon the body of the deceased King his father, being accompanied by his brethren, who were carried of either side of him, the Duke of Orleans on the right hand, and the Duke of Anjou on the left. Neere vnto his Majesty followed the Cardinals of Ioyuze and Sourdy. The King mourned in purple hauing a very long traine, the which was carried vp by the Prince of Conty, the Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Guise, the Prince Ionulle, and the Duke of Elbeuf: being followed by the Marshals of France, and the Knights of the Order: Many Bishops, Prelates, and Noblemen, and an infinite number of men of account, Ladies and Gentlewomen were in the said hall, attending the Kings coming, who hauing giuen holy water, retired himselfe into the Louvre. The next day the Iudges of the Court of Parliament at the rising of the Court, went also after their accustomed manner to the Louvre, to cast holy water, being followed by the Iudges of the Chambers of accounts and aides, the Generalls of the monny, and the whole body of Iustice, the Prouost of Paris, the Prouost of Marchants, and the Sheriffs of the said City. On the 28. day of the moneth, the 24. sorrowe Cries of the City, hauing commande-ment giuen them, went with the Kings armes on their breasts and backs, thorowout all the streets of Paris, to depounce the Conuoy and funeral of the deceased King, crying out thus with a loud voice: Noble and deuout people, pray vnto God for the soule of the most high, most mayghty, and most excellent Prince, Lewis the great, by the grace of God, King of France, and of Nauarre, most Christian, most venerable, most victorious, his incomparable magnanimity and cleuency, who is dead in his Palace of the Louvre, pray vnto God to receiue his soule. On Tuesday at two of the clocke, in the afternoon, his Majesties body shall be taken vp to be carried to our Ladies Church in Paris, where the same day shall be said an Euen-song for the dead, and the next day in the morning the seruice and accustomed prayers shall be said, after which he shall be carried to the Church of Sainte Denys, to be interred in the Sepulcher of the Kings of France.

The order of  
the conuoy  
to our Ladies  
Church.

On Tuesday the nine and twentieth day the streets were hang with blacke on either side from the Louvre to our Ladies Church, vpon the which were the Kings armes, one peere vnto another, and at euery house a burning torch. About the 6. of the clocke in the afternoon, the same day, the funeral began, after this manner: First marched the Captaine,

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A Lieutenant and Ensigne of the Towne house, with their gownes, swords by their sides, hoods and cyppes, and archers and shot of the said Towne house followed in their ranks of spearmen armed, and vpon it a mourning band, being 12. in number, going two and two, with their marchen lightes carrying their flagges and Halberds bending towards the ground, all which were diuided into three bands.

After them followed the Children of Church-masse: First marched the fathers penitents of the third Order of Saint Francis, in number thye score. Then followed the fathers of the third Order of Saint Camille, being six and forty: the Capucins, together with the poore scholars of the Colledge of Montaigne, three hundred. Then Capuchins in number foure score and thye. The Minims being fifty sixe: the Franciscans in number two hundred twenty foure. The Iacobins one hundred and thye. The Augustines to the number six hundred. The Carmelites. The Feuillants thye foure. Before all which Religious were carried their crosses, and of either side of euery crosse were carried foure torches, against them was a Scutcheon with the deceased Kings armes of France side.

Then marched five hundred poore men in blacke gownes and hoods, with new hofs and shoes, euery one carrying a burning torch with the deceased Kings armes before and behind. After whom followed the tower and twenty four men of Paris ringing their bells, hauing Scutchions on their breasts and backs. After them marched the Knight of the watch, with his Lieutenant in mourning gownes, and a truncheon in his hand, being followed by this company, in their cassakes hauing tips of blacke cloth vpon their shoulders: in the midst of the said company marched the Ensigne, dragging his colours vpon the ground, being couered with blacke cyppes, the drums making a mournfull found, being also couered with blacke. Then followed the Sergeants of the Chasteler in long blacke gownes and square caps, carrying blacke truncheons in their hands, being in number thirty. After them marched the Sergeants of the Towne house, on the left hand, and chose of the Chasteler on horsebacke of the right hand. Then followed the Notaries, Commisaries of the quarters, Proctors, and Aduocates of the Chasteler, in order in their long mourning robes and square caps, on the right hand. And the Proctors, Deputies, Registes and Bourgeois of the towne on the left hand, being attired after the same manner. After them marched the Lieutenant D. Cuiill of the Chasteler on the right hand, and the Lieutenant Criminal on the left, being followed by the Counsellors of the said Chasteler.

After whom marched the Priests, Curats, and Religious men of most of the chiefe Churches in Paris, singings: and on the left hand went the Vniuersity, that is, the masters of Artes, Licentiats, heads of houses, Regents, Bachelers and Doctors of Physicke, with their scarlet gownes and miter; the Doctors of the cannon and ciuill law; the Doctors of Diuinity of all Orders, the Bedels of the Vniuersity, and the Rectour.

Then followed the swome Messengers, after whom came the master of the Ports, being all in long gownes and hoods. Then came the Pages of the Stable, attired in blacke serge. After whom marched the masters of the Haubois, Flutes, Musical instruments, Trumpets and Drums couered with blacke, making a dolefull found. Then followed Mounieur de Cregay on the right hand, and Mounieur de l'Escole on the left, being followed by the Capaines, Lieutenants, and Ensignes of the Regiment of the Kings guard. After whom marched the great Prouost of the Kings house on horsebacke, wearing a mourning gowne with a long traine, hauing his Officers of either side him, and followed by his Lieutenants, Ensignes and Archers on foot, in blacke gownes and hoods, and their cassakes vpon them, carrying great Petronells and Halberds vnder their armes.

The Capaine of the port of the Kings house, with his porters, hauing their imbroded cassakes and a mourning hood vpon it, Mounieur de Merdieu on the right hand, and Mounieur de Bouillon, with Mounieur de La Bourdesiere his Lieutenant, being followed by the F Capaine of the hundred Scilles of the body attired in blacke water Chamler, and round caps of chamler pleited, their Ensigne being couered with blacke cyppes.

After whom followeth Mounieur de la Palme in the head of the two companies of two hundred Gentlemen of honour, being followed by the two Ensignes, that of the Vidame of Mans on the right hand, and that of Mounieur de la Bourdesiere on the left, all attired in black serge with tips. Then marched the ordinary officers of the Kings house, to the number of an hundred and sixty: and after them came the Mulicians, Physicians, Surgeons, Groomes of the Wardrobe, and of the deceased Kings Chamber, euery one apart. The Villers of the Hall,

Lieu.



Hall, with their heads bare: The Gentlemen Waiters, and Clerks of the Kitchen, on the right hand, on the left hand went the Generalls of the army, of the aides, and of the Chamber of accounts. After them went eight Trumpets in mourning weeds, their trumpets being covered with blacke tipes. Then came Monsieur de Rhodes, master of the Ceremonies, who carried the Kings Penon.

The Chariot of armes covered with a great Pall of blacke Veluet, having a crosse of white satten, being enriched with foure and twenty great Scutcheons imbrodered with the armes of France, was drawne by six great coursers, being also covered with blacke veluet downe to the ground with a crosse in the midst of white satten, guided by two Coach-men attired in blacke Veluet, bare headed, and their hoods up. They followed Benjamin the tiger, carrying the golden spurs: Behind another rider came after him with the Gentlers: Plumes carried after a Scutcheon with the armes of France and Navarre, and another Rider carried the coat of armes.

After all these came the fifth Querrie, who carried the Helmet mantled with purple veluet, Sewet Flower-de-Luces of gold, and lined with Ermines, and upon the Helme was a royall Crowne, all covered with blacke Ouyees: all the riders which carried these peeces of honour, were on horse-backe, with long mourning gowndes and hoods.

After these marched the Preachers, Confessors and Almoners of the deceased King. Then followed on foot seenteene Archbishops and Bishops, two and two; all with white Miters, and blacke Veluet Copes, after whom marched the Archbishop of Lions alone, and a good distance from the rest. Then went the Ambassadors of Sauoy, Venice and Spaine on horse-backe, in mourning gowndes with long traines, every one being carried by six of their Officers, every of which Ambassadors was conducted by an Archbishop or a Bishop mounted vpon moyles.

After them came the Popes two Nuncios, the ordinary and the extraordinary, and of either side of them went the Archbishops of Aix and Ambrun, mounted vpon their moyles. Then followed the Cardinals of Joyeuz and Surdy with their purple Copes and red hats, being also mounted vpon their moyles, and followed by their Officers.

After all these went the horse of honour, all covered with purple Veluet, imbrodered with Floure-de-Luces of gold, and fringed about with gold, the saddle and stirrups were richly gilt; there was nothing to be seene of the horse but the eyes; he was led by either reine by two Squires, being a foot and their hoods on. Of either side of the said horse marched ten Heralds, in mourning gowndes and hoods, having their coats of armes vpon their gowndes imbrodered with Floure-de-Luces of gold.

Then followed the Master of the horse, his horse being all covered with blacke Veluet, and a great crosse of white satten, carrying the royall sword in a scabb, and a scabbard of purple veluet, richly embrodered with Floure-de-Luces of gold.

After him came fourteene Vilers of the Court of Parliament, with wands in their hands, and after them the Presidents and Counsellors in their scarlet robes, being eighty nine in number. After whom went two Vilers of the Chamber with their Maces, being bare-headed, and then followed the Bishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Angers on his left hand, with their Miters, Surplices and Coapes of blacke veluet. Then followed the Kings Image in the same honour as it was lying in the great Hall at the Louvre, holding in his right hand the Royall scepter, and in his left the hand of Iustice, being carried by the porters of salt in Paris: About which Image went many Presidents and Counsellors of the great Chamber, and the Scottish guard. The ground of the Canopie was of purple cloth of Tissue, all embrodered with Floure-de-Luces, and fringed with gold, the which was carried by the Prouost of Merchants, and the Sheriffes of the Citie of Paris.

After which came the Earle of Saint Paul, carrying the Lord Stewards staffe, representing the Earle of Soissons, Lord Steward of France, on the right hand, and the Cheualier of Guise, representing the Duke of Elquillon, great Chamberlaine, carrying the banner of France on the left hand, being mounted vpon great coursers, covered with blacke Veluet, with crosses of white satten.

The Prince of Conty marched after them, vpon a little horse all covered, having a mourning gowne with a long traine, and vpon it the colour of the Order; his traine was carried vp by seven Gentlemen.

The

A The Earle of Soissons followed him, being also on horse-backe, attired in the like habit, and with the order. After whom came the Dukes of Guise and Elbeuf on horse-back in the same weed, but without the Order: the Duke of Elbeuf followed them, in the same mourning attire, and with the Order: and then came the Duke of Montbazon, with the same order and habit; their traines were carried vp by Gentlemen which attended the. Then followed the Viler of the Order, carrying a blacke wand in his hand; being in his mourning gown, and his hoods off. After the Princes & dukes came the Knight of the order on foot, with their collors vpon their mourning gowndes, their traines were carried vp by their pages. And then followed a great number of the Nobility, in order two and two:

B After whom came the twelve Pages of the Chamber, attired in blacke veluet, & caps. And last of all marched the Captaines of foure hundred Archers of the Kings guard, with their Ensignes, being followed by all the Archers of the said guards, carrying their armes to the ground, they hauing gowndes and hoods. Before they came from the Louvre, there was some difference betwixt some great men, the court of Parliament, and the Scottish guard, but the Queenes wisdom and foresight did pacifie all without brute. This is the order which was held from the Louvre to our Ladies Church, the way they went was ouer the new bridge along the Angullines key, and then ouer S. Michaels Bridge, to the new market, and so to our Ladies Church, into the which they entred at nine of the clock at night.

The body of the deceased King was set in the midst of the Quier of the said Church, vnder a burning Chappell, the which was made of the height of two pikes (it was so called, for that it had an infinite number of wax candles that were continually burning on it.) The Quier of the aforelaid Church was hanged round about with blacke cloth, and in the midst of the said cloth was a band of veluet, on the which there were fastened Scutcheons of the Kings armes, within two foot one of another. The great body of the said Church, was also hung in like manner, and all along were two ranks of waxe tapers, and the same night Euenlong and Vigile for the dead was said. The next day in the morning, being the last day of Iune, the Princes, Cardinals, Noblemen and Officers of the Crowne, the Court of Parliament, the Conuents, Parishes, and all those that had accompanied the Kings body the day before, came vnto our Ladies Church, about ten of the cloke in the morning.

D whereas diuine seruice was said by the Bishop of Paris. After the offering, the Bishop of Sets made the funerall Oration, the which continued a good houre. The seruice being done about two of the clocke in the afternoone, the Princes, Cardinals, Bishops, and all the chiefe men went to dine in the Bishops Palace, and thereabouts, where preparation was made for them. In the meane time the first began to march every one in his first ranke and order, as they had done the day before, from the Louvre vnto the said Church: they went ouer our Ladies bridge, and so through S. Denis street, and without any stay, vntill they came to S. Denis in France. The streets from our Ladies Church vnto Saint Denis gate were hanged on either side with blacke. Vpon which were fixed the Kings armes, and those of the City, about an elle distant one from the other. The religious men, Curats of

E Parishes, with the Fathers, Confessors, Almoners, Bachelers, Regents of the Vniuersity, and Doctors of Diuinity, did accompany the Kings body through the City in their order, vnto the Church of S. Ladre, which is in S. Denis suburbs, and then most of them retired, and left the body, the which was accompanied by the whole Court, his Officers, the court of Parliament, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Captaines, Guards, and Archers, and by the Chanoins of our Ladies Church, vnto the crosse which is in the mid-way of S. Denis, where the Prior and Religious men of S. Denis came to recelue the body. There the Priests of all the parishes departed, and the Princes, Cardinals, Bishops, Dukes, Earles, Noblemen, with all the Kings Court, the court of Parliament & Officers attended the body vnto S. Denis Church, where it was layed vnder a burning Chappell, and there F Vigels and Suffrages said for the dead. The Church of S. Denis was all hanged both body and Quier with blacke cloth, and in the midst of it there was a large band of blacke veluet, vpon which were Scutcheons with the Kings armes fixed. The High Masse was celebrated by the Cardinal of Joyeuz, and answered in Musick: After the offering, the Bishop of Angers made a funerall Oration. The offices being ended, and the accustomed prayers said, the Master of the Ceremonies tooke vp from the Kings body, the Crowne, the Scepter, and the hand of Iustice, which lay vpon it, and withall the coverings of cloth of gold: Then the Gentlemen Waiters and the Archers carried the body into the vault.

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Then

Our Ladies Church hanged.

which is before the high Altar of the said Church, vpon the right hand. Then came the Cardinal vnto the vault, and cast earth vpon the body, and the last holy water: which done, he fete downe on the one side of the said vault, by the high Altar, and the Master of the Ceremonies on the other; Betwixt both stood a Herald, who called the Noblemen and Gentlemen, which had caried the peeces of honour, one after one, the which being brought by them, were cast into the vault.

This done, the Earle of Saint Paul strucke the Lord Stewards staffe against the ground, and sayd in a low voice. *The King is dead.* Then the said Herald taking the word, cryed out three times, *The King is dead. The King is dead. The King is dead, Pray all vnto God for his soule.* Then all fell vpon their knees, with teares in their eyes.

Soone after, the sayd Earle of Saint Paul, tooke his staffe againe, and said *God save the King,* and then the Herald tooke the word, and cryed out thrice, *God save the King Lewis the thirteenth of that name, by the grace of God King of France, and of Nauarre, the most Christian, our most Soueraigne Lord and good Master, to whom God giue a most happy and long life.* Which hauing said, the trumpets, drummes, phifes, hautbois and flutes began to found. After which euery one of the Noblemen and Gentlemen tooke againe the peeces of honour which they had layd into the vault, and the Princes and chiefe of the Nobility were conducted into the great Hall, where the funeral Feast was prepared for their dinner. Euery one hauing dined, the Presidents and Councillors of the Court of Parliament, of the Chamber of Accounts, of Aydes, Generals of the money, Magistrates of the City of Paris, and other officers, came into the said Hall, whereas the Earle of Saint Paul holding his staffe in his hand, made a short speech vnto them touching the Kings death, to whom hee offered his seruice, promising to recommend them vnto the King now raigning, to maintain them in their offices and estates. And in token that his place was also voyde, he brake his staffe in their presence.

There were many funeral Orationes made in diuers parts vpon this lamentable subiect, euery one struing to discouer the griefe of his soule, by the eloquence of his tongue, among which I haue made choice of one, as followeth.

*A Funeral discourse, made vpon the death of the deceased King, by the Bishop of Sens chiefe Almoner to the Queene.*

**M**Y minde is so oppress'd with horror, so wounded with griefe, and so troubled with amazement (be it for the feeling of present things, or the apprehension of future) as I know not what bounds to giue my thoughts in their amazement, nor what Rule to my words in their complaint: being vnable to gouerne the one by the lawes of iudgement, nor the other by those of Rhetoricke.

Shall the miserable point of a vild and base knife, handled by an enraged Monster, inspired rather with a Deuill then a reasonable soule, be hereafter ordained traitorously to murder the greatest Monarches of the earth? and that which the condition of a man should hold most reuerent, as well by the institution of God, as by the consent of nations, shall it hereafter be expoid, not to the fury of some great and fearefull enemy, who by the lawes of his victorious sword, shall barbarously deprive him both of life and state, but to the frenzy of the most abiect and contemptible vagabond, which lurkes among the scumme of the people: so as by wicked perfwalions, or by cursed illusions, hee may be drawne to this impious resolution, to giue his life, so as he may take away that of a great Potentate, and to ruine himselfe, so as he may ruine him withall. O lamentable age which doeth behold such accidents! O cursed earth which doeth produce such monsters!

It is almost 21 yeares since our late King Henry the third, after so many great and famous victories: which this Realme owes to the happinesse of his sword, when as the prosperitie of his affaires was ready to open him the gates of Paris, being all that time rebelled against his Lawes, and to fettle him in the Throne of his fathers, from whence the fury of his people had in a manner delected him, was miserably slaine in his cabinet, by the villanous knife of an infamous petty humane fury, who to haue access vnto this religious Prince, vsed (as a passport throughout the army) the name and habit of a religious man.

We did not thinke the Sun should euer see the like, as I thinke it had neuer seene, but we did imagine that as this parricide had no president, so it should finde no imitation; but behold

A hold (wretches that we are) at the end of twenty resolutions of yeares, we find our selues plunged in the same gulfe of sorrowes, and confusion of affaires, that we were then: and by the like accident, and in a manner the like murderer reduced by the blow of a knife, no lesse contemptible then the other, to the like or greater despaire, and to more lamentable miseries, our losse being so much the more grievous, as the wife and mild gouernment of our last Prince, with the disposition of the affaires, made his life more necessary for this Estate; and the parricide so much the more detestable, as this good King hauing wronged no man, and received so many, but rather bound all the world vnto him by his bounty, and shewed his power rather in pardoning and sauing, then in punishing and destroying: for which reason he should not be hated of any one, but of such (if there be any such) whom good deedes incite to doe ill, and of whom to haue well deserved, is a sufficient subiect to be hated. I pray you what can be obserued in the life of this Prince, where they haue seene his indignation employ the severity of the publike sword to reuenge any private iniury of his owne? what hath he euer done since his comming to the Crowne, but vanquish and pardon: change by a royall Metamorphosis, with the Charms of his bounty, his very enemies to faithfull seruants? as well to suppress their hatred by good vsage, as their power by the force of his armes, and by his free confidence to binde the faith of the most faithlesse to serue him, loyally? without doubt I do not finde that euer Prince did equall him in this, whose life doth not rather serue him as a lustre to make his glory shine the more, then of comparison to shew any equality. We haue heard him sometimes say that he would make his guards vnecessary, shewing by his words the confidence which the remembrance of his mild actions gaue him. Alas! poore Prince! thou hast done it: thou hast made the care of thy guards fruitlesse and euen that which thou didst royally vaunt of, we do now lament bitterly: It succeeded ill for thee, for if thou hadst not refused the faithfull seruice of their ordinary assistance, when as the vnhappyneesse of France did seeme to lead thee to that cursed and farall street, the which thy death hath for euer made odious vnto vs, we should rather now haue bene troubled to sing thy victories, then to weepe for thy lamentable death: and rather busied to erect Trophies for thee, then to prepare thee a monument & funeral pompe. But who would not in a manner say that the events of things which are called contingent and casual (for that they seeme so to them which know not the motives) are tyed to their first causes, with such chaimes of necessity, as it is almost impossible for the wit of man to auoyd them, either by the counsell of any other, or by his owne providence? No man is ignorant but that this miserable accident was enigmatically foretold him by the inspection of his particular Horoscope, almost at the same time when it hapned. His most dearest did aduertise him the most learned in that art besought him to haue a care of himselfe: the mournfull dreame which some few daies before, the Queene his faithfull Spouse had had lying by his side, and awaking suddenly with the terror of her vision, was also a speaking Image of his future misfortune, which should haue serued him as an Oracle to make him more carefull of his preservation, if the courage of his Prince had bene capable of amazement, and if he had had for himselfe the thousand part of the iust feare which did afflicke vs continually. But as nothing can assure a Hare, so nothing can amaze a Lyon. The memory of his royall actions, and the consideration of his mildnesse, whereby he bound all the world to loue him, made all such attempts incredible vnto him. He did rather cast the eye of his thoughts vpon his own bounty, then vpon anothers wickednesse. It was *Caesar* which would neither giue credit to his wife *Spuria*, nor to his faithfull *Calphurnia*, and it seemes he must of necessity imitate his disaster, as he had imitated his clemency and valor: wherefore in our complaints we accuse him to haue procured his owne death by the refusal of his Guards, and in a manner condemning him as culpable, we grow passionate against him for whom we are oppress'd with passions: yet in the end, looking with the eyes of Iudgment vpon the first Mouer of all our fortunes, who by the rauiishment of his incomprehensible course, drawes all after him, what resistance loeuer they seeme to make, we do presently absolue him of the fauor which in shew hee gaue vnto this detestable Parricide, and accuse only our owne offences, which deserved this punishment, and the tormenting treachery of that infernall monster, whom the vnhappyneesse of this Realme had made choice of, to execute so brutish and barbarous a murder. For as Saint Jerome saith well, *Cursed is he who for his vices meritis to be the executioner of wicked and sinful actions, as by the instruments of cursednesse is selfe.*

And what act can be imagined, more wicked, more farall, and more cursed, then tray-  
terously to murder his owne King? His lawfull Prince? His visible God on earth? Who  
the Soueraine King of Kings hath himselfe anointed by the hand of his Ministers, at the  
foote of his Altars, to make him as it were the Lieutenant of all his power amongst men,  
and the humane Image of his diuine Maiefty? But can there be any found so wicked as to  
make this proposition disputable? Hath it not been decided by the mouth of the Holy  
Ghost, in the decrees of the Law of Grace? Our Saviour as man, and the son of David,  
was the true King of Iury, as well as King of the whole world by his diuinity: So as if he had  
pleased him to re-establish his temporall Kingdom; the Gouernors of Iury had been but  
his Lieutenants: And yet when he was vniuilly accused before Pilate, hee refused not his  
Iudgement, neither did he tell him that he did vsurpe vpon him (being the true Prince and  
Magistrate) an vnlawfull and tyrannous power: but he only answered him in milde and re-  
spectiue termes, *Thou shouldst haue no power ouer me, if it were not giuen thee from above.*  
And St. Paul besides the commendement which hee giueth vs to obey our Princes and  
Lords, although they be bad, hauing by chance offended in words, the High Priests of  
the Iewes, and being aduertised thereof, he answered, condemning himselfe, *Brethren, I did  
not know that it was the High Priest, for it is written, Thou shalt not speake ill of the Prince of the  
people.* How then? If it be not tollerable to speake ill of our Princes, shall it be lawfull to  
murder them? And not with the publike sword, which sometimes a generall rebellion of  
subiects against their Kings, puts into the hand of a furious multitude; but with the dagger  
or knife of any desperate mad man, who imagining, that hee is chosen of God for such an  
enterprize, wil of his owne motion make himselfe Iudge, Accuser, and Executioner, al-  
together, of him, whom he should not looke on but with trembling, or at the least with the  
reuerence which is due vnto the liuely Image of the Monarch of all the world. And I pray  
you what will be the end, if it be lawfull for euery private man, nor onely to censure the  
actions, but the very intentions of his Prince, and holding them reprehensible, not before  
any other tribunall but himselfe, and his owne fancy, to vsurpe insolently a commision to  
punish him, as if he were some new *Levi*, secretly anointed by the hand of a Prophet, to  
revenge the sins of *Achab*, and to raigne in his place? Oh wretched & most cursed are they  
which by such maxims incourage weake and superstitious soules to such wicked & dam-  
nable resolutions, and who vnder a shadow of piety, make them dare things so monstrous-  
ly impious. But it may be I declaine against an opinion, which is not approved by any  
one in France, and that his brethren, who they say did sow it in other countries, and vnder  
another heauen, like an accursed graine of hell, doe abhor, condemne & detest it. As with-  
out all doubt it is detestable, and the booke which seemes to confirme it, worthy to burne  
the hand of the Author in his owne flame, as a damnable infant which should punish his  
father for giuing him life. For although he speaks not of any but tyrants, the which doth  
nothing concerne our Kings, being the true and lawfull and iust Princes of this Estate, yet  
doth he giue vnder this proposition (most wicked of it selfe) a silent praise of a murder like  
vnto that which we now lament: And who knows not that to commend an action, is se-  
cretly to perwade the like? Moreover, from this Maxime which doth only concerne ty-  
rants, may be drawne most wicked & dangerous conclusions. For if he hold it for certaine  
that it is lawfull for any man to kill a tyrant, what Prince liuing, how lawfull soeuer, can  
be hereafter assured of his life in the midst of his guards, and in his chair of State. The grea-  
test Monarches do they as soone as they are Kings change their humane and finfull nature  
into one that is diuine and perfect, and not subiect to sin, and shall they neuer more com-  
mit error which may in any sort scandalize their subiects? No, no, they are still men in im-  
perfection, although they seeme Gods in power: neither doth greatnesse, which giues the  
more meanes to sin, take from them the desire. And will there not be alwaies found, some  
extraneous spirit in their Provinces, who censuring their faults, it may bee, more bitterly  
then he ought, will arraigne them in his fancy, giue them his imaginations for soueraigne  
Iudges, will conuict them to be tyrants, and as such will seek to murder them, if hee can  
come neere them? Yes without doubt, there will be alwaies some one found, And this veno-  
mous seed will find some soyle to make it fructifie, especially if they crowne so depre-  
sate an enterprize with praises, if they propound the recompence of an eternall & future  
life, to those who to execute it, lose the present and mortall life, and yet they call the pu-  
nishment of such murders Martyrdom, communicating vnto murderers and Parricides, the

A the glory of Saints, and of the blessed Champions of our faith. Wherefore oh all you  
Kings and Princes of the earth, which shall hear the report of this horrible affluinate, you  
haue an interest in this lamentable accident, whether you loue vs, be our enemies, or hold  
vs indifferent; and the murder of our Prince should fill you with horror and amazement,  
for your selues; there being not any one of you, whom the same knife by which this great  
Monarch receiued death, doth not threaten with the like aduenture: when as neither the  
innocency of his life, the glory of his actions, the wonders of his valor, his mildnesse, boun-  
ty, freedom, piety, liberality, wisdom, and all other royall vertues, shall not shroud and  
protect any, against the impious presumption of the like frenzy. For if we shall distinctly  
measure all the actions of his life, by the particular rule of euery one of the vertues which  
B I named, I assure my selfe that in some he shall be found without equal, in others without  
a superior, and in all without a second. And to begin by the innocency of his life (I alwaies  
except those fraile and humane sins, which make the most iust culpable before God) can  
they iustly reproach him, that he hath against reason attempted against the life, honor or  
goods of any one of his subiects? Did he euer take away any mans wife by force? And  
hath it euer beene scene that by his incontinency, as by that of many other Princes, the  
beauty of Ladies hath benee farall to their husbands? The delights of a goodly house did  
neuer cost the Masters life: and during his raigne hath there beene found a new *Quintus  
Aurelius*, or a second *Naboth*, which haue accused their goodly vines & farmes to be the  
causes of their death? His greatest cholier and indignation against any one, was it euer  
made a crime against them whom he hath most hated? No, no, but contrarywise that roy-  
all soule which had nothing in it but courage, seemed to saile in reuenge: and although  
that offences and seruices did equally touch him, yet had he no memory but for the last.  
As for his valor, whosoever holds it vulgar and ordinary, after so many proofes which  
he hath giuen within these twenty yeares, he hath had neither eyes nor eares, or else made  
himselfe and enuy hath made him stop them. France doth proclaime it sufficiently by the eter-  
nall memory of so many combats, so many encounters, and so many towne besieged. We  
will produce new testimonies, when his owne enemies shall cease to confesse it: we will ex-  
toll him with new praises, when euen those whom he hath vanquished shall forbear to  
D preach it: and finally, we will note them particularly, when as Arques, Yury, Fontaine,  
Francoise, Aumale, Noion, and many other Theaters of his glory, that is, when as moun-  
tains, vallies, fields, rampars of the towne, and in a manner all the corners of France shall  
cease to witnesse it. I will say the like of his clemency: for as the fields covered with dead  
bodies were the proofes of his valor, in like manner, so many towne preferred from sacke  
and spoile, during the greatest furie of his victorious armes, are and shall bee for euer the  
monuments of his mildnesse and bounty. But this needs no more confirmation of proofes  
then his valour: they are both without contestation, as well as without comparision. His  
vanquished enemies confesse the one, and his subiects preferred witnesse the other. The  
A acts of the one haue bene in a manner alwaies signed with blood: the acts of other, haue  
bene most commonly with teares of ioy, and pity: as if he had receiued as great pleasure  
to pardon, as glory to vanquish: and as if to raise vp with an vnarmed hand, an enemy  
lying prostrate, after the combats, were as royal as to overthrow him valiantly with sword  
in fighting. I know well one action in his life may be noted, wherein his clemency hath as  
it were suspended his ordinary effects, to giue way to the security of his subiects: but the  
griefe which he seemed to haue in his soule, that he could not without danger, extend vpon  
the accused, the golden rod of his grace, and making consideration of his offences with his  
seruices, pardon his error, the loue of his valor, doth witness sufficiently that he was forced  
therunto, by the authority of the Lawes which he desired to see in force by reason of state,  
which did oppose against his mercy, and by that wife Maxime which faith, that there is no  
F thing more dangerous then to bring a great courage to the place of execution, and then  
draw him backe: for that he doth alwaies remember the affront, and forgets the pardon.  
As for his confidence and trust: Alas! we haue by too many proofes, and I would so  
God this vertue had not bene so great in him: I testifie which hath vndone vs, for that  
he hath thereby, vndone himselfe. We reuerence the memory of all his other perfec-  
tions, but doubtlesse we may iustly hate and remembre and proofes of this. Why may  
hee not more distrustfull? Why did he not feare like vnto other Princes, who hold  
that a moderate distrust is one of the parts of wisdom? Hee had reason to feare  
waies

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waies with his sword in his hand in the middest of combats, where it is a crime (at the least *à Caesar*) to shew any feare? Not to feare is a great perfection in batells, to assure his owne fouldiers, and to strike terror into his enemies: for feare is contrary to all other things: only they which haue it not, may giue much. But yet this vertue, as all other, must be restrained within the center of mediocrity, being equally distant from her extremes. It is as great an error not to feare any thing, as to feare euery thing: and without doubt by too much confidence, men are made too bold.

In the meane time we doe not forbear to commend this vertue in him, although we doe now complain, for that he did ground it, neither vpon his valour, nor vpon his power neither vpon the care of his seruants, nor vpon the ranks of armes, which did enuiron him hourly: but vpon the only protection, safeguard and fauour of him, who can presecute the silly sheepe amongst rauens and deuouring Volues, and can make Lions stand in feare of Hares. As on a time falling vpon that discourse, and we seeming to wish that he would not so lightly expose himselfe, and that in fearing somewhat more, hee should giue vs lesse subiect to feare. He answered vs with the words of the two and twentieth Psalm. *The Lord is the light which guides me, and my health, what should I feare, &c.* according to the instruction which he had learned from his infancy.

As for his pietie, the life which he had led from his infancy, being in a manner borne and nursed in armes, was the cause he could not make it so apparent to the sight of the world as it is great and visible to our God. But yet I will say, without flattery, that I did neuer see a warrior, that was more religious: being not ceremonious; who seeking not the outward shew, had more of the effects. Such as did obserue his life and actions more strictly than my selfe, know well, and doe witness it, that he seldom dressed himselfe, before he had humbly made his prayer vpon his knees. Sometimes briefly, but yet his zeale did recompence the shortnesse: sometimes with a longer prayer, which did not abate his zeale.

This did he often at night, offering to God by this meanes, the first fruits, and the remainder of the day. *For my part, I haue seene him sometimes*, Masse being ended, and when as all men were risen, to continue at his prayers vpon his knees, with such signes of true pietie, as I was in a manner ashamed for vs who should haue beene an example to him, and not he to vs. And to say that it was a fained hypocrisie, the humor of this Prince far from dissembling, both by nature and custome, would make this slander incredible. I spare to speake of other publike testimonies of his zeale to Christian Religion, for that they are well knowne to all the world; as well those by the which he hath newly raised from their ashes, and more richly endowed many Churches that were ruined; as those by the which he hath caused the standard of the crose to be freely worshipped in Constantinople, & in this Babylon of all the Turkish Empire, the perpetuall sacrifice foretold by *Malachi*, to be celebrated. But I will not conceal that when as he gaue Bishopricks to such as he held capable, he recommended vnto them with great care the duties of their charges: the pastoral care of their flocks, the preaching of the word of God, an exemplary life, extirpation of abuses, and other holy Episcopall duties, which he said were the onely meanes to ruine heresie infensibly, rather vndermining it secretly then to seek to beat it downe by open violence. Neither will I conceal how careful hee was to inquire, if any one gone astray were newly returned to the Catholike Church, and how ioyfull hee was to vnderstand that any one of worth had therein followed his example. For although he would not haue any one forced, no more then he could endure to be himselfe, yet hee tooke great delight to vnderstand that reason had done that in any one, which the threats of fire & sword, had attempted in vaine at the massacre of *S. Bartolomew*: Thinking that the surest means to draw one vnto God, was by the care vnto the heart, and that the sweetnesse of perswasions should be the onely violence.

What shall I say of liberality, the which of all his vertues hath been least recommended in him? Those which haue a hand with the greatest in the gouernment of publike affaires, and especially of the treasure, will be witnesses with me, that as well in pensions as in free gifts, he gaue ready euery yeare 300000 pounds sterling, dispersed here and there vpon an infinite number of persons, like vnto the *lewes* *Manna* quere all the people of Israel. Was not this to giue? What King of France did euer exceed him, how soeuer he were reputed to be another *Alexander* in liberality? Without doubt I doe not thinke that there is any Prince or Monarch liuing that can equal him in this bounty.

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A And why then hath he not beene esteemed for this vertue, as well as for the glory of the rest? It is, as I conceiue, for that an infinite number of men hauing assisted him in the conquest of his owne Realme, with their meanes, persons, tongues, pens, authority and industry, and finally with all that their condition did permit, and euery one imagining that this Prince was bound vnto him for part of his Crowne: the greatest part of them held his free gifts for iust payments and recompences due vnto them: whereupon many being lesse thankfull vnto him then they ought; and on the other side, many being not recompensed nor rewarded, who notwithstanding held themselves to be as well deserving as those that were gratified, and by consequence held their good vltage to be a priuate wrong done vnto them: whereby it happened, that most of them that receiued, spake not any thing, and such as receiued not, complained bitterly: whence grew in my opinion that fame so contrary to his effects, and that imputation so maliciously repugnant to the truth. But such as would curiously search into the truth, and not vnto that which was spoken, they shall finde, that in this perfection he hath shewed himselfe as it were superior to himselfe, in regard of his other more eminent vertues: At the least in this point hee hath bene superior to all the Kings now liuing vpon earth.

Also, he neuer had knowledge of any excellent man within his Realme, especially being recommended for the glory of his learning, whom he did not fauour with some honest pension: and the rather if he had a Pen which might make the fame and honour of his acts liue eternally; for as he loued to doe things commendable and praise-worthy, so he desired to be praised. Wherefore such as hee found to haue golden Pens, hee made their condition to be of gold: neyther had the Vniuersitie of Paris euer a more iust subiect to hope for a resurrection, if I may so terme it, of the glory which he hath sometimes had in the world, as the should promise vnto her during his reigne, and by his bounty, by the desire which wee saw him haue to build and enrich great Colledges, whereas Schollers might be freely taught, and the Schoolemasters haue good entertainment: besides the publike Chaires filled with excellent men, whom with rich conditions he desired to call from all parts of the world.

But in the meane time, alas! so many rare vertues which did shine in him like goodly Starres in their mansions, haue not hindered but that the wretched fortune of France hath found an infernall monster among men, who without any respect of royall Maiesty, had no horror to murder him traiterously, to precipitate at an instant this Estate from the top of glory, greatnesse, and power, whereunto the widome and valour of so great a Monarke had raised it, into a gulle of totall ruine, or at the least into a Chaos of an immortal confusion of affaires. For, what could be lesse expected from so sudden and terrible a clap, but the totall ruine of the body whose head was so miserably taken away, what widome soeuer shine in the discreet moity, which he hath left behinde him, to hold his place for a time, and to represent him during the minority of the King his Sonne? Certainly it is the iust effect of humane providence, that we reare it: but in that it happens not, it is the mercy and grace of God: besides the wise gouernment of so vertuous a Queene, and the fidelity of the great Princes of France: But by the wise gouernment of the one, and the royall obedience of the other, both lightened with the beames of a wife and faithfull Councell, this blow which should haue ruined vs all, hath but afflicted vs desperately; and for floods of blood which should haue flowed, the wrath of heauen is contented with streames of teares.

No, no, execrable Fury, who by so detestable a murder, hast brought vs to the brink of our preceipe, vaunt not insolently in hell, that thou hast ruined the Empire of the French, as thou haddest prepoounded vnto thy selfe, that hauing murdered the Father, and the Prince.

F Thou hast indeed shaken it, but in despite of thy impious hope it shall subsist for euer by the assistance of God, great, happy, triumphant, rich, mighty and glorious, alwaies the feare of our enemies, the honour of Europe, the hope of her Allies, the wonder of Strangers, and the protector of the Church, as well as the eldest Sonne. Such as thought (with thee) to see her glory for euer laid in the gaue, shall not see it at this time but a little infirme and sicke for griefe, for the death of her father: But after this mourning pall, which habite she weares by thy treachery, she shall resume her former beauty and force, and shall raige as before, either triumphing in war, or flourishing in peace, like vnto those solid

solid Triangles which stand right with one point vpwards howsoeuer you turne them. I A doe preface it both by this marke of heauenly fauour, which doth shine like vnto a fortunate star vpon the forehead of our new Prince, and by the incredible tranquillity of the State, which the wisdom and care of the Queene, his vertuous Mother, and our wife Regent, hath made suddenly to succeed the preparatiues of so great and cruell a storme. Wherefore burne more then euer in the eternall flames which torment thee, with an enraged despiight to see thy hopes frustrate, accursed soule that thou art, who diddest promise vnto thy selfe to ruine to great a Kingdome, in ouerthrowing the Pillar of her greatness, and hast executed but one of the two: Our God suffering the one for our sinnes, but preferring vs from the other for his glory.

And you, oh wife Princeesse! whole happy wisdom doth in a manner keepe the publike from feeling of this losse, and makes vs iustly to say, That our deceased King liues in our Queene Regent, as not able to dye whilst that you are liuing: Continue, great *Attemesta*, continue as you haue happily begun, to entertaine by good order this great body of the Estate in his disposition and former health; not suffering bad humours to engender for want of precautions, which inehed end may cause some burning feuer of sedition. Entertaine this wonderfull calme, which raigens by your conduct vpon the waues of so great a Sea of publike affaires, and of different passions, as they be which wee may imagine should proceede from the flowing & ebbing of so many people, subiect to your obedience, and especially of so many great men which do assit you, who most commonly are caried away with contrary respects. Imagine, I beseech you, imagine that great Monarke (who to raigne elsewhere in a more happy Empire, hath consigned vnto you his Scepter and his Crowne, to the end you should preferre it for the King his Sonne) saies vnto you, as coming from heauen to comfort you in your cares, and to fortifie you in your glorious trauell; My deare Moyerie, seeing that death hath separated vs, touching the corporall vnion, it is a great content vnto me, to see thee with such happy successe begin to hold my place in the throne of this Kingdome. I see thee gouerne thy selfe so wisely, as I cannot with more for the good of my Sonne, and my subiects, but that in this part of gouernment thou wilt be alwaies equal vnto thy selfe. Cause the King my Sonne to be bred vp in the loue and feare of God, rather then in all humane sciences, holding it for certaine, that in seruing God humbly, he shall command men absolutely. Do what you can to procure him peace, vntill that a more manlike age shall suffer him to doe that which his infancy doth yet seeme to forbid him, peace gathers treasure together, war dispersteth it: and it is no small meane to make a Prince to be feared, and to retaine his neighbours from attempting against him, to bee reputed to haue his Cofers full of gold and silver, as well as his Store-houses full of Armes. Continue this course which I see thee take, not to determine any thing of importance, but in Councell, and to assit thee daily, force the naturall delicacy of thy sex, forgetting in a manner that thou art a woman, to support the trauels of a man bred vp in the toyles of affaires, and to put off the person of a Queene, to assume that of a King. Yet vse a moderation in thy continuall care, and labour in these royall vocations, as thou maist long labour in them: for thy life is alwaies more necessary for France, then thy daily presence is for the Councell. I haue held great men tied to the yoke of my obedience as much by benefites and good vñage, as themselves are retained by consideration of their duties, and my authority. Perseuer as much as you may to follow my steps in this course, vñing these meanes as a coyne of such price, as for it they giue that which is inestimable, that is to say, life: and remember that thou dost command Frenchmen, that is to say, Freemen, to whom a good countenance serues often for recompence; but yet in the end they fall off, if the field of their hopes brings forth nothing but flowers: this good iudgment which God hath giuen thee, will make thee know (as I see the experience) how far royall greatness should admit of easie access, and the familiarity which the French doe commonly desire of their Prince. For doubtlesse, as too much austeritie is the losse of loue, so too much familiarity makes them to neglect respect: vse it then as wisdom shall aduise thee. But about all things seeke by all possible meanes to ease the people, and to haue the lesse subiect to leauy mony, draw thy selfe as little as may be into necessity to spend, to the end, that being first blest of God, and then of men, thou maist reape more happy fruits of the prayers which I make incessantly in heaven, for thy prosperitie, for that of my Sonne, and of the whole Realme.

Thinke

A Thinke I say Madam, that this great Prince doth sometimes in your dreame make such or the like exhortations vnto you. Although it be a raffinesse in vs to presume to put you in minde by fained words and conception, of one part of that which either the oracle of his mouth, or the wise discourses of your excellent spirit doth speake vnto your thoughts.

But pardon (if it please you) our zeale, which makes vs erre by a desire of well doing, and that falling vpon the lamentable subiect to witness the vertues, greatness, and glory of that incomparable Monarch, we had rather flammer then be silent, and rather saile in the lawes of discretion, then in those of affection. I haue receiued from his grace and liberality, and partly by your intercession, the liuinges, and Ecclesiasticall dignities which I enioy: his bounty did esteeme my writings much aboute their merit: and his greatness did not disdaine to looke vpon me sometime with a good eye: how then could my remembrance moderate my words in blessing him, or my teares in lamenting him? Without doubt I haue as great cause to weepe for him as any man of my profession, if complaints should be proportionable to the losse which is made: but I protest it is not my owne private interest that makes me thus bitterly to lament him, so much as the consideration of the general harme, which not only France, but all Europe sustained by this lamentable losse.

And therefore when as to performe the generall offices of our duty, we came into the Chamber where as his body lay pitifully in the Hearse that did inuiron him, me thought that all the wallies of his Palace, yea all the vallies and fields thereabouts, should accompany with their sad accents, the found of our mournfull songs, and that all the holy-water wherewith we did sprinkle the foot of his mortuary sheet, should bee composed of our tears. For we haue not only lost a good King but a good Master, and not only a good Master but a good Father, whose remembrance is vnto our hearts, as myrrh is vnto bodies which it imbalmes, incorruptible, but wonderful bitter. Alas, how can it be bitter vnto vs, seeing it puts vs in minde of his name, which was so sweet: seeing that putting vs in minde of his perfections, and making vs to see how necessary he was for vs, it doth shew vs by consequence how miserable we are to haue lost him, concurring by these meanes his vertues into sorrow, his happinesse into despair, and his owne good deeds into sad subiects of complaints, not suffering vs to remember them, or binding vs to sigh for them? No, no, it is not possible but for such to whom his vertues were indifferent (if there bee any such vpon the earth) to remember them without teares, either of eies or heart: it is in vaine in this case to object constancy, and the lawes of reason: Constancy may in other subiects be a vertue, but in this I hold it for a vice, at the least an insensibility: the reasons which I should admit in other accidents, should seeme to me in these vnreasonable Paradoxes, & the consolations which I should hold in other losses for mortal sentences, should appeare vnto me in this case blasphemies. For what can be said vnto vs herein, to comfort and fortifie vs against sorrow, the which hath not already represented it selfe in our thoughts without fruit? What, that he was mortal like to other men? It is true, but that is one of the subiects of our complaints. For the good of France required that he had beene immortall. What, that we must will what the destinies decree? It is force perforce, but this necessity doth not mollifie our griefe. What, that tears and sighs cannot recall him againe? Alas, I know it well: but it is that which makes vs lament more bitterly. For if teares and sighes could recall him to life, it is long since wee had wept no more: It is long since he had returned into the possession of the light, and had been no longer deprived, but whilst the brute of his death was disperst ouer the Country. Are these the considerations wherewith they thinke suddenly to appeale so sensible a griefe of ours? doe they thinke with such admonitions instantly to drye vp the iust and pittifull teares of poore Orphans, the which they shed for the death of their father miserably murdered before their eyes? Thinke they, that for such reasons poore and desolate seruants lamenting the death of their Master and Protector, should suddenly stop their mouths to all complaints? No, no, these petty reasons doe not cure the griefe, but of minde which are not greatly sicke. Euen so we cannot approach neare vnto his royall Hearse so wish him eternal rest, but in making our prayers at his feet, we doe not feele our hearts as it were diuided in two by the knife of sorrow; and that after we haue cursed the brutish boldnesse of that vile Parricide, which hath so wickedly caused his body to be conuerted into dust, as well as our eyes into teares, we do not say vnto him in casting holy water, the word



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wherewith I will end this miserable discourse: Farewell great Prince, farewell good Master, farewell our Sword, farewell our Buckler, farewell our glory: the rest which thou hast purchased for vs vpon earth, may be restored vnto thee in heauen, with an eternall rest for thy soule. And neuer may it happen, that our ingratefull memory may cease to remember with blessing and praises, although it bee with teares and sighs, the name of Great Henry the fourth, King of France and Nauarre, the hope of learning, and the glory of Armes.

Duke of Esperron seizeth vpon the Citadell of Metz.

The Duke of Esperron did cunningly seize vpon the Citadell of Metz, by an example of most dangerous consequence, expelling Monsieur d'Arbigny, to whom the deceased King had giuen it in charge. The Governour hauing notice, that some Captaines and other creatures of the Duke of Esperrons, had an enterprize to seize vpon the Citadell, he put them out of it. Whereupon the Duke complained to the Queene, and entreated her to send for the Governour, to giue an account of that which he had done: who hauing receiued her Maiesties letters, hee presently tooke his way towards the Court. As soone as he was gone out of Metz, the Dukes friends and seruants seized on the Citadell for him. Many did wonder at the Queenes patience, that she would suffer her authority to be abused in this manner, yet no man opposed himselfe.

Iesuits seek to be incorporate in the Vniuersity of Paris.

The Iesuites since their reuocation some seuen or eight yeares since, had laboured by all means possible to be incorporate into the Vniuersity of Paris, and to haue liberty to open their schoole, and to this end they had built a house for their Nouices in the Suburbs of S. Germaine; the which is so great as a little towne may stand within the compasse of the walls. The Vniuersity of Paris opposed it selfe against them in this demand, and the deceased King in his lifetime (at the instance of the Vniuersity) would not yeeld vnto it. After whose death, the Iesuites, through the fauour of the Queene Regent, and some Noblemen, began their pursuit more hotly then before. The Vniuersity still opposing, it grew to be a question in law, and was brought before the Court of Parliament: during which contention, the Vniuersity presented this petition vnto the Queene Regent.

To the Queene Regent, the Princes of the blood, and the Lords of the Council.

D

Petition made by the Vniuersity of Paris.

**M**ADAM, The Vniuersity of Paris most humbly shewes vnto your Maiesty, that the Doctrine of murdering of Kings by Assassins, who through deuotion vnto themselves to death, as to a martyrdome pleasing vnto God, is a pestilent infection neuer seene nor read of in all the Records of Antiquity: neither Pagans nor Christians euer knew it. Among the Mahometans, onely one, called *The old man of the Mountain*, had put it in practice: but the rest of that Sect did presently suppress it, and neuer since haue they vsed it, although their hatred against Christian Kings is nothing decreased. Onely within these three score years this infection hath crept into Christendome, and hath bene practised in England and France: we say in England, for that in respect of ciuill and temporall obedience, due to Kings, and for the safety of their persons, all Christian Kings, Pagans, Heretikes, Idolaters, Infidells, excommunicates, and Apostates, are holy and sacred vnto vs, as the Apostles, the ancient Christian Church, and the example of the Saints in Paradise, which haue bene Prelates and Bishops in France, doe teach. This hellish position vpon another erroneous doctrine, which is the Popes supremacy, whom we acknowledge head of the Church, as our Ancestors haue done. The doctrine of this Supream power is not found in the writings of the Diuines of Paris, nor in the bosome of the Vniuersity, but in the Sermons and writings of Iesuits, and in the answers of murderers when they are examined by their Iudges. Their owne words doe verifie it. *Perry* (who vnderooke to kill the Queene of England) said, that he might lawfully doe it, for that she was excommunicate by the Pope, and therefore her life was abandoned. *Catesby*, the attempter of that Powder- treason, which should haue blowne vp the King, the Queene, their Children, and the States of England, maintained, that this enterprize was holy: For, seeing that *Clement* the eight had by two Briefes forbidden the Catholikes to receiue him, by a greater reason being receiued, hee would haue him made away.

*John Chastell* said, that it was meritorious to kill the deceased King, for that notwithstanding

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A standing the Bishops of France had receiued him into the Church, yet was hee not in it, the Pope hauing not admitted him. *Ranillac* the last Murtherer said, that the King made war contrary to the Popes liking, That God was the Pope, and the Pope was God, by these words, *Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke, &c.* Hereupon the Bishop of Clermont, one of their Disciples, failed nor, after the execution of the Particide, to come to the Sorbonne, according to the custome of our Ancestors, to condemn this doctrine of murderers: where going from forme to forme before the Doctors were set, he aduised them to be carefull what they did: *Ton haue here* (said he) *two Nuncios from the Pope.* And the Company being set, he gaue his opinion, That the matter then in question had bene diuersly handled, and that it was necessary to speake vnto the Nuncios, who would write vnto the Pope, as if Kings might not liue but at the Popes pleasure. After that many good Preachers of this Vniuersity had detected the murderers of Kings, and the fauourers of this doctrine; in the end *P. Cotton* presented a letter declaratory vnto your Maiesty, of the Iesuits doctrine vpon this subiect, whereby he seekes to giue satisfaction to such as complain, that their writings doe too much maintaine these three approaching doctrines; the Popes supream power, and thereon depending rebellion against Kings, and abandoning of their liues, when as such men shall hold them to be Tyrants.

Many men of vnderstanding are well acquainted with their equiuocations and fallacies, whereby they hide their wicked doctrine: according to the practice whereof, that Sect doth make profession by Treaties allowed by their Generall, as may be seene in the Apologie of *Henry Garnet*, in the Chapter of Equiuocations: we should be loath to discouer them, and to hinder the course of their false coyn, if any good might grow thereby. But seeing by the merit of their fallacies, that Sect will gaine that aduantage ouer vs, as to instruct youth in the Vniuersity of Paris, contrary to the constant and determinate will of the deceased King: This Vniuersity, the daughter of the Kings of France, should hold her selfe guilty of infidelity, if she should not lay open vnto you their deceits, and be an humble suitor vnto your Maiesty, not to suffer this daughter, so loyall vnto her Soueraignes (so long as she is kept from forcing or corruption) to be infected with the company of a Sect which hath bene found so dangerous to our Kings. He tels you (Madame) that the Authors of this Order say, We may not kill a Tyrant; but the Authors produced by him, and especially *Valencia*, their last great Doctor, addes a limitation: *If it be necesse* (saith he, *by publicke iudgement*). And to the end you should not doubt of this publike authority, he afterwards sets downe articles of their doctrine ouer the authority of Kings, in this manner: That a Monarchy is the best kinde of government: that the Pope is Monarch in the Church, touching the spiritual government, & the King in his Realme for the temporall: not meaning the King should be King in his Realme, vnlesse the Pope be Monarch, and haue absolute power in the spirituall government of the Church. But (Madame) it is directly opposit to the doctrine of the Church, the which your Vniuersity of Paris hath alwaies maintained, that the Pope hath the power of a Monarch in the Church: for these be things contrary, that the Councell is aboue the Pope (as your Vniuersity hath alwaies held) and that the Pope is absolute Monarch of the Church. This doctrine of your Vniuersity, if it were euer necessary, it is now more then euer, both for the King, and all the Kingdomes of Christendome.

What be the effects of this absolute spirituall Monarchy? He tels you plainly in another booke which he presents vnto your Maiesty, and to the Princes and Noblemen of the Kings Councell. It is at the end of the second Tome of his Institutions, in the 35 Question, where he saith: *That the Pope hath not absolute power to take by giue Kings Crowns and Kingdomes.* All his fallacy consists in this word (*absolute*) to he saith, That he hath power to giue and take away the goods of your Subiects, but onely by way of Iustice. So *P. Cotton* a little after, affirms, That the Pope by vertue of his spirituall government, and for the coniunction of Religion and State, of the Spirituall and Temporall, may by vertue of his censures dispose of the Crownes of Kings: *For Religion, the Service of God, the good of the Church, and for the saluation of Soules.* This doctrine is not particular to him alone, but common to all his Society. This doctrine of coniunction which hee saies is betwixt Religion and the State, the spirituall and temporall, is contrary to the doctrine of our Lord Iesus Christ, who hath for euer made a great separation betwixt Religion and State, saying; *Tell vnto God that which is Gods, that is, Religion; and to Caesar*

that which is *Cæsars*, that is, ciuill and temporall obedience, honour, service, and tribute. A Madam, your Vniuersity of Paris hath alwaies taught it thus, holding with the ancient Countells, and rectifying the new, in that they haue oppugned the whole some doctrine, wherein our Kings, the Bishops of France, the Courts of Parliament, the Kings Countell, the French Doctors, and your Vniuersitie haue alwaies maintained, That the liberty of the French Church, and of the Realme of France consisted. It is no question of small importance: it concerns the Kings Estate, whereof these men affirme, the Pope may deprive him: these men (I say) to whom at this day they commit the instruction of youth in all townes: the consciences of people in confessions, and the teaching of all is general: The Kings life and your Maiesties is also in danger: for when hee hath deprived a Prince of his right of government, they hold him for a Tyrant, which vsurpes an Estate against the iudgment of this publike authority, which may by the Iesuites doctrine make of a King a Tyrant: yea, they maintaine, That Subjects may rebel against their Prince, although he be not excommunicate, if they beleuee, that for feare of his greatesse they dare not doe it. This is the decision of the Iesuite *Suarez*, who thereby brings the Estate and life of all great Princes into danger. Such is also the practice of some murderers of Kings; men which acknowledge the Popes supream power, taught by the Iesuites, and beleuee no other, but so farre forth as it shall please the Pope. And this plainly was the practice of the last Parricide, as it did appeare by his execrable discourse with the Diuines which were sent vnto him, to whom he shewed himself perfectly instructed in all the shifts and fallacies which Sophistrie could vie of that subiect, whereas otherwise hee was very ignorant of all other knowledge and learning.

We doubt not, Madam, but the Pope, being well aduised would performe his duty, in damming (by his Bulles) such Murderers and Assassins to the paines of hell, and causing (as he may with a word) these great mischiefs to cease, which cast a shame and reproach vpon the innocency of Christian Religion. For hitherto the power of such men at Rome, hath giuen some men occasion to say: That hee which doth not hinder nor prevent crimes committed by them, ouer whom hee hath all power, and whom hee may restrain by to easie a conscience, he himselfe is the author, as the rules of iustice do teach.

The pretext which *P. Cotton* takes from the good of the Church, to giue power vnto the Pope to take away and giue Crownes is a counterfeite colour: for the same separation which our Lord Iesus Christ hath for euer made betwixt Religion & State, throughout the whole world, where he will haue his Gospel preached, we are bound (notwithstanding all Ecclesiasticall Censures, Interdictions, dispensations from the oath of Allegiance, or commandments from the Pope) not to take armes against our Kings, but to yeeld them all ciuill and temporall obedience, and to expose our liues for the defence of theirs. This is the Law of Nature, written in the hearts of men when they came into the world, in which the Sonne of God, taking our flesh vpon him, hath since confirmed, binding Christians more strictly then Pagans, who were led by the only instin& of Nature: and Priests more then Lay men, whom they should instruct in this holy doctrine, both by word & example. And much more Bishops then Priests, and most of all the first Bishop, for that his example to Christians should be of more force then all other Pastors of the Church.

And the King of Great Britaine, to warrant himselfe against these murderers, was forced to require an Oath of Allegiance from his Subjects, for his ciuill and temporall obedience, and for the safety of his life, notwithstanding all Popish censures. An oath which the doctrine & practice of murderers makes necessary at this day through all Christendome, to assure the Estates and liues of the Anointed of God, and to free the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, to all Kings and Princes, of that blame and hatred which this pestilent doctrine hath procured it. And to make it more fauoured with those Princes which hold a different religion. But this holy doctrine is more necessary in France, then in any other country, seeing the effects of the contrary fall chiefly vpon the life of our Kings, and the Crowne of France; and more in the minority of our King, then in his full age: this false doctrine should be refused, and the fauourers thereof reiected, for that the practice of former ages hath euer taught vs, that when they wil employ their censures against the temporall government of Kings, they excommunicate the weakest.

For these causes, Madam, the Vniuersity of Paris, daughter to the Kings of France, doth most humbly beseech your Maiesty, and you my Lords the Princes & Noblemen of the Council

A. Countell, not to suffer the Iesuits, holding a doctrine of the Popes supream power ouer the Estates and liues of Kings, contrary to the doctrine which the Vniuersity hath alwaies maintained, to instruct you in Paris, much lesse to bee incorporate in the Vniuersity, to make the doctrine and manners thereof as repugnant to the Estates of Kings, as their sect is, as may appeare by the writings of *Peter Cotton*, dedicated to your Maiesty, and deluded daily in their name; and by the experience which is made in many parts of Christendome. And the Vniuersity shall pray for the preferation and prosperity of the Kings, your Maiesty, and of you my Lords the Princes and Noblemen of the Kings Council.

Afterwards the Iesuits presented a petition vnto the Court of Parliament, requiring that they might be receiued into the body of the Sorbonne: whereupon it was answered, *Let it be signified*: At this signification the Sorbonne consented, so as they would submit: They demanded interpretation of that word, whereunto it was told them, that they must be subiect to the Rector, and to all the Statutes of the Vniuersity. But the decision of this cause was remitted to the opening of the Court againe at Saint Martins.

In Iuly the Court of Parliament amerced the Bishop of Paris in a pecuniary fine, for that rashly, and to the preiudice and dishonour of the sayd Court, he had past before them at the Funerals of the deceased King. This small formality bred bad blood, and many were amazed to see the Queene, and much more the Earle of Soissons to affect any party in this contention, especially against the Court of Parliament, who had bene so officious to

there. Hereupon (and it may be vpon some lighter cause) factions beganne to grow among the great men: The Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Elpernon, the Chancellor, *Villeroy*, and the Iesuits made one party: The Dukes of Bouillon, Sully, and Rohan, *Des Diguers*, and the Court of Parliament were the other. A strange alteration in Court, a strange mystery of State, being supported and assisted by the House of Guise. The Prince of Conde had written to them of this party, and especially to the Duke of Bouillon, that he would be wholly governed by their Countell, and by the first President. *Monseigneur de Barrant* had bene sent to Brussels to hasten his departure. This cloud of factions being risen, it threatened a storme of combustions, considering the contrariety of humours of the Princes and Noblemen, and the incompatibility of their quarrels, vnder the government of a woman. There was then no speech but of parties and factions, and such as observed the humour of the French, and the liberty of the present time, thought they could not be long in forme, before they came into action. Whereupon they did renew and augment the Captaines in all the quarters and ports of Paris, who tooke the oath of Allegiance to the King and Queene.

All the houses were visited, and commandement giuen them to bee armed: all idle persons were commanded to depart, and the Guards at the Loure doubled. This grew vpon certaine threats, secret practices, and brutes of bad presage against them of the Religion. In the heat of these alterations, such as hated the Huguenots sought to trie the peoples affections: But they answered: That if they wished ill to them of the Religion, they should doe it themselves, as for their parts they would not bring the publike quiet into danger. During these broiles, the Prince of Conde arrived at Paris, much more glorious in his returne, then at his departure. He entered into Paris, being accompanied with about 1500 horse, where were all the Nobility of the Court, and most of the Princes, which had gone forth to meet him. Among others, the Duke of Bouillon, went vnto the frontiers: all good men hoped for much by his presence, to ballance the affaires betwixt these new parties. He came directly to the Loure, where hee was very well received by the Queene, who in testimony of her fauour, presented him with a goodly house in Saint Germaines suburbs, build by *Genoy* an Italian, and a rich cupboard of plate.

But his coming did not pacifie these alarmes at Paris: it was daily feared there would haue bene some tragedy among the great men: which caused the Prince of Conde and the Dukes of Guise and Bouillon to keep guards in their houses two nights together vpon some apparant aduice that they would fore the lodgings. But it was the will of God to disperse this cloud: so as amidst these broiles all things continued quiet and peaceable, the people seeming to haue no will to stirre, for in effect all the Communitie and Townes of the Realme in generally were not only refused to obedience, but so banded to peace, that if any one should haue sought to ymagine it, it was thought he should not find any one

K k k k k

retrair.

1610.

retreat. These were the workes of God, and some fruits of their former follies. The carriage and power of the Duke of Espenon were the chiefe causes of all these broyles and distrust, having four thousand men of the Kings guard in the suburbs at his deuotion, being their Colonell, wherewith he did fortifie himselfe as he pleased. They of the Religion had their part in this feare, yet they continued their exercise, relying wholly upon the assurance which the Queene had giuen them: who also assured the Noblemen of their protection, contending them with great pensions, and other aduancements. This Duke of Espenon made great preparations at Milan for warre, which put the Duke of Sauoy into a great alarme, but especially they of Geneva, who feared them both: whereupon they sent for *Mansur de la Noue*, being at Poinz, who went vnto them with leaues they did assure both the one and the other from the Court as much as might bee, and they confirmed to the Duke of Sauoy the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* for his eldest son, with a dowry of 300000 crownes, and some small Seignerie during her life.

The Queene being seised in the Regency by a free consent of the whole State, *Monsieur Pasquier*, one of the Masters of Requests, a man of great learning and iudgement, did write a discourse of aduice vnto her, touching the preferaution of the State, during the minority of the King her sonne, in these termes:

Pasquier  
Letter to  
the Que  
Regent.

“**M**ADAM: it is the worke of a discreet Pilot to prouide for an approaching storme during a still calme, and to foresee the remedie before the danger, or if he be surprised with the tempest, to oppose himselfe courageously against the fury of the waues and winds, to bring his ship to a safe port. Euen so should you during the calme wherein we are, think of all alterations which may grow both within and without the Realme, and to prouide a fit cure to hinder their course, and to oppose your selfe resolutely against their attempts, that would trouble this State, to preserve it from apparant shipwracke wherunto it may fall, if the helme be not rightly gouerned. Whereupon I haue thought it my duty, to a King, and a part of those that are within this Ship, to contribute this my Discourse, which I most humbly beseech your Maiesty to rectifie with the like deuotion, as it is presented.”

Education  
of the king.

“We haue the King your Sonne very young, who is our lawfull Lord, nor giuen vs by chance, but ordained, yea pre-ordained of God, by a continuall succession, descent, and generation of Kings, received, nourished, and bred vp amongst vs. The first care you ought to haue of him; concernes his education, and breeding vp in good manners: for according to the good impressions he shall receiue in his tender age, hee will continue to the end, if bad, they will not endure the touch, but will soone change.”

“You must cause him to be bred vp in the feare of God, not with a partiall hand, which must be liuely printed in his soule, that it may be a bridle vnto him; to keep him in the ordinary course of reason. Let vs adde what wee please of humane wisdom to our opinion, but they be but idle follies, yea precipitations of our greatness, if the honor of God be not our guide. Wherefore this holy obiect must be a lesson vnto him, wherewith he must daily feed in this tender age, else all your designs in the conduct and direction of his life, will be built vpon sand.”

“This feare of God being grauen in his heart, he must withall be prepossessiont with, that one of the first motions of a great King, consists in the obseruation of iustice, wherof he is a debtor to his subjects, the assured ground of his Estate: the which he must be taught to see visibly, by the examples of happy success, which haue accompanied those who reigning iustly, haue maintained their subjects in all obedience. On the other side (that which God forbid) that he which holds another course of life, looses not his Crowne to his posterity. Let him vnderstand that this iustice must be distributed with an equal proportion (I mean according to their merits) to all his subjects, both great and small, and punish such severely as abuse their greatness to the prejudice of the weaker sort. A sentence which will punish him much loue with the people, but also recompense this rigour he must be mild, affable, and gracious to such as haue the honor to be about him. A good countenance, and an embrace of our King, to the Princes, Noblemen, and others of what quality soeuer, darke commonly they a general difference for all the bonds which they thinke he owes them. These propositions will be regarded, will produce another of no less worth, which is, that although he haue supreme power within his Realme, and that the common sort of Courtiers hold his will to be a Law, yet he will iudge by his own Nature,

1610

A Nature, that it is not meant of all that he will or may, but onely of that which hee ought iustly to will. For the law is made to giue perfection to the thing for the which it is made, and not to satisfy a disordered appetite. The King must in this case set a strong barre betwixt him and his opinion, lest he take for his deuce, *That which I will, is iust*; but rather, *I will it, for that it is iust*. This maxime will frame in him the law of reason, not written in paper, but grauen in his heart, which will keep him company day & night: it will aduertise him & aduise him in all places & at all times, after what manner he should gouerne his subjects with iudgement. Any Prince that hath suffered himselfe to bee transported with his owne passions, in doing that which he ought not, there often happens that vnto him which he would not: and about all things he must haue a continuall care, not to make a difference and separation betwixt the affaires of State and those of God, who must bee the first and last end of his actions. You must accustome him in his young yeares, to haue an exact and diligent care of affaires, wherein he must be instructed as he grows, to the end that being thus framed, and comming to riper yeares, labor may be but a pastime to him: the masters eye makes the field fertile, and the horse fat; so the knowledge which the Prince takes of his affaires, makes that his Counsellors doe not gouerne them at their pleasures. Breed him vp, not in prodigality, but in a wise liberality, worthy of a great King: represent still vnto him, the knowing well how to vse this vertue: and how, where, and when it is necessary, his bounty will redound vnto himselfe, and the more he shall giue, the more he shall reape.

“If you desire that he shall first please God, and then the people, let him wholly direct his heart to clemency, wherof he hath an admirable present before his eyes, by the memory of the deceased King his father, your honoured Lord and royal husband. It is a great wisdom, and fit for a great spirit, to winke (when occasion serues) at offences which are done vnto him, hauing so great a power, who may reuenge the least without controll. These be the vertues which our King should seeke in his tender age which will grow with him, and will by little and little so encrease, as they will one day make him reputed the true father of the people.”

“And for that in a publike fountaine the common interest is, that no man cast any filth into it: euen so, that no dishonest thing should fall into our Kings, the general Spring of all his people: wherefore there must be a carefull regard had, when he enters into that heat of youth, that he suffer not his will to run head-long to voluptuousnesse, and that hauing power to doe what he please, he doth not that which hee ought not: for that the way of liberty to great vices is so easie and sweet, as it is almost insensible. For this cause, you must teach him in time, what honour and reputation he shall reape by a continent youth; and contrariwise how that God will be highly offended, if he abuse his supreme power in chastity. Although that all vices be naturally odious vnto God in all persons, yet is it more particularly in a Prince, for that he doth not so much offend in himselfe, as in his example. Cursed is he which glories in that which he should punish in another. An iniurie done to a priuate man, breeds in his soule such a liuely resolution of reuenge, as oftentimes it tends to the ruine and utter desolation of an Estate.”

“You shall let him know the miserable effects of Couetousnesse, which produceth nothing of it selfe but a contempt of God, with an absolute will to make all things venial, to the ruine of a King and his people. The obiect of vnlimited auarice in a King, giues great lustre to prodigality, which was held prodigious in another Prince. About all, if his natural inclination carries him to violent things, he may be withdrawne, letting him see, that cruelty is vnworthy of so mild a spirit as that of a King ought to bee, and that the Prince which is infected therewith, hath nothing of a man but the shape. It is a vice much to be feared in a King, for it is in him as couetousnesse in old men, which encrease continually without any hope of decrease.”

“These are in effect the vices wherof a King should be free. These vertues and these vices will shew that there is not any thing so available for the general profit and publike commodity of an Estate and Common-wealth, as a good Prince, nor any thing so hurtfull as a bad and vicious.”

“Hauing provided for that which concerneth our Kings person, wee must passe to that which belongs to his Estate. In this first encounter of affaires, that which you should haue in greatest recommendation, is the vniou of the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, great

Vniou.

Kkkkk

Noble,

1610 "Noblemen, and then the people. When all shall be well vnitd, there shall not be any King A  
or Prince, how mighty fouer, that shall dare to attempt against this Estate without his  
vndoubted ruine.

"Vnion is your strength, Diuision your weakenesse; Vnion maintaines and preferres E.  
states in their greatnesse, Diuision vndermines and ruines them, without hope euer to rise  
again. That King of Egypt meaning to teach his children the force of Vnion, and the  
weakenesse of Discord, represented vnto them a bundle of arrowes, which they could not  
breake being tyed together, but diuided, there was nothing more easie. This Estate is like  
vnto mans body, the which liues long by the accord and harmony of the foure humours:  
but when as any of these qualities seekes to command ouer the rest, the body fals into dis-  
eases, and so dyes. It is euen so of this Estate, if by your iudgement and wise dome you re-  
duce both great and small to one will, the same intention and the same desire to maintaine  
the Estate vnder the Kings obedience: you shall make it the feare and terrour of her ene-  
mies. But if the parts of the body be once dis-embred, if this perfect Vnion and corre-  
pondency of all the members doe not subsist by a mutuall and reciprocall entertainment,  
the corruption and desolation of the Estate will follow.

"To entertaine Vnion, let Princes and great men be called to Counsel, in matters which  
concerne the State, and the greater they are by extraction of birth, the more precedence  
and prerogative should be given them, both in regard of the memory of their ancestors,  
and of their owne vertues. From the greater, defend to them that hold the second and C  
the third ranks; and then vnto the meaner, and so reward every one according to his mer-  
it, with the charges and dignities of the Realme. It is one of the chiefe means to main-  
taine this Estate. But in this distribution of charges, flattery, false reports, malice or enuy,  
must not be admitted, lest they abuse you with false apparances.

"The most wholesome and best aduice will come from the common voice of the peo-  
ple. I speake of the Clergy, where are the wisest and most learned of France: of the No-  
bility, whereon depends the force, and of the third Estate intermixt with a great number of  
vertuous and learned men.

"It is not sufficient to haue provided for the vnion of great men: but it is to be feared that  
God will giue way vnto his fury, being wonderfully incensed against vs, for the great A  
D abuses & manifold disorders which are committed as well in the Ministry of the Church  
as in the administration of Iustice. To pacifie him, and to diuert his wrath and indigna-  
tion, name men that are learned, and of a holy and vndeified life, to spirituall liuings, who  
may according to the duty of their charges, and the Kings Edicts, keepe residence at their  
Benefices, to edifie their flockes: For there is not any thing that doth so much moue the  
wrath of God, as to see his Churches prophaned, and to fall into the hands of such as are  
vowed to the temporall seruice of the Prince, and not of the Spirituall. Whensoever it  
hath bene practised, it is a certaine demonstration of the alteration and change of an Es-  
tate, and of their misery and disgrace which abuse it licenciously, whose affaires alwayes  
decline euen vnto their ends.

"Advance men of knowledge, merit, and discretion, to places of Iustice: who may bee  
knowne and approued to be vertuous, louers of the publike weale, and not giuen to auar-  
ice. Doe nothing against iustice: take away the abuses which are committed through fa-  
uour and surpise in Euocations and Abolitions: cause the Royall ordinances to be obser-  
ued in euery point, without any alteration, and leaue suits to their ordinary formes in  
law, not causing them to be iudged by Commissioner: Breake not the authority of the  
holy lawes, let not their vertue be in paper, but in effect: for men will iudge of your boun-  
ty as they shall find your inclination to the obseruation or breach of the lawes. If you tyre  
your selfe to maintaine them, you yeeld vnto the people that which you owe them: and  
contrariwise, if you breake them, you deprime the people of that which you are bound to  
distribute vnto them, which be the cause of infinit miseries to the King and his subiects. Let  
Iustice be equally and without partiality distributed.

"As in mans body nature imparts to euery member as much nourishment as is needfull,  
not suffering one to vspurie any thing of another of the common nutriment: Euen so  
ought you with the like ballance maintaine the Kings subiects, foreseeing that the sub-  
stance of one passe not to another, to the end that the whole body bee maintained with  
equality. Remember that the meanest within the Realme, is the Kings subiect, as well

A as the mightiest: and therefore you owe him, in the place which you hold, the like iustice.  
See that the aduancement of one may not be the disgrace of another. And consider that  
the least haire makes his shadow ouer the Sunne-beames, and that the lustre of your au-  
thority which consists in iustice, will decay, when it shall not be vniuersall, to giue vnto  
every one that which belongs vnto him: For this effect, giue care to all men: for notwithstanding  
standing that you are raised to this honor, yet must you with the like care recueile the poore  
and the rich which come to be sutors to your Maiesty, to the end that every one in the  
time of his affliction may haue recourse vnto your bouny, fauour, and protection, to haue  
reliefe and succour. Remember, that God is aboue you, and as you shew your selfe in fa-  
uourable clemency vnto the people, so will hee bee vnto you: it were better to heare no  
complaints, then hauing heard them to giue no ease vnto the complainants. And aboue all,  
Madame, remember, if it please you, that the Courts of Parliament, and other Soueraigne  
Courts, in their iurisdiccions are the fundamentall parts of the State, by the which our  
Kings haue happily continued their Realme from father to sonne vnto this day. Where-  
fore you must haue a principall care to support these companies, and thinke that they are  
the chiefe armes by the which during the minority of our King, his Maiesty and yours shall  
be wonderfully preferred against all those, that flatterer themselves with their owne am-  
bition, shall make any attempt: the which I humbly beseech God may not happen.

Next to this, you must provide for the generall and too true complaints of the vexa-  
tion of the people, by innovations, tributes, creations of offices, parties, and other like mis-  
chiefs, by the which in promising to re-vnite the reuenues of the Crowne, they doe ac-  
tually alienate the peoples hearts, which is the Kings chiefe treasure. Wherefore by your wise  
dome and gouernment, you shall iudge whether it be not needfull to ease them, if not of  
all, yet at the least of a good part of these new impositions. And especially to abolish al-  
together that party so preiudiciall, which giues life againe to so many States, the which at  
the time of their beginning were dead about 60 yeares since, whereof the not vsing them  
for many ages teacheth vs, that they should by no means be reuiued. When I speake this  
(Madam) my meaning is, that a Prince should cuterat his subiects, like vnto Bees, and not  
take from them both honey and wax: but to entertaine them alwayes in a good disposi-  
tion, and to suffer them to enioy part of the fruits of their labour: it is he that by his pain-  
full exercise entertaines and makes the rest of the Realm to liue in quiet. From him comes  
trafficke, riches, gold, and tribute. It is a Spring which flows continually, and is neuer  
dry: if the people cease from labour, all the body of the State will perish.

If you desire to maintaine the Realme, you must preferre the people, and accommo-  
date them: the which will be easily and speedily done, when as by vnitng one vnto the  
other, you shall not will any thing but what is pleasing to the people, nor they wish for  
any thing but with your good liking. There must be a reciprocall communication betwix  
you and them: they must performe the duty of obedience, and you must shew that which  
belongs to your wise command in your Regency. If you take vpon you this resolution,  
you shall make them wonderfully affected to the Kings seruice, and the preservation of the  
State: for they haue bene accustomed to doe for their King, as the body for the soule:  
they bring a mutuall consent to submit themselves to his will that leads them, that makes  
them breathe and subsist: but if they be too much oppressed, they will doe like vnto those  
which are tormented with burning feuers, who turne vp and downe continually, and can  
find no place of rest, which is a certaine foretelling of the ruine of a State. So as it is need-  
full you should be carefull of their health. Haue only this apprehension, that the Kings  
greatnesse depends of his subiects ease, and then to maintaine the Kings greatnesse, you  
will resolue to haue the people rich and at ease: that is to say, such as they shall bee, such  
will the King be: the heart commonly feelles the infirmities of the body.

F If the people be poore, he will be a poore King, (were his store-houses heaped vp with  
gold and silver) his quality depending vpon that of his people, for that hee takes his name  
from the subiect. Will you haue them loue you? doe them good: for hee that entreates  
them ill, he may well haue the commandement of their bodies, but not of their hearts. Be  
then (during this great charge which you hold) like vnto a goodly running riuer, which  
brings profit to every one: the fruit which you shall gather by good vlage of them, will be  
of wonderfull encrease: for they shall not afterwards breathe but by your Maiesties boun-  
ty: by which you shall frustrate the designs of such as would trouble the State, who can

1610 not doe any thing without them : take the people from them, you leaue them naked, and A  
disarme them of all force. Oppose then a people against them freed from all extraordinarie  
imposts, experience will teach you, that with hand and heart, they will smother their  
enterprises in the breeding. It were fearful, experience should let vs see what a discontented  
people linked to the ambition of great men can do, who neuer incense the subjects  
against their Prince, but vnder the maske of the Common-weale, whereof in effect they  
are the first corrupters.

Managing  
of the treasure.

After that you have eased the people of all these superfluities which did afflict them,  
keepe an account of the number of Prouinces within the Realme, and what subsidies,  
taxes, imposts, customes, aydes, tributes, and other publike reuenues, euery one doth contribute, B  
that you may certainly know what is raised yearly of the people, and then examine  
what the pensions, rents, fees of Officers, payments of souldiers, and other expences  
may amount vnto, to the end that by good husbandry you may so gouerne the Kings treasure,  
as the gluy hands may not retaine that which should come cleere into his coffers.  
The receipt and expences seene and truly knowne, let not all the expences of the King-  
dome (if you will haue it durable) exceed the Kings reuenues, otherwise it cannot long  
subsist.

Auoid warre all you can both at home and abroad, they can yeeld nothing but ruine,  
death, and confusion. Leauie not peace, vnion, and concord, which you enioy both with-  
in and without the Realme, which will bring infinit benefits, to the honour and quiet of C  
this State. Whosoeuer seekes to engage our King lightly in warre during his minority,  
shewes, that he seekes to liue in the troubles and confusions of the time, fearing lest his  
actions should be knowne; or else he desires to satisfie his ambition and couetousnesse with  
the hazard of the King and Realme: or to speake more plainly, that he desires to giue vent  
to his secret enterprises, which cannot burst forth but by colour of publike diuisions: and  
in a word, you must purchase peace at what rate soeuer, rather then to come to armes.  
Whosoeuer takes armes in hand during the Kings minority, making shew to defend him,  
prescribes him oftentimes a law, to the preiudice of his Estate.

Touching ciuill warre, and home-bred confusion, be carefull and respectiue to auoyd it  
for as inward diseases are more hard to cure then those which are exterior, and bring a D  
man by degrees vnto the graue; Euen so warre which begins in the bowels of a Realme,  
is much more dangerous then a foraine warre, for that it drawes it insensibly to ruine. If  
you desire to ouerthrow this Estate, yndertake a ciuill war, within few dayes it will bring  
you to the graue.

As for foraine warres, you should much lesse vndertake them, nor wish them: for it  
opens a gate, and admits a passage to strangers to practise the bad intents which they may  
haue against the King and his Crowne: shame which restrained them, will turne into sus-  
picion, which will free them a passage to enter into France. Whereas if you keepe your selfe  
within the bounds of peace, not any one of your neighbours, (although he haue a desire)  
will in regard of his honour, attempt against the King in his minority.

Points of warre.

What will be the fruits of either of these warres? I will tell you: They will cause new  
impositions, new Edicts, which will consume the blood and substance, which the people  
haue yet remaining, and by this means you shall leaue the fields without labour, the poore  
without bread, the rich without means, and in the end bring this Estate to its last period.  
The beginning and continuance of warre, gathers together a great superfluity of bad hu-  
mors, which by degrees makes the body of a Monarchy fit to receiue an alteration in all  
the members: For Warre is the mother and nurse of all liberty and impunity, the which  
doth dispence and exempt euery one from the subiection of lawes, and the command-  
ment of superiors, which is the sole and onely means, by the which the bond and vnity  
of people is dissolved.

Learn wisdom by our examples, and follow the way which hath bene made vnto  
you by the deceased King for twelue yeares together. He made triall what danger warre  
brings with it. Seeke peace both within and without the Realme: you shall thereby pre-  
serue the Estate, and you shall haue means to ease the people of a heauy burthen which  
they haue so long borne. Let your life be a liuely image of the happy condition of a people  
exempt from the calamities and miseries of warre. Where can you seeke war, to enioy  
a more absolute peace? war must not be vndertaken, but to keepe the people from affliction  
during

A during a peace. True it is, that although you haue peace with the Kings subjects, and all  
your neighbors, yet must you not keepe it so strictly, as warre may not be vndertaken. And  
therefore if you finde it conuenient, you may entertaine garisons vpon the frontiers, lest  
you be suddenly surprisid: All peace without Armes is weak.

Troublers  
of the State

I will adde one exception to that which I haue formerly said, that there may bee some  
one so rash, during the tender age of our King, as to stir vp the subjects to mutinies, either  
vnder colour of Religion, or of the common-weale, to make his own profit with the pre-  
iudice of our King. As a light disease increaseth and kils the body, if fit remedies bee not  
applied in time, so in this first motion of alteration if you doe not employ force and au-  
thority to stay the course of such a mischief, it will set the foure corners, and the heart of  
France on fire. The first medicine should come from the soueraigne Courts, and therein  
you shall know of what importance and necessity they be, by whose Decrees such an one  
shall be declared guilty of high treason, whereunto you shall presently adde force to put it  
in execution with fire and sword, and follow him with such resolution, as he may be pre-  
sently inuested wherefoeuer he hath shut himselfe, and that he may be taken there without  
mercy, to the end that by his head the rest of France may be diuerted from once dreaming  
of such foule offences: and that his ashes may make a remedy for posteritie. God forbid  
I should presume any euill by any Nobleman in France, being assured of their general loy-  
alties: yet I may say by the way, that the sufferance of one iniurie drawes on a thousand  
others: and on the other side one iniury reuenged, suppresseth all bad designs.

Warre of  
Germany.

Some aduise you to succour the Germanes, others to remaine quiet: the first say, that  
the deceased King was bound not onely by word, but in effect: that not relieuing them  
now, the honour of France was engaged, that it was worke worthy of a great King to suc-  
cour afflicted Princes, when as one more mighty will vsurpe their Estates, by some colour-  
red title: that not doing it, they might draw them into despair to ioyne with him against  
this Realme: or for want of succouring them, to prepare the way to haue a great neigh-  
bour against vs, who by our negligence hath extended his limits to be a future scourge vnto  
vs. In which case we should haue nothing left vs but a late repentance. A lesson which  
is ordinary to the Princes and Potentates of Italy, who will not suffer a new Prince to  
grow great among them. Others say, that wee must ballance all affaires according to the  
diuerty of obiects which are presented vnto our eyes: that what was good to a great  
warriour, cannot bee applied to his sonne in his tender age: that it is a goodly thing to  
succour afflicted Princes, but it is better not to trouble his owne affaires vnreasonably: that  
the death of the King his father hath freed him from all promises: that the rules of duty  
doe not bind him to giue succours, for that in matter of state, honour must be measured by  
that which is most necessary for the good, quiet and profit of him and his subjects: that  
in his youth he must feare a confusion, and an Anarchy which Armes may draw into  
France: and that in seeking to preferue another, we shall lose our selues.

To Conclude, it may happen that by our succours these foraine Princes may bee settled  
in their countries. And on the other side, it may bee, that both they and our succours may  
be defeated: and that in this infortunate successe, there will be a port opened for the con-  
queror to enter into France: the which during the minority of our King, you must auoid  
by all means possible. A lesson which was well obserued by our great King Lewis the 11.  
who dying, aduised them to keepe the Realme in peace, and not to enter into any quartell  
with the Britton, and the other neighbours: to the end that his sonne Charles the 8. being  
thirteen years old, his state might be in peace, till he came to age, to dispose of things at  
his pleasure. And long before him that wife Gonsran King of Orleans, tutor to Cloaire  
the second his Nephew, being but foure moneths old, thought (that not to expose his  
Realme to all the miseries wherunto an Estate is subiect) he must breed vp his little Ne-  
phew, and preferue his Realme by all milde courses, dispersing with an admirable dexteri-  
tie all innouations that might grow in it, how dangerous so euer: And yet he, for his great  
nesse, with that of his Nephew, might haue made head against any vnder takers. And a-  
bout all things you must haue a speciall care that Princes and Noblemen, may not be ar-  
med vnder any pretext which they shall borrow of the Maiestic of a King, so long as hee  
shall be in this tender age.

Madame, the reasons of either side are great, the which you must weigh in a iust bal-  
lance, to incline vnto that which shall be most profitable for the good and preservation of  
the



1610 " the King and his Realme, and take counsell with God what you haue to doe in this point: A  
 " And about all things thinke that at this day, in a full assurance of all things in this Realme,  
 " you must feare any thing."

Religion. " Religion may alter: the subjects wils: It pierceth the hearts of men vnto the quicke, and  
 " caries them away with a violent and extraordinary motion, the which blinds the eyes to  
 " all consideration of respect, duty and obedience, which they owe vnto their Prince. We  
 " should all wish that there were not any but the ancient religion, wherein wee haue bene  
 " baptized and bred vp: But the miseries past which had in a manner brought France to her  
 " last period, should teach vs, what calamities doe follow vs, if the same maxime which the  
 " deceased King hath established, be not inuolubly obserued: who by a wife aduice tolera- B  
 " ting the exercise of the pretended reformed Religion, hath by the same meanes settled the  
 " Catholike; Apostolike and Romish Religion, in townes whereas it had not bene exerci-  
 " sed these forty or fifty yeeres. This subiect concerns the preferuation of the State, where-  
 " of Religion makes a part. And therefore you may not alter any thing. Allow vnto them of  
 " the reformed religion, free exercise of their Religion, the Chambers of the Edict, and  
 " the townes which haue bene granted them for their assurance: forget not any thing that  
 " the deceased King granted them, as a Prince who knew well how much it did import  
 " the State not to touch this string. It will containe them within the vow of obedience:  
 " Neither shall it be in the power of any, how great soeuer, to draw them from the duty  
 " which they owe naturally to their King. It is a body so composed as it receiues no moti- C  
 " on, but when any thing is attempted against the Edict, the which was made to preserve  
 " them: Make no breach in this Edict, it is immouable, and the chiefe parts without mo-  
 " tion. This body is not like vnto a clocke whereas the greater and lesser pieces moue all to-  
 " gether, one by another: here the greater haue no force, nor vertue, without the people,  
 " what shew soeuer they make, as we haue sometimes seene, when they had an humour to  
 " rise, from the which they were wisely diuerted by the people: And contrariwise, we re-  
 " member that the people of Rochel alone endured the extremities of warre without their  
 " support, who haue alwayes maintained themselves in obedience, by the wisdom of the  
 " Edicts of pacification."

" Madame, entertaine these Edicts in euery point, and that which hath bene authorized D  
 " by the wisdom of the deceased King; You need not then feare them that hold the chiefe  
 " rankes amongst them. But breake them in any part, they be firebrands to inflame the hu-  
 " mours of the people, the which would turne to the desolation of the State, I meane of both  
 " religions: the one would draw with it the losse and ruine of the other, whereas the main-  
 " taining of both, adding therunto prayers, fasting, modesty, chastitie, preachings, with a  
 " holy life, will be the support of the ancient, and the ouerthrow of the new."

Preachers. " The faculty of eloquence in the mouth of a Preacher, is a goodly gift of nature, the  
 " which being augmented by long vse and study, giues light and ornament to the goodly  
 " conceptions of his minde, which concerns the health of our soules. But if hee will abuse  
 " the sweetnesse of his tongue, there is no plague so preiudiciall to a Realme, as this well E  
 " speaking Preacher. It is a torrent which ouerflows to drowne a multitude, his tongue  
 " is a sword, whereon depends the life and death of those, for or against whom hee doth  
 " employ it; he floures, he thunders, and confounds heauen and earth together, when as to  
 " preuaile in his intentions hee vnwisly abuseth passages of the holy Scripture, by the ex-  
 " position whereof hee winnes what credit with them hee list: There is not any thing  
 " how incredible so euer, but with good words hee will make probable: and nothing so  
 " rude and vnpolished, but he will make plausible with his eloquence: his speech in a  
 " multitude is of as great force, as iron in an armie: especially with those who comming  
 " to heare him, bring nothing but spirits of deuotion and obedience, whereof the Preacher  
 " doth cunningly make his profit: He doth govern their minds at his pleasure, and knowes F  
 " how to moue their affections, and to incite their courages in such sort, as they forget all  
 " feare of danger, and all bonds of benefits. Hearing of the senses, by means of the way,  
 " brings greatest passions vnto the minde. To prevent the effects of such an instrument, you  
 " must by your absolute command, forbid all inuectiues in their Sermons, which be the fire-  
 " brands of sedition; and that they follow their texts, and teach the subiect obedience to  
 " his King, with vniuersity and concord, both of great and small. If hee doe otherwise, intreat  
 " him like *Anthony Pradin* a Franciscane, who was banished out of the Realme by *Lewis* the  
 " eleuenth,

A eleuenth, for that hee had exceeded the bounds of preaching, and disputed of the state of  
 " the Crowne in his Pulpit."

" Although we cannot force the lawes of Nature, and giue vnto the youth of our King,  
 " that great sense, iudgement and conduct which is requisite for the government of his  
 " Realme, which only time must produce, yett must you not attend the time of his full age,  
 " to haue him crowned. He is our King, old or yong, you must alwayes apply vnto him  
 " those holy Characters, whereas all the Princes of the blood, other Princes and Officers of  
 " the Crowne must assit. After this let him make a progresse throughout his whole Realm,  
 " to the end his subiects may know him, and yeeld him the oath of allegiance. The Princes  
 " B presence at what age soeuer, is of so great merit and recommendation with his subiects, as  
 " it doth wonderfully moue them to loue him. And yet Madame, herein it is necessarie  
 " to make warre by the eye, and doe according to the disposition of affaires, not with-drawing  
 " your selfe easily from the first, and chiefe City of France, the which you see by their teares  
 " is wholly vowed to the seruice of their Prince."

" You must not forbear to assemble the Estates, for the reason which they suggest vnto  
 " you, that they will be some blemish to your greatness. It is quite contrary, the Estates  
 " hauing confirmed it by publike Authority, will settle it fully. But I will tell you the reason  
 " why you should forbear to call this assembly. It would bee an Instrument for them that  
 " would trouble the State to giue a forme vnto their practices, euery one would seeke to  
 " C winne the Deputies by courtesie, presents, benefits, goodly promises and other fauours,  
 " and all these priuate persons returning into their Prouinces, would serue as Torchets  
 " to kindle new fires and combustions. I know well there is not any Prince or Nobleman that  
 " hath this proiect in his head, being all with one deuotion, vowed to the Kings seruice: but  
 " they are men, and therefore you must take away all occasions of doing ill, or thinking ill.  
 " Commonly the Estates assemble to provide for the present and future complaints of the  
 " general of this Monarchy, and to reduce things to their ancient course. You know where  
 " the disease lyes, prescribe the like remedy, as you haue done, if it had bene heard. To Pre-  
 " lates abate the tenths, these bee they who either by their doctrine or good example hold  
 " the hearts of the Nobility and people tied to their Princes seruice. As for the Nobilitie,  
 " D gratifie them, honour them, and put publike charges into their hands, they bee the Kings  
 " creatures, who referre all their exploits to the profit and aduancement of the head, from  
 " whom they take their being and nourishment. As for the people, being the foundation  
 " whereon this Realme is built, and the which being ruined, it is impossible it should subsist,  
 " ease them, take away these new Edicts, Imposts and Subsidies: It is better to gratifie a peo-  
 " ple then to entreat them roughly. The force of diseases decline as the naturall vigor of the  
 " sicke body increaseth. But a people how rich, strong and vigorous soeuer it be, de-  
 " clines, as Taxes and Imposts increafe, we doe not perceiue it but like vnto the going of the  
 " hand of a Dyall, whose motion is not seene, but when it hath finished the course, nor the  
 " losse and ruine of a people but in their fall. Thereby Madame, you shall both stop the  
 " E moutnes of the three Estates, and of all those that shall make any motion to haue them cal-  
 " led, and withall you shall avoid an alteration, which time might breed."

" Doe not disappoint the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers, to whom the deceased  
 " King gaue honours and pensions: Remember that hee gaue them not but to men of mer-  
 " rit, and who had assisted him to recouer his Realme, and to settle it in peace and good or-  
 " der. *Lewis* the 11, a true pattern of wisdom, a little before his death, desired to see his  
 " son, whom he had not seen in many yeeres, about all things hee aduised him not to alter any  
 " thing in his Court, nor with them whom hee had aduanced to dignities. A comendement  
 " grounded, for that after the death of *Charles* the 7 his father, hee had cut off the pensions  
 " of Noblemen and other Officers, who had with the losse of their blood deserved what  
 " F they enioyed: the successe of which Council had like to haue bene his ruine, and of the  
 " whole Realme, by so many Malecontentes. Hee would thereby teach his sonne that an in-  
 " considerate change is of very dangerous consequence."

" Will you put a wife Councell in practise? call all the Princes, generall Gouvernors, and  
 " one or two Noblemen of euery Prouince, neere vnto the King and you, giue them pen-  
 " sions that they may be able to maintaine themselves there, and countenance them indiffe-  
 " rently according to their qualities; to auoid iealousie, the mother of diuisions; and to  
 " ons. The benefits and fauours which they shall receiue from the King and you, will attune  
 " ment"

1610  
 " The Kings  
 " Corona-  
 " tion"

Assembly  
 " of the Es-  
 " tates."

Persons.

To call all  
 " great men  
 " to Court."

1610

Intendants  
of Justice.

Alliances.

Paris and  
other  
townes.

Audiences.

Council.

ment the desire they haue to his and your seruice, and every one in his Prouince will dif. A  
perfe such practices as may grow preiudiciall to his Maiesties seruice.

To know all things that shall passe in the Prouinces, consider if it shall bee conuenient  
to depute intendants or suprauiors of Iustice, which shall report vnto you as occasion shall  
require, what is done, and the complaints of all the people.

Keepe our King in good tearmes with the Pope, the King of Spaine, the King of Eng-  
land, the Archdukes, the Suisses, and all our other allies, renew the League with them. It  
will bee a great and Soueraigne remedie to maintaine peace in this Realme, when as  
you shall be assured that your neighbours will not practise any thing against the King nor  
his State.

The affection and fidelity which the Parisiens had vnto the seruice of their deceased  
King, is well knowne vnto you, by the last teares which all in generall powred forth to  
witness vnto the King, and you, their wonderfull griefe for the losse which they haue re-  
ceiued in the death of him, by whom they liued. As in a clocke one instrument makes all  
the rest to moue. Euen so this Realme, according to the modell of Paris the other townes  
do commonly frame their opinions: you are assured of the Parisiens affection to the Kings  
seruice, the which they haue continued in his person by a continuation from the father  
to the sonne. Wherefore you must alwayes arme your selfe with their loue, to draw others  
to doe the like. Establish Captaines, Lieutenants and Ensignes in all the quarters; which  
shall be knowne to be honest men, and that breathe nothing but the Kings seruice, mix  
with some Lawyers, Treasurers and Merchants, who shall take the oath of allegiance in  
your hands. These men will maintaine the Parisiens in their obedience, and if there hap-  
pen any vnexpected accident, you shall be assured the King hath there so many seruants,  
who will willingly employ their liues to preferre his person, and maintaine their country-  
men vnder that yoke of seruice which they owe naturally vnto their Prince.

Command that in Paris there be not so many strangers that professe armes, and that  
matters may bee reduced to the same estate they were in the time of the deceased King,  
every Nobleman being for his owne particular as well assured now as he was then. A po-  
licy which it may be will be hard to digest, but yet it should be allowed of by every good  
subiect: As for all other townes, entertaine them by Letters, making them often know how  
desirous the King and you are to ease them, and to maintaine them in peace, that they bee  
carefull not to suffer themselves to be abused with false reports, which some wicked peo-  
ple may giue out for truth, which would but increase their miseries.

If you desire to content the Clergy, the Gentlemen, and the common people, admit  
any (if it please your Maiesty) that desires to speake with you, to your presence without a  
Mediator, to the end the whole bond may remaine to you. Appoint certaine dayes to this  
end, when as every one may haue free access vnto your Maiestie (being assisted by such  
Noblemen as it shall please you) to make their complaints. There will grow a double pro-  
fit thereby, the one is, you shall vnderstand matters truly, without any disguising; the  
other is, that he to whom you giue a fauourable audience will go away content, although  
hee sometimes bee discontented for that hee hath not obtained all that hee demanded.  
To passe at the mercy of such as haue liberty to giue, or refuse the entry, to them that  
would complaine, is to sell the perfumes of Princes, with a blemish to their reputation and  
great effe.

About all things beware you follow not your owne opinion alone, in managing the  
affaires of this Realme. Our wils are most commonly partial, which may diuert our iudge-  
ment from the right way. First take Councill of God, and let him bee the guide of your  
actions; let them bring what maximes they please for the preservation of the State, it is  
a vaine wisdom, if God be not of the party: Then take aduice of men experienced in  
many things, which may be full of discretion, age and wisdom, and which haue nothing  
in their soules which age hath not made graue, constant and settled. Yong mens Councill  
is sometimes good, but that of the aged is most commonly better. And about all things  
labour carefully to know them from whom you shall take councill, for many times vnder  
a vale of integrity, there lurkes disloyalty.

Madame, all these discourses giue you power to gouerne this Estate well. I assure my  
selfe you haue also a will: Every action is contained within power and will, and no man  
can be deceived of his expectation when hee makes both of them his end. God of his  
mercy

A mercy grant you both, to guide all things to good, and to gouern them in an equal course, 1610  
to the end they may haue a good and a happy end, which may tend to the increase of the  
greatnesse of the King and State: Most humbly beseeching your Maiesty to take in good  
part these Remonstrances, which are made by him, Who is,

*Your most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient subiect  
and seruant, N. Paquier Councillor and  
Master of Requests.*

Am bassadors came from all parts to condole the death of the deceased King. Among  
others the Duke of Feria came from Spaine, with a great traine. The Duke of Mont-  
bazon being accompanied with two hundred horse, and foure Caroches, went to meet  
him a League without Paris, and brought him to his lodging. At his first audience he was  
ferch by the Duke of Elguillon with twelue Caroches and many Gentlemen, where  
comming to the King, he told him that hee was sent from the King his Master to visit his  
Maiestie, and to offer him the like friendship and intelligence, as he had with the deceased  
King his Father, for whose death he had much grieved. The yong King, hauing heard his  
interpreter, answered him suddenly. *I thanke the King my Brother for his good will, I will  
remember him and you also: Seeing he desires it, he may expect from me all friendship and good  
intelligence, such as he had with the deceased King my father.* And then he asked him many  
pretty questions of the King of Spaines health, the Queenes, the Princes and the Infanta,  
which bred an admiration in the Spaniards, to see the Maiesty of the yong King, which  
seemed then supernaturall and extraordinary.

The Ambassador being retired, and the King set downe in his chaire, there comes sud-  
denly a Church-man of his traine, thrusting through the presse, and cast himselfe at his  
Maiesties feet, making great signes of the Crosse, as if hee blest him, and crying out in his  
language, *God blese you my King, God blese you my Prince, God assist you for euer, and make  
you alwayes prosper.* Whereupon they enquired of him what hee was? And hee answered  
them cheerefully, that he was a Navarrais, his Maiesties most humble and most faithfull  
subiect.

Some dayes after the Lord of *Wotton* Ambassador for the King of Great Britaine, arri-  
ued at Paris, being sent to the same effect to condole, and to make all offers in his Masters  
name, of the cordiall loue and friendship: his comming was so pleasing as it bred a iealousie  
in the Chastilian Ambassador. The Marshall of Laurdin met him neere Saint Denis gate  
with about two hundred horse, and so accompanied him to Luxembourg House, within  
three dayes after the Prince *Donnuille*, accompanied with a great troope of Gentlemen, went  
and fetch him to his audience, where hee gaue and receiued much content: on Tuesday,  
he with the Ambassador Leager, dined with the King at the Tuilliers, after which hee re-  
ceiued the oath of the Queene (in the Kings presence) for the obseruation of the League,  
with great solemnity in the Feuillants Church. Then after some priuate audience of the  
Queen, he took his leaue of their Maiesties to returne for England.

After all these condolences, it was resolved in requittall of these Ambassages, and to  
confirm the League which the deceased King had with those Princes, that *Monseur de  
Bellegarde*, Master of the Kings Horse, should goe into Spaine, the Marshall of Lauer-  
din into England, and the Duke of Elpermon to Rome. And then they began  
to prepare for the Kings Coronation, which was appointed at Rheims  
on the 17 day of October, with that Pompe and State, that  
is usuall at such solemne Ceremonie.

(\* \*)

A



A  
CONTINIVATION  
OF THE HISTORIE  
OF FRANCE:

c From the death of HENRY the Fourth, vntill the Conclusion of the Peace made before *Montpellier*, in the yeare 1622.

LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH.  
THE 64 FRENCH KING.



D After the detestable Murther of that great Monarch, his Sonne being seated in his Fathers Throne, and the Queene Mother chiofen Regent of the Realme, by a generall consent of all the Princes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne; and confirmed by an Edict of the Court of Parliament of Paris: The clouds which seemed to threaten the State with stormes of confusion, were suddenly dissolued by the wisdom of the Regent, and the vigilancy and care of the Councell and Court of Parliament. Having performed the Rites due to the deceased King her Husband, her onely care was to entertaine peace in her Sonnes Estate, and to calme the waues of so great a sea of publike affaires, and different passions, which were then amongst many great men: for the people breathed nothing but obedience; neyther did they thinke of any thing but to bewaile the losse of their well beloued King.

This famous Queene had no sooner reconciled a controuersie for the government of Normandy, betwene the Prince of Conty, and the Earle of Soissons brethren, and heard an Opposition made to the most iust Decree of the Court of Parliament against *Mariana's* Booke; nor ended the Controuersies which had befallen at the Ceremonies of the Kings Funerall for their places; but new troubles befell her touching the Funerall Sermons which had beene made: some (according to the passions of such as had pronounced them) seemed to be Panegyrics and praises for the Iesuits: and others to bee Satyrs, vttered to their disgrace. The Iesuits hauing complained vnto the Queene of the Abbot of Bois, accused him, that in his Sermons, treating of the Question, *Whether it be lawfull to kill a Tyrant*; and refusing *Mariana's* booke and others, he had made an exhortation vnto the Iesuits, *That they should hereafter haue a great care that no bookes should be published to the prejudice of France, vnder the name of their Society, nor with the approbation of their Superiours, if they would not willingly expose themselves to those dangers, which all their wisdom, fortified with the authority of their most confident friends, could not auoid.* These were the principall points of his accusation, whercupon they informed the Queene Regent that these

The Iesuits  
complainte of  
the Abbot of  
Bois.

[b]

words

1611

The Abbots answer to the Bishop of Paris.

words had like to have caused a sedition against the Iesuites. The Bishop of Paris had charge to heare the Abbot, who answered in his defence, That neyther passion, nor hatred to the Iesuites, nor any other, had moued him to preach in that manner, but the full horror and vnpeakeable griefe for the strange death of his good Master, and the probable doubt of danger to the King and Queene, whilest those damnable bookes of *Marian* and others should haue course amongst men: which the Bishop hearing, hee dismissed him with a gentle admonition to liue louingly with all other Preachers, and especially with the Iesuites, and continue to preach obedience due to the King and Queene, and to praise the great merits of the deceased King, nor offending any man. He made the like answer to the Cardinall du Perron, and the Chancellor, who told him, that continuing to doe good service to God and the State, hee should neuer want the Queenes protection, nor the assistance of all her good seruants.

The Parisians are commanded to arme.

The Queene Regent hauing drawne the Princes of the blood, and many other great personages to Court to attend the Kings person, as you haue heard in the former part, she hauing a speciall care to entertaine them in one intention, and desire to maintaine the State in peace; they grew into factions and ieaiousies, marching vp and downe Paris in great troopes: which bred a feare of some alteration in the City. Whereupon commandement was giuen vnto the Parisians to prouide armes. New Captaines were chosen in their Towne-houfe, who tooke an oath to the Queene, and the people within eight daies were all armed, but they were forbidden to discharge any Peece after fixe of the clocke at night. They still cried out, we acknowledge not any one but the King and Queene. These murmurings proceeded from the great traines which the Princes & Noblemen had, some being followed by 100 horse and more through the freetees. But the Queene hauing discovered the cause of their ieaiousies, hauing distributed honors to those whose merits were well known vnto her, and augmented many of their pensions, all those new gallants which had their dependances vpon the Princes which were in court, retired presently to their houses, and euery man returned to his old course as in the time of the deceased King, the Queen giuing them to vnderstand that they should be no lesse assured now then they were before. The Parisians in like manner who thought they should haue bene forced, to goe to the guard of the Ports, had now leaue to hang vp their new armes.

54 Edicts and commissions reuoked.

The Queene hauing caused these first windes to cease which began to raise waues vpon the calme of peace, without vsing of any force: she resolved to cause iustice to reigne: Hauing recommended it to such as had the charge thereof, she sought to releuee the generall complaints and grieuances of the subiects who had been vexed and oppressed by many Edicts and extraordinary commissions which the deceased King had granted by importunity. Whereupon on the 22 of Iuly, by letters patentes in forme of a declaration, there were 54 Edicts and Commissions reuoked, wherewith the subiects had been oppressed; and diuers others were suspended vntill it should be otherwise decreed. This did to ease and content the people, as all France beganne to conceiue they were entering into a golden age vnder the Regency of the Queene: and the rather, for that she had caused the Salt to be farmed out, and abated a fourth part of that which it had bene sold for, and yet the vnder-takers diminished nothing of the accustomed rent.

The Queene continues the old Kings building.

The Queene also caused all the buildings begun by the deceased King to be continued, a worthy worke, and charitable in regard of the multitude of men employed therein: And as the deceased King before he had ended one worke still beganne another: so during this Summer she caused the buildings of Bois de Vincennes, and the Colledge royall to be begunne. The latter was a designe of the deceased King, but hee neuer saw the beginning of it. The King laid the first stone on the 28 of August, on the which these words were graven, *In the first year of the reigne of Lewis the 13, King of France and Nauarre, being nine years of age, and of the Regency of Queene Mary of Medicis his Mother, 1610.* Vnderneath it were the Kings armes, and the Queene Mothers. At the foure corners his Majesty did set foure Medails, two of Gold, and two of silver and guilt, with the like Inscription.

Cecilie Genlesmen executed at the Groue.

The Court of Parliament in the meane time was busied about the arraignment and condemnation of certaine Conspirators, so as on the fourth of September there were hanged at the Greuze, by a decree thereof, the *Srs of Iurige* a Poictuain, *Chef-babin* a Scotchman (who had liued 35 yeares in Poitou) and a sonne of his called *Champmartin*, convicted to haue made and published a Declaration, thereby to stirre vp the people of Poitou to a reuolt,

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A reuolt, and to induce them to take armes with them, to change the Estate into an Oligarchie, as it was said: France being ill gouerned as they conceived. But their pretence was to make a shew of the publike good, and to fish in a troubled water. They had bene prisoners during the life of the deceased King, who would needs speake with them, especially with *Iurige*, who was a Protestant, and well knowne vnto his Maiestie, hauing caried armes for his seruice. Hee was discovered by some to whom hee had imparted this businesse, who help to take him. His Maiestie hauing laid many things before him, touching the affliction of his family, and commanded him to tell the truth with promise of pardon, so as hee would confesse the Author of the said Declaration: for that it appeared plainly by the style, that it was none of his owne invention. The said *Iurige* answered, that not any but himselfe had set hand vnto it. You will not then (replied his Maiestie) help to saue your selfe, and free your family from the dishonor which will grow by your punishment. Where haue you seene that disorder in the State, whereof you complaine in your Declaration: seeing you haue not parted from your house for these nine yeares space, nor come vnto my Court; neyther haue you receiued any discommoditie from me or my officers. Hereat hee stood mute. Whereupon the King sent him backe, and commanded they should make him dine, and that hee should sometimes eate with *Budart* and others who had bene familiar with him, to see if they might free him of that Melancholy humor wherewith he was possessed; and discover if they could, the ground of the enterprise. But his Maiestie being dead, and hee continuing obstinate, they were all three convicted of treason, and troubling of the publike peace; for which they were hanged, being held vnworthy to dye by the sword like Gentlemen.

A consultation touching this Kings army.

All things being pacified within the Realme, the Councell assembled to resolve what should be done with the army which the deceased King had drawne together before his death; the which beganne already to march towards Germany: and consulting of the finishing of his designe, it was not held expedient to beginne a new warre in the time of the Kings minority; seeing that the best experienced Princes are many times troubled in the like cases. Whereupon it was resolved that the Marshall *La Chastre* should haue 10000 Foot, and 1200 Horse, with some Peeces of Ordnance, and lead them to Iuliers to assist the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Duke of Newbourg (two of the pretenders to the Estates of Iuliers and Cleues;) the deceased King hauing promised to assist them with whatsoever they should need to maintaine and defend them in their pretensions; but death would not suffer him to effect his promise. The Queene mother being prest by the Ambassador of Spaine to abandon the succors promised by the deceased King her husband to the Princes pretending the succession of the Estates of Iuliers; shee answered, *Neuer speake of it, I will not abandon the Allies of France:* the which shee presently put in execution, and the Marshall *La Chastre* had the charge giuen him to lead those Forces, who at the first excused himselfe by reason of his age and other occasion: yet hauing receiued commandement from the Queene, hee obeyed. In the meane time Iuliers was besieged, and battered by the Forces of our King of Great Britaine, by the Prince of Orange, and the Estates, and by the Prince of Anhalt who led the Forces of the two Pretendants. On the 13 of August the Marshall came vnto the campe before Iuliers, and was lodged in his quarter on the other side of the Riuer of Roer, whereas the Prince of Orange had made all necessary retrenchments for him. They so pressed the towne with their battery and Mines, as on the first of September the Capitulation was made for the yielding thereof by *Raischemberg* who held it for the Emperour. The Conditions were. 1. That there should be no alteration in the exercise of the Romish religion; and that all Clergy-men should be maintained in their priuileges, and enioy their goods and reuenues. 2. That the Gouvernour, Capitaines, and Souldiers, should deliuer the Towne and Castle vnto the Princes of Brandenburg and Newbourg, with the Artillery, Munition, victual, and instruments of war, vnspoiled after the accord made. 3. That the Gouvernour, Capitaines, Officers, and Souldiers might depart with their full armes, horses and baggage, whether they pleased; and that they should be furnished with 150 wagons to supply their wants. 4. That they might march out of the Towne and Castle of Iuliers, with their drummes beating, Colours flying, matches light, and bullets in their mouthes. 5. That the Archduke *Leopold*s Officers, and all Clergy-men, and others, of what condition soeuer, might depart freely with their baggage. 6. That the Gouvernour should deliuer vnto such as should be deputed

The Marshall La Chastre sent with forces vnto Iuliers.

Iuliers yielded vpon composition.

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by

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by the said Princes, all Charters and Records, and not cary any away. 7, That the Magistrates and Burgesſes ſhould be maintained in their priuiledges: and ſuch as would might depart with their baggage. 8, That the accord being concluded, they ſhould ſuffer ſome one deputed by the ſaid Princes to enter, to receive the Charters, Artillerie, Munition, and other things before mentioned. 9, That the Gouvernor ſhould cauſe the Garriſon of Bredeben to depart vpon the ſame conditions that were concluded for the Towne of Iuliers. 10, That the ſaid Gouvernor ſhould releaſe all the priſoners of the campe, paying their charges, as alſo all the horſes which had bene taken during the ſiege. 11, That the Gouvernor of Iuliers ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his goods, as they were then in being, with all priuiledges and immunities belonging thereunto; and the ſaid Gouverneur ſhould not be moleſted for any thing which had hapned during that war, he taking an oath of fidelity and obedience to the ſaid Princes, as other Gentlemen of the Country had done, which oath he ſhould be bound to take within foure moneths. 12, That it ſhould be lawfull for the Gouvernor, Capitaines & ſouldiers within the towne and Caſtle of Iuliers, to retire themſelues whither they pleaſed, out of the iuriſdiction of the ſaid Princes, & of the generall Eſtates of the vniited Provinces, and that they might remaine there for the ſpace of 40 dayes in all ſafety; ſo as thoſe troopes and others ſeruing the Emperour did not commit any act of hoſtility, nor oppreſſe the ſubiects and Countries of the ſaid generall Eſtates. 13, That they ſhould deliuer two Capitaines who ſhould remaine in hoſtage vntill the returne of the wagons and horſes which ſhould be deliuered them for the conſeque[n]t of their ſicke, wounded and baggage. After the yeelding of which Towne, and ſome other ſmall places, the whole Duchy of Iuliers remained in the poſſeſſion of the Princes of Brandenburg and Newbourg, and the Marſhall *La Chafre* returned with his troopes into France.

Death of the Kings ſelfe brother.  
 France was ſo generally afflited for the death of their King, as many dyed with the apprehenſion thereof. The Abbot of Marmonſtier his ſelfe brother (hauing receiued the newes thereof,) tooke his bed and died within few daies after, ſo dearly hee loued him. In the year 1590, being then Biſhop of Leſcours, hee came vnto the Kings Army with 30 men at armes, and paſſing by Tours, the deſeased Cardinal of Bourbon blamed him for that he went armed to the warre with a troope of horſe: to whom hee answered, *I D* *haue not begun ſince, the deſeased Cardinal of Guiſe hath bene a Preſident for me, I haue more reaſon to cary armes for my brother, then hee had for his.* *Monſieur de Vic* Vice Admirall of France, being returned from Calais, whither the Queene had ſent him after the Kings death, to giue order to his Gouvernement, paſſing by the place where hee had by chance ſeene the King dead, and calling it to mind, he was ſeized with ſuch a ſudden apprehenſion as within two dayes after he dyed. He was a braue Cauallier, whom the king made choiſe of at the battell of Iury to be Sergeant-major of the Field, hauing bene but two moneths in his Court; afterwards he gaue him the government of St. Denis: and it may well be ſaid that by his care in the guard of that place, and his pleaſing behauiour, hee reduced the hearts of an infinit number of Pariſians to the royall obedience. His Maieſties pleaſure was, that for a memory to poſterity he ſhould cary a Flower de luce of gold in his armes. After the reduction of Paris, he was Gouverneur of the Baſtile: Amiens being recovered, the King gaue him the government; and Calais being yeilded by the Spaniard, he would not truſt that frontier place but to this truſty ſeruant. But forbearing to make any further mention of ſuch as dyed for very griefe, being many, let vs come to the Kings Coronation.

The Kings Coronation:  
 As the Coronation is an Action the moſt important for the State, the moſt aſſured for the perſon of Kings, the moſt neceſſary for the continuance of their Reigne, and the moſt conſiderable for the good of the Realme; ſo for theſe reaſons, the Queene (deſiring to ſhew her loue and affection to the King her Son) appointed a day for his Coronation at Rheims, to adorne his head with a glorious Diadem in the ſpring of his young yeares: to which end the Royall ornaments which are kept in the Abbey of S. Denis for the Coronation of Kings were caryed thither. On the 14. of October, he made his entry into the Towne, where his Maieſty was receiued with great pompe and magnificence, the particularities whereof, as alſo the preparation which was made in the Church for that ſolemnity, I am forced for breuities ſake to omit. The day before the ceremonie, the King went vnto the Cathedrall Church to aſſiſt at Euenſong, and to heare a Sermon made by

P. Cotton,

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A P. Cotton, vpon the Diuine Inſtitution of the Vnction, and Coronation of the Kings of France, and of Confirmation, which his Maieſty receiued by the hands of the Cardinal of Ioyeuſe, to whom hee was preſented by Queene *Marguerite* and the Prince of Conde. On Sunday the ſeuenteenth day of October, the King ſent foure Barons vnto the Abbey of S. Remy to fetch the holy Oyle: They parted early in the morning with their Equiues and Gentlemen, either of them hauing a banner with his Armes caried before him, cauſing a white Hackney to be led for the Prior of Saint Remy, who was to cary the ſaid holy Oyle.

The Cardinal of Ioyeuſe, who was to repreſent the Archbiſhop of Rheims, and to doe the office at the ceremony, came ſoone after into the Church with eight Biſhops to aſſiſt him: where attending the coming of the Peeres, he ſate him downe in his pontifical robes. As for the Biſhops which aſſiſted, two of them were attired like Deacons with Miters, two like Subdeacons with Miters, and foure with Copes and Miters. Soone after ariued the Eccleſiaſtical Peeres in their pontifical robes; that is to ſay, the Biſhop and Duke of Laon, the Biſhop and Duke of Langres, the Biſhop and Earle of Beauuais, the Biſhop and Earle of Chaulons, and the Biſhop and Earle of Noyon. At the ſame inſtant there came from the Kings lodging, the Princes of Conde, and Conty, the Earle of Soiſſons, with the Dukes of Neuers, Elbenſ, and Eſpernon, who were deputed by the King to hold the places of the Dukes of Bourgundy, Normandy and Aquitaine, and of the Earles of Toulouſe, Flanders, and Champagne, attired in their Robes and Coronets, according to their qualities. Hauing done their deuotions, and ſaluted one another, they ſent the Biſhops of Laon and Beauuais to fetch the King, who departed preſently in their pontifical habits, hauing certaine reliques of Saints hanging about their necks, being conducted by the maſter of the ceremonies, all the Prebends of our Ladies Church marching in proceſſion before them. Being come to the Kings chamber, and finding it ſhut, the Biſhop of Laon knockt three ſeueral times, to either of which the Duke of Elguillon, great Chamberlaine of France, demanded, *What would ye?* The Biſhop answered, *Lewis the thirteenth, ſonne to Henry the great:* Whereunto the Lord Chamberlaine replied, *He ſleepes.* Then knocking againe he had the like anſwer. But at the third time, demanding what they would haue, the Biſhop answered, *Lewis the thirteenth, whom God hath giuen vs for King.* Then the doore was opened, & the Biſhops entred with the chiefe Chamber of Rheims, and the maſter of the ceremonies: where they found the King laid vpon his bed, hauing his ſhirt ſlit both before and behind, to receiue the holy Vnction, and vpon it a waitcoate of crimſon Sattin, ſlit alſo in like manner, and thereon a long robe of cloth-of-ſiluer. The Biſhops ſeeing his Maieſty, he of Laon hauing finiſhed a prayer, kiſſing their hands, they liſted the King from his bed, with all ſhewes of honour as to their ſoueraigne Prince, and then they led him ſinging to the Church doore.

Before him there marched firſt the great Prouoſt of France with his Archers; then the Clergy which had accompanied the two Prelates; the hundred Swiſſers of his Guard, the Drums; Hautboies, and Heralds; the Nobility; the great maſter of the ceremonies; the Knights of the Holy Ghoſt, with their great order about their neckes, in the miſt of two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings houſe; the Scottiſh Guard. Before his Maieſty went the Marſhall *La Chafre* repreſenting the Conſtable, carying a naked ſword, and hauing robes like vnto one of the Earles which were Lay Peeres: On either ſide of him went an Vſher of the Kings chamber, attired in white Sattin, carying their Maces: next after came *Monſieur de Silery* Chancellor of France in his robes; then followed the Marſhall of Louardin, holding the place of Lord Steward: On the Kings right hand went the Duke of Elguillon high Chamberlaine of France, and on his left hand *Monſieur de Belgarde*, maſter of the horſe, holding his place of chiefe Gentleman of the Kings chamber. Theſe three Noblemen were attired like vnto Lay Peeres Earles.

After ſome ceremonies at the Church doore, the King approaching neere vnto the high Altar, he was preſented by the Biſhops of Laon and Chaulons, vnto the Cardinal of Ioyeuſe, who repreſented the Archbiſhop of Rheims; who receiuing him ſaid many prayers, whilſt the King was at his deuotion. After which his Maieſty was led vnto his ſeat, with his officers and Noblemen about him, according to their degrees. In the mean time, all the religious men of Saint Remy came ſolemnly in proceſſion, being accompanied by the chiefe of the towne, carying Torchés of Virgin Waxe in their hands. Their

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Prior



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Prior was mounted vpon the white Hackney, hauing a foot-cloath of cloath-of-siluer, A carying the holy Oyle in a boxe hanging about his necke, being vnder a Canopy of cloath-of-siluer, borne by foure Monkes.

The Cardinall being aduertised of the arriual of the said Oyle, he went presently in his pontificalibus to meet it, with the eight Bishops which assisted him, and all the singing-men and Quiristers. But before they would deliuer it to the Cardinall, they made him (according to the custome) binde himselfe to restore it vnto them, the Ceremony being ended: it which he promised on the word of a prelate. After a prayer said by the Cardinall, hee thewed the holy Oyle vnto the people, and then set it downe vpon the high Altar with all reuerence. Then being assisted by the Bishops of Laon and Beauuais, hee B made this following request.

A request made vnto the King by the Cardinal. The Kings answer.

*Wee pray and require you, that you would grant vnto euery one of vs, and the Churches wherof we haue the charge, the Canonically priuiledges, and good Lawes, and iustice: and that you will defend vs as a King ought all his Bishops and their Churches. Whereunto the King answered, I promise to preferre you in your Canonically priuiledges, as also your Churches: and that I will giue you good Lawes, and doe you iustice, and will defend you by the help of God, according to my power: as a King in his Realme ought to doe in right and reason, to his Bishops and their Churches.*

After this Answer, the Bishops of Laon and Chaalons lifted his Maiesty vp from his Chaire, demanding of the assistants if they did accept of him for their King: nor that this Acceptation is taken for an Election (the Realme of France hauing benee alwayes hereditary and successiue to the next male:) but for a declaration of the succession, obedience and fidelity which they owe vnto him, as their Soueraigne Lord, by the expresse commandement of God. Hauing benee acknowledged for their lawfull Prince by a generall consent of all the Orders, the Cardinall of Ioyeuse presented vnto him the Oath of the Kingdome (which is the sacred bond of the fundamental lawes of the State) the which he took publicly in these words, with inuocation of the name of God, laying his hand vpon the Gospel, which he kissed with great reuerence.

The Kings oath vnto his Subjects.

*I promise in the Name of Iesus Christ, these things to the Christians subiect vnto me. First, I will endeavour that the Christian people shall liue peaceably with the Church of God. Moreover, I will provide, that in all vocations the just and all iniquities shall cease. Besides, I will command, that in all iudgements, equity and mercy shall take place: to the end that God who is gentle and mercifull may haue mercy on you and me. Furthermore, I will seeke by all meanes in good faith to chase out of my Iurisdiction, and the Lands of my subiection, all Heretikes denounced by the Church: promising by oath to obserue all that hath benee said, so help me God and this holy Euangel.*

The Kings Ornaments appointed for the Coronation were laid vpon the Altar, that is to say, the Imperiall Crowne, being close, and a middle one, the royall Scepter, the hand of Iustice, the Spurs, the Sword, his royall Roabe, with diuers others. On the left side of the Altar, neere vnto them, stood the Prior of S. Denis, who hath the keeping of them; and on the right side was the Prior of S. Remy looking to the holy Oyle. The Bishops of Laon and Beauuais hauing conducted the King vnto the altar, *Monsieur de Belgarde* first Gentleman of his Chamber, tooke off his roabe of Cloth-of-siluer. Being in his waistcoat of Sartin, when the Cardinal had made certaine accustomed prayers and blessings, the Duke of Elguillon put on his Buskins, and the Prince of Conde (supplying the place of the Duke of Bourgundy Deane of the Lay-peeres) put on his Spurs, and presently took them off againe.

The King offers the royall sword to the Altar.

After this, the Cardinall blest the royall Sword being in the scabbard: which being ended, hee girt the King therewith, and presently vngirt him againe: then he drew it out of the scabbard, which hee left vpon the altar, & kissing it, said many prayers, whilest that the Quier sung certaine Anthems. The King hauing receiued the Sword, kist it, and offered it to the altar whereto it was laid, in witness of his zeale and affection to the defence of the Church. Hauing offered the Sword vnto the altar, the Cardinall deliuered it into his hand againe, which his Maiesty receiued reuerently vpon his knee, and gaue it to the *Marshall la Chastre*, who held the place of Constable during the Ceremony: the Cardinall returning to the Altar to prepare the sacred vnction, after this manner; Hee drew out of the forenamed holy Violl with a needle of gold, a small quantity of liquor of the

A the bigneffe of a peeße, and mingled it with his finger with the holy Crefine prepared in the couer of the Chalice.

This Vnction being thus ordered, the tyings of the Kings garments were let loose both before and behinde, by the Cardinall and the Bishops of Laon and Beauuais: after which his Maiesty kneeled downe in his Oratory or Closet, and the Cardinall with him, to craue the assistance of the grace of God for the preservation of France. The Lettany being sung, the Cardinall stood vp to say certaine prayers ouer the King, who was yet kneeling. Which done, the Cardinall set him downe as in the consecration of a Bishop, and holding in his hand the plate whercon the sacred Oyle lay, hee beganne with his right thumb to B anoint the King in diuers places, *viz*: on the crowne of the head, on the stomacke, betwixt his shoulders, on both shoulders, and on the bendings of his armes. The Consecration and prayers being ended, the Cardinal with the two Bishops closed vp his shirt, waistcoat, and other garments, in reuerence of the sacred vnction. Then the Duke of Elguillon high chamberlaine, presented to the King the three habits accustomed to be worn in the like ceremonies vpon his waistcoat, *viz*: a long Iacket, representing a Subdeacon, a Surplis for a Deacon, and a royall Cloak: in stead of a Coape, representing a Priest; which ended, the Cardinall anointed the palmes of his hands, and then put him on thin gloves, lest he should touch any thing with his bare hands, for reuerence of the sacred vnction: which gloves hee blest, and sprinkled with holy water, saying diuers prayers. The royall C Ring being also blest by the Cardinall, (a symbole of loue whereby the King was wedded to his Realme) he put it on the fourth finger of his Maiesties right hand, with the accustomed Ceremony. This done, hee tooke the Scepter from the Altar, and put it into his right hand for a marke of soueraigne power. Then hee tooke the hand of Iustice, which he put into his left hand, it being a wand hauing on the top of it a hand of Iuory.

The part where the King was anointed.

All which Ceremonies being ended, the Chancellor of France came vp to the Altar, with his face towards the King, and with a loud voyce called vp the Peeres according to their dignity and order, to assist at the Coronation. First, the Secular Peeres; and then, the Ecclesiasticall. This conuocation being ended, the Cardinall tooke the great Crowne from the Altar, and lifting it with both his hands ouer the Kings head, the Peeres came D presently to support them; and then the Cardinall holding it in his left hand blest it. After this benediction, the Cardinall alone set the Crowne vpon the Kings head: whereunto all the Peeres put their hands. In crowning him, the Cardinall holding it still with his left hand, said many prayers, and blest the King: the which being ended, hee tooke him by the right sleeue, and (in the company of all the Peeres) conducted him from the Altar to his Royall throne, which was built on high at the bottome of the Quier, that he might be seene of all the people, holding still in his hands the royall Scepter, and rod of Iustice.

The Peeres called vp to the Kings Coronation.

The Queene Regent beheld all these Ceremonies from a high Scaffold, hauing by her Queene *Marguerite*, and the Princesses of Conde, of Countie, of Montpenfier, of Rohan, and diuers other Ladies. She was all this while disquieted for the Kings health, not being E able to endure with patience to see his Maiesty bare headed vnder the Crowne, hauing his cap taken from him: which shewes that Crownes and Greatnes haue their discommodities as well as ordinary things and the poorest cottages.

The King being come to his royall Throne, attended by the Peeres, Princes, and Officers, according to their degrees, the Cardinall of Ioyeuse holding him by the hand, caused him to sit downe, and prayed vnto God to confirme him in his Throne, and to make him inuincible and inexpugnable against all those which should vnjustly seeke to depriue him of the Crowne which was lawfully fallen vnto him. After which the Cardinall hauing said a prayer, being bare headed, he made a low obeysance vnto the King, and kissed him, saying thrice with a loud voyce, *God saue the King*: and at the last he added, *God saue the F King eternally*. All the Peeres did the like obeysance vnto him one after another, and kist him with the like acclamation, and then returned to their seats which were prepared for them on either hand of the King. The people which were in the body of the Church, hearing the ioy of the Princes, began to cry out with a loud voyce, *God saue the King*, being accompanied with all sorts of Musick, Drums and Trumpets. Which done, the Heraulds who were in the bottome of the Quier, began to cast forth many peeces of gold and siluer, which were purposely coyned, hauing on the one side the Kings picture crowned, and on the other side a hand comming out of heauen, holding a Violl with the sacred

The Cardinall and all the Peeres kisse the King.

Oyle,

1610

Oyle, with this inscription, *Francis datam munda cali*. Thus much I have thought good to write for the Readers better satisfaction touching the substance of the Kings Coronation, for that it hath not bene so particularly set downe in the life of any of the precedent Kings.

As for those things which followed during the Masse, the Kings going to the offering, his receiving of the Communion, and the royall feast made in the Archbishops Palace, I must be forced to passe over with silence, fearing I should be both tedious to the Reader, and wrong the History, being tyed to strict bounds.

Ceremonies observed when the King received the Order of the Holy Ghost.

The King desiring (according to the statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghost) to receive the Coller of the same Order from the Cardinall who had anointed him, hee came the day after his coronation to the same Church to Euen-song, being attended by the officers, Prelates, and Knights of the said Order in their robes, where the ceremonies required by the said Statutes, were exactly observed. The King having his chaire of State in the Quier, came towards the high Altar, being led by the Prince of Conty, and the Earle of Soissons, all the officers of the Order going before them, where hee tooke the oath of the said Order (as head and Soueraigne thereof) in the hands of the Cardinall, laying his hand vpon the Gospell, which the Chancellor of the said Order held vnto him: which done, *Antoin de Rhodes* Prouost of both Orders, put on his robes, and the Cardinall put the Coller vpon his shoulders: the Seig: of Pisseux sonne to the Chancellor, and Treasurer of the said Order, deliuered vnto the Cardinall a Crosse hanging at a blew ribbon, after which his Maiestie returned to his first place, where he was saluted by all the Knights: but before his coming from the Altar, the Prince of Conde was led vp by the Dukes of Espernon and Montbasen, where he alone was made Knight of the Order by the King.

The King returns to Paris.

These ceremonies being all ended, the King returned to Paris, where he was received by *Montf. de Lioncourt* Gouverneur of the City, the Prouost of Merchants, the Sherifes, and two hundred Burgeses on horseback, having before them three Companies of horsemen richly appointed, who attended him without Saint Anthonies gate, where the Prouost of Merchants made a speech vnto him, shewing the desires and vowes which his most faithfull subiects of his good City of Paris made vnto God, that hee would fend him all happiness and prosperity during his reign. In the meane time the Duke of Sully, great master of the Artillery, had drawne forth of the Arsenall 93 great peeces of Ordnance, which were planted vpon the Bulwarke at Saint Anthonies gate, with a great number of Chambers, all which saluted the King at his entry. After which the King came into the City with some troopes of horse, and all his guards, being attended by many Princes, Noblemen, and officers, in great state.

The new Christians banished out of Spaine.

In the beginning of this year, *Philip* the 3 King of Spaine, had by his Edict banished all the new Christians called Morisques, being in number 90000 persons, vpon pretext that they had conspired against his Estate: for the execution whereof, hee published an Edict for which there was no prouention; so as all ships and vessels were stayed in the Ports of Spaine, of what nation soeuer, to transport them whither they would. Many past from Spaine to diuers ports of Barbary. But during the whole year at diuers times, there entered into France about 15000 persons of these Morisques: whereupon King *Henry* the fourth being full of charity and bounty, embraced this occasion, and made a decree touching their entry and passage in France: the tenor whereof was; That having bene aduertised of a decree lately made by the King of Spaine, carrying an expresse commandement to all Morisques liuing in his Country of Spaine to depart within a short time, vpon great penalties, which he caused to be executed vpon them; and that by reason thereof great numbers of families of the sayd Morisques, were come into his Country, his Maiestie having a good intencion to vse all humanity towards them, for the receiving of them into his kingdome: that such as would make profession of the Catholike and Romish Religion, might remaine there with all safety; and as for the rest which would not, they should have passage vnto his ports of the Levant seas, from thence to be transported into Barbary, or whither they pleased. For the execution of the Kings Edict, a Commission was sent downe to *Augier*, Prouost generall of Languedoc, to conduct them in their passage vnto the nearest Hauens of the Levant Sea, where hee embarked at diuers times about thirty thousand which landed at Tunis in Barbary in safety.

The

A The Queene Regent being aduertised that there were 50000 Morisques of Arragon marching into France, and that there were already a great many of Grenadains in Prouence: their Maiesties being carefull of the preferuation of the said Morisques, as well to prevent the complaint of their commissaries, as to hasten their passage into Barbary, by reason of the grievances of the inhabitants of Prouence and Languedoc, touching the discommoditie of their stay, and the danger of infection, through the misery whereunto many of them were reduced: Their Maiesties sent a master of Requests with commission to free those Countries of so many Morisques, and to cause them to be transported into Barbary, without any wrong or injury done vnto them; and to have a care that the inhabitants of those Prouinces might liue in peace. The care of these embarkments was again committed to *Augier*, by a Commission, and Letters of recommendations from the Queene, dated the 19 of August 1610, wherein he discharged himselfe very faithfully, as it seemes by a certificate made by the Commissaries of the said Morisques; yet afterward they made great complaints against him, and others whom he had employed in these embarkments: and one *Lopez*, Commissary for the Morisques, went soone afterwards to the Court to complaine vnto their Maiesties: and vpon a Petition presented vnto the priuy Councell, against *Augier*, and some inhabitants of Agde, he obtained a Commission to call them vp.

*Augier* appeared vpon the summons, giues in his defences in writing, causeth a declaration to be printed of al which had past in the embarking of the Morisques, & protests that he had not medled with the impositions and taxes leauied vpon them, nor with the seizure of their goods, the searching of their Barks, nor the imprisonment of any one of them. He produced certaine certificates, shewing that hee had safely conducted 60000 Morisques through the Country of Languedoc, having caused them to be embarked at Agde with much care and diligence, and transported into Barbary with their goods in all safety. *Lopez* on the other side continuing his complaints, sayd that *Augier*, *Ioseph Palmier*, and *Iohn Anthony Iordan*, inhabitants of the towne of Agde, vnder colour of searching some vessels, to force the rich Morisques to pay for the charges of the poores embarkment, had caried away a great number of Royals of plate belonging to diuers private men: and that in these proceedings there had bene many thefts and exactions committed contrary to all right and equity. Vpon these complaints, the Councell sent the examination of the cause to the Court of Parliament, for the ease of the parties. *Augier* seeing this businesse to take another course then he expected, retired into Languedoc, where he lurked, and fought by all meanes to auoid the iustice of this Court: On the other side the procurer of the Morisques, pursued his complaints with all diligence, having obtained a personal adournment against *Augier* and some others: what succeeded wee may heare hereafter.

This year Cardinall *Bellarmino* had caused a Booke to be printed at Rome entituling it, *A Treatise of the Popes power in Temporal causes*: it came no sooner into France, but they observed many things therein against the temporal power of Kings. In this Treatise hee did strive to proue his pretended power of the Pope over Kings in temporal causes: in regard whereof, the Kings learned Councell fought out this Booke and presented it to the Court, with obseruations of such things as they found contrary to the soueraine power of Princes ordained of God, especially in the Realme of France. And on the 26 of November, *Montf. de Servin* the Kings first Aduocate, in the remonstrance which he made vnto the Court vpon that subiect, sayd; That all new bookes which taught that the Pope was above Kings in temporal things, should not be allowed, and that there were too many which presumed to write against Princes and temporal Estates, whereto not onely the sayd Princes, but all good subiects had reason to be offended: as of late the officers of the King of Spaine had bene against the writings of Cardinall *Baronius*, concerning Sicily, whereby they haue purchased a great deale of honour throughout the world: And we (sayd he) owe no lesse vnto our most Christian King, for the life, and for the honour of his Maiestie, and for the temporal of his Estates: yea if at any time it be holy, if it be iust, if it be honourable, if it be an argument of courage and loue in the French to their King and Country, to hold the Maximes of truth, and to defend the freedoms and liberties of the Gallicane Church, truly it should now chiefly appeare, during the honage of our King, reigning vnder the happy regency of the Queene his mother, the which God

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The Queene Regent prouision for the Morisques.

*Augier* called in question by the Morisques.

*Bellarmino* book touching the Popes temporal power, forbidden.

Montf. de Servin speech to the Court of Parliament.

Baronius writings concerning Sicily.

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Oyle, with this inscription, *Francis data munera cali*. Thus much I have thought good to write for the Readers better satisfaction touching the substance of the Kings Coronation, for that it hath not bene so particularly set downe in the life of any of the precedent Kings.

As for those things which followed during the Masse, the Kings going to the offering, his receiving of the Communion, and the royall feast made in the Archbishops Palace, I must be forced to passe over with silence, fearing I should be both tedious to the Reader, and wrong the History, being tyed to strict bounds.

The King desiring (according to the statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghost) to receive the Coller of the same Order from the Cardinall who had anointed him, hee came the day after his coronation to the same Church to Euen-long, being attended by the officers, Prelates, and Knights of the said Order in their robes, where the ceremonies required by the said Statutes, were exactly observed. The King having his chaire of State in the Quier, came towards the high Altar, being led by the Prince of Cony, and the Earle of Soissons, all the officers of the Order going before them, where hee tooke the oath of the said Order (as head and Soueraigne thereof) in the hands of the Cardinall, laying his hand vpon the Gospell, which the Chancellor of the said Order held vnto him: which done, *Monf. de Rhodes* Prouost of both Orders, put on his robes, and the Cardinall put the Coller vpon his shoulders: the Seig: of Piseux sonne to the Chancellor, and Treasurer of the said Order, delivered vnto the Cardinall a Crosse hanging at a blew ribbon, after which his Maieitie returned to his first place, where he was saluted by all the Knights: but before his coming from the Altar, the Prince of Conde was led vp by the Dukes of Elpernon and Montbason, where he alone was made Knight of the Order by the King.

These ceremonies being all ended, the King returned to Paris, where he was received by *Monf. de Lioncourt* Gouverneur of the City, the Prouost of Merchants, the Sherifes, and two hundred Burgeses on horseback, having before them three Companies of horsemen richly appointed, who attended him without Saint Anthonies gate, where the Prouost of Merchants made a speech vnto him, shewing the desires and vovves which his most faithfull subiects of his good City of Paris made vnto God, that hee would fend him all happinesse and prosperity during his reigne. In the meane time the Duke of Sully, great master of the Artillery, had drawne forth of the Arsenall 93 great peeces of Ordnance, which were planted vpon the Bulwarke at Saint Anthonies gate, with a great number of Chambers, all which saluted the King at his entry. After which the King came into the City with some troopes of horse, and all his guards, being attended by many Princes, Noblemen, and officers, in great state.

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*Bellarmino* book touching the Popes temporall power, forbidden

*Monf. Seruins* speech to the Court of Parliament

Monf. Seruins speech to the Court of Parliament

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commands vs by the mouth of his Apostles : wherein the Pope shall not be wronged, neither shall he have any cause of discontentment : which point had been formerly contested by many grave and learned men, who have maintained, *That the King of France doth not acknowledge any sovereignty on earth in temporall causes.* And as for themselves who were bound to speake, being of the Kings Councell, having examined Cardinall *Bellarmine* Booke, they should hold themselves blame worthy to have failed of their duties, if after the murder of their late Kings *Henry* the third and fourth by inhumane parricides or execrable monsters, inspired and stirred up by false doctrines, they should not cry out vpon all occasions, *Against the Maximes and propositions which import the life, dignity, and maiesty of the King and the Queene Regent his mother :* and the Iudges of this great Parliament should be inexcusable, yea worthy of blame, not only now but hereafter, when as the King shall come to age, if in stead of receiuing this complaint as iust, they should suffer such pernicious writings to passe without a fit and seuer censur. Whereupon hee concluded, that all men of what quality or condition soever, should be forbidden to receiue, keepe, print, or cause to be printed, this booke of *Bellarmino*, vpon paine to be declared guilty of high treason in the first degree : and all men enioyned, which haue, or may haue, know, or may know, where any one is within the Realme, to declare it to the Iudges of the place, or to the substitutes of the Kings proctor generall, to be suppressed exemplarily, as being a doctrine contrary to the dignity, authority, and sovereignty royall, and tending to cause the subject to reuolt against the King, and to attempt against his life and Estate : And that inhibitions might be made vnto all persons vpon the same penalty, to write or teach in Schooles or elsewhere the like doctrine. The great Chamber, the Tunnelle, and the Chamber of the Edit, being assembled vpon this motion, the Court made a decree against *Bellarmino*es booke, according to the conclusion of the Kings Aduocate, whereof the Popes Nuncio made many complaints vnto the Kings Councell, seeking by all means to haue this same decree suspended.

Conclusion of  
the Aduocates  
speech.

Death of Du  
Haillant Historiographer of  
France.

I will end this year with the death and end of a famous Historiographer, who was much honoured by the French : I meane *Bernard de Gerrard* Seig. of Haillant, who died being 75 years old. *Henry* the third, to requite the paines hee tooke in the first booke of his French History, rewarded him with a place of a Secretary of the Treasury. Afterwards D having dedicated his History of France vnto him, the which he had collected out of ancient Authors, as the first body of a History attired in a French habit, hee honoured him with the place of a Councillor and Historiographer of France, the which he made a settled office, with a fee of 1200 Crowne a year. Since, he made a Treatise of the successe of the affaires of France, and other booke. He had the office of Genealogist of the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost, at the creation of this Order. King *Henry* the third loued him for that he was well scene in the History of France, for his freedom of speech, and for his quick answers and replies.

The second  
year of this  
reigne.  
Hatred and  
iuelousies among  
the Nobles.

Since the Kings Coronation, which was in October last past, vntill the beginning of this year, hatred, enuy, iuelousies and discontents began to grow amongst the greatest of the Kingdome ; some for preferment of governments, addition of offices and dignities, and for increase of fees and pensions ; others for gratuities giuen to some in secret, which before the end of the year did much disquiet and trouble both the King, Queene, and Councell, how to containe euery one in his dutie, and in good correspondency one with another, for the quiet of the State, and the Kings seruice. And for that many vpon this subject, retired themselves daily from Court, and did not attend their Maiesties as they were bound by their births and callings, but kept the field with troopes of horse, (which bred a iuelousie that there were some designs to the preiudice of the publike peace and tranquillity) the King being assisted by the Queene Regent his mother, with the aduice of many Princes, Dukes, Noblemen and officers of the Crowne, ordained in his Councell of State, F that all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and officers of the Crowne and House of France, bound thereunto by any wages or pensions from his Maiesty, should (within one month after the publication thereof) repaire to Court, there to attend, and to doe their personal seruice ; and in case of disobedience, to lose all their dignities, offices, priuiledges, fees, and pensions. And at the same time commandement was sent from their Maiesties to many towns, not to suffer any to enter so strong as they might prescribe them a law, yet wholly relying on their faith and loyalties, without any other prouision for their safeties.

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A This decree being come to the notice of the said Noblemen which were absent, euery man prepared himselfe to obey. In the winter-time all came to Paris, but with such trains as it did somewhat amaze the Citizens ; but the Queene to preuent all attempts which might trouble the peoples quiet, and seeing the daily quarrels and challenges among many great men, marching as well by day as by night, through the Citie and suburbs, followed by many Gentlemen well armed and mounted, shee fought to stay the course, and preuent the execution of many designs, commanding the inhabitants to haue their armes ready, to come forth armed at all seasons, vpon any, which should quarrell vpon any pretext whatsoever : the which did somewhat abate the courage of such as had a will to doe evil ; and yet their hatred growing through enuy and priuate iuelousies, dyed not, vntill the Queene had taken away the cause by another meanes. For, considering that they who during the life of the deceased King, were kept in awe by the only feare they had to lose his fauor, would hardly now yeeld vnto the King her sonne the seruice and obedience due vnto him for the many honors and fauors done them by their Maiesties ; and that he which was formerly content with ten, would not now be satisfied with any hundred ; and in a word, that all this mischief tended onely to make themselves great during the Kings minority : the Queene Regent had recourse to meanes not befitting the dignity of the King, to containe the authors of these crosses in their duties, to auoid a worse inconuenience which the necessity of the time did extort, distributing honors, offices, pensions, and gratuities among the Nobility : so as more Gentlemen of note and quality were gratified then by the deceased King ; and more companies of men of armes were entertained ; by which meanes all things seemed quiet : yet their discontents burst out againe ; for on the third of Ianuary the whole Loure was full of drawne swords vpon a light quarrell betweene the two first Gentlemen of the Kings chamber, *Monsi. de Belgarde* Master of the Horse, and the *Marquis d'Ancre* ; the which notwithstanding was presently reconciled by her Maiesties commandement.

The Parisians  
commanded to  
haue their arms  
ready.

This was no sooner reconciled, but an accident begot another ; but between other personages, betweene Princes of the blood, and between two brethren, to wit, the Prince of Conty, and the Earle of Soissons, which also engendered another, that without the Queen Regents preuention might haue plunged France into the like troubles it was in during the quarrels of the Houses of Orleans and Bourgoyny. And thus they hapned.

On Monday the 10 of Ianuary about foure or five a clock at night, the Prince of Conty going to the Loure in his Carrosse, with foure or five of his followers on horse-back, met with the Earle of Soissons his brother, in his Carrosse also, being followed by eightene or twenty on horse-backe : and for that the street was encombred, one of the Carrosses must of force stay to let the other passe. The Gentleman of the Earles horse, not knowing the Princes Coach-man, would haue caused him to stay, commanding to goe backe with threats (as commonly they doe which accompany such Princes, and are many times the cause of great quarrels) which being heard by those which were in the Princes Carrosse, he commanded the Coach-man to put forwards his horses, and to passe on at what time they which were with the Earle told him, that it was the Prince ; he presently sent a Gentleman to make his excuse for the error, which had beene committed by the indiscretion of the Gentleman of his horse, beseeching him to beleue that it was without any designe, and that hee was his most humble seruant. Notwithstanding, the Prince in passing cryed out vnto him, *To morrow we will try it out in our shirts.* The Queene Mother (being instantly aduertised of what had past) sent to the Earle of Soissons, commanding him to keepe his lodging vntill shee had reconciled the businesse : And at the same instant she commanded the prince of Conde, and afterwards the Duke of Guise (who was brother in law to the prince of Conty) to visit the said prince the next day, and dispose him to an accord, F seeing that what had past was not done with any designe : and that the Earle of Soissons should send the party to him who had committed this indiscretion, to craue his pardon.

A quarrell be-  
tweene the  
Prince of Con-  
ty and the Earle  
of Soissons.

Both went according to the Queenes commandement, but not together. The prince of Conde going in his Carrosse, with foure Gentlemen onely on horse-backe, encountered with the Duke of Guise at port Buffy, accompanied with an 150 horse coming from the prince of Conty ; he told him that hee had disposed the prince to refer himselfe vnto his iudgement for his satisfaction ; for the which he gaue him great thanks. The Duke caused his brother the Cheualier du Guise to accompany him to the prince of Conty ; and to put him

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Falle reports  
breed a quarrell  
betweene the  
Earle of Soif-  
sons and the  
Duke of Guife.

him in minde of his promise, he himselfe also offering to accompany him, but he refused it. So the Prince of Contry having confirmed to his Nephew the Prince of Conde what he had spoken to the Duke of Guife, that quarrell was ended.

But vpon the report which was at the same instant made vnto the Earle of Soissons, that the Duke of Guife went through the City with 150 horse to braue him: that hee had past by his house to make shew of his troope: that all those which were with him had coats of male, and that he had caused fifty to be bought: that they had heard these words spoken by the Prince of Contry's followers, *I am sworn to the King, to the Queene, and to the Duke of Orleans.* Finally, that all this was not without some proiect against him, considering what had past for the yong Lady of Montpensier promised to the duke of Orleans, whom they of Bourbon desired as being of their blood and House, seeing the Duchesse dowager of Montpensier her mother was newly married to the Duke of Guife. This report I say bred a quarrell betweene the Earle of Soissons, and the Duke of Guife. The Queene was suddenly aduertised hereof, who sent *Monsi. de Vitry* Captaine of the Guard to remaine with the duke of Guife & his brethren, and to command them to keep their lodgings vntill he had otherwise determined. About two of the clocke in the afternoon, the Earle of Soissons came to the Loure to the Queene. A Councell was called, where there assisted the Constable, the Dukes of Epernon, Sully & Bouillon, the Chancellor, President *lanin*, the Marshalls of Brisac and Boisdaphe, with the M. of the horse.

The Constable demanded iustice of the Queene against the Duke of Guife, who had gone out of his lodging with 150 horse to braue the Earle of Soissons. The Duke of Sully took the speech vpon him for *Monsi. de Guife*, and said vnto the Queene: Madam, the demand which my Lord the Constable maketh vnto you is very reasonable, and you owe iustice to all your subiects, and especially to Princes of the blood: but you must understand whereof they complain. There can nothing be alledged, but that the D. of Guife went out of his lodging with 150 horse to braue the Earle of Soissons. I haue not seene *Monsi. de Guife*, but as far as I can learne from some of his with whom I spake euen now, he went in the morning from his wifes lodging by your Maiesties commandement, to try if he might dispoile the Prince of Contry his brother in law to a reconciliation with the Earle of Soissons; that without passing before the Earles lodging which was his neerest way, he had gone through S. Honoris street and so ouer the new bridge, with an intent that if he had met with the Earle, to haue saluted him and given him the way, for that he hath no quarrell vnto him but is his seruant. Moreouer, that the Duke of Guife seeing his company greater when he came from the Prince of Contry, then when hee went thither, he would not come directly to your Maiestie to giue an account of what hee had done, but retired himselfe to his owne house. The Dukes of Epernon and Bouillon confirmed the same.

This excuse was presently sent to be propounded to the Earle of Soissons, to see if hee would rest satisfied. He refused foure of them which were in Councell, pretending their strict friendship and neere alliance with the Duke of Guife. In the end it was concluded that the quarrell should be ended by a discourse which the Queene should make, whereunto the Duke of Guife should answer. There were many difficulties on the forme of this discourse, wherein that day and the next were spent. Vpon these alterations the Burgesses were commanded to arme in those quarters which were neerest to the Loure. Whether it were vpon the leaue of an old quarrell (although compounded) betweene the Earle of Soissons and the duke of Sully, or for any other intention, the Marquis of Rhodny his sonne, the duke of Rohan his son in law, and all their friends which were many (for pensioners doe alwaies follow those that gouerne the treasure) went to the D. of Guife, who being assisted by them of his family, and those which were allied vnto him, shewed himselfe with a great troope of Princes and Nobility, going to visit the duke of Maine, to demand his aduice touching the forme of the discourse which they would haue him make vnto the Queene. The Duke of Maine came vnto the Loure and saw the Queene, who in the beginning complained to see that such a received pension from the king her son, did not assist him, but sided with the one or the other party. Her Maiesty knew well that this quarrell (if it were not reconciled) would haue a fatal end, imitating the deceased King her husband, who would not suffer any quarrell in his Court vnderdred: told the Dukes of Maine and Bouillon, that her pleasure was, it should be speedily ended: That the

The Queene  
speaketh to the  
Jukes of Mune  
and Bouillon.

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A the would haue the honor of the Princes of the blood preferred, that whosoever attempted against them did as much as if they had affronted the King her sonne. The Duke of Maine besought her, that the honour of his House might not be committed to the judgement of passionate men: that they and their friends had serued her Maiesty vnto her Regency: that they had no interest but the preferuacion of the State vnder the lawfull authority of their Maiesties, and that he had rather see them all dead, then to see them faile in the respect & obedience which they did owe them. In the end they all thought it good that the duke of Maine should say vnto the Queene for the D. of Guife, that which was contained in a writings which they had caused to be drawne, but in the absence of both the parties. The next day being the 14. of the month, about two of the clocke in the afternoon, the D. of Maine came to effect her Maiesties pleasure; where in the presence of the king, Queene, Princes & Noblemen of the Court, he spake these words for the D. of Guife. *Madam, vpon the opinion that my Lord the Earle of Soissons hath had, that that which passed on Tuesday, hath given him some occasion to complaine of mee, I can assure your Maiesty, that I had no thought nor intention to gine him cause, and should be very sorry to haue done it, contrariwise, if I had encountered him, I would haue done him the honour which is due vnto him, desiring to remain his most humble seruant.* Whereupon the Queen answered; *I am glad of that which you say vnto me, and rest satisfied.* Hereupon the Prince of Conde had presently charge to repaire vnto the Earle of Soissons, to acquaint him with what had past, and to command him to conforme himselfe to her Maiesties will: the which he promised to doe. And so this quarrell was ended by the Regents widome: and these Princes did afterwards make shew that they had forgotten it.

The forme of  
the accord be-  
tweene the  
Earle of Soif-  
sons and Duke  
of Guife.

Within 3 daies after there grew another quarrell neere vnto the Queenes chamber, but he that had committed the offence (although he were of quality) was glad to submit himselfe vnto the Bastile, from whence the Queene soon after freed him. This example made them more wile and circumspect: And to the end that St. Germaines Faire, should not be an occasion to breed new quarrels, her Maiesty would not suffer it to be kept this year. But being told that many Merchants would breake and become bankrupt if it did faile: she answered, it were better 500 Merchants were ruined (the which will not happen) then France should fall into combustion.

Saint Ger-  
maines Faire  
forbidden.

All things being reasonable well quieted and settled in France; In the beginning of this year, the Councell beganne to consult of that which might concerne the discharge and ease of the State, & of the kings subiects. First, there were propounded the complaints and grieuances of the Inhabitants and townes vpon the riuier of Loire, touching the great commodities the Country had suffered during the last troubles, by the Garison of the Towne and Castle of Amboise: wherefore to secure the Country and to free the Inhabitants from future feare, it was concluded in Councell to giue vnto *Monsi. du Gast* (who was Gouernour of the said Castle) a certaine summe of money in regard of his seruices, and to resigne it into the Kings hands.

A composition  
for the Castle  
of Amboise.

Next, they tooke into their considerations, the Citadell of Bourg in Bresse; their Maiesties being informed what great sums of money were yearly employed for the payement of that Garison; In regard whereof, and for that it had bene built by the Duke of Sauoy, expressly to annoy France, for the losse whereof he was still grieued, and might well haue some intelligences to surprize it: it was ordained (with the consent of the councell) That the Citadell should be razed to assure France on that side, and that the money which should be employed for payment of the garison should be giuen to *Monsi. de Baiffe*, who was gouernour thereof, both in regard of his disbursements, and recompence of his seruices, the which should no way incommode the King, but rather ease his coffers, by the sparing of so much money as was to be paid yearly to the Garison. This demantelling did free them of Lions, and the neighbour Countries from feare of future alterations.

The Citadell of  
Bourg razed.

About the same time, the French Ambassadour residing for the King with the Grisons, had charge to deliuer the reasons which did import France vpon the new pursuure of the Venecians, for the renewing of their League with the Grison Cantons, before he should engage the Kings name and reputation: for calling to minde the accidents which had befallen those Cantons, after their first league with Venice, and had bene allowed by the deceased King, (whereof he afterwards repented himselfe, when as he saw it did preiudice his owne) and had plunged that Nation into great confusions and miseries,

The renewing of  
the League be-  
tweene the  
Venecians and  
Grisons.

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ries,



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The Duke of  
Sully dismiss  
from his offices  
of the Treas-  
ure and Ba-  
stille.

The Duke of  
Sully's Letter  
to the Queen.

ries, the memory whereof was alwaies renewed if they did but cast their eyes vpon the A Fort of Fuentes, built vpon the frontier of their Country, after the first League made with Venice, and vpon that occasion: yet their Maiesties desiring to fauour those commonalties, in imitation of the deceased King, gaue charge to their Ambassadour, that the capitulations of the first league should be perused before it were renewed, to reforme what might be preiudiciall to that of France, and that the Ambassadour of the said Canons residing at Paris, should confer with his Maiesties Councell touching the same.

Soone after the reconciliation of the Earle of Soissons, and the duke of Guise, the duke of Sully resigned his places of superintendant of the Treasure, and Captaine of the Bastille into the Queenes hand.

This bred admiration in many, to see a man of his worth and merit, dismissed without crime, hauing beene so faithfull a seruant to the deceased King his Master, and so good a Husband for the State. Men spake diuersly of this action, some said hee did it voluntarily of his owne free-will, and by the aduice of his friends, considering the hatred this charge had gotten him in seruing his King and Country faithfully: and now finding that by the death of his Prince he had lost all hope hereafter quietly to execute his place, he gaue way to the will of the enemies of his prosperity, and desisted willingly, yea (as they say) by the Queenes aduice: who when as he resigned the keyes of the Bastille, and of the Kings treasure into her hands, made offer vnto him of a recompence in money, the which he refused, beseeching her Maiestie to keepe in memory the seruices which he had done C vnto France vnder the deceased King. After which he wrote this following Letter vnto her, the which I haue set downe verbatim, hoping thereby to giue the Reader much content, in acquainting him in what Estate France stood at the old Kings death.

Madam, among all the honorable conditions of a French gentleman, I haue alwaies most esteemed that, to be employed in the most important affaires of his Country, to gouerne them happily, and to obey the Commandements of his Prince. For many yeares I haue managed the chiefe of this Estate, with an vnexpected successe, I haue caried them from a deepe gulfe of misery, to the height of all glory: And now Madam, I obey your expresse will and desire, I deliuer into your hands, the two goodliest markes of my good Masters fauour and bounty, the Bastille and the Treasure, I held them during his life, I yeeld them vnto you after his death, and will content my selfe, that the effects of my seruice remaine for euer grauen in the hearts of your subiects: Some one lesse faithfull then my selfe would fill all France with his complaints: but my perpetual deuotion to the place of my birth, and to my King, strikes my tongue dumbe, and makes mee rather seeke the cause of so great a change in mine owne incapacity, then in any other consideration. One thing Madam much disquiets my minde: which is, your Maiesties absolute resolution to haue me take money in recompence of my offices, not for that I doe not conceiue how necessary this expedient is for the good of your seruices; but on the other side, it is so contrary to my demands, as notwithstanding all the power I haue ouer my selfe to please you, yet haue I not enough to accept thereof. Nay I am forced to refuse it, and to preferre (contrary to my duty in this subiect,) my owne priuate interest before that of you Maiestie. Of all the meanes propounded vnto mee to leaue my charge, this should be most odious vnto me, and in truth I abhorre it, and hold it to proceede from the malice of mine enemies, not from your Maiesties bounty: For Madame, why doe they not rather lay this pretext, vpon my sower disposition, vnsofiable, without gratification or dissimulation, or vpon the bad order I haue taken in my charges; or that I haue beene a bad husband in managing of the Treasure, and vpon the miseries which haue ensued; vpon the strong intelligences which I haue practised both within and without the Realme; and vpon the great care I haue taken to settle my selfe for the preferation of my fortunes? Why Madame, haue they not rather made choice of these grounds then of another, which hath lesse shew of truth? For to publish that I leuer demanded recompence for my office of the Treasure, other then the place of a Marshall of France, it can neuer bee truly maintained: The malice of mine enemies, nor pleasing of some of my friends, shall neuer be able to iustifie the contrary. And if your Maiestie charge mee, to haue my selfe made offer vnto you of all that I did ioy, I confesse it: I cannot deny but I haue often assured your Maiestie, that whatsoever depended on me was at your deuotion, yea my life it selfe. But truly Madam, I did not then thinke that to make such offers to his Prince, was a crime sufficient

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A sufficient to dispossesse him of his dignities. If you conceiue it so now it is a Maxime which seemeth new to me: but this nouelty shall neuer make me repent to haue done my duty. Contrariwise I againe offer vnto your Maiestie, not only my honours and goods, but my life it selfe, and that of my children, the which I doe not with condition, but to dispose of at your pleasure, yea, were it to honor my very enemies, if to take them simply from me may not content you. If my actions past haue serued for the increase of this Crowne, I will that my obedience shall shew the way to preserve it; and whatsoever mine enemies shall publish of my loue to what I hold, or howe neuer other mens humors may perswade beliefe, yet Madam, it is true that I will abandon whatsoever my seruices haue gotten mee, with more resolution and constancy, then another shall enioy them with pleasure: It shall suffice me to heare in my solitarie how your Maiestie shall daily make this Scepter more flourishing, maintaine good order in the affaires; and keepe treasure in your coffers sufficient to maintaine this Estate, which doth chiefly subsist by the support of these two pillars. With this will I quietly entertaine my idle thoughts, and comfort my selfe in the losse of my good King, without being forced (if it please you) to accept any other recompence for my offices then the contentment to receive none, and the honor of your expresse commandement. Yet notwithstanding for your last resolution, and not to shew my selfe disobedient vnto your will, if your Maiestie haue absolutely decreed to the contrary: behold then the greatest fauour which I most humbly beseech you to recompence mee withall, is; that it would please you to command my greatest enemies to goe instantly to the chamber of Accompt to verifie the profit or preiudice of my cares and watches for these 12 yeares; and if they finde not, that during this time vnder the power of my great King, I haue assisted much by my dexterity and labour to roote out the greatest confusion that euer was in the finances of France: That I haue besides the sparing of eight millions of Liuers yearly for the which they are accomplable to his Offices, besides the payment of all the charges, of all the ordinary expences of the State, of all waies for Soueraigne Courts, of all ment of Warre, Garisons, Embassies, the Kings Houle, Voyages, Mariages, Presents, Recompences, and a thousand other charges too long to repeat: Besides all these ordinary great summes without the increase of any taxes or impositions within the Realme, but diminished them. If they find not I say that moreouer for the interrainment of three great Armies, whereof the one tooke Amiens, another reduced Britaine, and the third conquered Breffe and Sauoy. I caused about 12 Millions to be furnished extraordinarily. For the discharge of the debts of France growne by treaties and otherwise about 25 millions: for the payment of the debts in Switzerland, Germany, Italy, and England, about 30 Millions: for the payment of Pensions, within and without the Realme, about 28 Millions: for the succoring of foraigne Prouinces about 8 millions: for the repairing of the Artillery, fortifications, waies and buildings about 6 millions: for the ease and reliefe of the poore, about 6 millions: And to deliuer in treasure into the Coffers at the Bastille, or to leaue in the custodie of the Treasurer, about 12 Millions: To discharge many other expences which may bee easily verified about 10 Millions. If I haue not caused contracts to be past for the redeeming of the Crown lands engaged, whereof the greatest part are daily executed, these redemptions amounting to about 40 millions. Finally Madam, if I haue not by my care and vigilancy practised all these courses of sparing: and if to continue the same duty towards France, I haue not alwaies offered vnto your Maiestie to lose my life, or to maintaine the affaires in the same splendour, yea to represent them in a higher degree: If I haue not done all these things, and more, I then submit my selfe to receiue for a punishment of my presumption, that recompence which you ordaine me in the losse of my honor and Offices. But Madam, if no one of these Articles be found false, but in that they are too sparing, and if my first affection hath receiued no change, but is more fortified, suffer mee to endure the harme which is done me, and not to accept the good you offer me. Take my places without this heauie burden: or if you will of necessity honor me with some fauour, let it bee (if it please you) only with the peremall remembrance of my fidelity, a fauour which I craue your Maiestie, not to be called againe to the painfull toile of affaires, but only to suffer mee to liue in peace, at the memory of one who is the Regent of my Country, the liuing soule of my Master, and the mother of my King. And doubleless Madam, it is an honour, and the last acknowledgement which your Maiestie cannot iustly denie me: for seeing that although

1611  
A million  
of Liuers  
is 10000  
pound ster-  
ling.

1611 whom I have offended in the execution of my place, labour to see mee deprived; with A  
greater reason they may well remember my seruices with triumph.

Farewell my house, farewell fort, which I haue had in guard about 12, yeares: fare-  
well Temple of the Goddesse Moneta, which hath bred me so many cares: suffer me now  
to depart being weary of affaires, and send me to a private life, where I may haue no such  
troubles: I am he, who strong in spirit and courage haue managed the treasure of the  
King and Kingdome; to whom the happinesse of this estate augmented in new reuen-  
ues, and the Coffers of our young Master, filled by iust and lawfull meanes, is bound for  
the good order which I haue settled. I haue had great honours and received great re-  
compences for my industrious care: I haue had great power and authority vnder a B  
great King; but in a moment, in this bloody fall, I haue seene it all fall to ruine, in the  
same disaster: I haue seene all this ruine quenched which hath made many to threaten  
me often with ruine, whilst I endeauored the good of the State, and sought onely to get  
the fauour of my Master, not caring for great men, nor knowing how to seeke an applaus  
of the people, being still constant in this designe. But now depart from me all trouble-  
some cares, I haue resolved to retire my ship into a safe Port: it may bee the State haui  
lost me, will finde whereunto I was profitable, and the people will know it: then, but too  
late, fauour and affection will succeed hatred; but I haue not mine owne interest in such  
effecme, as I desire to gaine by the miseries of my Country; But O God make the for-  
tunes of this Kingdom alwaies to stand in good estate, that I may neuer see it ouerthrowne C  
and that it may haue no cause to lament me.

After this the Duke of Sully in the beginning of Februarie, left the Court of France,  
and retired himselfe of his Towne of Sully vpon the riuier of Loite.

The slanderous  
accusation of  
D'Escoman  
condemned.

Let vs now turne to some memorable executions of Iustice. In the beginning of this year,  
there was a most slanderous accusation made by a woman, wife to a poore Gentleman,  
whose name was *Iſaac de Varennes*, Seigneur of D'Escoman. This woman was crook't  
back't and lame, but of an active spirit; a great talker, subtile, cunning and of a great me-  
morie, but of a lewd and vicious life. Being in poverty & want, and newly gotten out of  
prison, she thought to frame an accusation whereby shee hoped to releue herselfe and to  
advance her fortune. She had obserued that *Queene Marguerit* came often for deuotion D  
to Saint Victors Church, where this *D'Escoman* tooke occasion to speake vnto her, be-  
seeeching her to heare her, and that shee would discouer some matter which did concerne  
the life of the King and *Queene Regent* his mother. *Queene Marguerit* remembering that  
shee had seene her, and that shee had refused her seruice for her bad life, would not heare  
her: whereupon shee cryed out, that if the bad designe, whereon depended their Maie-  
ties liues should take effect, the blame should be laid vpon her: whereupon the *Queene*  
commanded shee should be caried to her lodging, where after dinner shee heard her in pri-  
uate, where shee accused diuers persons of quality to bee guilty of the murder of the de-  
ceased King; which although the *Queene* held to be calumnious, yet perfectly aduer-  
tised the *Queene Regent* thereof, desiring that some might be sent to heare what shee had  
said. Shee was afterwards committed to prison and examined by the first President, and  
vpon her accusation two were committed to prison: shee also charged the *Marquis of*  
*Vernueil*, and a Gentlewoman whose name was *Tiller*, that they were familiar with *Ra-*  
*uillaz*, and acquainted with the Kings death; but vpon further examination and confron-  
tation of them which were accused, her owne tongue discovered the slander, where-  
upon the Court declared *Godin* and *Sauvage*, (who had continued long in prison)  
and all others whom shee had accused to be innocent of the most abominable parricide  
committed on the person of the deceased King: and condemned the said *D'Escoman* to  
end her daies mured vp betwixt four wales.

A Magician  
executed at  
Aix.

The Court of Parliament of Aix in Prouence, proceeded also criminally against a no-  
table Magician or forcerer, called *Lewis Gausfridy* a Priest borne in Prouence and benedi-  
ced at Marfeilles. He was accused of Rape, seducing of Virgins, Impiety, Magicks, Sor-  
cery, and other abominations, all which hee confessed vnder his owne hand, and was  
therefore arraigned, and condemned to bee deliuered into the hands of the executioner,  
and to be led through all the streets of Aix and before the Cathedrall Church, to doe pe-  
nance his head and feet bare, and a halter about his necke, holding a burning Torch in  
his hand, and there vpon his knees to craue pardon of God, the King, and the Iustice: which

A which done he should beled to the Preachers place in the said City, and there to be burnt  
vntill his bodie and bones were consumed to ashes and those to bee cast into the winde,  
and his goods to be confiscate to the King. That before his execution hee should bee put  
to the Racke, to draw from his owne mouth the truth of his complices; yet before the  
said execution they were to deliuer him into the hands of the Bishop of Marfeilles his  
Diocelaine, or in his absence to some other Prelate to bee degraded according to the accu-  
sation. All which was duly put in execution according to the decree the last  
day of Aprill. Whilst the people expected his execution, a very modest Gentleman  
whose name was *Eprade*, who was contracted to a Presidents daughter, was stabbed and  
murdered behind by *Montauraux*, a Knight of Malta in the fight of three thousand  
perions, and yet none could stay the murderer. A childe fell from a tree and was slaine:  
and a young Gentleman was wounded by the same Knight with his dagger. These were  
the misfortunes which that wicked forcerer had foretold should happen to them which  
should come to see him die.

What hapned  
at the execu-  
tion of the Priest

The first President *de Harlay*, hauing serued the most Christian Kings faithfully, & late  
in the seat of Iustice almost 29 yeares in the first Court of Parliament of France, whereof he  
was the head, seeing himselfe charged with yeares, his health impayred, and his sight de-  
cayed, hee craued leave of the *Queene Regent* to giue ouer this great charge, and entreated  
her to provide some other for the place. Her Maiesty vpon this request made choice of  
C *Monſi de Verdan*, who was first President of Thoulouze, and caused him to be advanced to  
that place, into the which hee entered at the opening of the pleadings after Easter. I must  
needs confesse of *Achilles de Harlay*, that being inimitable in the wonderfull expedition  
he vsed in doing Iustice, giuing audience rather to meane and poore people then to rich,  
he hath left the world know, that he hath neuer fought any other recompence for so great  
travell for the common wealth, then the conscience to haue done well. In like manner  
the diuers gratifications and praises, which the good wits of Languedoc caused to be prin-  
ted in the honour of the first President *de Verdan*, witness how much that prouince was  
grieved for the departure of such a personage; and that the good Iustice hee had done in  
the Parliament should be alwaies liuing in their memories. As soone as he came to bee  
head of the Parliament at Paris, he suppressed the liberties which many officers of iustice  
and their Clarks had taken, as well in the exercise of their charges, as in their apparel.  
In like manner they which kept tabling Houses for Cards and Dice, were presently cal-  
led in question, and many were committed to prison: whereupon the King made a decla-  
ration, by the which hee did expressly forbid all persons of what qualitie and condition soe-  
uer, to keepe any Tabling houses in any Towne or part of his Realme, nor assemble to-  
gether to play at Cards and Dice: forbidding all owners of houses and others, to let their  
houses to any one which shall keepe gaming, vpon paine of an arbitrary fine, and other  
punishment; and to be answerable in their owne names for all the money which should be  
lost, and bound to make restitution. Inioyning the ordinary Iudges in euery towne to  
transport themselves vnto such houses and places where they shall be certified that such  
Tabling houses are, or other like assemblies; to seize vpon such as they should find, to-  
gether with their money, jewels, and other things exposed to play, and to distribute the said  
money to the poore of the Hospitall to whom hee did adiuage it; and in like manner to  
proceed against those gamesters, and against the landlords and housekeepers by the way  
of Proceſſe, as breakers of his lawes and ordinances. This in the beginning was very well  
observed, but soone after, some great personages dispensed themselves, which was not well  
done; for that their houses could not be searched by any officers with safety: so by little  
and little this wicked custome is in danger to creep in againe.

A defence of  
paint tabling  
houses.

This yeare the second of May, the King being at Fontain-leau, assisted by the *Queene*  
Regent his mother, vpon information that *Chastelleraut*, where his Maiesty had giuen  
leave for his subjects of the reformed Religion, to make a generall assembly of some de-  
puties of euery Prouince, would be very discommodious for them; for that it was not able  
to lodge them, and that the Towne of *Saumur*, which is not farre off, would accommo-  
date them better: his Maiesty, desiring to entreat them fauorably, and for some other  
private considerations, by the advice of the *Queene Regent* his mother, ordained that the  
Assembly which had bene assigned at *Chastelleraut*, should be transferred to *Saumur*,  
and to that end, commandement should be giuen to the deputies generall of them of the  
religion

An assembly at  
Saumur with  
the Kings per-  
mission.

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religion remaining in Court, to give speedy advertisement to all those which should be chosen Deputies in the generall assembly, to repaire to Saumur: in testimony whereof the King signed them a Briefe.

Hereupon the Deputies of the reformed Churches came from all parts of France vnto Saumur, where the Assembly began the 27 of May, in the Towne-house. There appeared in this Assembly 70 Deputies, that is to say, 30 Gentlemen, 20 Ministers, 16 Ancients or Deputies for the Commons, and 4 Deputies for the Towne and government of Rochel. There assisted at this Assembly, the Dukes of Tremouille, Bouillon, and Sully, vpon request made vnto them by many provinces and by the Assembly: and the Duke of Rohan with his brother *Monsi de Subize*, Deputies of Britanny: the Earle of Penias, and *Monsi de la Force*, entreated by the Province of basse Guyenne: *Monsi de Chastillon*, for basse Languedoc: The Marquis of *Servieres*, for high Guienne: the Seigneur of *Belugnon* sent from the Marshal *DeSiquieres*: the Seigneurs of Parabel, la Boulay, Pleffis Mornay, & the Seigneurs of Villarnoul and Miranda, generall Deputies for the reformed Churches to remain in Court, with many other Gentlemen of good note.

The holding of this Assembly did minifter matter of talke amongst all the Townes of France, for the like had not bene seene, where there were so many Dukes and great Noblemen of the Religion, especially during the minority of a King: There was also a general brute throughout all France, that they had obtained from the deceased King a generall establishment of their religion: and that now they would of the five articles which were concluded amongst them at the assembly at Millaud, enioy those two which were not yet granted, that is to say, two places of surety in every province where they had not any; and that the tithes which they ought vnto their Curates, they would have them employed in the entertainment of their Ministers: and moreover, that they had a desire to sweate a new vnion, to maintain themselves in the governments, charges, honors, and dignities, which they had received from the deceased King: and that in all the places which they of the religion held, besides those which had bin granted them by the Briefe in the yeare 1595, they would maintaine themselves in the vnion of their Churches.

The Queene Regent vpon these brutes, sent the Duke of Elpernon, into his governments of Xaintonge, Angoumois, and Lymousin, to give order that no firs nor alterations might happen. The Prince of Conde had received commandement to goe into his government of Guienne; and their Majesties sent Letters to the Iurats of Bourdeaux, to receive him with all honour due to such a Prince their Governour, which they performed accordingly, as you shall heare hereafter.

This first act made at the Assembly at Saumur, was a generall vnion of the reformed Churches, which the Deputies did promise and sweare to keepe inuolably vnder his Majesties protection, as it had bene agreed in precedent Assemblies; and to procure the obseruation thereof in all places, and especially in those provinces which had sent them, and in those places where they should remaine. Moreover, to propound and give all aduice in that Assembly, what they should thinke in their consciences to be conformable to reason and equity, and not otherwise; and that laying aside all passion and bad affection, they should asme at nothing but the honour of God, the good, quiet, and advancement of the said Churches, the seruice of his Majesty, and of the Queene Regent, and of all the royall issue, and the preservation of the Estate, with diuers other Articles, which for breuities sake I must omit.

The Assembly, treating of an Article into the body of their grievances, touching the maintaining of them of the religion, in the Estates, offices, honours, and dignities which they enioyed, and restoring of them which have bene dispossest: The Company exhorted the Duke of Sully, entreating of the recompence which had bene promised him for his places, to insist rather to haue it in safety and honour, then commodity and profit. They gave charge to the generall Deputies of the Churches, humbly to beseech the King to give contentment vnto the Duke of Sully: and they requested the Duke of Sully, and the Marquis of Rohan his sonne, not to give ouer those places which they yet enioyed, namely, that of great master of the Artillery: and if in that respect or any other, he should be prest by any indee, vnlawfull and extraordinary meanes: It was decreed to make a demonstration that they held the Duke of Sullyes interest vnited to that of the Generall of the Churches, and to assist him by all due and lawful meanes: whereof the Generall Deputies

Noblemen came to the assembly.

Diuers brutes were hung the assembly at Saumur.

The Prince of Conde sent to his government of Guienne.

A generall vnion made by the reformed Churches.

A putes should haue charge in their instructions. Vpon the subiect of this decree, there was a speech made vnto the Assembly by the Duke of Sully, published to the world in these words.

My Masters, seeing it hath pleased this company to be informed by mine owne mouth, how matters haue past touching my admission from my charges of Superintendant of the Treasure, and Capraine of the Bastille, I will endeavour to satisfie their desire, and yet not tire them with any long discourse, both for that my memory hath alwayes ayimed at substantiall things, rather then multitudes of words; as also for that the matter requires I should represent it plainly and simply. I will tell you then my Masters, that I haue bene advertised from diuers Provinces, that many Churches and priuate men my friends were wonderfully scandalized and offended, for that I gaue no advertisement before I desisted from the execution of my places, neither haue since giuen them any accompt of the proceedings which haue bene held to that end: considering that the Queene had so much honoured them, as to write into diuers parts: whereof I humbly beseech you to excuse me, and not to beleuee that I haue committed this error through negligence, contempt, or forgetting the respect which is due vnto you; neither yet vpon any presuming confidence of your loues towards me: But many lawfull causes haue inuited me to take this course, whereof I will offer two vnto you: The first, That they vied such precipitation, as it was impossible for me to demand aduice: And the second: That I could not write but I must wrong the truth, or some persons to whom I will beare respect. They haue also published, that I gaue ouer my places willingly. Whereunto I will answer, That I haue alwayes so inured my selfe to yeeld all respect and seruice to my Kings and Superiors, as I presently submitted my selfe to whatsoever they required of mee, but rather through obedience then election. And as for the recompence of my places, if they had treated amiably with me, I would rather haue chosen a recompence in honour and safety, then in profit & vilitie: but I beleuee in that respect things are yet as they were; for whatsoever any one hath said, I will protest truly that I haue not receiued any kind of recompence, neither would I demand any without the aduice of this Assembly, whom I entreat to giue me counsell vpon foure points. First, if I shall leave matters in the estate they are in without any further instance. Secondly, Whether I shall demand my reestablishment plainly. Thirdly, Whether I shall submit my selfe to the recompence they haue offered me, and demand it. Fourthly, Whether I shall insist to receive a recompence of honour and safety, rather then of profit. Wherein I will absolutely follow what shall be resolved by you. I beseech you my masters examine this business well, and consider whether it be to be held merely priuate, or to be annexed to the interest of the publique; whether it bee depending on the Edict, and may be drawne in consequence, against all such as make profession of the religion, and so be held a breach of the same: For if you iudge that I alone haue the interest, this company then shall not need to trouble themselves any further, the which I referre vnto your wilddomes, not seeking to draw you to one resolution more then to another. Moreover, I will tell you freely, that I impute not any thing which hath past, vnto the Queene; for I know well, that if her owne inclination had bene followed, there had bene no alteration in my offices, or else they would haue giuen me a recompence to mine owne liking. I will not spend tinte to represent vnto you two points not to be contradicted. The first is, The satisfaction the King had: the second, The estate wherein the affaires were when I was called thereunto, and how I left them. I doubt not but the oath of the vnion which I haue taken and signed, and the representation which I now make, will much encrease their spleens against me: I haue therefore iust cause to craue the full assistance of all our Churches, not that I desire they should proceed to any alteration: for euen when I parted from Court, I resolved to lettle my minde to rest, without any complaint, or referring any discontent, rather yet to make any instance to be restored to my places, or to demand any recompence: For had I not bene advertised, that many in this Assembly complained for that I had not acquainted them with these things; and that at Court they did protest to write from me some other of my places, or so to crosse me in the execution thereof, as I should be forced to leaue them; I sweare vnto you that I would neuer haue attempted to speak in this place. And to let you know that I speake the truth, I protest here before God and this Assembly, that I am yet of that minde and fully resolved, if you thinke it good and profitable for the publicke, neuer to make any instance for my reestablishment, nor for any

The Duke of Sully's speech to the Assembly at Saumur.

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"any recompence; so as I may be assured to be left in peace, and that I may not be troubled  
 "in the free enjoying of these places which remaine to my sonne and me; nor be deprived  
 "of the gratifications which I have obtained from the bounty of my King and for my ser-  
 "vices. Preferring all my recompences to the Queenes good discretion and pleasure: My  
 "protestations reiterated to be fully content and satisfied other Maiesty, and to have no  
 "other desire, but the glory of God, the preservation of the Church, the Kings service,  
 "and the quiet of the State.

Advice of the  
 Assembly touching the Duke  
 of Sully.

This was Pre-  
 sident Lamoignon.

Deputies sent  
 from their Ma-  
 jesties to the  
 Assembly at  
 Saumur.

These matters thus propounded by the Duke, they fell to consultation, how they might  
 give him content which might be profitable to all the reformed Churches. And as for  
 the foure points wherein he desired their advice; to the first, concerning his leaving matters: B  
 as they were, without any further instance; some said, that this proceeding was an action  
 worthy the greatness and generosity of his courage. For the second, *Whether he should*  
*plainly demand restitution*: they answered, That it would be now a vaine attempt, seeing  
 the place was supplied by a great personage, endued with admirable wisdom and iudge-  
 ment to manage his Masters affaires, who knew how to entertaine men more courteously,  
 and that they found a great difference betweene the facility of his access, and the lower  
 countenance of the Duke. Touching the third point, *Whether he should accept and demand*  
*the recompence which had beene offered him*: some were of opinion, that he ought in duty  
 and modesty to submit himselfe to whatsoever it should please their Maiesties to ordaine.  
 For the fourth, *Whether he should insist upon a recompence of honour and safety, or of profit*: C  
 they sayd, It was in himselfe to speake freely to his friends, which of the two he had most  
 need of. This was the opinion of some in the said assembly, but it was concluded by plu-  
 rality of voices, to vntire the Dukes cause to the generall interest, whereupon they made  
 a decree as you have formerly heard.

In the beginning of this Assembly, the King deputed the Seigneurs of Boissieu and Bul-  
 lion, Councillors of State, to goe to the Assembly; who vpon the 7 of Iune came into  
 the Synod, and deliuered their Letters from the King and Queene Regent, and then ex-  
 posed the generall charge they had received from their Maiesties, saying, That they were  
 ready to allow of the iust demands of the Assembly, according to the termes of the par-  
 ticular Articles, Briefes, answers of their Bills, and other expeditions done in their fauour: D  
 to obserue and keepe euery thing contained in the same; and wholly and entirely to per-  
 forme all which remaineth to be put in execution: and where any ambiguity or obscuri-  
 tie should be found, to cause it fauourably to be interpreted to their aduantage. Requiring  
 them, that according to the termes of the Briefe, by which the Assembly had beene re-  
 quired and granted; they would forthwith proceed vnto the choice and nomination of  
 the fixe Deputies which were to be represented vnto their Maiesties, of which they would  
 retaine two to be resident neere vnto their persons, and which should receive their peti-  
 tions and demands.

The Seigneur de Pleffis as President, hauing giuen thanks vnto the said Commis-  
 sioners, with protestation in the name of the whole Assembly, That they would all be, and  
 cuer remaine, most humble and faithfull in the obedience due vnto their Maiesties, they  
 went home to their lodgings.

Many things past here touching their grieuances, whereon I may not insist, but leave  
 them to the Originall. And the Commissioners being returned to Court, the Assembly  
 resolved to send certaine Deputies to their Maiesties, to present their said grieuances vnto  
 them: for which seruice they made choice of the Barons of Caze and Courtonier, the  
 Minister Ferrier, and the Seigneurs of Mirande and Armer. Whilst they prepared for  
 their journey, and that their instructions, memorials, and Letters were adrawing, the  
 Duke of Sully gaue the Assembly to understand, that apprehending that the interest of  
 private men would so increase the Articles of their grieuances, as the conceSSION way  
 proue more difficult, desiring in no manner that what concerned him should any way pre-  
 iudice the publicke, nor stay the obtaining of things necessary: wherefore he thought it fit  
 to increase the Assembly to examine the points and Articles which might concerne his in-  
 terest strictly, and to iudge whether they were such as they should insist vpon: them, as  
 matters absolutely importing the good of the Churches in generall: or if they were such  
 as might cause any difficulty or refusal in the grant, they should suppress them: as con-  
 cerning onely his particular, in which case, he held it more conuenient to moderate them  
 or

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A or leave them out of their instructions, to the end it might neither preiudice the publicke,  
 nor him in particular: protesting, that as he had vowed to employ his person and life,  
 and that of his children for the glory of God, and the good of their Churches: for he did not  
 make offer of his honor, goods, offices and dignities, to be disposed of as they should think  
 it profitable for the glory of God, and the good of the State: that he was absolutely re-  
 solved without any opposition or dislike to follow whatsoever that Assembly should con-  
 clude and decree: whereupon the Assembly gaue him great thanks for the affection he  
 seemed to beare to the advancement and preservation of their Churches, and for the ex-  
 ample which he gaue to euery one to submit all priuate interests to the good of the ge-  
 neral: assuring him that they had resolved to entertaine all the resolutions which they had  
 taken concerning him.

During this Assembly, there was a combustion in Paris on Trinity Sunday, at the enter-  
 ment of a young child in Trinity Church-yard: which infant did belong to one of  
 the Religion. The daies are then long, and a little sooner then ordinary before the evening  
 was shut in, two Archers of the Watch leading the company, a Vinegar-makers boy be-  
 gan to throw stones at them, many others did the like, yea and his Master himselfe: they  
 had no respect to the Archers nor to their words: the tumult grew somewhat great,  
 one of the Archers was hurt, and some others: presently the officers of Iustice passed  
 thither, and the Vinegar-maker and his seruants were committed to prison, and condemned  
 C by the Lieutenant Criminel: the servant to be whipped before the Trinity Church, and  
 his master to stand by him. They appealed from this sentence: but it was confirmed and  
 executed the first of Iuly.

The Deputies of the Assembly at Saumur, arrived at Paris, and presented vnto the  
 King and Queene Regent their Letters and instructions, containing 57 Articles, which  
 you may read at large in the Originall, being too long to insert here, for that I am limited  
 to my bounds.

The long continuance of this Assembly bred a great iealousie in all the Catholike  
 townes of Poitou, Limosin, and beyond the Riuer of Loire, and the rather for that in the  
 beginning of Iuly, the Duke of Sully was come to Chastellerault, whereupon all the  
 D townes of those Prouinces began to guard their gates. On the seventh of Iuly, about 6  
 of the clocke at night, a horseman passing through Orleans, and seeming to make haste to  
 bait his horse, he spake many things touching the Assembly at Saumur, and amongst the  
 rest, that there were many Huguenots on horsebacke neere to Orleans, to seize vpon the  
 Towne: As soone as he found that some which heard him tooke hold of his words, he  
 suddenly tooke horse and got out of the towne vnkowne: a Burgesse which heard him  
 tooke such an apprehension of this gullery, as he cried to armes in his quarter, reporting  
 what he had heard, which ran like lightning throughout the whole towne, and all the  
 townsmen presently went to armes, and made Barriadoes in diuers places: they remem-  
 bered their troubles past, and feared to fall into the like disasters: whereupon they searched  
 E the houses of them of the Religion: but they found them so disarmed, dreaming of no-  
 thing but peace, as they were afterwards ashamed to haue so lightly fallen into this suspi-  
 tion. This taking of armes at Orleans made them of Chartres and of other townes vpon  
 the Riuer of Loire to keepe strict guard at their gates for feare of surprize. These proce-  
 dings caused the Assembly at Saumur to giue order to *Monsi. de Plusis* for the raising of  
 150 souldiers more: writing vnto their Deputies at Paris, to beseech their Maiesties to  
 make it all, if the Assembly provided for their safety.

On the twentieth of Iuly, the Chancellor in the presence of the Queene, the Priuies  
 and other officers of the Crowne, told the Deputies of the Assembly, that their demands  
 were dispatched, and that among other answers, there was granted a continuation of the  
 F places of suretie for six years, with an increase of 4500 pound sterling for their Ministers;  
 but for that the Assembly had bene chiefly granted them to proceed to the nomination  
 on deputies which should remaine neere vnto his Maiesty to sollicite their affaires, the  
 King would not suffer the answers to be deliuered vnto them vntill they had made the  
 said election.

The Assembly at Saumur being aduertised hereof by their Deputies, who feared they  
 by the 25 of the month they should haue commandement to retire themselves, they  
 gaue charge vnto their Deputies, humbly to beseech the Queene in the name of the As-  
 sembly,

A tumult in  
 Paris at the be-  
 riall of a child.

They of Orleans  
 take an alarme  
 vpon a false  
 suggestion.

The Chan-  
 cellor speech-  
 eth to the  
 Deputies of  
 the Assem-  
 bly.

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A Letter from  
their Maiesties  
to the Assem-  
bly.

such letter  
to the Assem-  
bly.

Monf. de Bullion  
was left com-  
mandement to  
the Assembly  
in the Queens  
name.

Monf. de Bullion  
was left com-  
mandement to  
the Assembly  
in the Queens  
name.

sembly, notes command them to proceed in the nomination of the two general Deputies, before they had received an answer of their grievances, for that they had no office charge from their Churches, nor to make the said election (which should be the said Act done in Assembly) without that required contentment of their persons. The Deputies having made a supplication unto the Queene, according to the intention of the Assembly, and that she fully charged Letters given them, into the Assembly for an answer, letting them vnderstand that *Monf. de Bullion* should resume presently to Saumur, and carry them over to their demands.

Their Maiesties Letters did import, That they had willingly heard their Deputies, and taken in good part the testimonies and protestations of the fidelity, devotion, and obedience of them of the Assembly: but in stead of presenting the names of fixe persons to chuse two general Deputies out of them; they had delivered their petitions, remonstrances, and grievances, the which although their Maiesties had good reason to reioice, untill the nomination had beene brought; yet they had caused them to bee viewed, examined, and answered, as fauourably as they could possible: and had acquainted their Deputies with the chief Articles, to represent them to the Assembly; that being enforced of their good and holy intentions, the Assembly might speedily resolve to discharge their duty, which was inticed their layd nomination of fixe persons, whereof their Maiesties were to chuse two, into whose hands they would deliuer the answer of their demands, with all necessary expeditious; and in the end the Assembly might then brake vp, as it was necessary for the Kings seruice, and the good of his subiects, left their long continuance together, should breed some disorder in the State, and ialousie amongst the Kings subiects.

On the 14 of August *Monf. de Bullion* came to Saumur; the next day he entered into the Assembly; presented their Maiesties Letters and deliuered his charge; which was; That the Queenes pleasure was, they should name the said Deputies, to take away the ialousie, which their Assembly gaue vnto the Catholiques, vnto whom her Maiesty was bound to giue contentment as well as to them. Which done, he had charge to deliuer vnto them their demands fauourably answered. That her Maiesty could not giue them any more, then what was specified in their answers, which had bene resolved by the Princes of the blood, and other Princes, officers of the Crowne, and Lords of the Councell, wherefore they should proceed to the said nomination: ending his discourse with these words, *Their glory consists in obedience.*

Whereupon *Monf. de Plessis*, who was President, made answer in the name of the Assembly; that vpon the returne of their Deputies they had bene assured of their Maiesties good inclination towards their most humble and faithfull seruants of the Religion; whereof they had a new testimony, in that they were pleased to send vnto them a personage of such merit, of whose affection they had great confidence: as if they protested before him, that they were ready to employ their means and liues for their Maiesties seruice; but as for the rest, when as the company had conferred thereupon, they would acquaint him with their resolution: whereupon he retired.

After diuers conferences and contentations betwixt *Monf. de Bullion*, and certaine Gentlemen sent by the Assembly, the one insisting to haue the Deputies named first, and the other to haue the answer to their demands: on the first of September the Assembly being long and intreat him to acquaint them with the answer hee had received from the Queene; he made answer, That the businesse was of such importance, as he would deliuer it in the open Assembly. Whereupon on the third of September, hee presented them a Letter from the Queene, who commanded them to obey, and to make their demands, in the reading whereof, *Monf. de Bullion* said vnto them, You see the commandment which the Queene makes vnto you in proceeds, in this nomination: although the same things are not bounden vnto an answer of their ordinances, yet her Maiesty should be contentment vpon the example of the deceased King; and vpon that which the wayes bene practised with you formerly, and the Assemblies of Catholique and Gentlemen, as well for the nomination, before the answer of your demands, as for the number of fixe: and as soone as you shall haue made this nomination, I will deliuer vnto you a Briefe for the presentation of places, and your demands fauourably answered. Moreover, I haue charge from her Maiesty to tell you, that to the end you may haue no subject of content, you may say request for some dayes, to present and examine

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A examine the answers: yea if there be any remonstrances to be made vpon the answers, or any grace to be required from their Maiesties; I haue commission to tell you, that in charging the two deputies which shall be chosen among the fixe therewith, the Queene will intreat you with as much fauour as possibly hee can. I pray you satisfie her, seeing you haue promised to yeeld no lesse respect and obedience to the Kings minority and the Queenes regency, then you haue done to the deceased Kings.

*Monf. de Plessis* made answer, that the Company vnderstanding their Maiesties pleasure, he thought he might with their approbation say vnto him, that they were all disposed to obedience, and that to this effect their wils were wholly vnited without any dissension. That their vnion had bene very necessary, and that by meanes thereof, God had preferred the deceased King *Henry* the Great, and by him the Realme; and that hee himselfe had so well allowed of their vnion, that although hee had changed his religion, yet hee would that the Churches assembled at Nantes in his presence, should confirme and renew the said vnion, the which should alwaies bee for their Maiesties seruice, and the good of the Estate. In the end, after many demands and answers, and protestations made by the Assembly, alwaies to yeeld obedience to their Maiesties command (the which should be their discharge vnto the Churches, for that they pretended they had exceeded their commission) they proceeded to the nomination of fixe Deputies, with a declaration, that it was only to obey their Maiesties, & not to preiudice the rights of their Churches, nor to binde them hereafter to chuse about two: This nomination being written, was presently giuen to *Monf. de Bullion*, and hee deliuered vnto them their demands answered by their Maiesties, with a Briefe for the continuation of places of suerty. The answers to their greivances and demands being read in the Assembly, they were not found answerable to their desire and intention; whereupon they deputed some to *Monf. de Bullion*, to let him vnderstand, that they had received the answers to their demands with all honor, respect and humility, as proceeding from the will of their King and Soueraine Prince; but they humbly besought their Maiesties not to take it ill, if they made a declaration that they could not accept of the said answers, being of opinion, that the Prouinces which had deputed them should not receive that contentment which they expected. Whereunto he made answer, that the Queene had sent word to the Marshall of Bouillon that she had power to enlarge some Articles according to the aduice that he should giue her. Vpon the 9 of September, *Monf. de Bullion* hauing presented vnto the Assembly the election which their Maiesties had made of the Siegneurs of Rouuray and Millitiere for the 2 deputies, hee commanded them to separate themselves: letting them vnderstand, that their Maiesties had giuen him charge to say, that all their iust requests should be fauourably answered, and whatsoever had bene promised, paid. Whereupon the Assembly obeyed, and separated themselves; euery man returning into his Country, some contented, others not.

The Duke of Sauioy had drawne diuers troopes of souldiers together, which put his neighbour Princes in great ialousie, and bred diuers opinions whereunto hee would employ them; some were of opinion hee would besiege Geneva which hee claimes as his owne by inheritance: others thought that hee would enter into the duchy of Milane, as well in regard of his childrens pretention, being Nephewes to the King of Spaine, as for some other occasions: but the Italian Princes were alwaies watchfull that their neighbors should not grow great, seeing also that the Spaniard leauied men in Lombardie, fearing that by reason thereof Italy should fall into new troubles, they wrought so, in the end of the last yeare their controuersies were reconciled and the Country continued in peace. The Duke notwithstanding continued his Forces on foot, which made men thinke that he had an eye to Geneva; for that he had bene aduertised that the townsmen had bene carelesse to maintain their fortifications, and to renew their prouision of come yearly being spoiled; that they had small store of munition for warre within the Towne; and that they had not fiftie peeces of Ordnance well mounted and fit to doe seruice. It was also thought that hee had some secret intelligence within the Towne: so as the brute was he would not be 15 daies in taking it: diuers French Gentlemen came vnto the Duke with many souldiers with an intent to shew their valour and skill at this siege. Gaucher a famous Captaine of Luxemburg repaired vnto him with some troopes, and it was giuen out that *Spinola* himselfe should be at this siege, and that now the tree of the protestants

Nonimination  
offence Depu-  
ties by the As-  
sembly.

The Duke of  
Sauioy armes.

Geneua in  
danger of a  
siege.



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protestants Religion should bee plucked vp by the rootes, to the end it should bring no A more such fruit.

This towne of Geneua had beene long vnder the protection of the Crowne of France: yet some more desirous of innovations, then of the honour and preservation of the State, fought not onely to perswade poore ignorant people, but euen those of better iudgement, that the warre prepared against Geneua, did no way concerne them, nor that they should in any wise meddle or hinder the Duke of Sauoyes proceedings, incited thereunto (besides his particular interest) with the zeale of aduancing the Catholike Religion, and his Holinesse seruice: seeking by such practices to terrifie their consciences which were not well settled, making a case of conscience of a matter of State, as if to succour their Allies, B (although of a contrary Religion) against the inuasion of foraigne Princes, whose designs cannot be restrained by any treaty, (how solemne soeuer) were a capitall crime against God, and worthy to be censured by the Church. They made vse of that false Maxime against such as opposed themselves, that it imported much the honour of this Crowne, to hold their promise so often and so solemnly sworne, *That they ought not to keepe faith with Heretikes*: and that this exception is alwaies of force. But the Kings of France who haue beene euer Catholikes, did not hold the preservation of Geneua, which they haue alwaies tooke into their protection, and comprehended it in all the treaties of peace which they haue made with neighbour Princes, to be a case of conscience, but a matter of State: hauing found by experience, that this towne maintained in liberty, was sufficient to crosse C the vaine hopes of the Duke of Sauoy, and of all those which should assist him: The which both Francis the first, Henry the third, and Henry the fourth, haue made knowne by diuers Treaties, Declarations, and Letters, how much the preservation of that towne imports the State of France.

The Queene  
Regent sends  
to the Duke of  
Sauoy.

The Queene Regent vpon these brutes of war desiring to preserve this towne in liberty, as the deceased King had done, sent *Monsi: le Grand* into Bourgundy, and *Monsieur D'Alincourt* to Lions, to take order for the frontiers of their governments, and to aduertise her of the Sauoyards designs: he also sent *Monsi: de Barrault* to the said Duke, to let him vnderstand, that both he and other Soueraigne Princes his neighbours, were ialous D of his Armes, being ignorant of his intent: the which was couered with a second pretext; That the Duke of Sauoy would not trouble the peace, nor breake the treaty of Veruains: but he onely desired to restore the Bishops of Geneua and Lorane, the which put them of Bearne into alarme. In the meane time the Seigneurs of Latoüe, Bethune, Arnault, with many French Gentlemen, Captaines and Souldiers, came to Geneua to defend them of their Religion: Within short time they had 30 peeces of Ordnance mounted, and had made such trenches, halfe-moones, and forts without the towne, as it was thought sufficient to hold out a whole yeare, if the invader did not perish in the attempt.

The Seigneur of Barrault being returned to the Queen without an answer conformable to her desire, she sent *Monsieur de la Varenne* vnto him: The Bearnois also sent their Ambassadors, who spake big words vnto him, telling him, That if he did not dismissh his troops, he should pay the charges of the warre, if they tooke armes.

The Dukes an-  
swer to the  
Queens Re-  
gent.

The Duke dis-  
missh his  
troopes.

Some write that the Duke assured both the one and the other, that he was not in arms to trouble the peace: and that hee neuer enquired why neighbour Princes had souldiers in a readinesse in their owne Estates, being free for every one to doe what he pleased in his country, not being subiect to yeeld an account to other Soueraignes his neighbors. Afterwards, seeing the French and Swissers discontented with his answer, and also considering his great charge was to little purpose, he dismissed all his troops by a declaration which he caused to be published. The Captaines and Souldiers which came to him from diuers Countries, were forced to depart with losse, bearing their owne charges; and they of the Religion did the like from Geneua. Hereby it doth plainly appeare, that God hath not created any thing in this world that hath not his opposite: and that the wisdom of the Queene Regent, and the speeches of the Bearnois, stayed the Duke of Sauoy from beginning of a warre, which might haue set fire vpon all the Westerne parts of Europe.

A Chapter of  
the Iacobins  
at Paris.

During the Assembly at Saumur, there was a generall Chapter held at Paris, of all the Order of Saint Dominick, or Iacobins, whither all the religious of the said Order were summoned from all parts of the world, by the commandement of their Generall, which was *Augustin Galamin* of Brexiguella in Lombardy, a Doctor of Diuinity, and at that time

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A time Master of the sacred palace at Rome, who came thither in person with the Prouincials of all Countries, as from Peru, Mexico, the Philippines, and other remote parts, whose names I must for breuities sake omit. It beganne the Friday before Whitunday, and continued till the Friday after Trinity. They were in all about 400, who were nourished by the charitie and bounty of the King, Queene, princes, prelates, Noblemen, Ladies, and other charitable persons, which did assist at their preaching and Disputations. During this Chapter Father *Michaels*, Prouinciall of the Prouince of *Occitana*, demanded leaue of the Generall to reforme himselfe with some other religious men of his Order, moued with the like zeale: which being granted, they got a house behinde *S. Andrew des Arts* at B Paris, where they beganne a more regular and reformed life: since, by the assistance and bounty of the Queene and other good people, they haue accommodated the Church and house of the Iacobins, reformed in the suburbs of Saint Honoré, where they now reside.

The Queene Regent, as you haue heard, had giuen commandement to the Iurats of Bourdeaux, to receiue the Prince of Condé their governor with all the honor due to such a Prince: being aduertised of his coming, they employed an infinite number of workemen, to make preparation for his entry, and especially of two goodly Nauall houses, eith-  
er of which was built vpon two great boats, to receiue him at his coming to the Port of Lormont, with the Princesses his mother and wife. The 24 Companies of the towne did striue who should exceed other in armes and apparel: and all the chiefe townes of Gui-  
enne prepared to receiue him according to the Queenes commandement. The Nobilitie of euery prouince did accompany him as he went: and entering into his government, *Monsi: de Roquelaur* Lieutenant for his Maiesty in Guienne, receiued him with six hundred horse, and conducted him to Liborne, which was the first towne, where as the Inhabitants met him in armes, and the Maior and Iurats caried a Canopy before him. The princesses came to Lormont, a little league from Bourdeaux, where they entered into their Nauall house, being accompanied by many boats, with all sorts of musick, with the Captaines and Burgesses of the Towne, and 800 Harquebussiers. They landed before Castle-Trompet, during the which the ships which lay in the Road, and the Castle saluted them with their Ordnance. Being landed vpon a bridge made for the purpose, they were conducted D with the Ladies and their traine, to the Archbishops palace in thirty Carosses, where they had a stately banquet for their reception. The next day two Iurats with a number of Barques went to conduct the naual house for the Prince to the port of Lormont. After dinner the Prince embarked and landed, where *Monsi: de Roquelaur* attended and saluted him, both as the Kings Lieutenant and Maior of Bourdeaux, presenting the keyes vnto him, the which the Prince receiued, and deliuered againe vnto him. Then he was conducted to a high scaffold, where hee sate downe to heare their speeches, and to see the order of the entry as it past. First, the Iurats past, which came to salute him in their robes of crimson and white Sartin. The Vniuersity. They of the Presidiall Court, all on horse-back, hauing forty Sergeants before them. Then followed the Court of Parliament: the two E Presidents being in scarlet robes, and the Councillors in blacke; and before them twenty others all on horse-backe. The 24 Companies of the Burgesses of the towne on foot, well armed, and in severall liveryes. There were moreover fourteene or fifteene hundred horse. Then the Prince coming from the scaffold, tooke horse and went towards the Towne, being followed by the Seigneurs of *Roquelaur*, *Themines*, *Vailiac*, and many Noblemen of Guienne. Being come to the port, the Iurats presented him with a white Tannet with rich furniture, wheron he mounted, the Iurats carrying a Canopy before him in this manner: he was conducted to the Cathedra Church, where the Cardial of Sourdis receiued him, and conducted him to the high altar, where hauing done the usual ceremonies, he returned with him to the Church doore, from whence hee was conducted to his lodging. He visited the Court of Parliament, who receiued him with all the honour that could be done him. He was inuited with the Ladies to the Town-house, where the Maior and Iurats attended to doe them seruice. He was desirous to enter into Castle-Trompet, to see what reparations were necessary. This seruice as a Citadell to Bourdeaux, and commanded by Colonnell *Ornano* with foure Companies entertained. At his coming in, the Captaine who commanded in the Colonnels absence, hauing deliuered the keyes of the Castle into his hands, he presently went forth with all the garison: then the Prince visited the Castle both within and without, and gaue order for the fortifications, which were

The Prince of  
Condé his en-  
try into Bour-  
deaux.

The Prince of  
Condé his en-  
try into Bour-  
deaux.

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to be made. After this, desirous to see the chiefe townes of his government. He passed by A Nerac, Agen, Thoulouse, Montauban, Dacs, and in the end to Bayonne, in all which places he was entertained with much honor. Being returned to Bourdeaux, hee received commandement from the Queene to repaire to Court, which he did about the beginning of November.

The deceased King Henry the fourth, had by his Edict forbidden Duels, and happily suppressed the liberty which French Gentlemen took to fight and kill one another, which often hapned vpon slight occasions. But as men alwayes finde some euasion to avoid the Law, they found also the inuention of encountering without challenge : whereupon his Maiefty made this Declaration to preuent these encounters : *That if it hapned hereafter, B that any Gentlemen or others, making profession of armes, (who by reason of words or deeds, cyther for themselves, or for their friends, which may giue any occasion of offence, or cause bitterness) doe afterwards meeting by chance, draw their weapons, it shall be reputed done of purpose, and held for a challenge, so as they shall incur the same punishment ordained by the Edicts of Duels against Challengers; and shall not be dispensed withall, notwithstanding any pretext or excuse whatsoever.* This Declaration was verified by the Court of Parliament, and executed vpon certaine offenders.

A controversy  
in Troys con-  
cerning the Je-  
suits,

About this time the Inhabitants of Troys, were ready to fall into a mutiny and combustion : some desiring to haue the Iesuits, and to giue them the Colledge of the Towne ; and others opposing it. The Bishop, the President, and some few Clergy-men, and some Burgesses (especially such as had borne all the sway during the League) would haue the Iesuits. The Deanes and Chapters of *S. Peters*, and *S. Stephens*, the greatest part of the Clergy, the Councillors of the Prefidiall Court, the Towne-house, and such as had assisted to draw the Towne to the obedience of King Henry the fourth, would none of them. This bred a great contention amongst the inhabitants : both parties sent to the Court: the Bishop, the President, and those of that faction, sent to let the Queene vnderstand that the Inhabitants of Troys desired to entertaine the Iesuits, and to beseech her Maiefty to be pleased that they might make a general Assembly to resolve vpon that business by the voyces of all the people assembled by their trades. This Messenger was sent away with all speed, to preuent such as might be sent in the behalfe of the towne ; as it hapned : for *Guichard* a Councillor of the Court, and one of the Sherifffes (being deputed from the Assembly) coming to Fountain-bleau after *Latrecey* the Bishops Messenger, hee found the whole Court disposed to haue the Iesuits installed in Troys. Finally, *Latrecey* was first dispatched; and made all possible speed to returne to Troys, to haue the Trades assembled for the reception of the Iesuits : but yet the matter succeeded not according to his desire.

The whole body and chiefe inhabitants of the Towne, hearing what had past at Fountain-bleau, and that they had giuen the Queene to vnderstand that the Iesuits were desired in Troys; they held a solemne Assembly, where it was concluded, that they should make an Act of Disauow against such as had presumed to demand the Iesuits without warrent of power, and without the pricke of all the orders of the Towne: that this Act should be carryed to Court, and that they should informe her Maiefty of the seditious preachings of *P. Bimeta* Iesuit, and let her vnderstand that it was to be feared there would some sedition happen.

Deputies of  
Troys sent to  
the Queene.

The Queene  
answers.

To this end certaine were deputed for the Clergy, Iustice, and body of the towne, to informe the Queene of the state of the cause. To whom the Queene made this answer, that they had giuen her to vnderstand, that the Inhabitants of Troys demanded the Iesuits; but seeing they would none, shee would not force them ; neyther had they any intent to establish them against the good liking, nor without the consents of the said Inhabitants.

This answer was the cause of new proceedings on cyther side. They which opposed the Iesuits did set downe their principall reasons in writing. And the Iesuits faction did the like; with such animosity, as the towne seemed to be threatened with troubles and sedition : there being some which were willing to take armes, and to be in action : the which caused the Maior and Sherifffs of the towne to haue recourse vnto *Mons. de Praslin*, Governour of the prouince, who repaired speedily thither; and by his presence and wisdom pacified all these heart-burnings and discontents.

There

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A There was a notable Impostor at Paris, who (from a meane beginning) through his subtle cariage had gathered great wealth together : and after falling to keepe dogs, horses, and entertaine Strumpers, he began to run the high way to destruction; and so at last resolving to play the Bankrupt, he took vp all the money hee could, but his intent being discovered, he was call into prison, and they found that he ought about 30000 pound sterling, yet could not shew any losses hee had sustained, or debts due vnto him, nor ready money to pay his Creditors.

His wife seeing him in prison, and not able to moue him by her prayers to doe right to every man; for very grieve she took her bed. Being without means, she importuned him to ayde her with some reliefe : but hee would not assist her with a penny, nor after her death giue any thing for her buriall, swearing that he had no money; but it was the will of God to haue his perurie and wickednesse knowne to the world, for a servant of his stole from him 150 Crownes in gold; and hee complaining thereof, said, that hee wondered he had not caried away more, for about 600 Crownes in Pearle and Jewels, with a Watch well worth 40 Crownes, lay vnder the gold which he had taken.

The Court finding his falshood, and villany, condemned him to doe penance in the great Chamber, the Court sitting, being bare headed in his shirt, and vpon his knees, with a halter about his necke, holding in his hands a torch burning of two pound waight, and there to declare openly, *That he had maliciously plaid the bankrupt, and diuerted his goods C to defraud his creditors, for the which he craved pardon of God, the King, and the Iustice, Lucardo* his brother in law, a partner in his villany assisted at the said penance, and the said *La Tour* to be conducted into the Palace yarde at the exchange time, to doe the like penance, and then to be tyed to a post by the necke, and there to remaine vntill one of the clocke. Moreover *La Tour* was condemned to serue the King in his Gallies for the space of nine years, and hee and *Lucardo* banished France for euer, and neuer to returne vpon paine of hanging without other forme of proceesse. Their goods were confiscated, their creditors being first paid, vntill which were satisfied, they were to remaine in prison and to pay all the charges.

The Abbot of Bois, of whom we haue formerly made mention, was committed prisoner at Rome, and as some affirmed had bene hang'd with his face couered : Men spoke diuerfly of the cause, some accusing the Iesuites to haue bene the motives thereof, for that he had first preached against them after the Kings death others said, that it was at the suite of the Generall of the Celestins, for that he had left his order, and had not yielded an account for the managing of the affaires which he had in charge. That he had in former times slaine a man at Auignon (the Popes Territorie) with his fist. Finally, they made many other pretexts. An error which is done by counsell, cannot be otherwise termed then a fault wilfully committed : but this Abbot would neither beleue the aduise of his best friends, who dissuaded him from this voyage to Rome, nor the intreaty of his servant who would not accompany him.

The Abbot of  
Bois imprison-  
ed at Rome.

B This year was fatal to some great personages which dyed in hope of a better life. Newes came to Court of the death of *Mons. de Vitry*, whom the Queene had sent into England for some affaires of State, where he died suddenly, being much lamented of the King and Nobles there. These newes did much grieve the Queene and Court for the losse of so worthy a man : but it was nothing in respect of the sorrow and mourning at them of his house, and of the Inhabitants of Bry in Champagne : His body was brought out of England with a goodly conuoy, as well of his followers, as of many Noblemen and others which went to meet it : His sonne succeeded him in all his places, honours, and dignities.

Death of Mons.  
de Vitry.

In the beginning of October, the Duke of Maienne died in the Towne of Soissons of a fever, having for the space of 12 years bene much afflicted with the Gout. This Prince was alwayes held religious and deuout, wife, courageous, master of his passions, very temperate in all his actions, yea and making warre against them of the Religion, they called him a Prince of his word, so careful he was to keepe it. The good and bad fortune which hee had, being Lieutenant Generall to King Henry the third in his Armies, is written at large in diuers Historiops : as also what hee did being head of the League against King Henry the third and fourth, with the commendation which all France hath giuen him, for that in those miserable times, he would neuer consent to haue it diuided.

Death of the  
Duke of May-  
enne.

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His children.

tion, he performed all duties of obedience and fidelity to the King: and even after his death the Queene made great use of his counsell. He was free in the delivery of his opinion: whereof his speech in open Council to the greatest which demanded increase of their pensions, is a goodly testimonie: *We must (said he) serve our King faithfully, without conditions, importunity, or demands; for it will befit us to seek to draw profits from his Majesties Ministry, when as the very duty engraiven by God in the hearts of all good Subjects, binds us to do him service.* Of Henriette of Sauoy his wife he had four children: two Sonnes, the Duke of Esquillion (now Duke of Maitenne) and the Earle of Sommerue a goodly yong Prince, and of great hope, who died some few years before in Italy: and two daughters, *Katherine* married to the Duke of Neuers, and *Renee* a Virgin.

The first day of this feuer, this Prince said, I finde this will be my last, I must goe to God: the Bishop of Soissons coming to visit him, and hearing him speake aloud, *Gow, gow, O Lord my God*, he asked him, *Whither wilt you goe Sir?* And this Prince answered, *to Heauen, to Heauen, gow, gow, O Lord my God.* Father of mercy conduct me if it be thy good pleasure, the way of our felicity is assured in thee, for thou art the Way, the knowledge of this way cannot be obscure nor vncertaine, for thou art Truth, and the enjoying of this way must needs be immortality, for thou art Life it selfe: *Gow, gow then, Let me goe then to Heauen.*

Having settled all things touching his Conscience, and protested of his humble service to the King and Queene Regent: hee called for his Sonne the Duke of Aiguillon, who being on his knees by his bed side, hee laid vnto him: *Sonne, I give you my blessing, with this condition, and not otherwise; that you shall employ your life and all your meanes for the defence of the Catholike Romish Religion, and for the humble service which you owe vnto the King and Queene Regent, and for the good of the State.* Then greeting that hee could not speake with the Queene, hee intreated the Bishop of Soissons to giue his blessing vnto his daughter the Duchesse of Neuers: then calling his other daughter vnto him, hee laid vnto her, *Daughter, I give you my blessing, with this condition, that you shall alwayes have the feare of God before your eyes, and honour and obey the commandments of your mother and brother: pray to God for me, and I will pray for you.* Soone after, desiring often to be disolued, and to be with Christ, his speech failed him, and hee left this mortall life for an immortal, on the 3 of October. The Duchesse of Mayenne, much afflicted with his sickness, fell also sicke, and after his death consumed away in teares and sorrow, which had no end but with the end of her life, which was within few dayes after, and so ended this great body of friendship diuided into two soules: they both being interred together, having but one funeral pompe. The Duchesse of Neuers their daughter receiving newes of both their deaths, continued for a long time speechlesse: griefe and sighs had so leized on her heart, as she could hardly be comforted by her friends. The Duke of Neuers was no lesse troubled: sorrow had wounded his heart, and the griefe that hee had not performed the last duties at the time of their departures, did much afflict his soule.

In the end of October, their Majesties being at Fontaine-Belleau, the Duchesse of Lorraine, and the Cardinall of Gonzague arrived there, where they had a very honourable reception. The Queene Regent was glad to see them, being the children of her deceased sister the Duchesse of Mantoua. In the beginning of November the Court came to Paris, where after some daies stay, the Queene desiring to shew them the infants of France who were at Saint Germaine, all the Court prepared to goe thither with much ioy; but they came vnto the house of mourning through the death of the Duke of Orleans, who dyed the 17 of November, being 4 yeares old and 6 monthes. A prince in his infancy indued with all perfections. He was carried directly from thence to Saint Denis, and laid neere to his father: for they hold there are no funeral pompes to be celebrated in Paris after the death of the Infants of France, if they haue not liued 7 yeares. The Queen was so afflicted for this death, as she could take no rest for many nights: and all France in generall did much lament it.

*Monf. Le Maistre*, first Physician to the Infants of France, a learned man and of good repute, was taxed for the death of this yong Prince: his enemies blamed him, for that they say he had suffered an issue (which he had had two yeares in his neck) to be stopped: and some Physicians (who affected his place) furthered this slander by their practices.

This

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A This false brute being come to the Queenes eares, did much afflict her after some who had credit with her having reported, that such as might deliue her from this great Lady presumed to tell her Maiefty, that without doubt it was for the recovery of the Physician which had killed this Prince. *Monf. Le Maistre* being willing to haue *Monf. Le Maistre*, hee laid vnto her Maiefty, I most humbly beseech you Maiefty, that I may not lose the honour of your fauour through flanders and false reports: and that I may not be entreated according to the desire of mine enemies, to the rub of mine honor and reputation. For hitherto you haue heard none but mine enemies; who haue beene all ready to speake ill as to doe ill, whose lewd life is so well knowne vnto you Maiefty, that I shal not need to make any further exposition. But the onely cause of this slander is, for that I opposed my selfe to the flanders which they raised against your Maiesties House. For this reason onely they haue imputed vnto me the death of my Maiefty who was deare vnto me: and without respect of your Maiefty, to reuenge themselves on me, they haue told the mother that her child is dead by my error: a fauour fury, and unworthy of reasonable men.

After he had made a long narration of the manner of the Princes Infirmitie, and of the Physicians proceeding in the cure, which I am enforced for breuities sake to omit, at the end hee concluded, Madam, you may hereby iudge of the malice of these flanders, who haue not beene ashamed to lye vnto you, nor to assist you without respect vnto the person vpon whom depends the preservation of so many people. And herewith abundance of teares stopped his speech.

The Queene having heard his speech, told him she would further informe her selfe, and afterwards declare what her pleasure was; which hee did; and since continued the said *Monf. Le Maistre* in his place, in the service of *Monf. D'Anjou*, which office hee fulfilled; but the principall authors of this slander hee dismissed.

At the same time there was a great suit determined by the Court of Parliament, betwixt the Iesuits and the Vniuersity of Paris. It was begun in the yeare 1603, when at the deceased King of famous memory of his bounty, granted letters of reuocation to the said Iesuits, in the chiefe towne of his Realme, and of this grace, gaue them (vnto the instance of the Siegneur of Varenne) leaue to build a royall Colledge at La Fleche, by vertue of his letters patents given at Rouen, and verified by the Parliament. And in Iuly 1606, they obtained other Letters, giuing them power to make their residence at Paris in the professed House of S. Lewis, and in their Colledge of Clermont, allowing them Confessions, preachings, and other exercises of their Order, except publicke Lectures, which for many good and iust considerations hee would not graunt that time: the Parliament of Paris did verify these patents, with the clauses and conditions therein contained to be observed.

In the yeare 1609 the King being at Fontainebleau, granted vnto them by other letters patents, the publicke reading in Divinity in their Colledge of Clermont, which Letters being presented to be verified, the Vniuersity and all the Faculty of Divinity in Paris, came and opposed themselves, so as they could not proceede.

In this yeare 1611, they obtained letters from their Maiesty giuing leaue to open their Colledge, and to instruct youth publicly in all the Sciences: which would a great controuersie betwixt the said Iesuits and the Vniuersity: for having presented them to the Court the 21 of August, to be verified in the last time the Vniuersity required communication, and the third of September they presented a request vnto the Court, by which they opposed against the said Letters, and hindered their enrolment. Hereupon the parties had an assignation to compare upon the six following: on which day the body of the Vniuersity appeared; and rather *Cousin* with one they assisted by their Advocate and Proctor, where it was decreed, that the parties should precisely plead the next day; that all the Chancellors should be assembled for the deciding of the cause; and that they should plead the dayes being (but) but when they appeared, it was put off till the 11 of October. *Monf. Le Maistre* appointing *Monf. Le Maistre* to be Advocate for the Vniuersity, and *Monf. Le Maistre* for the Iesuits. The day being come, the Vniuersity sued for audience; but the Iesuits did vniuersally demand delay, and desired to know, what the parties should appear the 11 of October, at what time the Court should be assembled; Hoping the Court should haue beene heard by the 11 of October, and so the Iesuits should haue suffered till the 11 of October, and the Vniuersity should haue suffered till the 11 of October.

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home.

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home. During this delay the Iesuits fed themselves in their Colledges, and caused the youth to be instructed by interposed persons: whereof the Vniuersitie being aduertised, seeing the cause yet depending and undecided, they made petition vnto the Court, that they might plead upon their first opposition, the which was granted, and a day appointed on the 17 of December: at what time the chambers being assembled, the Vniuersity came with their Councell, and likewise the Iesuits.

Monsieur  
speech, plead-  
ing for the  
Vniuersity.

There appeared at the hearing of this cause, the Prince of Conde, with the Bishops of Beauvais and Noyon, Peeres of France, six Presidents, a Master of Requests, and 26 Councillors. *Le Monsieur* having made a long relation touching the Vniuersity, in the end he charged the Iesuits, That both in Spaine and Flanders they had sought to plant Seminaries, both of English and Irish, which were fled out of their Countries; that they had become worse than the best wits of these Nations; and that many great Families in France had lowered the life of their children and kinsfolke, which they had drawn vnto them. Then he accused them, That they did wrong to learning, to cut off and diuersifie authors; That they were ignorant of the secrets of tongues; and that they did not read in the Colledges any books but such as were commanded by their Society. Afterwards, having spoken many things touching the faithful obedience which all subjects owe vnto their Princes, he maintained that vpon the doctrine of the absolute power of correction of the temporall by the spiritual, taught by the Iesuits, they have grounded their excommunications against Kings; interdiction of their Realmes, and discharge of the oath and obedience of their subjects, in case of their natural Princes should attempt any thing in their temporall against the Popes will, which he sayd was a schismaticall doctrine, and had bene condemned in France; alleging many examples and diuers Authors to proue that the rebellions, usurpations, and attempts vpon the sacred persons of the Kings of France, proceeded from this wicked doctrine.

The conclu-  
sion of his  
pleading.

After many other crimes wherewith he taxed them, hee concluded in these termes: In the State wherein we live, the Iesuits can haue no greater obstacle, then the bond to oblige strictly the conditions of their re-establishment: to hold them subject to the Magistrate, like vnto other religious orders: not to endure their enterprises: to persecute all Bishops, Prelates, and Curtes in their dignities: not to allow them any instruction of youth, lest they make a Monopolie thereof; and in the end fortifie them in such sort as to become a Iesuite they will leaue to be French: and above all, not to abandon the authority of our doctrine vnto them, the foundation of the love and fidelity of a Royalty, to receive the instructions of a new Diuinity, deuised for the interest of their owne grasie and priuate authority: wherunto they would adde to our Beloeft this 13 Article of the Faith: That all Crownes depend on the Pope, and that he hath power to depose Kings. He concluded for the Vniuersity, that their Letters might not be allowed, and that they might be forbidden to read, teach, or visit any Scholasticall function in the Vniuersity.

Monsieur  
pleading for  
the Iesuits.

The next day *Monsieur* appeared for the Iesuits, whose pleading was very short. The discourse of the aduersary party (said he) was nothing but a faggot of reproaches bound vp together against the Iesuits, which deserve nothing but the fire. The testimony of so many Popes, Emperors, and Kings, of the great benefit this Order brought vnto the world, as well in religion, as the instruction of youth: among others, that of the deceased King Henry the great, in his answers and Edicts made for the re-establishment of this Order in France, was sufficient to answer all the slanders which were objected against them. In his conclusion, his request was to haue the said Letters allowed, and their Colledge opened.

The Rector of  
the Vniuersity  
his Oration to  
the Court.

After *Monsieur* conclusion, the Rector of the Vniuersity made an Oration in Latin, not premeditated, as some write, to the great content of the auditors: the which being very long, I am forced to omit; only I will interchase conclusion, which was in these termes: I am here my Lords, your reuerent Deities of this sacred Temple, the inuincible defenders of the French liberty: I conjure you all in the name of God, by the happy and glorious shadowes of great Henry, who was sometimes father of this France, by his last Will, the which to breake were a sinne, a crime, a sacrilege by the blood of our lawes which you haue in guard, by the immortal life of our most wise, most virtuous, and most powerful Queene, to whom you are to giue all assurances by this first Prince of the Royal blood here present, this most illustrious Prince, most worthy head of the French Monarchy

by

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As by the good which you owe vnto France; by the affection and honour you beare it; by your children whom this cause doth principally concerne: I conjure you euen by your selues, if you will be immortal, and engrave your names in the Temple of memorie; Take away once for all, the managing of learning from these profane hands, and restore the command of studies to the Prince of Vniuersities, and the daughters into the hands of their mother: suffer not the blemish of new doctrines to couer the apple of Frenchmen's eyes, and trouble their sight. Is it not better that the Vniuersitie should leape for joy, at the very report of your names, and the remembrance of your praises, that greene bayes to crowne your heads, and to graue your great merits in letters of gold; then that a new order of religious men, newly moulded, and of a new impression, who hold nothing of the French humor, and dispense with Monasticall rules, to vaunt openly, that their Society had allowance amongst vs; that the Vniuersitie with all their learning, had bene ouerthrowne by your decrees; and that your breath hath withered this third bloosome of the sacred Lillies?

If you haue decreed within your selues, to suffer the Iesuits to dispose of the Vniuersitie at their pleasures; at the least (my Lords) open your purple robes, receive into your armes this Vniuersitie which is falling: receive the sighes and last groanes of your mother, which is in an agonie, and grows towards her end: but happen what will, and let future ages wonder, That wee haue not failed the Common-wealth, but the Common-wealth hath failed vs.

The Rector having ended, *Monsieur Seruin*, first Aduocate generally made his remonstrance, which was very long, and concluded for the Vniuersitie against the Iesuits. In these pleadings they gathered four points, which they taught and held: First, That the Pope was above the Councell; secondly, That the Pope hauing excommunicated a King, he might depriue him of his Realme: thirdly, That attempts and conspiracies against the sacred persons of Kings and their Estates, deliuered to the Priest in confession, they ought not to be revealed to the Magistrate: and fourthly, That Clergy men were not subject to secular Princes. Contrary to which four points, they propounded to haue the Iesuits subscribe to these which follow. First, That the Councell was above the Pope: secondly, That the Pope had no temporall power over Kings, and could not by excommunication depriue them of their Realmes and Estates: thirdly, That Clergy men hauing heard of any attempt or conspiracie against the King or his Realme, or any matter of treason in confession, he was bound to reueale it to the Magistrate: fourthly, That Clergy men were subject to the secular Prince or politique Magistrate.

The first President being in Councell, demanded of the Iesuits (who were eight in number) if they would subscribe vnto the doctrine of the Sorbon, especially in the four points aboue mentioned, and cause their Generall to signe it. One of them (who they said was Provinciall of France) answered, That amongst their statutes there was one which bound them to obferue the rules and orders of the place where they were during their abode, reading the passage in a booke which he held in his hand, and that they could not promise their Generall should signe that which was demanded, but they would write vnto him, and do their best endeavour. *Monsieur* added, that they would be bound to obferue the doctrine of the Sorbon, and the lawes of the Vniuersity, for which their Heads should answer. And if they of the Sorbon (being their ancients) would signe the said four articles, they would likewise signe them.

Hereupon the Court decreed, That the Provinciall and they of his company plaintiffs, who assisted at the audience, should presently subscribe the submission made by their Provinciall to conform themselves to the doctrine of the Colledge of Sorbon, especially in that which concerns the preservation of the sacred person of Kings, the maintaining of the Royall authority, and the liberties of the French Church; from all times observed in the Realme: and in the meane time they did forbid the Iesuits to inuocate any thing, or to attempt any thing to the prejudice of their Letters of re-establishment, and against the decree of the verification of the same: that they should not meddle either by themselves, or any interposed person, with the instruction of youth in this City of Paris, in any manner whatsoever, or to visit there any exercise of Scholasticall function, vpon paine to lose their re-establishment.

The small contributions at this Chapelle troubled the quiet of the neighbouring Princes.

Troubles at  
Aix.  
The

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The Protestants having expelled the Magistrates who were Papists, and seized upon the government of the Towne. Either party fortified themselves by their friends: the Catholikes sent to the Archduke Albert, and to the Elector of Collen, who gave them no great assistance; only they sent Ambassadors to Aix, to labour at reconciliation. The Protestants sent to the Princes possessing Iuliers, that they would be pleased to send them succours and some person of note, to treat friendly of the differences between them and the Catholikes: which they did by the Earle of Solmes. The conditions they required, were; that some Protestants might hereafter be admitted into the Magistracie; That the exercise of the Lutheran and Calvinist religion might be allowed, the Iesuits expelled, and all that had past during the troubles forgotten. Sooneafter, the Archduke Alberts Ambassadors arived; who pretending their Prince was protector of that towne, by vertue of an accord made in the year of our Lord 1600, he vsed some threats, which did not much please the Protestants of Aix, nor the Ambassadors of Iuliers; all which were not able to compound the quarrell.

Ambassadors  
come from  
France to Aix.

Their speech  
to the Burges-  
ses of Aix.

About the end of September there arived the Marquis of Vieuville, with the Seigneurs of Brucil President of Metz and Villars Hofman Ambassadors for the most Christian King and the Queene Regent, left this small difference should be the cause of some great warre, to the prejudice of their Estate. In a full assembly of the Magistrates and Burgeses, they gave them to understand, that the most Christian King hearing with griefe of the late alterations which had happened in their towne and Common-weale: they had sent them to represent vnto them the dangerous inconveniencies which might happen by their divisions, which had filled their towne with confusion, the neighbour Princes with ielousie, and the people with bad example; and to perswade them to lay aside all spleene, and animosities, and to reconcile themselves vnto one another: laying before them the miseries which doe accompany the torrents of warre and ciuill dissention. And therefore my masters (sayd they) contemne not this good counsell, but receive it with the respect and reuerence which is due vnto their Maiesties, and with the same good will which you have shewed at our arriall into this towne. All things are yet in good estate if you will: for by the grace of God your troubles are not yet come to irreconcilable extremities. Leave first your hatred and spleene; lay aside your passions, and with quiet spirits consider of all the circumstances of times, places, and persons. Wee are now in peace almost throughout all Europe, and will you be the first to found the Trumpet, and to beginne the warre? your towne is situated in the midst of many Princes and Townes, who were lately in warre; would you that yours should serve as a Theater to adde a bloody Catastrophe to the Tragedies past? you are all in the same vessell, in the same inclosure, breathing the same ayre, vsing the same tongue, the same lawes and customes. Those whom you now repute for your aduersaries, are your fellow Citizens, your neighbours, your kinsfolke, your brethren and members of the same bodie. And although your opinions bee diuers touching matters of Religion, yet your wills should be united for the good of the Common-weale. Would you disfigure your Country, and tear in pieces the bowels of your mother? If you were bewitched with these impressions (which we cannot beleue) abandon all these pernicious counsels which will plunge you into a gulfe of misery, and embrace vnion and concord, which is the foundation and root of rest, the nurse of peace, the consolation of good Citizens, and a plentiful harvest of all good things. And to the end the businesse may be negotiated with more ease, you may if you please depuie some of either side, peaceable men and not passionate, who may freely conferre with one another with confidence and safety, and we will here their propositions with patience, not as Judges or Arbitrators, but as mediators of peace, and friendly Compositors: and all we will endeavour by all means to end your differences by a common consent, and to all your likings.

An accord  
made.

The first of this Remonstrance was, that after some conferences, the Catholikes and Protestants of Aix, submitted themselves to the accord, which should be made by the Ambassadors of France and Iuliers, who laboured in this businesse, as certain Articles were drawn and signed by them; which Articles I am enforced for breuitie sake to omit. But the Catholike Magistrate refused to signe them being required: for that the Ambassadors of the Archduke Albert and the Elector of Collen, returned soon after to Aix with an Imperiall Mandate, by which they said they were deputed from the Emperour, to order what they should think good: which the Protestants seeing, they required the Magistrate

againe.

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Again that the Articles concluded by the Ambassadors of France and Iuliers might be executed according to their tenor, and protested by all the Magistrats that should be done by the Archdukes and Electors Ambassadors. This through Ambassadors seeing that they had prepared the way for the Burgeses and Catholike Magistrates to enter into the temple of peace with the Protestants; and that the Senators made difficulties upon difficult things which they imagined they had founde therein: Hereupon they made a second Remonstrance, whereby they layd before them the dangers which would ensue by refusing of the said treaty, and how much they should offend their most Christian Maiesties, who had sent them to compound their differences in a friendly manner: and the rather for that they had bene aduertised it was with their consents; and should be againe by the as of the declaration which they had given them in writing.

If you ground your exercises (said the Ambassadors) upon the said Mandate, the which (as you said) you dare not disobey: they will answer you, that you should have attended vntill that his Imperiall Maiesty had beene aduertised of the said treaty, whereof the Mandate makes not any mention, or that hee should have made declaration that hee could not allow of it. You shall of a iust cause which you had before made avaisill, the which will bee blamed by all Princes and people which heare of it. The people will bee confirmed in the complaint they make against you: that you will alwaies inuade them with rigour, and that you sicall amiable composition, and desire nothing but security without any misdeed.

On the other side, if you accept of the said treaty, you shall doe nothing but what you have done before: and yet you shall auoid all these inconveniencies, and doe no wrong nor prejudice either to the Emperours authority, the rights and priuiledges of your Towne, or your selues. For the said treaty being but provisionall and by way of Interim, would be no hindrance, but his Imperiall Maiesty may ordaine what he pleaseth: neither will it binde the hands of their highnesses of Collen and Brabant, whom he hath deputed, for that they are not prett to consent vnto the said treaty, nor their commissioners to signe it: and therefore nothing shall hinder them to doe what they please. By the accepting of this treaty, you shall preferre the amity of their most Christian Maiesties; who shall not have employed their meanes and labour in vaine for so good a worke: as also of their Highnesses of Iuliers, and of all your neighbours, who by this means shall be freed from the apparant danger of a most troublesome warre: you shall recover your authoritie which is ouerthrowne, you shall gaine peace vnto your Country; you shall preserve the name and liberty of your Common-wealth, and you shall maintaine the Catholike Religion, which otherwife would be in great danger: and this great good will produce good effects and wholesome examples throughout all Germany and Europe. Embased not then winde and vaine hopes: but take a good and firme resolution; and accepting the treaty whereunto you had consented, witness the respect and honor which you owe vnto his Maiesty, who desireth nothing but your good, quiet, and tranquillity, seeing that you perceiue plainly it can breed you no prejudice, but all profit and commodity.

This second speech, although made in the French Kings name, yet the Catholike Magistrates would not resolve to returne into their places to take againe the reiss of the politique Government: which the Ambassadors of France and Iuliers perceiving, to the end the Towne of Aix should not remaine without any Magistrate, they made choice of the chiefe amongst the Burgeses, to whom, with the consent of the Protestants, the administration of the Common-weale was committed. After which, the Ambassadors of France returned to their Maiesties, to giue an account of their Embassey, and with them there came to Paris Ambassadors from their Highnesses of Iuliers, and the Burgeses of Aix. A little before, certaine deputies had come to the Court of France, who with the Archdukes Ambassador, made instance to their Maiesties, that the accord made by the French Ambassadors at Aix might be dissolved: and that the Prostitution of the Protestants made by the Emperour put in execution, which they laboured to obtaine before the Ambassadors returned: but their Maiesties being informed how all things had past, they told the Ambassadors of Iuliers and the deputies of the Burgeses of Aix, that they should letters, promising all fauour and succour in case the Archdukes should accompany thing to the prejudice of their Highnesses of Iuliers; and the Burgeses of Aix should

On the 4. of Nouember dyed Antihio Perez. Wee may thus see, that the

A second  
speech of the  
French Ambassadors  
to the Burgeses  
of Aix.

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The matter  
broken on the  
wheel, and the  
strange change

as much favoured of Fortune, and by Kings and great Princes of Europe, as hee was after-  
wards afflicted with misery, and reduced to extremity. It may be seen in the booke of  
his relations, that being Secretary of State vnto Philip the 2. King of Spaine, hee had a  
great share in the love and secrets of this King: we may see the occasion of his imprison-  
ment in Spaine, and how hee escaped and fled into Arragon: The taking of Armes of the  
people of Saragossa against the Inquisitors who would haue put him into the Inquisiti-  
on, his flight from thence (it being besieged by the Spaniard) into Barce, where hee  
was receiued by the Lady Katherine Sister to King Henry the Great: his passage into  
England, and the reception hee had from Queene Elizabeth: his coming to Paris, where  
King Henry the Great caused him to be lodged in the Queene Mothers Palace, giuing  
him two Swissers for his guard, and a good pension for his entertainment. The execution  
of a Spaniard and his servant by the hand of Iustice, who had attempted to kill him for  
20000 Crowns: and the subtiltie of this murderer making shew to be come into  
France to acquaint the King with a designe, which the Morisques had to reuolt. Behold  
hitherto many crosses of Fortune, but yet Perez not reduced to necessity: the Spaniard  
who (as Monsi. de Monigny said vnto the Marshall of Biron) neuer pardons an offence  
whilest the party liues, fought by all means to annoy Perez. A Gentleman belonging  
to the Ambassador of Spaine residing in the French Court, told him that if hee would  
leave the Pension which the French King gaue him, hee should within 6 months be re-  
stored to his goods and honours: the which was promised with much assurance, and con-  
firmed by a Grand of Spaine. Passing from Paris in the yeare 1605, to goe into  
Flanders; hee resigned his pension. Hee was also aduised to goe out of the Country to  
treat his peace; whereupon hee went to Calais, and for a Darter, where hee receiued  
commandement to proceed no further: and the reason was, for that the Spanish Am-  
bassador residing there, said, that if Antonio Perez came vnto that Court hee would  
depart. Perez thought now that there was no courtesie but in France, and from a King  
whom hee had in a manner disdained, reiecting the pension which hee had giuen him.  
From Calais he came to liue at Saint Denis in France, and although hee knew by experi-  
ence that the promises of those of his Nation were without hope of any effect: yet the  
necessity whereunto hee was reduced for his entertainment, made him to seeke all the  
means hee could to recouer the King of Spaines fauour. After this, hee came to lodge  
in the suburbs of Saint Victor at Paris, where his sonnes Don Gonzales, and Don Raphael  
came to see him, but without any means to assist him. Don Gonzales departed presently  
for Rome, and Don Raphael staid with him some time, during which Don Pedro de Toledo  
came extraordinary Ambassador into France, whom Perez went often to see, but hee  
had nothing but promises without effect, which made him to send his son into Spaine  
with letters and supplications to the Duke of Lermak: from whom hee had no answer  
but delays. They did write vnto him from Spaine, that he might treat with the Duke  
of Feria who was coming into France; but being come, he sent him word, that hee had  
no charge to speake vnto him. Hee was danted with this answer; and said that hee saw  
well hee must end his daies in France, the which fell out accordingly: for being lodged  
neere vnto S. Pauls, distressed for want of means, surprised with a great feuer, hee yielded  
his soule to God in the end of this yeare, and was buried at the Celestins.

The rebellion  
of the Siegneur  
of Vatan.

I will conclude the year with an act of the Lord of Vatan, which as it was rash, so did it  
cause him to lose his life and honor. Vatan is a little towne in BERRY, betwene Issoudun  
and the frontiers of Touraine, in which there is a reasonable strong Castle. During the  
troubles of the league, the two brethren of Vatan had giuen good testimonies of their val-  
ours in many combats, sieges, and enterprises for the kings partie: the eldest brother died  
a siege, without children, and the younger brother remained sole heire of the Seignery  
of Vatan, having none but sisters; who remaining unmarried and coming hither to the  
Court, liued nobly in his Castle: he was of the Religion, and much giuen to the Marhe-  
matiques, whereof hee caused a booke to be printed when hee did the Act which caused  
him to lose both his life, honor and goods. Hee was a brave Gentleman, of a goodly  
figure, stout heart, and long visage, but humorous and fantastick: and hee was so firme a  
friend to his friends, as it cost him his life. And this was the cause:

Robin, generall Farmer of the impostes of Salt in France, aduertised that the Seignour of  
Lamoignon neere to Vatan, had store of false Salt in his house, whereof hee made profit: he

gaue

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Insuffi-  
appre-  
hended by the  
Prouost.

A gaue charge to the Prouost Marshall of Tours to search his house for false Salt, and to  
seize vpon his person, and all those which should succour him. The Prouost hauing en-  
tered the house, and hauing found much false Salt, he seized vpon it, and carried away *lau-*  
*fosse*, with his brother, and a cousin of his: whereof *Vatan* being presently aduertised (for  
that he was his friend) he sent his steward presently after, to entreat the Prouost not to  
carie him away, promising to bring them forth whensoever he would: The steward ha-  
uing ouertaken the Prouost, whether he spake more boldly then he ought, or that he ad-  
ded some threats, or else for the full execution of his Commission, hee caried him away also  
prisoner. *Vatan* being aduertised hereof within few daies after, tooke horse with some  
of his followers, & by way of reprisall caried away one of *Robins* children from his house,  
whereupon he presented a petition to the Lords of the Councell, who decreed, that one  
of the great Prouosts Lieutenants should goe into Berry to informe of the fact, and the  
circumstances thereof; commanding all his Maiesties officers and subiects to be assisting  
vnto the said Lieutenant for the execution of the decree: to which end hee had a Com-  
mission from his Maiestie.

A decree of the  
Councell a-  
gainst *Vatan*.

The fantastick humor of *Vatan* made him beleue that they should haue sent a Gentle-  
man to treat with him, being a Seigneur of qualitie, and not any of the Prouosts Lieute-  
nants: who being come to *Vatan*, he sent him presently word that he should retire. But  
the Lieutenant hauing made a verbal processe according to his Commission, of all the re-  
bellions of the Seigneur of *Vatan*, he returned to Paris, where all the proceedings being  
presented vnto the Councell of State, *Robin* obtained a decree, by the which his Maiestie  
ordained, that the former decree should be executed, and *Vatan* and his complices brought  
to the prison of Tour le Buesque, and his castle seized on: for the execution hereof, com-  
mandement was giuen to the Marshall *La Chastre*, and the Earle of Chiverny gouernor of  
Blefois, to see this decree executed with such forces as his Maiestie should send, and if  
need were to cause the Canon to be conducted thither. The Grand Prouost went pre-  
sently to see this decree executed, and sent to all the Prouosts of the neighbour provinces  
to come vnto him: but the Queene hauing aduertisement, that *Vatan* had written to his  
friends, and made preparation to defend himselfe, and withall that he had some intelli-  
gence with *Larrige* and *Chefobin*, who had beene executed for the enterprise of Poitou;  
their reasons made them to aduance the siege. And the Earle of Chiverny Gouernor of  
Blefois, hauing receiued commandement againe, assembled foure or five hundred horse:  
The Seigneur of *La Salle*, a Capitaine in the Regiment of the Guard, had the conduct of  
the foot, which consisted of 1200, with a companie of Swisse also: all which passed the River  
of Cher with sixe Cannon.

*Vatan* being aduised by many of his friends to send vnto the Queene, to giue satisfacti-  
on vnto their Maiesties, and by the mediation of friends and kinsfolke to obtaine pardon  
for that which was past; or else to assure himselfe (as a great man wrote vnto him) of a  
shamefull death (if he were not resolu'd to expose himselfe to a breach, and be slaine by  
the Cannon) with ignominy, enclined rather to his owne fantastick humor, which was so  
contrarie to all good aduice, as he staid and kept as prisoner with him a Gentleman his  
neighbour who came to admonish him to yeeld obedience vnto their Maiesties, and not  
vnto vndoe himselfe.

The inhabitants of Vatan, seeing that they must of necessity receiue great losse, most of  
them retired into the neighbour townes. The Lord of Vatan being abandoned by all his  
friends and most of his vassalles, except fourscore or a hundred souldiers which were in  
his Castle, fought to defend the towne, but after thirteene volleys of Cannon, seeing them  
ready to enter, hee abandoned it, retiring with his souldiers into the Castle. The footmen  
entered the towne and lodged, and presently made barricadoes to defend themselves from  
the shot of the Castle. They say it is a humane thing to erre; to repent, diuine; but to be  
obstinate, deuillish. *Vatan* being blind, thinks that he hath not erred, and being summo-  
ned to yeeld, makes no answer. On the 14. of December the bafe Court was taken with  
1500 horse, and the next day the Cannon being planted and ready to shoot, two parts of his  
men abandoned him and found means to escape on the backe side of the Castle: he then  
desired to parlee, and to yeeld vnto the Earle of Chiverny, entreating him to intercede  
for him vnto their Maiesties, the which hee promised. Presently after, the bridge being  
let downe, they entered the Castle, where they apprehended all they found, and deliuered  
them

The towne of  
Vatan taken.

The Castle  
taken.

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them to the grand Prouost. *Magny* his Lieutenant being hurt with the Cannon, was presently beheaded, and some so hanged. At their coming into the Castle, *Fran* was in a low Chamber, where *Captaine La Salle* finding him with his sword by his side, hee demanded it of him: you may take it from me, sayd he, but I will not giue it you: which being done, he was committed to the guard of fixe souldiers. This poore Nobleman thought it a part of great courage not to yeeld vp his weapon, and yet perceiued not that he had committed an act of great baseness accompanied with despair, in yeelding himselfe aliue after to great offence.

The sentence of  
the Seigneur  
of Vatan.

Hence he was soone after conducted to Paris, where his processe was made by the Court of Parliament, and he was condemned to lose his head at the Greue, and his body to be burned to ashes: his head to be caried to Vatan, and there to bee set ouer the gates vpon a Lance: it was ordered, that the Castle should be razed, and neuer to bee built againe: all his goods were confiscate to the King. Hereunto he answered nothing, but, Alas I must serue for an example: And the same day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoon he was executed. This was the end of the Lord of Vatan: his heart confessed his faults, his eyes wept for them, his tongue demanded pardon of God, and his death serued for a reparation of his crime.

Afterwards by the clemency and bounty of the Queene Regent, and at the suite of the Marshall *La Chastre*, and of the Seigneurs of Chateau-neuf and Villeroi, the sister of the Lord of Vatan (who was to be his heyre) obtained from her Maiesty the gift of the confiscation of her brothers goods, so as the Castle was not razed.

Alliance of  
France pro-  
posed with Sa-  
uoy by the  
King.  
*Don Pedro de  
Toledo* comes  
into France.

The deceased King some time before had refused to make an alliance with the Duke of Sauoy, betwixt whom by means of their Ambassadors, there had bene some overtures. During this time, in the yeare 1608, *Don Pedro de Toledo* arrived at Paris, being an extraordinary Ambassador for the Catholike King, whom many thought to come to treat of an alliance: others, that it was to discouer if there were not some intelligence and priuate practice betwixt the King and the Duke of Sauoy, for that he made shew as if he would breake with the Catholike King his brother in law, for that he had not satisfied the said King in the articles of the contract past betwixt his Highnesse and the sister of the said King of Spaine. But every man knew that the affaires of the Low-countries, and the parleys of peace held that yeare betwixt the King his master, the Archduke, and the generall Estates of the vnited Prouinces, was the subiect of his Embassie.

The King expected to heare something from him touching this present alliance, but he spake nothing vnto him but of peace betwixt Flanders and Holland, saying that his Maiesty could doe much therein: And it is held for certaine, that if *Don Pedro de Toledo* had at that time made any ouerture, his Maiesty was ready to giue care vnto it.

The beginning  
of the alliance  
with Spaine.

But to come to the beginning of these treaties, we must seeke the occasion further off, wherefore you must vnderstand that in the yeare 1609, *Ferdinand de Medich*, great Duke of Tuscane, vnto the Queen Regent, being dead, *Cosmo* his son succeeded in his Estates. And as it is the custome of Florence vpon the death of the duke of Tuscane, to send extraordinary Ambassadors in the name of the new duke his successor, to all the soveraign Princes & great potentates of Christendome: & particularly to the King of Spaine, by reason of the homage and oath of fealty which the new Dukes of Tuscane are accustomed to renew to his Maiesty, at their coming to the Principality, by reason of the estate of Sienna annexed to the great Dukes Estates: he made choice of the Seigneur of Botry, Marquis of Campille, a Knight of the Order of Saint Stephen, and high Steward of the great Dukes house: who hauing bene much employed to foraigne Princes about affaires of importance, he sent him his extraordinary Ambassador to the King of Spaine, to doe the said homage and fealty; who hauing performed the due of his charge to the Catholike King, finding a good opportunity, of his owne motion, without any commission from the Duke

The Marquis  
of Botry sent  
into Spaine by  
the great duke.

The first author  
of the alliance  
betwixt France  
and Spaine.

his master, he made an ouerture of the alliances betwixt France and Spaine, first to the chiefe Councillors of State, by whom he was aduised to speake vnto his Maiesty, which he did with such efficacy, grace and good successe, as he then beganne to hope of a happy event of the said treaty: And considering that this businesse was of great consequence and waight, he would proceed no further before he had aduertised the great Duke: sending a Poste expresse to Florence, who being well satisfied with the care and wisdom of the Marquis had shewed in that businesse, allowed whatsoeuer he had done, or should doe

con-

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A concerning the said treaties: and residing yet in Spaine, he sent him for his Ambassador extraordinary into France, to continue the said treaties of mariage with the most Christian King: where being arrived at Shroue-tide 1610, he was honourably receiued on their Maiesties behalfe into Paris, who for the respect of the great Duke, and the merit of his quality, caused him to be lodged in *Gondies* house in the Suburbs of S. Germaine.

Soone after his arrival, he went to the Louure with a goodly traine, to salute their Maiesties, who hauing giuen him audience, he deliuered the subiect of his embassage, which was to let them vnderstand what reception the King of Spaine had giuen vnto him (speaking to him of the alliance betwixt France & Spaine, as also how much the great Duke of Tuscane, the Pope, and all the Princes of Italy desired it. The deceased King (who had forgotten the desire he had to satisfie *Don Pedro de Toledo* if he had made any ouerture) thanked the great Duke for his good affection, telling the Marquis that he should haue time to consider of the businesse with his Councell, to giue him all contentment. After this first audience he retired to his lodging, whither the King went often to visit him, giuing him hope to satisfie the Dukes desire touching that which he had propounded.

But when as all things began to goe on in a desired course, death enuying our felicity, pulled from vs that great King, which was a let that things well begunne could not now take effect during the great alteration, and generall mourning of all good Frenchmen for the losse of their Prince.

The Marquis  
is sent Amba-  
sador into  
France to that  
end.

The Kings  
death hind-  
ers the  
treaty of  
the alliance.

C All things being restored to their former estate, and France beyond expectation, enjoying the sweet calme of a happy tranquillity, many difflaters being nipt in the first budding, the said Marquis continued his designe begun with the deceased King, and propounded the same to the Queene Regent, who thought good to take counsell thereon, with the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Lords, and Officers of the Crowne, where it was approved by them all, and it was then held good to take a good resolution by a firme and full consultation: wherewith they acquainted the said Marquis in the beginning of the yeare 1611: who seeing the King and Queene to affect the beginning of this businesse, hee presently sent a Poste to the great Duke his master, to informe him of what he had done; and then into Spaine to the King, to assure him that their Maiesties in France were well pleased with the ouerture which he had made vnto them of the said treaties, and that the consent of his Catholike Maiesty was requisite, to giue some solid beginning to the said proposed alliances.

The Marquis  
continues his  
designe with  
the Queene.

The deceased King had made the Duke of Rohan Gouvernor of S. Iohn D'Angely, giuing him for his Lieutenant a Gentleman of the Religion called *Roch Beaucourt*, who enjoyed his charge without any molestation, vntill the vnhappy death of the deceased King: but after the generall Assembly at Saumur of them of the Religion, in the which there was some diuision, *Roch Beaucourt* was on their side, who sought to maintaine themselves within the tearme of the Edict according to the verification made in Parliaments: And of this opinion were the Marshall of Bouillon, and many of the Nobility, with all those whom they call diuicious, who conforming themselves to their Maiesties will, said that a ciuill warre was worse then all the miseries they could endure by an indifferent peace. These were contrary to the Duke of Rohan and the greatest number of the Deputies: who demanded the enioying of the Edict of Nantes, as it had bene drawne and set downe, but not as it had bene verified.

The proce-  
dings of the  
Duke of Rohan  
at S. Iohn  
D'Angely.

But to returne vnto this adion: the Duke of Rohan, seeing *Roch Beaucourt* of a contrary opinion vnto him touching the Edict of Nantes, he practised means to put him out of S. Iohn D'Angely. Either of them desirous to maintaine his authority, *Roch Beaucourt* had recourse vnto their Maiesties, and the Duke of Rohan sought support from the reformed Churches, who maintained his opinion.

F The Queene had alwayes witnessed vnto the Duke of Rohan the fauour wherewith she had honoured him, as well in augmenting his pensions after the death of the deceased King, as in the Commission she gaue him for the leading of the Army of Iuliers, in case any accident should happen to the Marshall of *la Chastre*: and in the commandement he had for leauying of Swisses when as there was shew of a siege at Geneva. But the Queene seeing that from Britany (whither the Duke had gone to the Estates of that Prouince) he was returned to S. Iohn D'Angely, where he vied diuers practices for the election of a new Maior: being also aduertised that the said Duke would, contrary to the

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privilege of Maiors, take away the keyes: make himselfe master of the Towne, and thrust A out *Roch Beaucourt* and such as fauoured him; he sent vnto the Duke to come to Court: which he presently did, and presented himselfe vnto their Maiesties: who gaue him good reception: but they let him vnderstand their intention particularly, with charge to conformance himselfe. The Duke could not refuse. He had left a seruant of his called *Haultfontaine* to crosse *Roch Beaucourt* and the Maior: and finding his party stronger then theirs, sent word vnto the Duke, *That all good men attended him with impatience.*

He repaired late in an evening to the Queene, and told her that *Monseur de Senblize* his brother was very sicke, and shewed his Letters. Some write that it was but a pretext: but howsoeuer, he posted into Poitou, where he continued eight dayes with his brother, B during the which many of their friends came to see them, and they went together to S. John D'Angely. Others on the contrary side say, that the Maior who had protested to be well pleased with his arrival and stay, had notwithstanding conspired with the partisans of *Roch Beaucourt* to thrust him out of S. John D'Angely, and that to this effect hee had caused them to arme vnder colour of a watch: but the Maior finding himselfe too weake stayed in the midst of his designe.

But omitting whatsoever was written in defence of either party, I will onely set down the particularities as they past. Their Maiesties being informed, that the Duke of Rohan was become master of S. John D'Angely, and had caused some alteration; they sent *Monseur de Themines* thither, to give them certaine aduice how all things had past during these factions; and to take order that if the Estate of the Towne could not be reduced to a firme peace, yet at least by his wisdom to pacifie their quarrels, and to do whatsoever he should thinke necessary for the Kings seruice. But vpon the doubt they had of some greater enterprizes, they stayed the mother, wife, and sister, of the said Duke at Paris: and his Secretary being come from S. John D'Angely to informe their Maiesties of all these factions, and to acquaint them with many things concerning the Maiors behaviour whom he had depozed; they found them of as little force as his excuses, so as he was committed to the Bastile as the Seigneur of Themis had bene, being sent a little before by the Duke of Rohan to excuse the affront which had bene doneto Capitaine *Fauscalt*. *Monseur de Themines* came to S. Johns, and seeing the affaires of the Town in the absolute disposition of the Duke of Rohan, he onely caused the old Maior to be restored for some few daies, after which all was in the power of the said Duke.

The Queene Regent (during the absence of the Prince of Conde, who went the last year into Guienne to take possession of his government) had treated long with the Earle of Soissons concerning the alliances by marriage betwixt France and Spaine: who had for his part liked of the first proposition which had bene made vnto the deceased King by the Marquis of Botry: the Prince of Conde did the like, being made acquainted therewith after his returne from Guienne, and all others who had knowledge thereof: holding it both profitable and proportionable for the Kings age and greatnesse. And although there were some remonstiances published, that the deceased King was resolved to make an alliance with the Duke of Sauoy, yet the Queene (a iudicious Princesse) made it known, that she did not preferre this alliance for want of good will and affection to the Duke of Sauoy and his House, nor for any other ends, but for the consideration of the merit of such an alliance, and the settling of peace betwixt these two Kings, profitable for Christendome, and more necessary for the present estate of the Kingdome, then at any other season: whereof the Duke of Bouillon had charge to satisfie his Maiestic of Great Britaine, whether they sent him expresse to performe that office: The like was done at the same instant to other Princes and allies to this Crowne: all which did witness their contents and approbation.

All things being consented vnto, betwixt their Maiesties and the Catholike King, and the consents exhibited on either part: the King of Spaine commanded his Ambassador, resident at Paris, to conclude the said treaties of marriage, the which hee did in the Kings chamber, in the presence of the King, the Queen Regent his mother, the Marquis of Botry Ambassador for the great Duke of Tuscane, and some officers of the Crowne.

Within few dayes after, the Ambassador of Spaine, in the name of the Prince of Spaine sonne to the Catholike King, was made sure to his mistris the Lady *Elizabeth of Bourbon*, the daughter of France: and the French King did the like for his part by the Ambassador

The Prince of Conde and the Earle of Soissons allow of the alliance with Spaine.

The Duke of Bouillon sent into England.

The second of the marriage confirmed.

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A Ambassador residing at Madrid for the Infanta of Spaine. This begot a thousand braue designs amongst the Nobility of France, Spaine & Naples, to celebrate these assurances: to the end they might testifie vnto the world how much they ioyed at these alliances. But this ioy continued not long, but was suddenly crossed by the Princes of the blood. For when the question was to enter into Council touching the contract of marriage; being requisite that these Princes especially should confirme al the Articles & conuenitions mentioned in the said contract. The Prince of Conde and the Earle of Soissons made some demaill, and for that they were not willing to signe it, the Prince withdrew himselfe from Court, and went to visit his Houses; & Count Soissons went to his Gouvernement in Normandy: retreats which held al things in suspense, and much grieved their Maiesties, seeing the said Princes had so willingly yielded to the first propositions: they went from Court in October 1611, and were absent 7 or 8 moneths.

The Princes retire from Court.

Notwithstanding the retreat of these Princes, they did not giue ouer their resolutions to celebrate these great Nuptials with running at the Ring, compleat in Armes, at the Quintaine, Fire-workes, and all sorts of Triumphs in Paris, among the other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and other Noblemen which were then in Court, all inflamed with a desire to publish to the world the glory of this alliance.

The day appointed for these triumphs was on the 14. of March in the Place Royall, a stately building made by King *Henry* the 4. being 72 fathome square, and enuironed with many goodly pavillions. It was formerly called the Castle and Parke of the Tournells, before the which the Kings of France were wont to make their Tournies, Combats, and running at Tile in Saint Anthones street neere vnto the Bastile: But King *Henry* the second, being there vnfortunatly slaine with the splinter of a Lance, this Castle and Parke were afterwards vnfrequented and ruined, and in the end became a Market for horses. In this place Royall there were scaffolds erected for the King, Queene, Princes, Ladies and Noblemen, and a Citadell built with all manner of defences like to the Palladium of Troy: but all these triumphs were stayed for a time by reason of the death of the Duke of Mantoua, who was neerely allied to their Maiesties, for the which the Queene was much afflicted, retrying herselfe some dayes into her Chamber to mourne for his death. The Cardinal of Mantoua, who had bene the year before at Paris, succeeded him. Soone after, a new day was appointed (through their Maiesties permission) for these triumphs on the 5 of April: the Defendants having formerly published throughout all Paris their Cartell of defiance, to the end that no man should pretend ignorance.

Death of the Duke of Mantoua.

I must craue pardon if I make not a particular relation of euery circumstance; being tryed to strait bounds in the continuation of this History: but it shall suffice to vnderstand that the defendants were the Dukes of Guise, Neuers, and Cheureux, with the Lords of Bassompierre & Chastaigneray called the Knights of Glory, vnder borrowed names, who entered the Theater with a rich and stately equipage, having before them two triumphant Chariots, the one drawne by sixe Lions, the other by sixe Unicomes.

The Defiance.

The Assailants were in number 53, whereof the chiefe were, the Prince of Conty, the Dukes of Vendosme, Longueville, Rohannois, and Rhets; the rest were, Marquisses, Earles, and Barons for the most part: they made their entries in ten severall troopes, but not equally diuided, being wonderfully rich in their furnitures and traines, euery troope hauing his severall Deuice, all which were very exquisite and rare. These sports continued three daies; at the end of euery daies triumph there were rare ignitions for fire-workes, and shooting off of Ordnance; and to shew their generall applause, there were bonfires throughout all the streets of Paris, and in most good Townes of France.

After all their ioy, feasts and triumphs at Paris, the Queene Regent was advertised that the King of Spaine was somewhat amazed to heare of the difficulty made in France for the signing of the Contract: whereupon the sought by al faire & gentle means to cal back the Prince of Conde and Earle of Soissons Princes of the blood to Court, who after some refusal, in the end came to Paris; where being ariued, they presently satisfie the Queenes desire, and confirmed the contract of the said marriages vnder their hande, the which gaue great cause of ioy and content vnto all France.

There remained nothing to bee done, but to signe the Articles which had bene formerly concluded: for the effecting whereof, their Maiesties sent the Duke of Mayen extraordinary Ambassador into Spaine, to confirme the contract of marriage betwixt

The Princes of the blood called to Court.

The Duke of Mayen sent Ambassador into Spaine.

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The Duke of  
Mayen comes  
to Lerma.

A Present of  
viſuals made  
vnto the Duke.

the moſt Chriſtian King and the Infant of Spaine : and on the other ſide the Duke of A Paltrana was ſent into France to doe the like betwene the Prince of Spaine, and the Kings ſiſter. The Duke hauing ſent his traine before by ſmall iournyes in Bayonne, (which was the Rendezvous for all thoſe which ſhould accompany him into Spaine,) he went from Paris to Fontaine-Belleau to take leaue of their Maieſties, from whence he parted in poſt on the 5 of Iune, and came to Bayonne on the 17, where he was attended by very many Noblemen and Gentlemen which did accompany him, beſides thoſe of his owne traine. To relate the ſeueral intertainments in all places as he paſt would bee very tedious : I will onely touch at his reception at Lerma, which ſeemes according to my author, to be very extraordinary. He came to lodge there on the 4 of Iuly, where the Duke had giuen order to receiue him with all the ſtate that might be : for being deſcended from his horſe in the baſe Court of the Caſtle, and going vp the ſtaires, the Hall doore opened, at what time the Duke de Mayen, and thoſe which did accompany him, ſmelt ſuch a ſweet ſcent of perſumes, as they all proteſted they had neuer done the like : and opening the chamber doores they had the like perſume. The Hall and fixe chambers in the Caſtle were hanged with tapeſtrie of cloath of gold and ſiluer, whoſe borders were embroyded with gold and enriched with rubies and emeraulds. If the Duke of Lerma had cauſed his Caſtle to be richly furniſhed with hangings, ſtately beds, and mouebles : he had alſo giuen order there ſhould be no want of viſuals, for as they write, there had not bene in 50 yeares ſcene the like to that which was preſented to the duke of Maïen, C and in the name of the inhabitants of the Towne of Lerma, (although euery man might ſee, it was the duke of Lermas care and prouiſion.) This was preſented at the Dukes entry into the Caſtle : two Moores ſounding their trumpets went before, then came a number of perſons attired like clownes, euery two carrying a long pole with all kinde of wilde fowle, and amongst the reſt great ſtore of cunnies : After them followed 20 moyles with coverings of Turkie worke, the which were laden, ſome with Boraches of wine, others with veales, muttrons, Turkie-cockes, Capons, Gammons of Bacon, comfitures and fruits, Being at Arande vpon Duero, *Monſi de Vaſcelas* ordinary Ambaſſador for France, came vnto him, who aſſured him that the Duke of Paltrana was paſſed from Madrid : whoſe long ſtay waſte the cauſe the Duke went on more ſlowly then he had reſolued.

During the dukes ſtay at Almeda and Barraias, his Catholike Maieſty ſent the Marquis of Eſte to viſit him, who accompanied him ſtill vntill the day of his entry. The Ambaſſadors and all the Grandes of Spaine ſent to viſit him by their chiefe Gentlemen, with all kinds of complements and offers of ſeruiſe, vntill the day hee made his entry, which was on the 17 of Iuly in this manner :

Fiſt, there went before 65 moyles laden with trunckes and coſſers belonging to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of his traine, hauing all blacke coverings. Then followed 134 moyles with the dukes baggage with coverings of blacke cloath, & his Armes in the middeſt, and at either corner a croſſe of Loraine, conducted three and three in a ranke by their Muletiere cloathed in blacke. Ten men mounted vpon Moyles, and ten Swiſſers on foot attired alſo in blacke had the conducting of them. After theſe came his Steward betwene two Controllors, hauing their chaines of gold in their blacke ſcarſes, and followed by 123 Officers and other Waiters all in black likewiſe. Then came 52 pages attired in mourning, conducted by the dukes Queery, and followed by their Gouvernour : then 217 Gentlemen in mourning after : 17 Barons, 7 Earles or Viſcounts, 4 Marqueſſes, and the Prince of Tingri. The duke of Mayen alone vpon a horſe which his Catholike Maieſty had ſent him : and *Monſi de Vaſcelas* ordinary Ambaſſador in Spaine, neer vnto him. Three Caroches covered with blacke, and another of *Monſi de Vaſcelas* made vp his French Embaſſie.

The duke of Mayen, being arriued with all his traine at Saint Barbas neere vnto Madrid, he met there with the duke of Alua, accompanied with many Grandes of Spaine and all the Nobility of the Court on horſe-backe, which came to meet and receiue him on his Catholike Maieſties part. In this troope were almoſt 500 horſe, all richly furniſhed and in very good order. The principall which accompanied the duke D'Alua were, the dukes de L Infantado, D'Albuquerque, De Maqueda, of Feria, of Montalco, of Peneder, of Blea, and of Villermonta, the Admirall, and the Adelantado of Caſtile, *Don Pedro de Toledo*, *Don Chriſtopher de Mora*, the Earle of Laras, and of Aluſiſta. As ſoone as the duke of Mayen had ſpied them, he made a ſtand, and then the Marquis of Eſte which was by

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A by him told him all their names, which when hee had related, they fell to complement and ſalutations, without deſcending from horſe-backe : which laſted ſo long, as it was almoſt ſuen a clocke before they beganne to make towards the towne. Then the Caualliers of Spain mingled themſelues with the French Gentlemen, each one ranging himſelfe with them of his owne qualitie, and the Duke of Maïen coming behind in the laſt rancke, had the Duke of Alua on his left hand. This entry was made at the port of Fuencaſall. All the ſtreets of Madrid, the windowes, and the houſe-tops were full of people of all ſorts.

The Duke of Mayen was conducted to the houſe of Marquis *Spinola*, and the Spaniards retired. From Wedneſday vntill Saturday he was viſited by the Ambaſſadors of all Princes and States : by the Duke of Lerma, and the Cardinal of Toledo (who is not accuſtomed to doe that honor vnto any but the King,) and by all the Grandes and chiefe Lords of Spaine, accompanied with their kinſfolke and friends, euery one ſtriving to ſhew the greatnes of his Houſe.

On Saturday Iuly 21, the Duke of Vſeda came by the Kings commandement to accompany him to Court to his fiſt Audience, he with all his Nobility and Gentry being mounted on horſes from the Kings ſtable. Being come to the Caſtle, the Earles of Caſtel, Ruſio and Salazare, Stewards of the Kings houſe, met him at the entry of the Hall, and conducted him vnto the King, who was attired in a long iacket of black bayes, and a long cloake of the ſame; on his left hand ſtood the Prince his eldeſt ſonne; and one the other, the Duke of Lerma, behinde was the Marquis of Velado Lord Steward, with all the Grandes of Spaine bare-headed : The Duke hauing done his obeſſance, the King embraced him, commanding him to be covered. After which he preſented the King and Queens Letters, thanking him for the voyage the Duke of Feria had made into France to condole the death of the deſeased King, and withall he did condole in their Maieſties name, the death of the Queene his wiſe : and hauing ſaluted the Prince (ſitting by his Father) who embraced him, from thence he went to the Infanta's chamber, who was ſet vnder a cloath of Eſtate of cloath-of-gold, accompanied by the Counteſſe of Altamira her Gouverneſſe and the Ladies of the Court. He had cauſed *Madams de Vaſcelas* to demand of the Infanta how he would command him to treat with her; and vnderſtanding her pleaſure, he went D to kiſſ her hand as his Queene, and thence treated with him as her ſubiect. Three daies after hee preſented a Letter on the Kings behalfe, which ſhee receiued with much content, and hauing read it, ſhe ſaid, *Sir, if the King your Maſter doe not loue me for my beauty, yet at leaſt he will loue me for my obedience.* The reſt of the time vntill the coming of *Monſi de Piſcaux*, he ſpent in viſiting of Noblemen, and the like.

*Monſi de Piſcaux* being arriued at Madrid Auguſt 12, the Duke of Mayen preſented him to his Maieſty, and to the Infanta. Auguſt 21 the Articles of the ſaid Mariage were concluded betwixt the Duke of Lerma, in the name of the King of Spaine, on the one ſide; & the Duke of Mayen, the Viſcount of Piſcaux, and the Baron of Vaſcelas, in the name of the moſt Chriſtian King on the other. In preſence of the Popes Nuncio, and many Dukes, E Noblemen and Councillors of Spaine. The Articles were theſe.

I. That with the grace of God, and a Diſpenſation from the Pope, by reaſon of the con-  
I ſanguinity & neerneſſe of blood betwene the moſt Chriſtian King and the Infanta, as ſoone as the ſhall come to the age of twelve years compleat, they ſhall cauſe their Mariage to be ſolemnized according to the Order preſcribed by the Canons of the Catholike Apoſtolike and Romane Church, in the Court, Palace and houſe of his Catholike Maieſtie, where the noble Infanta the Lady Anna makes her reſidence; and that by vertue of a Commiſſion from the moſt Chriſtian King; which, being done, the ſaid King ſhall ratifie and accompliſh in perſon, when the ſaid Infanta Lady Anna ſhall come into France; his Maieſty ioyning to her Highnes : and the ſaid ſolemnitie of Mariage ſhall be performed eyther by ſpecial Commiſſion, or in perſon, when as the time ſhall be ſet downe betwixt their Maieſties.

II. That his Catholike Maieſty doth promiſe and ſtand bound to giue to the ſaid Infanta Lady Anna in dowry, and in regard of her Mariage with the moſt Chriſtian King of France, and ſhall pay vnto his Maieſty, or to any other that hath authority from him, the ſumme of 500000 Crownes of gold, after the rate of eight ſhillings ſtirling the peece, in the Citie of Paris, a day before the Celebration of the ſaid mariage.

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III. That

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cles of the  
Mariage.

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III. That their most Christian Maiesties shall binde themselves to assure the Dowry A of the said Infanta Lady Anna vpon good rents, and assured assignations, to the content of his Catholike Maiesty, or of such as he shall name to that effect: and in case the marriage be dissolved, and the Dowry in Law to be restored, then it shall be deliuered backe againe to the said noble Infanta, or to him that shall haue commision from his Highnesse: and during the time the said Dowry shall remaine vsatisfied, her Highnesse, or her heires, or successors shall enioy the reuennue wherunto the interest of the said 50000 Crownes shall amount, which shall be payed by vertue of the said assignations.

III. That the said Noble Infanta Lady Anna shall hold her selfe content with the said Dowry, and shall neuer hereafter make any other pretence or claime vpon any colour B whatsoeuer, and that she shall renounce all actions and demands in good and due forme, and with all assurances and solemnities that shall be required and necessary; which renouciation she shall make before she is married, by present words.

V. That presently after the Celebration of the marriage, she shall approue and ratifie ioyntly with the most Christian King, and with the same forme and solemnity, as she did the first, and with such clauses as they shall finde to bee convenient and necessary for the effect thereof: to which renouciation their Maiesties shall remaine bound as at this present. And in case they shall not make the said renouciation and ratification by ver- C tue of this present contract by capitulation, the said treaties, renouciation, and ratification are held to bee well and duly made, past and granted at this present, as if they were then done: The which shall be made in the most authentike and effectuall manner that can be, to be good and of force, withall clauses derogatory of any Lawes, Iurisdiccions, Customes, Rites and Constitutions to the contrary; or that may hinder in all, or in part, the said renouciation, and ratification, the which for the effect aforesaid, their Catholike and most Christian Maiesties shall derogate, and doe at this present wholly derogate: And for the approbation and ratification which they shall make of this present contract and capitulation, they doe at this present as then meane to haue derogated to all exceptions aboue mentioned.

VI. That forasmuch as their Maiesties make these marriages, the better to continue and assure (by this strong bond) the publicke peace of Christendome, and the brotherly love D which all men hope for betwixt their Maiesties, and in contemplation of the iust and lawfull causes, which the equality and conueniences of the said marriages doe perswade; by means whereof, and by the fauour and grace of God, all men may hope for a most happy successe, to the great good and increase of the faith and Christian religion, to the common good of the Kingdomes and subiects of the two Crowns; as also for that which concerns the good of the Common-weale and the prestruation thereof: wherfore considering the quality aforesaid, and other iust reasons which may be alleged, their Maiesties conclude by contract, which shall stand in force as a Law for ever, in regard of their Realme, or any thing that shall concerne the publicke.

VII. That the Lady Anna Infanta of Spaine, nor the children borne of her, bee they E males or females, or their descendants, for euer hereafter in what degree soeuer they bee, shall not succede in the Realmes, Estates, Siegneuries, and Dominions which belong vnto his Catholike Maiesty, and which are comprehended vnder the titles & qualities mentioned in this present capitulation: nor in any of his greatest Realmes, Estates, Siegneuries, Prouinces, Ilands adiacent, Fiefs, Governments; nor in the frontiers which he now holdeth, or that belong or may belong vnto him, within and without the Realme of Spaine, which heretofore their Catholike Maiesties and their Predecessors haue held and enjoyed: nor into any part depending thereon, or that shall be hereafter gotten and added vnto his said Realmes, Estates and Dominions, or that may fall vnto him by any title or right whatsoever, be it during the life of the said Infanta Lady Anna, or after her de- F cease during the liues of any of her descendants, in what degree soeuer: And in case they shall haue any pretensions by the lawes and customes of the said Realmes, Estates & Dominions to succede in the same, in all the said cases the said Lady Anna doth at this present declare to be well and duly excluded, with all her children and descendants males and females, notwithstanding any pretence. To all which considerations in generall, vnto every one in particular, their Maiesties doe derogate, for that they doe contradict and hinder the execution of this Article. And for the approbation and ratification of this present

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A present Capitulation, they shall and do derogate, meaning that the Infanta and her descen- dants shall remaine for euer hereafter excluded from all succession in any of the States of the Country of Flanders, County of Bourgundy and of Charolois, with their dependan- ces; which Countries and Estates were given by his Catholike Maiesty to the Infanta Isabella, and must returne to his Catholike Maiesty and his successors. And further, they declare expressly, that in case the said Infanta remaine a widow (which God forbid) with- out any children of this marriage, that then she shall be free from the said exclusion, and be declared capable to succede in all that may belong or fall vnto her in two cases only: the one, if remaining a widow of this marriage she come into Spaine: the other, If by reason B of state for the publicke good, and for iust considerations, shee marry againe with the good liking of the Catholike King her father, or the Prince of Spaine her brother, in which two cases she shall remaine capable to succede and inherit.

VIII. That as soone as the Infanta Lady Anna shall come to the full age of 12 yeares, and before the celebration of the marriage, she shall promise vnder her hand-writing, by the which she shall binde her selfe and her descendants to the obseruation of her exclusion and of her descendants, approuing all as it is contained in this present contract, with all ne- cessary clauses and oaths, and in swearing this present Capitulation, and the foresaid bond and ratification, which her Highnesse hath giuen and made, shee shall also make another like vnto it with the most Christian King, as soone as she shall be married, the which shall C be enrolled in the Court of Parliament of Paris according vnto forme; as also his Catholike Maiesty shall cause the said renouciation and ratification to be enrolled in his Councell of State: and in case the said renouciations and ratifications bee made or not made, from this present by vertue of this contract, and the marriage which shall follow, they shall be held as duly made and granted.

IX. That his most Christian Maiesty should giue vnto the Infanta Lady Anna for her Iewels to the value of fifty thousand Crownes of the Sun, the which with all others that she shall bring with her, she shall freely enioy without any difficulty, as the goods of her patrimony, the which shall belong to her Highnesse, and to her heyes and successors, or to such as shall haue right.

X. That their most Christian Maiesties, according to the ancient and commendable D custome of the royall House of France, shall assigne to the Infanta Lady Anna for her dowry twentie thousand Crownes of the Sun yearly, out of such lands and reuennues as shall haue execution of iustice, whereof the chiefe place shall haue the title of a Duchy or more; which lands and places so giuen and assigned, the said Infanta shall enioy by her selfe, or by her Commissioners and Officers, with the execution of iustice: and moreover, that the prouision of all offices being void, shall belong vnto her, as all Queenes of France haue vsually had: Provided alwaies, that the said offices shall not be giuen but to naturall Frenchmen, as also the government and forming of the said lands, according to lawes and E customes of the Realme of France: of which assignation the said Infanta Lady Anna shall enter into possession, and enioy during her life as soone as she shall be a widow, whether she theremain in France, or retire her selfe to any other place.

XI. That his most Christian Maiesty shall giue to the Infanta Lady Anna for the ex- pences of her Chamber and the entertainment of her estate and house, a conuenient sum, such as belongs to the daughter and wife of so great Kings, assigning it vnto her after the accustomed manner of France, in giuing assignations for such entertainments and charges.

XII. That the Infanta hauing attained to twelve yeares of age, they shall marrie by the Proctors which the most Christian King shall send, and the Infanta by words present- ly: the which being done, his Catholike Maiesty shall cause her to bee conducted at his F own cost and charges vnto the frontiers of France, with such attendance and traine as shall be fitting for the wife and daughter of so great Kings, where she shall be received by the most Christian King with the like traine and attendance.

XIII. That if the marriage should happen to be dissolved and broken off betwixt the most Christian King and the Infanta Lady Anna, and that her Highnesse shall summe the King, it shall then be lawfull for her to retire without any hindrance into Spaine, or else- where at her pleasure, carrying away her dowry, Jewels, apparell, plate, and all other mouables whatsoeuer, with her officers and seruants, without any stay, lett, or hindrance, directly



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directly or indirectly, enjoying the dowry and assignations which haue beene giuen her: A and to this end, the most Christian King shall giue to the Catholike King and the Infanta Lady Anna his daughter, such Letters of assurance as shall be necessary, signed with his owne hand, and by the Queene Regent, and sealed with his seale: the which they shall assure and promise for them and their successors in the word of a King.

XIV. That seeing this present treaty of marriage had beene desired and advanced by our holy Father, and by his meanes brought to this estate, it shall be fit to entreat his Holinesse (as their Maiesties doe at this present) to be inserted in his Bulls, together with his approbations which their Maiesties and her Highnesse haue made, and the writings and oaths which they haue giuen and taken.

XV. That both Kings shall approue and ratifie this present capitulation, and shall promise vpon the word and faith of a King to keepe it inuolably: for the effecting whereof they shall declare their Letters of ratification, after the accustomed manner one vnto another, within two moneths after the date of these presents, by their ordinary Ambassadors residing in the Courts of both Kings.

All which the sayd Commissioners did conclude and promise in their names, as is contained in this present capitulation, hauing bound their Maiesties and Highnesse to obserue and keepe it without any contrauention, directly or indirectly: for so the said Commissioners haue promised by vertue of the authority they haue from their Maiesties, and to that end they haue set to their names, &c.

*The Duke of Lerma  
Marquis of Denia*

*Henry of Lorayne  
Brulard*

*Andrew of Coisefilles.*

*The Duke of  
Mayens second  
and once.*

These Articles being past, the 22 of the said Moneth was chosen for the publication of D the marriage, and for the second audience of the Duke of Mayen; the which for that it was very lately, even in the opinion of the Spaniards, who commend that which concerns strangers but coldly. I will briefly runne it ouer.

On the 22 of August, about fise of the clocke in the euening, the Duke of Lerma came to the Duke of Mayens lodging, being accompanied by all the great men in Court, who were brauely mounted, and richly apparelled. Going to the palace, there marched 150 French Gentlemen, two and two, their apparell glistring with embroydery and rich stones. Their Pages went on either side bare-headed, their lueries being of veluet of diuers colours, with short cloakes, round hose, and long stockings, hauing their cloathes layed on with gold and siluer lace.

On either side of the Duke of Mayen were twenty of his footmen clad in crimson veluet, hauing their ierkins, short cloakes, and panned hose embroydred with gold and siluer, the lining of their cloakes and hose were of satin of the same colour. Then came twentie Pages bare-headed, and in the same livery. After this followed the Duke himselfe in a sute all embroydred with gold and siluer, his ierkin and the panes of his hose were cut vpon cloth of gold and siluer, long white stockings, a short blacke cloake, with the same embroydery, white pumpe with two great iewels of diamonds in stead of roses, blacke veluet pantofoles embroydred with gold and diamonds; his cap was of blacke veluet, with a very rich Iewell, and a band answerable vnto it; his girdle, hangers, rapier and dagger were all set with diamonds, and his cloake and garments had many iewels and chaines of F precious stones.

His horse was in a manner couered with a foot-cloath of blacke Veluet, embroydred like vnto his apparell, all the rest of the furniture was of blacke Veluet, couered with buttons and roses of Diamonds; for boffes he had two great iewels, and for his reins hee had two scarfes of Cloth of siluer cut and embroydred with Gold. Then followed his Caroch of the same livery, drawne by six pyed horses, their harness being of Crimson Veluet embroydred with Gold. This was followed by two others of the same veluet, the

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A the one hauing fixe gray horses, and the other fixe bay, and all the Coach-men were in Crimfon Veluet embroydred with gold and siluer. After these followed 8 Caroches of the Kings full of French Gentlemen, very richly apparelled. In this pompe they came vnto the Palace, and stayed in a great Hall, whereas the Duke of Mayen being set betwixt the Popes Nuncio, and the Duke of Lerma; the rest of the Nobility being of either side, one of the Kings Secretaries of State read the conditions of marriage, which hee brought to the Dukes to signe.

From thence they went vnto the King, whom they found in his mourning habite vnder a Cloath of State, betwixt our Queene, attired in white Sattin embroydred with B Pearle and Diamonds, and the Prince his son, clad also in white, with a short cloake & long stockings. The Duke being entred, hauing done his obeysance to the King, he adressed himselfe first to the Queene, to whom he did his complements for al France. After which, he spake vnto the King, and hauing saluted the Prince, hee went vnto all the Ladies, who came vpon their knees to salute the new Queene; after which he retired to his lodging, the freetes being full of Torches and bonfires, with many Drummes, Trumpets and Haultboyes.

The Saturday following, the duke of Mayen being with the Queene, the King sent for him to haue him walke with him, which is a rare fauour; and it was the greater, for that the King caryed him through the City, discoursing with him of many things in French C with great familiarity, which bred admiration in the Spaniards. At this time he caused all the Frenchmen that were in prison, or in the gallies in Spaine, to be set at liberty. But omitting for breuity sake all other things that were remarkable during his abode in Madrid, we will now set him on his way homeward, hauing taken leaue of the King & yong Queene; but before his departure the Queene presented him with a chaine and a band valued at 15000 Crownes, and with foure Ienners of Spaine. The Duke of Macheradid giue him foure more with their caparasons of Satin cut in flowers, and the Duke of Alua presented him with two. He on the other side presented vnto the Infanta in the name of the King his Master a booke of precious stones all couered with Diamonds; after which, he went out of Madrid in the same order they entred, but the mules had their go- D uernings of Scarlet embroydred with blacke and white, and his pages and other seruants were in lueries of the same colours. At the same time the Duke of Pastrana was sent into France by the King of Spaine for the same subiect: he parted from Madrid in Iuly, and hauing receiued all the honors and shewes of publike ioyes as hee past through France, they could deuise; he came in August to Paris making his entry on the 13 day, being met with all by the Duke of Neuers with 500 French Gentlemen; his entry was rich and statly: the King, the Queene Regent, Queene Marguerit, with all the Princesses and Ladies being in euerrall houses on our Ladyes bridge to see the Shew.

The Duke of Guise was sent to bring him to his first audience, being followed by a great troope of the French Nobility, who were very rich both in their owne apparell and E the furniture of their horses. The Duke of Pastrana was all in blacke, but his cloake was intrich with diamonds & pearles. He had many Noblemen & Dons of Spaine with him, they were all in blacke, but their Cappes and cloakes were garnished with stones; they had horses from the Kings stable, with foot cloathes of blacke Veluet. Euery Spaniard of note, to the number of thirty, marche betwixt two French Noblemen. After this traime came two Groomes of the dukes livery, leading two Mules with their cloathes of Crimfon Veluet, embroydred with gold & siluer; they were laden with Presents which the Prince of Spaine and the Infanta sent vnto their Maiesties: he had his audience in the great Gallerie, when hauing performed what he had in charge to the King, Queene and Madam, hee deliuered his Presents, and so retired to his lodging at 9 of the clocke at night, there being 120 Torches to attend him.

Hauing spent almost 15 daies in being visited by the Princesses, Cardinals, and all the great men in Court, and in visiting them and the great Ladies againe, after some balls and a great dancing at Queen Marguerits, he had his last audience in September, and took his leaue. The King sent him a Iewell of 20000 Crownes, and the Queene a pointed Diamonds of 4000 Crownes: She also sent a hat-band of stones to Don Francisco de Sylua the dukes brother of 2500 Crownes value, in requital of a Bezar stone which hee had presented her with, being almost as big a kids head.

*Duke of May-  
en parts from  
Madrid.*

*The Duke of  
Pastrana sent  
into France.*

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A false brute of  
the Kings  
death.Death of the  
Earle of Soif-  
sons.Richers booke  
deposited cal-  
led in question.

In the beginning of October, Paris was put into a wonderfull feare vpon a false brute A which went through the City that the King was slaine. This hapned about 3 of the clock in the afternoon, vpon this occasion: Some souldiers of the regiment which were then in guard fel to quarrell neere vnto the Corps de Garde, so after words of reproach & threats they fell to blowes and drew their swords, in which one whose name was *Le Roy* was wounded, the rest crying out that he was dead; this cry *Le Roy est mort*, the King is dead, past into the cares of many like vnto lightning, who understanding not the businesse presently, gaue it out that the King was dead, and that he had been slaine: The Parisians were all so amazed as they thought themselves to be ruined, beginning to shut vp their shops, and to take Armes for their preservation. The souldiers of the regiment ran from all parts B to their quarters, to take armes, and to receive directions from their Leaders, where hearing that it was but a false brute, they were no further moued, but the people were still in feare: his Maiesty was then gone to hunt at Bois de Vincennes, and returned late to the Louure, where the Queene being aduertised of what past, she tooke Councell to send the King on horse-backe about the freets of Paris, with 3 trumpets, and his company of light hories: whereat the Parisians were much satisfied, and in the meane time they were apprehended that were the cause of this tumult, and committed to prison. As this yeare began with ioy & triumphs, so it ended with mourning & affliction: Their Maiesties being at Fontaine-bleau: *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Soissons, a Prince of the blood, and Lord Steward of France, being retired (after the first solemnities of the Kings marriage) C to his Castell of Blandy, he was surprisid with agreat sicknesse the 17 of October, and dyed the first day of Nouember in the presence of the Countesse his wife, and his seruants: she had married *Anna* of Montai Lady of Lucé and Bonnesable, by whom he left one sonne and 4 daughters. The gouernments of Dauphin, Picardy and Normandy had been committed vnto him, he liued 46 yeares, & 27 daies: his body was interred in the ancient monument of the Bourbons at the Carthusiens of Gallion. The Court was very heauy for his death, and their Maiesties much grieved: all France lamented his losse, but especially the Prince of Conde his nephew, his son now Earle of Soissons succeeded him, and is at this day the second Prince of the blood, and the fourth person of the House of France.

This yeare there had been a great controuersie among the Doctors of Diuinity of the D Colledge of Sorbon, touching a booke composed by *M. Edmund Richer* Sindique or controller of that facultie, the which was entituled *Depositate Ecclesiastica & Politica*: and printed without any name either of Author or Printer: which booke was allowed of some, as profitable to the rights & liberties of the French Church: others thought it pernicious, as contradicting directly the Popes authority: wherupon the Colledge of Sorbon resolved to assemble the first of March (being their custome so to do the first day of euery moneth) to consult about the censuring of *Richers* booke. But the Court of Parliament being informed thereof, by the kings Attorney General, they sent to forbid the Doctors of the said facultie, to censure the said booke, vntill they had proceeded legally according to the conclusion of the Kings Attorney General: forbidding them by a decree E not to assemble or proceed any farther, but to appeare the next day in Court: where they were heard and examined touching that and all other such bookes: whereupon, after the conclusions of the Kings Attorney General, a decree was made that all the Copies of that booke should be brought to the Register of the Court and that *Richer* the Author thereof should call in all the copies which he had disperised within three daies, vntill the Court should be satisfied in that which concerned the Kings seruice touching that subject. In the meane time the Bishops which were Suffragans vnto the Archbishop of Sens, examined the same booke and found it worthy of censure, and censured it for many erroneous propositions therein contained, without meddling with the Kings rights, or the liberties of the French Church: and they forbid all Christians which were vnder F their iurisdiction to reade the said booke vpon paine of Ecclesiasticall censure: which censure was published throughout all Paris: wherunto the said *Richer* opposed himselfe and appealed from the said censure as abusive, presenting a petition vnto the Court that his appeale might bee allowed, the which hee obtained; and it was decreed that his letters should bee received: and so the said censure was to bee suspended, and the Bishops enioyned not to inuocate any thing against the said *Richer* touching that subject.

On

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A Proposition  
in the Sorbon  
to depose  
Richer from his  
place of Sin-  
dique.

On the first of Iune following, there was a solemne assembly of all the Doctors of Diuinity, in the great Hall of the Colledge of Sorbon, in which there appeared 70 Doctors with the Sindique *Richer*. The Abbot of S. Victor, a Doctor of the said facultie, propounding in this assemble, that Doctor *Richer* had bene now very long Comptroller of the faculty, that they must giue him thanks and choosé another; being necessary the faculty should haue many men acquainted with their affaires; and that if *Richer* should dye they had not any. And to the end they might haue their voices free, he required that Doctor *Richer* might retire himselfe out of the assembly. Vpon this proposition D. *Reguenans* Deane of the said facultie, said, that he had neuer seene in any ordinary assembly so many B Doctors of Diuinity; that he should not be able to cause the order and dignity thereof to be obserued, if all the Doctors were not in mutuall concord: that hee had neuer seene any Sindique dismiss from his charge, if he himselfe did not desire it, or had giuen some lawfull cause of diffinition: that Doctor *Richer* had not done any thing vnworthy of his charge; but contrariwise, that the whole Vniuersity of Paris, and especially the faculty of Diuinity were much bound vnto him; and that they should rather studie how to commend him for his paines, then to dismisse him from his place: and therefore he could not propound vnto the assembly to proceed vnto the election of another Sindique.

After this, *Richer* began to speake for himselfe, alleaging many things touching his preferment to that place, and how he had caried himselfe therein, opposing himselfe to the C proposition which had bene made. Hereupon the Assembly was diuided. There were 43 Doctors which did adhere to the proposition of the Abbot of S. Victor, and 25 maintained the Sindiques opposition. This bred a great diuision among them, and of a private action became a matter of State: for being assembled in Iuly, the Court of Parliament sent vnto the Doctors to forbid them to make any proposition, and the Queene in like manner had by her Letters made the like iunction; the which was onely done to suppress the differences and diuisions which might grow among them.

Notwithstanding these prohibitions, the Abbot of S. Victor with his adherents, desired to proceed to a new election, hoping to effect it on the first of August; but the day before, the Lord Chancellor sent an Vher of the Councell vnto the Deane, commanding D him in the Kings name not to treat in the Assembly, (which should be the next day) of the proposition made touching the election of a new Sindique of the faculty, for that his Maiesty would take order for it. But after so many pursuits, the Abbot prevailed, so as notice was giuen vnto *Richer*, that hee should no more oppose himselfe to the election of a new Sindique, for many considerations; and that it were better to be done with his owne consent then otherwise: wherunto *Richer* refusing to yeeld, two Vhers were sent on the first of September to the Assembly, bringing the Kings Letters Patents vnto the Deane & Doctors, enioyning them to proceed to a new election; which being read, *Richer* still opposed himselfe, protesting of nullity of all which had bin done against him, & persisted in his appeale: yet notwithstanding they proceeded to a new election; and by a general E consent, D. *Filesc* Curate of S. Iohn in Greue, was choosen Sindique: After which the Deane and many Doctors went presently to the Vhers, who attended to certifie their Maiesties and the Chancellor of their obedience to the said Letters.

After this it was concluded, that hereafter the Sindique of the faculty should not hold the place above two yeares, and that vpon the end of the first yeare, he should demand of the facultie if they were pleased hee should continue the next. And vpon a proposition made by Doctor *Filesc*, their new Sindique, it was decreed, that hereafter the Sindique should not write the Conclusions alone, but that euery yeare foure Doctors should be chozen to assist him.

You haue formerly heard of the factions at S. Iohn D'Angely, their Maiesties imputing F the fault to the Duke of Rohan, whom onely they blamed in particular, as they had declared vnto the general Deputies of their subjects making profession of the Religion, to aduertise them thereof throughout all the Prouinces: and therefore they assured themselves to be equally assisted by all their subjects both of the one and the other Religion; they hauing the like interest for the reformation of this act, which regards the general good of the State, and in no sort any question of Religion, nor the obseruation of the Edicts, which their Maiesties would in that which concerns the towne of Saint Iohn D'Angely, and in all other things fully entertaine and obserue: wherof desiring their sub- ics

Their Maiesties  
Declaration  
touching the  
proceedings at  
S. Iohn D'An-  
gely.

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iccts should be well enformed, to the end that (as commonly men when they cannot hide A their faults seeke to colour them, and that there is no action but may finde some pretext if he will vse disguisings, although it be hard in a matter so plaine and manifest) no man may suffer himselfe to be deceived to his owne priuate losse, and that of the publicke. After this, there were some Letters of abolition granted touching the particular Assemblies which they of the Religion had made in many Prouinces without the Kings permission; whereupon their Nationall Synode which they had held at Prius, caused this following Declaration to be published.

A Declaration  
of the reformed  
Churches as-  
sembled at  
Prius.

The reformed Churches of this Realme assembled in a Prouinciall Synode at Prius, after an oath taken, according to their custome, of their fidelities and most humble obedience to the commandments and seruice of their Maiesties: hearing by the report of many Deputies of Prouinces, that the Kings Letters Patents had bene directed to the Parliaments and Chambers of the Edict, containing an abolition and remission of pretended faults committed in the conuocation of the priuate Assemblies of the said Prouinces: as also of that which hath past in regard thereof.

They declared, that the said Letters of abolition were neuer required, demanded, or sued for by them: being neither in deed, word, nor thought, culpable of the faults supposed therein; and that they are ready in generall and particular, to answer for their actions, submitting themselves rather to all kinds of punishments, then to suffer themselves and their posterity to be taxed with so shamefull an infamy, the which might hereafter C deprime them of the honour which they have alwayes had to be held by all good Frenchmen and strangers, most faithfull subiects to the King, incorruptible and most affectionate to the good of the State.

Moreouer, they declare, that they will not in any sort make vse of the said Letters, and that they disauow all consents and pursuits, if there were any; and such as haue demanded or approued them, contrary and preiudiciall to the sincerety of their intentions and their approued fidelity: protesting moreover to witnesse it by their voluntary expoling of their goods, liues, and honours, in the execution of the duties, seruice, and obedience which their Maiesties may expect of them, as from their most humble, faithfull, and obedient subiects and seruants.

A tumult at  
Rochel.

In September this yeare, there fell out a great mutiny and alteration in Rochel, begun by a multitude of the baser sort, who trooped together to the number of a thousand or twelue hundred, with their armes: The Maior and chiefe of the towne, sought by all means possible to pacifie them, fearing lest some sinister euent should follow this great tumult: for they found the streets full of armed men, the corners of them barricadoed, and the chaires drawne: their chiefeft quarrell was against the Seigneur of Coudray who was a Councillor in the Court of Parliament at Paris, and one of the Sherifffes of Rochel: He was descended of a good Family; his father had bene Maior, and hee was allied to the best Houses. The peoples fury was such against him, and his danger so great, as seeing the signes they had against his person, hee entreated the Maior to cause him to be conducted safely out of the gates, the which he did, but with very great difficulty, by reason of the incensed rage of this multitude, where the Maior had some affront done vnto his person.

The imaginary  
causes of the  
tumult.

The causes of this disorder were held but imaginary. Firft, They demanded reason of an outrage done vnto some of them the day before by Iames Vacher elected Maior, who had threatened them being armed in their Court de guard, to cause them to be carried to Paris with halters about their neckes: they would haue the towne purged from traitors and wicked men, who sought to perfwade the Queene, that they were no good subiects to the King. The Seigneur of Coudray was not pleasing vnto them, as well for that which happened the yeare before, where they conceived he sought to make some innovations in their customes: as also for that his last coming was ill taken, being before the cessation of the Parliament, all things being quiet; as also for diuers aduertisements which they had received, that he had certaine Commissions, & among others, that of Intendants of the iustice, and some added of the government: but he gaue them full satisfaction therein, both in generall and particular before these troubles; so as men imagined they had no more thought off it. But it seemed that the causes of this tumult proceeded from that which followeth: for it was bruted amongst the people, that Monsieur de Coudray and others employed by him,

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A him, had practised the voices of many of the body of the towne, to draw it from the vnion and correspondency which they had with the Churches of this Realme, a point which was so tickle, as that alone was sufficient to draw the people to any extraordinary action.

By a verball proceffe made concerning this tumult, they found that the onely cause proceeded from the Councillor de Coudray, who had charge from their Maiesties, to hinder the calling of an Assembly, which some of the said Religion, (especially those which were not satisfied with the Edict of pacification, as it was verified in the court of Parliament) had resolved to hold on at Rochel without their Maiesties permission: and to haue any to B any alterations which might happen: and to aduertise them of what was necessary for the maintaining of their subiects of both religions in peace in those Countries. But he being thrust out of the towne by this popular tumult, they held an Assembly by their owne authority, and drew many demands, as appears by their Declaration.

An Assembly  
of those of the  
religion at  
Rochel.

But the King being in Councell, declared, that he would haue no regard to any instructions or articles that should be presented vnto him on the behalfe of that pretended Assembly, or of any priuate man which went thither to that effect, the Conuocation being vnlawfull and made contrary vnto the Edict, and without permission: But touching that whereof his Maiesty gaue good hope vnto Monsieur de Rouuray before his voyage to Rochel, concerning them of the Religion in generall, most of which had bene granted by C his answer to the articles formerly presented, hee would cause it to bee put in execution. And as for the articles contained in their instructions which concerne particular men, his Maiesty had resolved and decreed, that if those his subiects of the reformed religion, whom it may concerne, returning to their duties, and those which are come to Rochel to assist at the said pretended Assembly, shall retire themselves into their Prouinces, they shall haue all Letters granted, and necessary dispatches made, to enjoy the effect of that whereof his Maiesty gaue hope vnto the Seigneur of Rouuray before his departure. And concerning the other demands added to the instructions since his voyage; his Maiesty declares, that hee cannot change any thing of the Edict of Nantes, secret articles, Briefes, Answers, and Declarations made by the deceased King; the which he will cause D to be inuolubly obserued and kept, and make his subiects of the said religion, to enjoy all the graces, grants, and aduantages which haue bene granted vnto them thereby, and in the like manner as they haue done during the life of the deceased King, without any change or alteration: As also he would cause them to enjoy all such graces and concessions as had bene granted vnto them since his coming to the Crowne: And to that end there should be a generall declaration made presently by his Maiesty, for a further confirmation of the said Edicts, Articles, Briefes, and Letters, with Injunctions to all Officers, to suffer his said subiects to enjoy them fully and quietly. Which Declaration contained a forgetfulness of that which had been done and past in preiudice of the said Edicts and Declarations, disanulling all pursuits and proceedings which had bene made. And to the intent this his intention and will should be more exactly obserued, he commanded the Marshalls of France of either religion to go their circuits throughout the Prouinces which should be assigned vnto them, as had bene anciently obserued, and according to the duty of their places; whom hee would cause to bee accompanied by Iudges and such forces as should be necessary to countenance his good and faithfull subiects, and to punish such as should contradict the Edicts, and trouble the publicke peace, This Declaration was signed and published the 15 of December.

The Kings Declaration touching the Assembly.

A Declaration touching the confirmation of the Edict.

Towards the end of the yeare, the Court of Parliament, Guardian of the rights and priuiledges of the Crowne of France, seized vpon a certaine pernicious Booke tending to the rebellion of subiects against soueraigne power, written in Latine by Gaspar Strippius, E printed in Germany, and brought into France from Francfort Mart. The Court, finding that this booke (entituled Ecclesiasticus) contained an infinite number of execrable blasphemies and scandalous assertions against the glorious memorie of the deceased King Henry the Great, with other propositions tending to trouble the quiet of Christendome; against the safety, life, and estate of Soueraigne Princes: made a decree (the Chambers being all three assembled) that the said booke should be burnt by the Hangman publicly in the Palace yard, and inhibitions to all Printers and Booke-sellers, to print, sell, receiue, or publish it, forbidding all men of what condition, or quality, to seepe, or conceale

Strippius booke burnt by a Decree.

[F]

ceale

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ceale any of the sayd bookes : enioyning them that had any, that within foure and twenty houres after publication of the said Decree, as well within the City of Paris by sound of Trumpet, as within all the Bayliwicks of that iurisdiction, to bring or send them to the Criminnall Register of the said Court, and in other townes to the Registers there, to bee burnt : and they which should oppose against this Decree, to bee punished as Traitors.

Death of the  
Kings Schoole-  
master.

Among many great and learned personages whom God called this yeare to a better life, *Nicholas le Febvre* the Kings Schoole-master was one. He had beene chosen by the deceased King *Henry* to instruct the Prince of Conde, and the Queene Regent held him worthy for the King her sonne, whereof he was most capable : hauing spent a yeare and a halfe in this instruction, being in the Kings chamber to attend his charge, he was suddenly taken with a shaking and trembling of the heart, so as he was forced to goe presently to his lodging, and to betake him to his bed : but finding at that instant that his life grew towards an end, he made a worthy preparation to death, before which he commanded his funerals should bee simple and meane, making choice of his graue in Saint Innocents Church-yard : His pietie appears in his Testament, and by this Epitaph, which he himselfe made.

D. O. M.

*Nic. Faber. Peccator non vnus ex multis, hic jaceo:  
Quid de me dici verius aut à me: Quid vtilius non  
video: Agnosco bone Iesu, tu ignosce: Ad hoc enim  
natus es, ad hoc passus, ad hoc tremuisti, vt per te securi  
essemus.*

*Fixit An. LXXIII. Mens. IV. D. III. Denixit An. 1612.*

*Becanus booke  
confured.*

In the end of the last yeare, the Colledge of Sorbon (jealous of the greatnesse, life, and safety of their Kings) had seized vpon a certaine Booke written by *Becanus*, entituled : *The Controuersie of England, touching the Kings power and the Popes*. In the beginning of the last yeare, this Booke had beene reuiued, corrected, and augmented at Meitz in Germany, being allowed by *Henry Scherennus*, Prouinciall of the Iesuits, by the authority of *Claudian Aquavina*, Generall of that Society : which Author said, *That the Pope is vniuersall Pastor of the Church, to whom Christ said, Feed my sheepe : And that by the dogges are vnderstood Kings and Emperours*. Wherefore these Dogs whilist they are faithfull and vigilant, must obey their Shepheard : but if they be loathfull and idle, the Shepheard must presently depose them and driue them away.

It was therefore held necessary, to condemne these bad interpretations, and to provide for the safety of the Kings life, the quiet of his subiects, and the preservation of the Realm, and to prevent such parricides as had beene committed vnder colour of Religion : seeing that vpon such bad interpretations, a wicked wretch called *Scoppius* the Encomiastes of Parricides had grounded himselfe, to the end he might draw on others, saying in his booke called *Ecclesiasticus*, *That none but Turkes and Heretikes had lamented the death of King Henry the Great, or condemned the fact of Rauillac*. Wherefore on the 7 of Ianuary, the Sorbon deputed certaine Doctors of the faculty to goe vnto the Queene and Chancellor, to whom they represented summarily what had beene done in their Assembly, touching the pernicious propositions of *Becanus* booke, and that they had beene aduersified by their Sindique *Filesc*, that the Cardinall of Bonfy by commandement from the Queene had giuen him charge not to censure the same booke, for that her Maiesty was resolved to take another course. But for that this matter was of very great importance, the company thought good to let her Maiesty vnderstand, that they had surceased from all conclusions to witnes their humble obedience, vntill her pleasure were further knowne. Yet the said Faculty so much feare that their silence and delay might be so taken by posterity, as

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A if the Diuines of Paris had allowed of this seditious doctrine, and had condemned the decrees of their predecessors, by the which the life & soueraine authority of Kings is maintained; wherein they referred themselves to the Chancellors great wisdom, but the whole body of the Diuines of Paris, desired that their belief vpon his point might be manifested to the world. To whom the Chancellor said, that he commended the care of the said Faculty : that hauing read *Becanus* booke, he held it most pernicious : and that it was necessary that the doctrine of the Sorbon should be knowne to the world, to be directly against it, and that there should be some remedy provided lest this doctrine of *Becanus* should creepe in with more violence among the people wherefore hee was resolved to bring them vnto the Queene, and to recommend the care of the said Faculty vnto her Maiesty, as he did; she promising to take aduice in Councell, and to resolve them by the Chancellor. To whom the Doctors repaired the 12 of Ianuary, to vnderstand the Queens pleasure, who told them that her Maiesty thinking that *Becanus* booke had not been common, & that there had been but one copy or two in France, would iudiciously haue rather suppressed it by silence then otherwise, wherewith shee had acquainted the Cardinall of Bonfy, but being informed that it was in the hands of many, she thought it fit to referre it vnto the fidelity and conscience of the said Faculty, to do as they thought it good; and that their Decree should be inserted in the Register of the said Faculty, whereunto posterity in the like controuersie might haue recourse.

C Yet afterwards *Filesc* the Sindique, hauing red a certaine copy of a decree made by the Pope, containing the censure of the said booke, made at Rome in an assembly of the Cardinals, the 3 of Ianuary this present yeare, for that there were found in this booke many things which were false, rash, scandalous, and seditious respectively, and forbidden to be printed in any language vntill it were corrected : and for the better assurance thereof, hauing read some letters of Testimony from the Bishop of Monte-pulciano the Popes Nuncio in France, he stayed the making of any Decree touching the said pernicious propositions, assuring them that the Chancellor had forbidden it. Thus the controuersie touching *Becanus* booke ended, whereupon some were of opinion, that the word *respectu*ly in the Popes censure was put in of purpose as a terme of euasion, to shew that the Iesuites doe not absolutely condemne *Becanus* doctrine, but onely in regard of the French, who were most offended therewith.

The incensed fury and rage of the Nobility and Gentry of France running daily to Duels and Combats, sometimes at the place Royall by Moone-light like madmen; some time without Saint Honories gate or Saint Anthones : did in the beginning of this yeare much afflict the King, Queene, and the whole Court. The Earle of Breteigne and the Marquis of Nefle, hauing made many assignations to fight, were still prevented, and in the end reconciled by the Princes and Marshalls of France. Among many men of note which had beene slaine by these combats, that which did most afflict the Queene was the counter of the Cheualier de Guise, with the Baron of Luz Lieutenant General for the King in the Duchy of Bourgandy : they meet in Saint Honories street, where the Cheualier perceiving the Baron (whom he fought for) to be in his Caroch accompanied by some Gentlemen, he advanced willing him to come forth, and withall drew his sword, gaue his cloak to one of his followers, left his horse, and offered him the combat : which the Baron de Luz seeing, he presently leapt out of his Caroch and put himselfe in defence. But at the second thrust the Baron fell downe dead vpon the place : which the Gentlemen of his traine perceiving, they made offer to defend him, but being hindered by the Cheualiers followers, they gaue way, and all they could doe was to put the Barons body into his Caroch, and to cary it speedily to his lodging. The street was suddenly full of Noblemen and Gentlemen, which made men thinke there had beene some tumult and sedition. The Cheualier retired himselfe to the house of Guise, where the dukes the Prince of Ioinville, and the Archbishop of Rheims did much blame him in the Queens behalfe, for that he had slaine so worthy a Gentleman, and so good a seruant to the King. *Monseigneur le Grand* being then in Bourgundy, hearing these things, was much grieved. But I cannot expresse the wonderful sorrow of the young Baron of Luz his onely sonne, a goodly Gentleman : who resolved to be reuenged, though with the hazard of his owne life. To effect the which, about a moneth after, hee sent a Gentleman called *du Riol* to the Cheualier with this following Challenge.

Of Duels and  
beginning of  
this yeare.

The Baron de  
Luz slaine by  
the Cheualier  
de Guise.

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My

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A Challenge  
from the young  
Baron of Luz  
to the Cheual-  
lier de Guise.The Cheuallier  
kills the young  
Baron of Luz.

*My Lord. None can be a more faithfull witness of the iust subiect of my griefe then your A  
selfe: and therefore I pray you most humbly to pardon my sensible feeling thereof. I iurue you by  
this note to doe me the honour that I may see my selfe with my sword in my hand against you, to  
revenge the death of my father. The effectme I haue of your valour, makes me to hope that you  
will not abate your quality, to avoid that wherunto your honour binds you. This Gentleman  
will bring you to the place where I am with a good horse and two swords, whereof you shall haue  
the choice. If this doe not please you, I will see whither I can get you shall command me.*

The Cheuallier de Guise was in bed when du Riol brought him this Challenge, having  
read it, he arose presently, and du Riol holpe to dresse him: then sending for *Mont-  
de Grignan*, a Knight of Malta, he entreated him to accompany him; and so they parted  
without the priuity of any one. They went out of Saint Anthonies gate, and du Riol  
brought him to the place where the Baron of Luz was. The Cheuallier & Baron being  
visited by their seconds, and their doubtles off, all foure being on horse-backe, having ta-  
ken the field, they began to aduance with their swords in their hands. At the first passado  
the Baron wounded the Cheuallier in the arme; but at the third the Cheuallier ran the  
Baron through the body, who falling from his horse had no other need but to care for  
his soules health. The Cheuallier ranne speedily to the two seconds, for *Grignan* had re-  
ceiued two wounds from du Riol who was not hurt, who seeing himselfe ready to be char-  
ged by two, the Baron lying along and neere his death, hee bethought himselfe of his re-  
treat, recouering Charenton, and afterwards Bourgundy. On a sudden the field was full  
of Noblemen and Cheualliers, but they found no man but the Baron lying in the dust,  
whom his friends rooke presently vp: a losse which afflicted the rest of his friends, and  
troubled the whole Court: But the Duke of Guise and his brethren were wonderfully  
perplexed, having heard that the Cheuallier was wounded to death but seeing him returne  
but lightly hurt, they were much comforted, and gaue God thanks for his escape. Hee  
kept his chamber for a time, as well by reason of his wounds, as for the displeasure the  
Queene had conceiued against him for the death of these two Noblemen, the father  
and sonne.

Belongeth (saie  
by Montigny-  
Hall).

In the same moneth *Montigny-Hall* a young Gentleman being in Paris, sent a challenge D  
to the Seigneur of Bethunes, Campe-maister to one of the French Regiments in Holland.  
The place was appointed, they met, and *Bethunes* lost his life. He was much lamented for  
that he was a braue and valiant Gentleman. His friends made this Epitaph for him.

*Passenger, stay thy steps, beare reuerence to this tombe, Cyrus of Bethunes is here enclosed:  
He had many for his exercise, a Caesar for his master, and Offender for a Schoole: glory was his  
ambition, vertue his loue, and one onely God his feare. He cherished armes, respected the Lawes,  
and honoured his Nation: yet armes haue taken him out of the world, the Lawes haue abandoned  
him, and his Nation hath suffered him to bee lost. Goe weepe for the dead, complaine of the  
liuing, and content thy selfe.*

O God, what miseries (as a great Prelate said) doe these duels bring. Wee see Families  
made desolate, fathers lament the losse of their children, wiuers their husbands, France her  
Captaines and choice souldiers, the King his Nobility (the ornament of his Crowne) and  
God his soules, whom Satan doth snatch from him. So many Edicts and Defences made  
by Saint Lewis, Henry the second, Charles the ninth, Henry the Great, and the King now  
reigning, against the inuention of encounters without challenge, could neuer suppress  
this deuillish course of combats and duels, which is to be reproued as a most fawne thing,  
and neuer in vse among the Ancients, except it were in warre, that is to say, a subiect  
against the enemy by his Generals permission, or one General against another, to spare  
the subiects blood, whereof there are many examples in Histories.

The Kings E-  
dict against  
duels.

The King seeking to prevent these mischiefs whereby his subiects might receiue the  
benefit, with the aduise of the Queene Regent, the Princes of the blood, and officers of  
the Crowne, he confirmed all the former Edicts by his Declaration. And to take away al  
hope to obtain hereafter any thing from his Majesty that might contradict it, he declared  
with a firme and irreuoicable resolution, that he would maintain the said Edicts in their full  
force, without any respect of persons: which his resolution he would haue made knowne  
vnto

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A vnto all the Princes of the blood, and other Princes and officers of the Crowne, and  
to all his Courts of Parliaments, subiects and seruants; and that he had no intent hereafter  
to grant any pardons or remissions for the breach of the said Edicts and Declaration: for-  
bidding them expressly, not to sue, entreat or mediate in those cafes to his Majesty, nor vnto  
the Queene Regent his mother, vpon paine of their indignation: forbidding them also  
to retire or conceale any such offenders in their houses, or other places, or to giue them  
any support or assistance, but to discouer and deliuer them into the hands of iustice, if they  
were required by the officers, giuing them all ayd and assistance to doe it if they may. And  
this was the effect of the Kings Declaration: wherunto the Court added, that if any  
Letters of abolition were directed to the Prouost of the Kings house, and iudgement giuen  
by him, notwithstanding the said Letters, the proceeding should be void, and they should  
proceed against the offenders according to the Edicts and the Kings Declaration: neither  
should they which stood in contempt bee admitted to purge themselves, vntill they  
paid the third part of the fines adiudged against them, to the vse of the poore that were  
in that vp.

The Kings Declaration touching the maintenance of the Edict of pacification, being  
read in the Towne-house of Rochel, in the presence of the chiefe inhabitants, it was con-  
cluded by a general consent, that they would obey his Majesties will: And that they  
should forbid the continuance of the Assembly of those of the Religion come from diuers  
Prouinces into their towne. Vpon this resolution, there were some (which since the as-  
sembly at Saumur, were possessed with ieaousie) made diuers conuenticles and secret as-  
semblies, where they propounded many things, and made diuers enterprises, whereof the  
Maior was aduertised, assuring him that the tenth day of the moneth was appointed for  
the execution of many pernicious designs; and that many gentlemen were coming from  
S. Iohn D'Angely towards Rochel, to support the vnderakers. The Maior knowing  
the time when these Gentlemen should arriue, and that their partisans should take armes,  
he prevented them foure houres, and hindered their designs.

By the aduise of the chiefe Burgeses (to prevent all accidents) hee caused an alarme to  
be suddenly giuen, and seized vpon all the quarters of the towne by men able to stay such  
as had any will to mutine: then he caused all the Corps de Guards to sweare that they  
should not acknowledge any command but his, and made the townsmen to be all night  
in armes.

The next day being the 11 of January, hee caused an assembly of the townsmen to bee  
made, where those of the Court of Iustice and men of all qualities assisted. There he  
propounded, to haue a prohibition published vpon paine of death for any man to make  
any assemblies. This was not onely commended by a general consent, but they did all  
swear to employ their liues and goods to haue it obserued, and to discouer such as should  
infringe it. Vpon this resolution, he caused this Declaration to bee published by sound  
of Trumpet.

BY the Maior and Captaine of this Towne. WHEREAS some (desirous to breed diuisions  
and dangerous factions among the inhabitants of this Towne) make Conuenticles and as-  
semblies both by night and day: vsing seditious speeches among the people, assailing many men  
of qualitie with inuurious and slanderous reproaches: Wee doe expressly forbid all persons  
of what qualitie and condition soeuer, dwelling within this Towne, to make any Assemblies  
or Conuenticles either by night or day, vpon paine of death. Enioyning all those which  
shall haue knowledge thereof, to discouer it speedily, vpon paine to be punished as fauou-  
rers of the said Conuenticles: Wee also strictly forbid all the said inhabitants to quarrell  
or wrong one another either in word or deed: or to carie any Pecee either by night or day,  
vpon paine of corporall punishment.

The Maior of  
Rochel's De-  
claration.

The day after this Proclamation, the assembly of the Deputies sent two vnto the Maior  
being in the Towne-house, and protested vnto him that they would obey the Kings De-  
claration, and retire into their Prouinces, beseeching him to suffer some of them to conti-  
nue in the Towne for their safety, vntill the Kings declaration were verified in their Pro-  
uinces: also that all those which were constrained to abandon the towne for that which  
happened therein on the fift of September 1612, might returne againe into their houses to  
liue in peace and quiet. So the Maiors care and vigilancy made them yield obedience to  
his

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An Edict for-  
bidding gold or  
silver on appa-  
rell.

his Maiesties will, and procured concord among the Citizens, being much diuided: as A also in the said tumult his wisedome did preuent the accidents of a popular fury.

The King continuing his care to prouide for the disorders of his Estate, and seeing the excessive liberty in wearing of gold and silver vpon their garments, the dissolution so common, and the charges so great, as many times they had more vpon their backs then in their purses, he made an Edict this year, in March: Inioyning first of all the Clergie to weare decent habits, besitting their profession; and all his other subiects to abstaine from all superfluities: forbidding expressly all persons in generall vnder his obedience, what quality, sex, or condition foueuer, to weare any gold or silver of in their apparell, either good or counterfeit, in any sort or manner whatsoeuer, vpon the penalty of B 150 pound sterling; excepting the embroydery of saddles and furnitures for horses already made, the which should be tolerated for fixe moneths. He did also forbid all embroyderies vpon garments, in what fort foueuer, were it in gold, silver, or silke, and the vse of Milan laces, vpon a penalty of a hundred pound sterling. Yet by this Edict hee did not forbid the vse of gold, silver, and embroyderies in girdles, hangers, hat-bands, garters, roses, buckles, and supporters of womens ruffes, nor yet the gilding of rapier hilts, armes, spurs, bits for horses, and stirrups. He did also forbid the gilding of all Caroches or houes, were it vpon lead, iron, wood, stone, or plaster, or any other sort whatsoeuer, vpon paine of 100 pound sterling. He did also forbid all Noblemen and Gentlemen, to giue any Liueries of silke to their Pages or Footmen, but onely of cloath, and one lace about. C In like manner all Taylors and Embroiderers were forbidden to make any such garments, vpon paine of thirty pound sterling for the first time, and double for the next offence. The King himselfe, and the Princes, to giue example vnto others to obserue the Edict; forbore to weare any gold or silver in their apparell, wherein they were imitated by all the French Nobility, who shewed themselves very modest and obedient.

War betwixt  
the Dukes of  
Sauoy and  
Mantua.

All things being in peace both in France and abroad, there began a warre betwixt the Dukes of Sauoy and Mantua; for *Francis* Duke of Mantua and Marquis of Montferat, being lately dead without any issue male, leauing onely one daughter by the Duke of Sauoyes daughter, his brother Cardinal *Ferdinand* succeeded him in the said Duchy and Marquisate: The Duke of Sauoy impatient to see his daughter and grandchild, to haue no better D share in those Estates, pretending also a title to the Marquisate; hee resolved to retire his daughter and child from Mantua; and to that end he sent the Earles of Martinegue and Lucerne, and after them the Prince his sonne, to demand her of the Duke: who sent the Bishop of Diocesaria to the Duke of Sauoy, to acquaint him with his intention, which was, not to suffer his Niece of Mantua to depart for reasons of State.

In the meane time the Duke of Sauoy hauing leauied some forces, vpon a colour that it was for the preseruation of his Estates of Sauoy, Piedmont, and Aste, and put them in garison in all his townes, he resolved to surprize the Marquisate of Montferat, (being destitute of sufficient forces to defend it) before that the Duke of Mantua should bee able to send any succours: yea he had drawne many of the Nobility of Montferat to his party, E who promised to serue him in his enterprife.

On the 22 of Aprill, the Duke of Sauoy being at Verfel, he told the Bishop of Diocesaria, that he went forth that night to see some of his companies mustered; and that the next day he would resolve to accommodate the businesse for which he was come, but he did the contrary, for he went to the rendezuous which he had giuen to all his troops, and himselfe in person led them into Montferat, where he tooke Tiino by *Pestard*, and Albe by *Scallado*: After which they propounded to besiege Casal, and to force the Cittadell, the which being taken, there was not any other place able to make resistance in the whole Marquisate, which is a little Country, a dayes journey from the Alpes, lying betwene Piedmont, the Seigneury of Genua, and the State of Milan subiect to the King of Spain. F So as the Duke of Mantua, to send succours to Montferat, must passe them through the Country which the Spaniard holds in Lombardy, so that it was to be feared, the Duke of Sauoy would soone preuaile in his enterprife: but God disposed otherwise.

About the same time the Queene Regent had concluded a mariage for the Lady *Renee* of Loraine, daughter to the deceased Duke of Mayen, with *Mario* Earle of Sando Fiore, eldest sonne to Duke *Alexander* Spue, and issued from the House of *Vrsini*, which had bene alwayes much affectionate vnto the Crowne of France. The Duke of Neuers her brother

The Duke of  
Sauoy leads his  
army into  
Montferat.

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The Duke of  
Neuers goes  
to succour  
Montferat, and  
inuades Cal-  
cul.

A brother in law, tooke vpon him the charge to conduct her to Florence, where the mariage should be consummated: Embarking at Marcellles, and landing at Sauone (a port be- longing to the Seigneury of Genua) the Duke of Neuers vnderstood that the Duke of Sa- uoy had secretly with his army entred into Montferat, and that Casal was in danger to be lost, there being no commander nor sufficient forces to resist the Duke.

This Duke of Neuers who is of the House of Mantua, and nearest kinsman to the Duke, next vnto his brother *Don Vincent*, resolved to preuent this apparent danger with the hazard of his life; and hauing sent to recommend his sister in law to the State of Genua; (being afterwards conducted to Florence, and the mariage consummated) he tooke with him twenty men of his traine, and thre score Mariners, whom he caused to be armed, and with this company within two dayes he entred Casal.

The Duke of Sauoy aduertised of his arriall, imagined that his enterprife would not succeed according to his designe; so as in stead of besieging Casal, he sent his Army before Nice de la Paile. And for that he saw all the neighbour Princes were in a wonderfull jealousy for his taking of armes in a full peace, he sent them a long Declaration of the causes: which were, the defence of his grandchild, and his old pretensions to the Marquisate of Montferat, entreating the Pope, Emperor, King of Spaine, and all other Princes to allow of this action. The Duke of Mantua on the other side made a full answer to this Declaration, the which I cannot insert at large.

C The Duke of Sauoy sent copies of his Declaration to all Kings and neighbour Estates, accompanied with his priuate Letters, writing also to the Seigneurs of Bearne, and the Sindiques of Genuea; he entreated them not to be zealous of his taking of armes, promising that it was not his intent to offend them: but some doe write, that this promise of the Duke of Sauoyes, was like vnto that which *Poliphenus* made to *Ulysses*, to eat him the last of all his companions. For if he tooke Casal as he had done Albe, hee would reuine his old pretensions vpon his neighbours one after another. Seeing hee is armed (they say) we must stand vpon our guard.

The newes of these armes in Montferat, being come to the French Court at Fountain-bleau, they held the duke of Sauoyes quarrell vniuist. Many Noblemen friends to the duke of Neuers, went to him to Casal, some by Marcellles, to Sauone and Genua by sea, and others by Swisserland & Lombardy, & so came into Montferat. The Baron of La Roche of Dauphin a partizan, and (as they say) a pensioner to the Duke of Sauoy, and who liued much in his Court, had priuate intelligence with a Dauphinois of the towne of Romans, called *Magnac*, who followed the Councell of France, and solicited affaires, and had good access into the houses of the greatest in Court, making profession of the reformed religion, but in effect he was a spyce, and pensioner to this Baron, as he was to the Duke. But the packets of Letters which *Magnac* had written to the Baron of La Roche, being taken at the Poste, and found full of intelligences concerning the State and matters of importance, he was apprehended and condemned as guilty of high treason, for the which hee E was broken on the wheele the last of May.

The French go  
to the Duke of  
Neuers in  
Montferat.

A Traytor exc-  
cuted.

The Baron of La Roche made no better end then *Magnac*, for being taken in the beginning of the next year, and brought to the Bastille, and afterwards to the Conciergery, he was attainted and convicted for murthering a Church-man who came out of Italy with a packet for the King, for the which hee was iudged guilty of treason, and beheaded at the Greue.

But let vs returne to Montferat. All the Potentates of Italy went to armes, but none for the Duke of Sauoy. The King of Spaine commanded the Governor of Milan to leauy an army vnder the command of the prince of Ascoli, and to driue the Sauoyards out of Montferat with the hazard of a battell. The Duke of Mantua leauied souldiers in his Duchy, and the Venetians and the great Duke of Tuscane did the like for his succour. In the meane time the Duke of Sauoy had sent an army of fixe or seuen thousand foot of diuers nations, and a thousand horse to besiege Nice as you haue heard, thinking to find it as ill provided of defence, as the rest which he had taken; but he found that the Duke of Neuers his arriall had assured the Gouvernors, Captaines, and inhabitants of the townes of Montferat: and *Don Vincent* the Duke of Mantuas brother, and Generall of his Forces, came also to Casal with certaine Caualliers Mantuans. The Duke of Neuers conceiuing that if the Sauoyard should seize vpon Aui and Poulson, they would hinder the succour which

The Princes of  
Italy succour  
the Duke of  
Mantua.

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which should come from France and Florence, he took 30 Cavaliers Mantuan, twenty A two Noblemen and Gentlemen French, and went and assured those places and others thereabouts, and furnished them with men and munition.

The Sauoyards in the mean time made their approaches before Nice with all speed, and had so shut it up as Capitaine *Via* being gone forth with his company of 70 Carabins, to bring munition into the Towne, could not enter, but was forced to go to Aquil, being 7 miles distant from Nice, which the duke of Nevers resolved to succour, and to put halfe his troops into the towne, consisting of 250 Cavaliers, 60 musquetiers, 60 Harquebussiers, and 60 Pikes: but he was intreated by *Don Vincent* letters not to attempt it, for that the Spanish Army would come that night to Alexandria de la Paile vpon the Frontiers of Montferat, and that the duke of Mantua's Forces should ioyne with them, entreating him also to come, that being together they might relieue Nice without hazard. All these forces being ioyned on the 22 of May, they came within 2 miles of Nice, where they camped: these three Princes consulting which way they should charge the Sauoyards, *Cont Guy* of Saint George General of the Army of Sauoy seeing these Princes so neere, and ready to force him, hee sent word to the Prince of Acoly in behalfe of the duke of Sauoy; *That his Highnesse vnder taking this war did not thinke that the King of Spaine would haue assisted the Duke of Mantua against him, who had the honor to be his brother in law: but seeing it was so, his only respect, and not any feare of the Armes of Mantua should make him retire: with protestation neuer to employ his Armes without the good will of the King of Spain.* Whereunto the Prince of Acoly made answer; *That he had commandement from his Catholike Maiesty to succour Nice, and put the Sauoyard out of Montferat: But if their Generall caused them to retire, hee would not follow them, otherwise hee would bee the next morning in their Trenches.*

The Siege of  
Nice raised.

Notwithstanding this offer of the Sauoyards Generall, they continued their battery all night, whereupon the Princes resolved to charge them the next morning in their trenches, and to force them to raise their siege: but hauing put their Army in battell and approaching neere vnto Nice, they saw the Sauoyards leave their trenches and begin to retire, being aduertised of their coming: hereupon the duke of Nevers advanced and entered first into the Towne, where hee took 200 foot of the Garison with which he followed them, and foysted them by skirmishes, as within 2 miles of Nice hee forced them to put themselves in battell as well to defend themselves being thus prest, as to attend their Cannon which was myred. Hereupon the duke presently aduertised the Prince of Acoly and *Don Vincent*, entreating them to aduance with their troops, the which they did, and put their Army in battell right against that of Sauoy within Musket shot. The duke of Nevers was very desirous to fight, and had drawn the Prince of Acoly to be of his mind: but a Millanois being one of the Councell of warre to the King of Spaine said, that seeing he had giuen his word to the General of Sauoy not to follow them if they retired, he must now keepe it. The duke of Nevers replied, that the Prince of Acoly was no more engaged seeing they had failed of theirs, hauing fought to force Nice the last night: and moreover, they had now put themselves in battell in their preference, and therefore they ought to fight with them: but the Spaniards were of another opinion. And it was resolved that the Prince should send word to the Generall of Sauoy; that according to his promise he had giuen them time to retire, which they did not, but presented themselves before the Duke of Nevers, and *Don Vincent*, who were so incensed as he could no longer stay them from giuing battell: that if hee retired not speedily, hee should consent vnto them (as hee was bound) to cut the Army of Sauoy in peeces, the which they would vndoubtedly doe if he retired not. Vpon the deliuey of this message, the Generall caused his Army to retire to Castellano a little Towne in Piedmont, foure myles from Nice, whither the three Princes went to resolve on the siege of Albe.

The Prince of  
Acoly sends a  
message to the  
Generall of  
Sauoy.

The Governour  
of Milan  
grows ialous  
of the duke of  
Nevers, and  
the French.

But the Governour of Milan loone changed the face of this designe, and the affection of those which were come to this warre to succour an afflicted Prince. He grew ialous of the French Gentlemen which were come to the duke of Nevers: and that the Seigneur of Bourg with a regiment of 2000 foot should come out of France into Italy to succour the duke of Mantua. Finally, this Governour said, that he would not suffer any French troops in Italy, and that none should passe by the State of Milan; and that hee would ill intreat the first which came: that if the Siegneur of Bourg should passe into Italy,

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Italy, he would cause him and his Regiment to be cut in peeces. He sent to all the Spanish Gallies which were at Naples, Sicily and Genoa, to come and lye vpon those coastes, and to hinder the descent of all vessels which should bring any French to goe into Montferat. Yea some write, that it was bruted ouer all Italy, that the duke of Nevers drew the French into Montferat to seize on it for himselfe. The Duke of Nevers being advertised of the Governours speeches, he sent him word; that if hee took him for no other but to be of his quality, the troope of French gentlemen which were with him, would be indeed held extraordinary: But when he should consider of what quality hee was, as duke of Nevers, and of the House of Mantua, that of 20 gentlemen which were come vnto him, all of them (except foure or five of the principall which were come as friends to accompany him in this warre) were alwaies wont to bee of his traine: and that hee should be well aduised not to ill entreat any, which should come vnto him: for the least affront hee should doe vnto any one hee would reuenge it on his person or lose his life: for that in this action there was nothing concerning the interest of the King of Spaine his Master, but of one particular to another. As for his threats to cut the regiment of *Don Bourg* in peeces if it came into Italy, the Duke sent him word, that hee did not thinke hee had any such commission from Spaine, which were to doe the King his Master bad seruice in speaking so freely. And that it was not possible for any man to hinder the most Christian King his Master to send succours vnto the Duke of Mantua his Cousin Germaine, and nephew vnto the Queene Regent his Mother, to hinder the Duke of Sauoy from the innading of Montferat. As for the ialousie which he would put into the duke of Mantua's head, touching Montferat, it was more then hee could effect with all his endeuours, their interests were too closely vntied.

The Duke of  
Nevers incli-  
nate to the Go-  
uernour of  
Milan.

Notwithstanding all these speeches, the Duke of Sauoy and the Governour of Milan concluded a Peace in haste, for as they prepared to besiege Trino and Verfel, the two Ambassadors of Spaine and Mantua being come to the Rendezvous, the Prince of Acoly told the Duke of Nevers and *Don Vincent*, that a peace was concluded betwix the Duke of Sauoy and the Governour of Milan, the which he shewed them a writing to this effect: *That as the Pope Summons, and in obey the commandments of their Imperial and Catholike Maiesties, the Duke of Sauoy should within sixe dayes restore the Castell which he held in Montferat into the hands of such Commissaries as should be deputed by their Maiesties: that it so say, the Prince of Castiglia for the Emperour, and the Governour of Milan for the King of Spaine, and that defenses should be made to either part to commit any act of Hostility.*

A Peace con-  
cluded betwix  
the Governour  
of Milan and  
the Duke of  
Sauoy for  
Montferat.

They that haue written of these warres said, that it was concluded in as great haste, as the Duke of Sauoy had begun the warre: yet the Duke of Mantua's Agent at Milan durst not accept thereof, hauing no speciall commandement from his Prince: yet afterwards the Duke did allow of it. And although the Duke of Sauoy had promised to restore the places within sixe daies, yet hee did it not before that hee had receiued letters from the King of Spaine to presse him thereunto. After this restitution, the Duke of Sauoy would not disarme, notwithstanding any instance that was made, before that the King of Spaine should cause the duke of Mantua to signe and to execute the foure priuate Articles which the Governour of Milan had yielded vnto, in signing the restitution: and that the Duke of Mantua seeing him still in armes, would be more tractable to accord their differences.

The Duke of  
Sauoy refused  
to disarm, and  
the reason.

The foure Articles were, First, That the two dukes should not pretend any damages one against the other by reason of the warre. Secondly, That the subjects of either Duke, which had followed a contrary party, should not be molested in their persons, nor goods. Thirdly, That a month after the restitution made by the Duke of Sauoy of the places taken by him in Montferat, the Princeesse *Mary* should bee deliuered vnto him by the Duke of Mantua, to be restored within 15 daies after to the Princeesse *Marguerite* his Mother. And fourthly, that within a short time after, they should treat friendly of all the pretensions and differences which were betwix the two Dukes.

In *Iuly* *Monf: de Saurre* a Knight of both the orders, and Governour of his Maiesties person, was honoured with the dignity of Marshall of France, in the place of the deceased Marshall *Fernanquis*. It was thought the Duke ofully should haue been advanced, in regard of the good seruice hee had done to France, for that they said the deceased King of immortall memory had promised him the first Marshalls place which should be voyde: yet every man thought it well bestowed vpon *Monf: de Saurre* as a Nobleman most worthy to be

*Monf: de Saurre*  
made Marshall  
of France.

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Refuses it to  
the Marquis of  
Ancre.

be recompensed with that honor, for the great and commendable care he had had for the instruction & government of his Maiesties person: he continued little in that dignity, for presently after his aduancement he resigned it into their Maiesties hands to be conferred vpon the Marquis of Ancre, as it was: and the King being at Fontaine-bleau, caused him to be receiued Marshall of France although it were not with the good liking of many private persons.

The Almanack  
of Morgard.

By the Ordinaries of the most Christian Kings made vpon the complaints of the Estates of Orleans and Blois, all Soothsayers, and makers of Prognostications and Almanacks, exceeding the termes of lawfull Astrology, should bee punished extraordinarily and corporally. A holy and iust law, but ill obserued, through the liberty which these makers of Predictions tooke, who not content to speake of faire and soule weather, busie themselves to prognosticate of the effects of Mars, and of the affaires of State: as it happened in the beginning of this year, in the which *Noel Leon Morgard* made an Almanack as he had done the year before, in the which he spake much of warre: and yet France was as quiet and peaceable as it had been in 30 years. In his Almanack for this year, this *Morgard* seeking to be admired for his insolency and malice, assured, that the State of France should change: he touched the Kings person: and set downe the times, months and quarters, and he spake of many great Princes, altring onely the letters of their names. This Almanack being sold on the first day of the year, was extraordinarily sought for by curious persons, who assured themselves that it was a Prophesie. And that which gave it the more credit was, for that *Morgard* hauing set in the first quarter of Ianuary that a Marshall man should play a bad prank with his owne sonne: It hapned that an aged man of the Suburbs of St. Germaine who had sometimes bene a souldier, due his son thinking to kill a woman whom he entertain'd. The peoples murmuring of these new Predictions being imparted to the Queene Regent with a discourse of the wonders which he foretold: Her Maiestie held the author worthy of punishment, commanding the Officers of Iustice to make search for him, the which was continued for some daies in the end he was apprehended in Saint Honoris street, and the Printer in like manner, who had sold the said Almanack. *Morgard* was first caried to the Bastile, and afterwards to the Conciergerie. The Court of Parliament tooke knowledge of the cause, and examined the offenders, especially *Morgard* who at the first denied that he had given the said scandalous Predictions to be printed, the which was verified euen by the testimonie of such as had wrought vpon the said Almanack, who said that they had receiued those scandalous predictions in small papers from the said *Morgard*, and that being printed, hee instantly tooke them away againe: which being in the end confessed by the said *Morgard*, he was by a decree of the Court condemned to serue in the Kings Gallies 9 years, and was presently deliuered ouer to be chained to others. Before his going to Marsilles, hee cast diuers mens Nativities, saying vnto some; That they had done him wrong to condemne him before he had spoken with the Queene, to whom if he had bene admitted, hee would haue told many things for the good of France. Some held that this *Morgard* was very ignorant in Astrologie, and that hee vnderstood not the Latine tongue. That by race hee was a Cur-purse, and that the year before he had bene a prisoner in the Conciergerie along time, being accused for many thefts; yea some said that he had not made this Almanack, which was the subiect of many discourses that were published abroad, and of a feare, which for a time troubled the mindes of the French, vntill August, that their Maiesties went into Poitou and Britany, which was the month vnto the which this miserable wretch had limited the Kings life.

A decree  
against Duells.

Presently after the Feast of Christmas was past, Duels were more frequent amongst the Nobility then they had bene in former times; there was no common discourse but of combats and encounters, which made the Queene Regent to aduertise the Court of Parliament thereof, to the end they might devise some expedient, to diuert the course of such a mischief. The Court hauing taken deliberation thereon, made a very rigorous decree against the aggressors and acceptors of Duels & Combats: forbidding all persons to quarrell in publicke or private, to goe to feld, or make any assignations to fight; vpon paine (for all such as should infringe this decree) to bee held guilty of High Treason, and they and their posterity to be declared base and ignoble for euer: forbidding all persons to fauour them, or to receiue them into their houses or Castles, vpon paine of razing of the said

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A said places: exhorting all Clergie men not to giue them buriall, and giuing power to all persons to cease vpon them, and to deliuer them into the hands of Iustice, allowing 25 Crownes to bee taken out of the fines of the Court, to euery one that shall ayde to seize vpon the said combatants: which decree was published in all the streets and suburbs of Paris, and set vp in many places.

In the beginning of the year, there appeared some discontents, which made France to feare and apprehend a ciuill warre. The Prince of Conde assisted by other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Noblemen, and Officers of the Crowne, retired from Court seeing the affaires within the Realme, some in confusion, and others in disorder: accidents which happen ordinarily during the Minority of Kings, and wherein the bounty and wisdom of the Queene Regent, had bene careful during the time of her regency, as much as possible he could, to stay the course of such disorders throughout the Realme.

The Prince seeing how little he should preuaile to speak in Court of a general reformation, he thought it fittest (by the aduice of some of his friends) to absent himselfe, and to consider of this important businesse: the which hee did in the end of February, going to Chateauroux in Berry. The Duke of Neuers retired himselfe into his Government of Champagne, and the Duke of Mayen to Soissons: And within few daies after, the Marshall of Bouillon went from Paris. They which did adhere to this partie haue written in this manner,

C Men haue discoursed diuersly of the departure of the Prince of Conde, and of the Dukes of Neuers and Mayen from Court, and of their discontents: the which gaue occasion to the Marshall of Bouillon (who remained in Paris after them) particularly to informe the principall ministers about the King thereof, vnto whom hee signified that they had no other designe, intention, nor desire, but to remaine in that most humble obedience which they owe vnto the King and Queene: that the cause of their discontent proceeded not from any private interest, but onely from the disorder and confusion, which since the death of the deceased King, had crept into the Government of the State: that to their great griefe, they saw it increase in such manner, as it would proue incurable, if it were not prevented in time: that the rank they held in this Realme did oblige them, to represent these inconueniences to the Queene, to the end they might apply fit and necessary remedies: That to this end they were to meet at Meziens on the 15 of February with their ordinary traines, and there to aduise of that which they had to say; that vpon these words of the Duke of Bouillon, they held a Councell and resolved to stay him, but hee went speedily out of Paris, hauing aduertised the Prince of Conde of his going towards Meziens, and of the other Princes and Noblemen: That on the 10 of February, the D. of Longueville went out of Paris by night with a small traine towards Amiens, without taking leaue of their Maiesties: And that the day following at night, the Queene being aduertised that the Duke of Vendosme was of the said party, shee had caused him to bee stayed in the Loure by the Capitaine of her Guard, who appointed certaine Archers to keepe him in his chamber, where they put Barres of Iron to his windowes.

Some to excuse this, said, that the Queene had bene aduertised that the day before this Duke had conferred long with the duke of Longueville, and that he prepared himselfe to steale away, as the other had done, whereupon moued with the care hee had of his fortune and reputation, for the loue of the deceased King, he thought it fit to stay him within his chamber in the Loure, to keepe him from disobedience, into the which hee might fall following the bad aduice which was given him. The Court was much troubled with the retreat of these Princes, and with the brutes which were dispersed: which caused the Queene to write to all the Courts of Parliaments, the Gouvernours of Prouinces, and to Maiors and Sherifes of Townes after this manner.

MY Masters, I haue made no haste to write vnto you, touching the departure of the Prince of Conde my Nephew from Court, and of other Princes who retired at the same time, for that my Nephew hauing taken leaue of the King and mee, promised to returne whensoever he should be call'd, for the good of his seruice, and the others did the like. I conceiued that their retyring was rather to visit their Houses, and to spend some time in the pleasure of hunting (as my said Nephew and the rest had often done) then for any other designe: Notwithstanding, hearing rather by common report then by any ad-

certificat

The Prince of  
Conde and  
others discon-  
tented.They retire  
from CourtThe Duke  
of Vendosme  
De-  
moyed Pri-  
soner in his  
Chamber.The Queene  
letters to the  
Parliaments &  
Gouvernours.

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uertisement from them, that they seem to haue some discontent: I haue done what I could A  
to informe my selfe more particularly, for the which they haue small cause: for if they  
complane of that which concerns their priuate interest, I may say with truth, that both  
my Nephew, and all these Princes haue beene as much respected and honoured by the  
King my sonne and mee, as they could with reason require. And for that which con-  
cernes the government of affaires, all the Princes, Dukes, and Officers of the Crowne  
are admitted to Councells which are held to that effect. It is certaine that there is no bu-  
sinesse of importance, propounded, treated, or negotiated, but the said Princes, and espe-  
cially my said Nephew haue beene alwaies called, yea they haue often times bene defer-  
red to attend their company and presence. And as for the distribution of fauours and B  
rewards, euery one of them in his particular, and those which haue beene recommended  
by them, haue had so good shares as they haue no reason to complaine. If there be any  
question touching the generall affaires, they haue beene so gouerned since the death of  
the deceased King my Lord, as it may well appeare we haue omitted nothing, that might  
serue to the good, greatnesse, and reputation of this Crowne, hauing had a care to pre-  
serue the amities and alliances with all foraine Princes and States: the which hath suc-  
ceeded so happily as they were neuer in better estate. And for that which is within the  
Realme, hauing giuen order (as euery man knowes) to haue all the Edicts of pacification  
carefully obserued, and to maintain peace, vnion and concord amongst the subiects: and  
withall haue done what possibly I could for the ease of the people: and I may iustly say C  
my care hath beene such, that althoughe wee haue bene charged with great and extraor-  
dinary expences, yet haue we not raised any extraordinary Impositions, but diminished  
them in many occasions. And moreover, wee haue maintained all the other orders and  
Estates in their authority and accustomed functions, so as I cannot coniecture what true  
ground the said Princes or others may haue to complaine, either for the generall or their  
particular. Notwithstanding well considering how this retreat with these signes of discon-  
tent, and the brutes which are sprd and augmented vpon this occasion, may produce bad  
effects in the Prouinces, to the preiudice of the publike; I haue desired to take the most  
conuenient course to prevent it. And to this end hauing caused the Princes, Officers of  
the Crowne, and chiefe Councillors of State to assemble; I haue resolved by their ad- D  
uice to send my Cousin the Duke of Ventadour, and the Siegneur of Boissie (a Councel-  
lor of State to the King my sonne) to my Nephew the Prince of Conde, to inuite and  
intreate him to come vnto the King and mee, there to take the place and rancke due to his  
quality, and to giue vs counsell and assistance in all these occurrents, yea in the great and  
important affaires which we haue now in hand, the which I hope he will resolve to doe at  
their coming vnto him, according to the promise which he made at his departure: And  
to make a full declaration of the truth and sincerity of my actions past, and to seeke out the  
best meanes which may be to settle a good order for the good of this Estate hereafter, es-  
pecially at the entry of the Kings Maiority, I haue thought it conuenient to call an Assem-  
bly of the three Estates of the Realm, wherein they may take resolutions fit for the dignity E  
thereof. This I thought good to write vnto you touching the occurrences here, where-  
of I pray you to aduertise those which are within the limits of your iurisdiccions, to the  
end euery man may doe his duty in his charge, and be carefull that all things may be con-  
tained vnder the Kings authority and obedience, and the obseruation of his Edicts, ac-  
cording to the accustomed order without any innouation or alteration, opposing them-  
selues to all such as shall seeke to trouble the State, giuing them charge to stand vpon their  
Guards, and not to giue way to any practices which may be amongst them, to the preiud-  
ice of their owne peace and the Kings seruice: desiring you to employ the authority of  
your Parliaments in all things which shall import the publike and the Royall authority of  
the King my Lord and Sonne.

Vpon these alterations, and the feare of ciuill combustions, the Marquis D'Ancre  
(newly made Marshall of France) being Gouverneur of the Cittadell of Amiens, had left  
the Siegneur of Rubempré, to command there in his absence; but now he posted thi-  
ther to assure the place, drawing forth Rubempré, whom he put into Corbie: The Kings  
and Queenes companies of men of armes with the light horse were sent for and lodged in  
Creil, Saint Denis, and Monstreau-faut-Yonne; to the end they might be neere their Ma-  
iesties vpon all occurrents. The Duke of Ventadour and the Siegneur of Boissie, being  
vpon

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A vpon the way to goe to Chasteauroux, thinking there to find the Prince of Conde, were  
aduertised that he would crosse Berry to passe the Riuer of Loire, and goe into Cham-  
pagne; they sent a man expressly vnto him, to acquaint him with the commandement  
they had receiued from their Maiesties, and to know whether they should goe to finde  
him: from whom they had no other answer, but that hee went to Meziers: so as they re-  
turned to their Maiesties, and the Prince continuing his journey, with thirty or forty  
horse past the Loire, and entered into Champagne, where he was receiued by the Duke of  
Neuers, neere vnto Vitry, from whence they went together to Chaalons, and from thence  
to Meziers, whither at the same time came the Dukes of Longueuille, of Mayen, and of  
B Luxembourg.

The Marquis of Vieuville Gouverneur of the Towne and Cittadell of Meziers, was  
then at Paris: and D'Escruelles his Lieutenant was in the Cittadell with D'Amours, who  
vpon an aduice giuen them by the Marquis, prepared themselves as well as they could, to  
hinder the Duke of Neuers entry into the Cittadell; yea they receiued in some Wallons.  
But this place was like vnto many others, which in the time of peace want munition, and  
where nothing is repaired. The Duke of Neuers hauing sent for D'Escruelles to come  
and speake with him, he refused, and sent him word he should make no offer to come into  
the Cittadell: whereupon all the Princes resolved to haue that by force which they  
could not get by faire meanes. But vpon this refusal of entry, they doubted that D'Escr-  
uelles had receiued some commandement from the Queene, whereof they desired to bee  
satisfied, and if it were so, to yeeld all respect and obedience. But D'Escruelles and D'A-  
mours hauing declared not onely to the Duke of Neuers, but also to the Prince and the  
rest, that they had no commandement from her Maiestie, but were onely aduertised that  
the Duke of Neuers meant to doe them some affront. The Queene hauing giuen no com-  
mand, they began to feare that it was some conspiracy against the State, the which might  
extend not onely to the Cittadell of Meziers, but also to the person of the first Prince of  
the blood, and to others of the chiefe of the Nobility of France, for whose safeties it had  
bene provided by the good affection of the inhabitants of the town. The Duke of Neu-  
ers as Governor of the Prouince (in whose person the Kings authority had bene con-  
demned by this action) resolved to force them to yeeld the obedience due vnto his Maie-  
stie; and presently sent *la Brosse* vnto the Queene to aduertise her thereof, and to assure  
her that nothing should passe in this action but for the Kings seruice and her Maiesties,  
whose commandements he attended to obey and execute them: Hauing afterwards re-  
presented vnto them which were in the Cittadell, what belonged to their duties, and the  
danger they might incur by this disobedience, and the punishment they should iustly  
deserue: The place being deliuered into his hands, he presently gaue aduertisement there-  
of vnto the Queene by this Letter.

Madam, I haue formerly informed your Maiestie of the rebellion which hath bene  
committed against the Kings authority, by them of the Cittadell of this towne: Now  
E I informe you of the obedience which I haue made them to yeeld, hauing deliuered it  
into my hands: for the safety whereof I haue provided, to the end your Maiesty may be  
obeyed as you may expect from me, hoping that you will take into consideration the dis-  
obedience which the Marquis of Vieuville hath shewed me, in the charge which it hath  
pleased the King to giue me in this Prouince: for that this example may draw a generali  
consequence for all the Gouvernors of this Realme. I humbly beseech your Maiestie to  
command such iustice to be done as you shall thinke necessary for the maintenance of the  
Kings authority, wherein I may receiue that contentment which you shall thinke reason-  
able, seeing that this towne is vnder my charge, and my proper inheritance, which makes  
my apprehension the more considerable.

F This Letter could not so satisfie the world, but they conceived that the taking of the  
Cittadell of Meziers was contrarie to the Kings authority: for that the Lieutenants ge-  
nerall of a Prouince, and the Gouvernors and Captaines of places of strength, are giuen by  
the King, and not by the Gouvernors of Prouinces. They say moreover, that the Prouin-  
ces in France are great, and did abound in good and strong townes, which are so many  
Realmes: and that if the Gouvernors in chiefe (which are all Princes or Noblemen of great  
power) should put Commanders at their deuotory into places of strength, it might breed  
disobedience and trouble: Wherefore Kings had alwaies reserved that power vnto them.

[B]

selues

Retourne of the  
Duke of Ventadour and the  
Siegneur of Boissie.

The Princes  
come all to  
Meziers.

They are re-  
fused entry into  
the Cittadell.

The Duke of  
Neuers letter  
to the  
Queene.

1614

*Monſieur de Praslin ſent to Meziere.*

*Preparations to warre on either ſide.*

*The Prince of Conde ſent a Letter to the Queen*

*Complaints againſt Miniſters of State.*

*Reſolutions of the Council.*

ſelves : The which the Queene hauing obſerued, to maintaine the Kings authoritie, it in- A censed many great men both againſt her and the Kings Council.

Hereupon *Monſieur de Praslin* was ſent to Meziere with Letters from the Queene, im- porting a commandement to receive a Lieutenant of the Guards into the Citadell, giuing him to vnderſtand, that their Maiesties would come ſpeedily to Meziere, to prouide for all things that might concerne the Kings authority. They ſent the light-horſe into Cham- pagne, and letters into the townes and garriſons thereabouts, to giue all ayd and aſſiſtance to *Monſieur de Praslin*. They alſo diſpatched Colonell *Galatiz* into Swiſſerland, to make a leaue of fix thouſand men. They ſent out many Commiſſions, to fill vp the Regiments which were entertained, and to leaue new ſouldiers. And they made ready the Artillery B in the Arſenall : finally, at Paris they talked of nothing but warre. The Princes did alſo the like for their part towards Liege, Sedan, and Meziere, which was better furniſhed then it was before. And in the meane time the Prince of Conde ſent a Gentleman to pre- ſent this following Letter vnto the Queene, containing the cauſes for the which hee and the Princes which did aſſiſt him were aſſembled at Meziere.

“ Madam, All my ſtudie and care hath ever beene for the Kings ſeruiſe, and the good of “ this Eſtate. I haue witneſſed it during the life of the deceaſed King, by my forced abſence, “ and ſince his death by my ſpeedy returne vnto your Maieſtie, concealing the grieſe I had “ for the diſorders which haue beene ſo frequent, to hinder the motions which might cauſe C “ a warre, which I haue held ſo dangerous and hurtfull to the minority of the King my “ Lord, as I haue eſteemed all other inconueniences tolerable. So as by the grace of “ God, your bounty and my patience, we are now in the fourth yeare of the Kings mino- “ rity, in the which we ſee the increaſe of ſo great confuſions and pernicious diſorders, as “ your bounty, nor my patience will not be to prevent the ouerthrow and ruine of this “ Eſtate, prolonged hitherto by weak and ſhamefull remedies, if it had not bene wiſely “ and veruouſly foreſcene by many Princes, Noblemen, Biſhops, Officers of the Crowne, “ and ſoueraigne Courts.

“ We moſt humbly beſeech your Maieſtie to prouide whoſome remedies for the diſ- “ charge of the duty whereunto both you and wee are bound to God, the King, and vnto D “ France. A moſt iuſt requeſt which we had made in perſon vnto your Maieſtie, had wee “ not ſene you enuiſoned and preoccupied by ſome few, who ſeek to reigne in confuſion, “ the onely cauſe of our departure, and not your Maieſtie, whoſe commendable intention “ we know, ſo much the more remarkable, for that the truth hath bene concealed from you “ by thoſe which haue no other iuſtification, but to haue a little maintained peace, in the “ which they haue procured vs a continuall toile, by confuſions and prodigalities, ſale of “ honor and reputation, in which they haue proſtituted all the orders of this Realme, whoſe “ continuance they haue meaſured by their owne liues, not caring what ſhall ſucceed. A reſt “ not proceeding from their conduct, but from good Frenchmen, who louing peace haue “ endured all diſorders, rather then to procure any troubles ; not but that they ſaw your “ Maieſtie was circumvented, diuiding the adminiſtration of this flouriſhing Eſtate among “ a ſmall number of perſons, who haue for witneſſes of their weakneſſe, the loſſe of the repu- “ tation of France in foreign Countries, and their hidden deſignes, which in this flouriſhing “ Eſtate (which was not accuſtomed to ſcare any thing) ſhould be knowne and open, at the “ leaſt to the Princes and officers of the Crowne intereſſed in the Eſtate, whom they haue “ not made acquainted with affaires any further then they haue held it neceſſary, to giue au- “ thority to their deliberations, bringing their reſolutions from their lodgings to the Ca- “ binet, and neuer cauſing any one to be concluded in your preſence by plurality of voices : “ but couering them with the cloake of your Maieſties authority, from whoſe cabinet they “ came to pronounce their decrees to the Princes, receiuing their aduiſe for a ſhew, tending F “ onely to ſtirre vp enuie and diſuſion among them, fauouring ſome, and diſgracing other, “ making two factions, to haue the one at their deuotion. Practices which proued diſaſ- “ trous to the French, begun ſuddenly after the Kings death, reiecting the whoſome coun- “ ſell of the deceaſed Duke of Mayen, who ſaid, That it was not iuſt to make profit of the “ minority of our young King : That we ſhould not demand any thing, but ſerue him as we “ are by nature bound : but contrariwiſe, intereſſing many priuate perſons, to haue them at “ their deuotion, they haue plunged the Eſtate into moſt dangerous hazards, contrary to all “ vſuall

1614

A vſuall formes during the minority of Kings : In the which the generall Eſtates haue beene “ alwayes aſſembled, which are ſo neceſſary as Kings haue called them in their maiorities “ for leſſe diſorders, then thoſe at this preſent. I would to God Madam, it had coſt me part “ of my blood, ſo you had called them preſently after the Kings death ; you had enioyed “ the ſame or more authority, with the good liking of the Church, the Nobility, and the “ Commons : France had not loſt that generous name of Arbitrator of Chriſtendome, pur- “ chaſed ſo gloriously by the deceaſed King, a title which held the balance of the two great “ factions of Europe, protecting the publike tranquillity : This loſſe is ſo much the greater “ and more lamentable, for that it ſeemes we are gone out of the way, which the deceaſed King “ had tracked vs : they had not razed the Citadell of Bourg, againſt the aduiſe of the Princes “ & Officers of the Crown, yea & againſt the Conſtables : they had not giuen 40000 pounds “ ſterling as well for the razing as the recompence thereof : They had not precipitated the “ Kings Mariage and his ſiſters, vntill that the law of God, and all the orders of the Realme “ (the Kings majority approaching) had approoued it : Theſe mariages had bene declared in “ publike, not by the reading of a writing, containing the reaſons they had to haſten them : “ but in demanding aduiſe whether they had bene profitable or no : The Parliaments had “ not bene interrupted, in the free functions of their places : The gouernments of Pro- “ uinces and of places of importance, had not bene giuen to incapable and unworthy per- “ ſons : They would haue ſought to reconcile the Clergie with the Colledge of Sorbon, “ not to diuide them, nor oppreſſe them by vaine and fruitleſſe diſputes in theſe times : The “ authority of Prelates and Clergy-men, had not bene violated, but maintained : They had “ not giuen any charge for fauour or money ; the aduiſe of the Princes and Officers of the “ Crowne had bene firſt demanded, to be afterwards conferred by your Maieſtie vpon “ worthy perſons : Ambaſſadors had not bene choſen but by the ſame aduiſe : their diſpo- “ ſitions had not bene yknowne vnto all ſuch as haue an intereſt in the good of the Eſtate : “ No packet had bene receiued or read, but in the preſence of the aforeſaid : They had “ not ſuffered the enterpriſes made vpon Nauarre and Monſerrat, nor hindered the renew- “ ing of the league betwene the Venetians and the Griſons, ſomuch deſired and allowed “ of by the deceaſed King : They had not broken the mariage (protected by the deceaſed “ King) with the Duke of Sauoy, without mature deliberation : And by a full obſervation “ of the Edicts made for them of the reformed religion, they had taken from them all ſub- “ iect of complaint : They had ſuppreſſed ſuch among them as had ſurpaſſed the limits “ of their duties : They had not ſowne diuiſions among them, which making them carefull “ of their owne particulars, haue failed to bring the Common-weale into danger : They “ had not giuen thirty thouſand pounds ſterling to buy the Caſtle of Amboiſe, redeeming “ his Maieſties places with his owne money ; they would haue cut off ſo many exceſſiue “ gifts to unworthy perſons : Few men had not ingroſſed the chiefe dignities of the Eſtate “ without the aduiſe of any Prince or Officer aboue-named : The Eſtates or the Councell “ would haue eaſed you of ſo many importunities, charging themſelves with enuie, and you “ with bleſſings.

Your Maieſtie may conſider, if you pleaſe, of theſe diſorders, and thereby iudge of the “ neceſſity to call the Eſtates, to puniſh the wicked, and to recompence the good, which is “ the ſupport of well ordered Monarchies : which being perſuaded, ſhewes at what danger “ this Realme ſtands. All the offices of Iudicature and of the Treauſure, are growne to ex- “ ceſſiue rates : There remains no recompence for vertue, ſeeing that fauour, alliance, and “ money, haue all the power : And the Treauſure is ſo profeſſibly beſetwaged, as 100000 pi- “ ſtols are not valued, yea they are employed about matters of no moment, to men that en- “ rich themſelves without any labour, by the blood of the people. The complaints, cla- “ mours, and teares of the three Eſtates, ſmother in their hearts, ſhould ſerue the Church “ hath loſt her beauty : No Clergy-men are employed in Embaſſies, neither haue they any “ place in Councells ; and benefited men are ouer-charged with vexations and vniuſual bur- “ then : The Gentrie is impouerished and ruined by taxes and impositions of ſale in the “ extraordinary Commiſſions to get money, all their commodities are made ſubject to “ imposts, and all their titles are examined, becauſe they loſt or burnt : The Nobility and “ Gentry, the ſupport of France, the terror of ſtrangers, and the vanquiſher in the field, “ which ſeale ſcepters and ſails, Crowns, is now made ſubiect to taxes and excluded “ from all offices, for want of money, their lands and goods are at the command of others

*Complaints for the Parliaments and gouernments.*



1614

"men, and they are deprived of the entertainment of men at armes and archers, anciently A  
 "allowed them, and now they are become slaues to their creditors. The people crye out of  
 "their burthens, which will be found doubled by a number of extraordinary commiſſions  
 "ſince the death of the deceased King. All muſt fall vpon the poore to entertaine the rich.  
 "The Princes and officers of the Crowne, on whom the deceased King did much relie, are  
 "kept backe and ill intreated. They make me by their ordinary diſcourſes, and all the  
 "Princes and Officers of the Crowne, which doe me the honor to concurre with me, to be  
 "as it were troublers of the publike peace. They hold a Councell to ſtay the Princes and  
 "Officers of the Crowne, though there be no crime, the which was concluded againſt the  
 "perſon of the Duke of Bouillon, and the reſuall made to the Duke of Longueville to goe B  
 "vnto his government, ſhewes ſufficiently their violent proceedings, and that which was  
 "done to the Duke of Vendome, whom (not reſpecting what hee is to the King, nor the  
 "loue which the deceased King bare him, being free from all crime, without any forme of  
 "juſtice, and without the aduice of any great perſonage of the Realme) they haue detained  
 "prifoner. This is not viſual in France, eſpecially during the Kings minority, the which  
 "we doe not beleuee was done by any bad inclination of your Maieſtie, nor a deſire to doe  
 "iniuſtice, wherefore we moſt humbly beſeech you to cauſe him to be ſet at liberty, to the  
 "end that in continuing his good ſeruite to the King and State, hee may make prooſe by  
 "good effects as he hath hitherto done, that hee neuer had any bad intention againſt his  
 "ſeruitee.

"They would perſwade your Maieſtie to arme, taking our abſence for a pretext. Con- C  
 "ſider Madam, that we proceed by humble petitions and remonſtrances, and not by armes,  
 "and what curſes would France giue vnto thoſe, who (troubling the peace and tranquility  
 "of this Eſtate purchaſed by the vertue of the deceased King) ſhall ſiſt take armes in hand:  
 "France deſired nothing but peace, and a quiet and iuſt reformation: ſhall it then be ſaid  
 "that bad counſell ſhall make you imprifon them which be preſent, and arme againſt the ab-  
 "ſent, who labour for ſo holy a reformation, and are faithfull ſubiects to the King your ſelfe,  
 "and the State, giuing you by this meanes ſuch an ample ſubiect of glory? Conſider of my  
 "Letter, Madam, and you ſhall not find any thing which aymes at our priuate intereſt, nei-  
 "ther in our preſent or future intentions: you cannot take it ill if many be ſutors vnto you D  
 "for one thing, and all deſire it, being bound by duty, and by the frienſhip which they  
 "haue contracted by your command, to provide for all the accidents aboue mentioned.

"I humbly beſeech your Maieſty, with the aduice of many Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and  
 "Officers of the Crowne, ſoueraigne Courts, Clergy, and other Noblemen, as well pre-  
 "ſent as abſent, which haue ſcene and allowed of this petition, that you would grant an  
 "Aſſembly of the Eſtates to be free and ſafe, within three moneths at the furtheſt, and in  
 "the meane time to keepe all things in a quiet eſtate; proteſting for our parts that wee de-  
 "ſire nothing but the preſeruatiſon of peace, and the good of this Realme, and that wee will  
 "not attempt any thing to the contrary, vnleſſe by the rash reſolution of our enemies, (who  
 "couering themſelues with the cloake of State vnder your authority) wee be prouoked to  
 "repell the injuries done vnto the King and the State, by a naturall, juſt, and neceſſary  
 "deſence.

"An humble petition which I make as firſt Prince of the blood, in the Eſtate wherein I  
 "am, and without armes: not like vnto thoſe, who to make profit of ſuch Aſſemblies, ſei-  
 "zed vpon townes, armed both ſubiects and ſtrangers, and made warre and peace for their  
 "owne commoditie, to haue the place of a Lieutenant generall, of the government of Pro-  
 "uinces and Townes, and then ſought to fruſtrate the Aſſembly, not caring for any publike  
 "reformation. We doe alſo humbly beſeech your Maieſtie to ſuſpend the mariages, as well  
 "for the King, as the Lady his ſiſter, vntill the Aſſembly of the Eſtates. And to ſhew that  
 "our priuate intereſts haue no power ouer vs, wee will yeeld vp vnto the King at the free F  
 "Aſſembly of the Eſtates (if the neceſſity of his affaires ſo require) all our penſions and  
 "gratifications, contrary to the ſlanders of ſuch as accuſe vs to preferre our owne parti-  
 "lar before the publike: a ſlander of ſuch as had rather kindle a fire in the middeſt of France,  
 "than to ſee their authoritie quenched; which ſhall be ouerthrowne by our good and iuſt  
 "King, to whom wee humbly beſeech your Maieſty to giue good inſtructions, and to take  
 "from him the counſell of all partialities, which are giuen him againſt ſuch as haue the ho-  
 "nor to be neceſſary vnto him, and his moſt faithfull ſubiects and ſeruants; and for his con-  
 "tinentment

He craves  
a generall  
Aſſembly  
of the  
Eſtates.

1614

A tentment to call home the Cheuallier of Vendome, and to entertaine about his Maieſtie  
 for the care of his health, a man whole religion and integrity is well knowne.

We alſo beſeech your Maieſtie to provide ſufficient money for the government of the  
 frontiers, to be employed in the guard of thoſe places: We acknowledge that our King  
 is giuen vs of God: we know the obedience we owe him, and will not faile in the leaſt  
 point: we alſo hope that all the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, ſoueraigne Courts,  
 Clergy, and Lords, which are about your Maieſty will ioyne with vs in the ſame deſire,  
 hauing altogether prepared for your Maieſties way, the honour, and glory, to haue re-  
 ſtored all the orders of this Realme to their ancient ſplendor and libertie, reformed the  
 State, and aſſured their peace, with as much commendation as if you had gotten another  
 Realme; anſwering them generously which ſay, that an Aſſembly of Eſtates blemiſheth  
 the Kings authority, that you haue made it firme and durable. Wee will ſerue and aſſiſt  
 you at the ſaid Aſſembly, as it ſhall be thought profitable for the ſeruite of the King, for  
 France, and the preſeruatiſon of the royall authority, and of your Maieſtie, being your moſt  
 humble ſeruants; and in particular I moſt humbly beſeech you to beleuee that I am,  
 Madam,

From Meziere's the  
18 of February,  
1614.

Your moſt humble and moſt  
obedient ſeruant and ſubiect,  
Henry de Bourbon.

The day after the delivery of this Letter, the Prince ſent a gentleman of his called *Fif-  
brun* with a packet to the Court of Parliament, the which they would not open, but ſent  
 it vnto the Queene by two Councellors of the Court, who led the gentleman with  
 them: the Queene looking only on the direction, ſent them to the Chancellor, who found  
 in this packet a copy of the Queenes Letter, with this other vnto the Court.

MY Maſters, I know well that ſome will anticipate my iuſt intentions with many ſlan-  
 ders and falſe reports, contrary (I aſſure my ſelfe) vnto the opinion which you will  
 conceiue, hauing conuerſed with me and knowne me, that fearing to alter any thing by  
 my reſolutions of that which I haue had to the Kings ſeruite and the good of the State, I  
 haue reſtrained my iuſt diſcontents, and as it were buried them by my patience. But yet  
 I would ſatiſfie you better, and giue you an accompt of my actions: to you I ſay, whom I  
 know to be the chiefe gardian of this Eſtate: and therefore I ſend vnto you a copie of  
 the Letter which I haue written vnto the Queene, by which I doe fully lay open the holy  
 affections which had moued me to retire from Court: for that I would not adhere vnto  
 the abuſes which are committed by ſuch as manage and diſpoſe of the Kings affaires and  
 of the State, demanding reformation by my moſt humble petition vnto the Queene, pro-  
 pounding the remedy vnto her, and requiring it aſte firſt Prince of the blood, a ſubiect  
 to the King, and one that hath the chiefe intereſt in the good of his Maieſties ſeruite: ha-  
 uing no other armes then my humble prayers to their Maieſties, as you may ſee by the  
 Copie which I ſend you: humbly beſeeching you to aſſiſt vs with your Councell and  
 authoritie, in ſo iuſt and commendable an enterpriſe, as the moſt conſiderable for the  
 Kings ſeruite and the reformation of the State: In ſo doing you ſhall acquire your ſelues  
 of the due of your charges, and purchaſe honor and reputation, remaining

Your moſt humble and moſt affectionate ſeruant  
Henry de Bourbon.

During his Meſſengers ſtay at Paris, he viſited (on the Princes behalfe) the Prince of  
 F County his vnkle, with all the Cardinals, Princes, Dukes, Peeres, & Officers of the Crown  
 which were in Court, giuing them particular Letters with copies of the Queenes, printed;  
 whereunto ſome returned him anſwer as you ſhall heare, and the Queene likewiſe  
 ſent him an anſwer printed, the which for that it is very long, I will onely giue you an  
 abſtract of the chiefe points; which were,

Touching the demand of a generall Aſſembly of the Eſtates: And the complaints  
 made againſt the Miniſters of State: The peace maintained during the Queenes Re-  
 gencie, by the aſſiſtance of good Frenchmen, notwithstanding the croſſes which  
 had

The contents  
of the Queenes  
Letter to the  
Prince.

[G:]

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had beene giuen since the Kings coronation. The Queenes complaint against the Prince of Conde, that he had not assisted her in the conduſt of affaires: That he had not aduertised her of the abuses whereon he grounded his discontent, and that hee should not absent himselfe from Court, and make a society of Princes and Noblemen: That the authors of these new troubles tooke the mariages of Spaine for a pretext; and conceale that which was treasured of England, blamed the Kings fauourable dealings towards them of the Religion, and stirred vp the people vnto sedition, impatient to see the King grow vp: That the alliance of Spaine had beene preferred before that of Sauoy, by the Earle of Soissons aduice, and approved by the Prince of Conde and Duke of Bouillon, who was expressly sent to giue notice thereof vnto the King of Great Britaine: An answer vnto the objections touching the enterprises of Nauarre and Montferat, and the Fort of Fuentes: An inuention to blame the Ministers of State, thereby taxing the Queene and her Regency: A commendation of the Ministers of State, ready to resigne their places at the Queenes command: her desire to reforme the Councell of State: The order which had beene taken, to the end the Prince of Conde might see what past in dispatches and the treasure: Tealouise for the Queenes entring into Councell touching the affaires of the Prouinces: The pretext why they demanded the generall Estates to be safe and free: That there was neuer any resolution to stay the Marshall of Bouillon, and that the Duke of Longueville had not beene hindred from going into his government: The reason why the Duke of Vendosme was stayed in his chamber in the Loure: An answer to that which was objected touching the Cittadell of Bourg and the Castle of Amboise: That he had alwayes followed the steps of the deceased King, suffering Clergy-men to enioy their Benefices, and gratified the Nobility and Gentry: That the exorbitant prices of offices had not beene brought in since her Regency; and that the impositions vpon salt had beene moderated during her government: An answer to the Prince of Condes complaint, that they fought to diuide the Colledge of Sorbon: The Queenes hope in the loyalty of the Nobility towards the King, whom he brings vp to acknowledge their merits, in imitation of the King his father: She enioynes the townes to stand vpon their guard: She saith that the Prince of Conde should not absent himselfe from the King, and countenance a diuision betwixt the King and Catholike Noblemen: That he should abstaine from blaming the government of affaires, and not suffer factions and schismes to bee raised in the State: That hee should not incense the three Estates, nor delay the mariages of Spaine which he had signed: Not to interpret in the worst sense whatsoever was done to the Kings aduantage, nor arme, nor draw in strangers: That he should looke well to the demand hee made of the Estates: That he should alter his proceeding and come vnto the King with those which were ioyned with him. This is the substance of the Queenes Letter which deserueth a full relation, but I am forced to abridge some things fearing to exceed a iust proportion.

A Letter from the Cardinall du Perron to the Prince of Conde.

" The Cardinall du Perron sent the Prince an answer to his Letter in these termes. Sir, the affection which I haue vnto your seruice, and the honor it hath pleased you to doe me, in aduertising mee of your commendable desires for the good of the King and Realme, oblige me to pray that the issue thereof may be as happy as the proposition is plausible. In truth it is a thing which I can leaue hope for then desire, if in the meane time you continue absent from their Maiesties, and doe not assist them as well with your presence as your counsell. There is no government of a State so absolutely perfect, and especially vnder the minority of Kings, that can please all, and wherein there is not some thing worthy of blame. But as an Ancient hath written wisely, there is no Prince so bad but is better then a ciuill war: so may it be said of the government of States, that there is no administration whatsoever, but is better then a ciuill discord. I know your intentions are farre from it, but I know also that the successe and euents are many times far different from the intentions. There will be many reports made of you to the Queene, and of the Queene to you, which your presence would prevent; Being absent they will grow bitter by the way, and fill your head with iealousies. You shall not be able to prevent it, but many seeing you diuided from the Court, and thinking that your separation proceeds from discontent, will make vse of the shadow of your name, to trouble the publike peace. My Lords, your predecessors, haue alwayes enioyed much more happinesse and content, when they haue beene neere our Kings and in Court (which is the Firmament where such

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A such starres should shine) then when they were retired, and yet neuer any one of them had a greater share, either in authority, or in their Maiesties graces and fauours, then you haue hitherto had: it being the Queenes bounty, who hath alwayes fought to giue content to euery one, and hath particularly studied by all means to oblige you. Your good aduice of reformation will be more easily executed when you are by her to assist her, then when you shall be in place where your absence being imputed to discontent, will cause many to take your good intentions for pretexts. France hath the remembrance so fresh, and is so weary with the miseries of fore-past troubles, that the first Article of all reformation must be the entertainment of peace, from the breach whereof, if they (by whose occasion it hath beene in former times broken) could haue scene the successe painted in a table, or imagined to how many miseries of State and Religion they had opened a gap, and what curses they haue encurr'd both from God & men, they would rather haue desired to haue cast themselves into the fire, then to haue been the cause of the ruine of their country. I do not repent these things vnto you, as doubting that you do not abhor them; your good disposition, and your zeale to the good of Religion and the Realme giue too good assurance: But to beseech you to be careful, lest many turbulent spirits and desirous of innovation, abuse not the occasion of your absence to kindle a fire, which will be more easie to prevent, then to quench; but in the end will vex them more which kindle it then any other. For God who distinctly protects the causes of Kings, Widowes, and Orphans, will more powerfully protect them, when they shall be all three conioyned together; and you your selfe would be the first to expose your life for their defence. I pray God there be no need hereof: and you Sir to esteeme me, your most humble and most affectionate seruant, I, Cardinall du Perron. From Paris 13, March, 1614.

The Queene who was prepared with the one hand to warre, stretched out the other to peace; and according to her first designe, to seeke to pacifie this great alteration by mild and gentle remedies, she sent the President Thou vnto the Prince of Conde. He thought to haue found him at Meziers: but he was gone to Sedan with the Marshall of Bouillon: who returned with two Cannons which he brought from thence, the which and two others that the Duke of Neuers had draue from Cassine, so terrified D'Efculles, as he yielded the Cittadell of Meziers, which should haue held out against an Army Royall, if it had beene furnished, and the Cannons which were within it mounted.) The President finding no man in Meziers but the Duke of Neuers, hee was forced to goe to Sedan, where he was well entertained by the Prince of Conde, and all the Princes and Noblemen which did assist him. The towne was full of the French Nobility and Gentry, to haue commission for the leauing of souldiers, although the season was too sharpe to goe to field. The Princes hauing feasted the President, his integrity and sincerity had such power with the Prince of Conde, as he gaue him his word to come to Soissons, and there to enter into conference, to seeke out the means to restore peace & tranquillity to France, which this stirring had in the beginning much altered. The President hauing obtained what he desired, returned to Court the 27 of March. But attending the sūe Deputies which were to be sent from the King to Soissons, and the arriual of the Princes there; let vs see how the duke of Vendosme escaped from the Loure, and his first letters to the King after his coming into Britanie.

This escape of the duke of Vendosme is diuersly written: Claude de Malingre writes that he freed himselfe by a pleasant and witty inuention: In an evening seeing his wife visited by many great Ladies well attended on by their waiting women, he disguised himselfe in one of their habits, tooke a maske and slipped out among the Ladies and Gentlewomen without being discovered by his guard, gets into a Caroch, and so escapes: hauing changed his apparell heooke horse and poasted into Britanie.

The French Mercury relates it in this manner: On the 10 of February the duke being guarded in his Chamber, he gaue it out that he would fast, for that it was Ember weeke; whereupon he retired into his cabinet with the Duchesse his wife. Soone after, some of his Gentlemen said vnto the Exempt or yeoman vsher of the guard, who parted not out of the chamber, they fast here to day, but we fast not, will you come and sup with vs? The Exempt seeing the duke retired, followed them, hauing giuen charge to the archers which were in the great chamber to do their duties. The Dukes Chamber doore being shut, he came instantly out of his Cabinet, and caused a little doore to be broken open, which had beene

The Queene sends this President Thou vnto the Prince of Conde.

The Duke of Vendosme escapes.

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been dammed vp, by the which they brought wood to his chamber before his restraint. A Which done, passing over a heape of logs and recouering the backe staires, he went out by the backe gate of the Louure, where hee found a foot man holding a horie, whereon hee mounted, being followed by one of his people which attended for him; and so he got out at a clocke at night by Saint Honories gate, and within few daies recovered Ansenis in Britanie. An houre after that his escape was knowne, (not discouering either the manner or the time) they shut the Loure gates, whilst they made a strict search through all the Chambers, in the Ditches, and in the Caroches which were before the Louure. Thus they write of his escape, which I leaue vnto the reader; but his escape was certaine.

The Queene had formerly written to the Court of Parliament of Britanie, and to the Townes to stand vpon their guard, and not to receiue any one of what qualitie soeuer without the Kings expresse commandement. Shee had sent the Duke of Montbazan to Nantes, to gouerne there: so as the Duke of Vendosme being come to Ansenis, thinking to vse his authority as chiefe Gouverneur of the Prouince, hee found the gates of all the great Townes shut against him: yet many of the Nobility repaired vnto him, and the Duke of Retz drew together some troopes from him. Being at his house at Ansenis much discontented, he wrote vnto the King, and complained of his vllage in these termes.

A letter from the Duke of Vendosme to the King.

Sir, Having since your Maiesties comming to the Crowne, caried my selfe innocently in all my actions, I haue beene intreated other wise then I should expect: my afflictions in the end haue me speake, and humbly to beseech you to giue redresse: leaving the former, to come to them which are more fresh: You know Sir the commandement the Queen gaue me in January, in your presence, not to depart the Court, for what cause soeuer without leave; although it were with the ruine of my household affaires which required then a speedy order, yet I obeyed: Eighteene daies after, hauing made no attempt of disobedience, relying vpon the testimony of a good conscience, and the safety I did beleeue was in Court, I was made a prisoner and guarded as your Maiestie knownes. Nine daies after, God taking pittie of my innocent intentions, he set me at libertie, and in stead of a short and easie retreat, he inspired me to one which was long, and impossible, if hee had not as it were led me by the hand to bring mee to my house, thereby to auoid the blame which your Maiestie might haue laid vpon mee, if I had retired else where. This proceeding Sir, seemed fit to procure him peace, who shewed plainly that he breathed no other thing. I am so farre from the enioying of this desire, as I was no sooner ariued, but first I vnderstood that Nantes, and consequently that the whole Prouince was in Armes against me: But brutes could not haue shaken my belief, if two of the Duke of Montbazans seruants had not fallen into my hands, whom I found seized of a Commission and two letters vnder the signet, to dispossesse mee of the government of the Countie of Nantes, and to transference my charge to the said Duke. Your Maiestie may iudge if this should not cause a griefe more sensible then death it selfe, for that I conceived thereby, that the like wrong had beene done me throughout my whole Government, hearing also from diuers, that the other Lieutenants were ready to diuide my spoiles. In Court when I desired to depart for my domestick affaires, I was forbidden; after which I was made a prisoner, God hauing enlarged me and brought me to my house, his bounty is made a crime to me, and they haue stript mee of my government. But this is not sufficient, they arme against me: I am not safe in any place. Sir, neuer had any man so much cause to demand iustice of his King. Releue me, I most humbly beseech your Maiestie, in all these afflictions: I haue serued innocently & profitably; I ought not to be dispossessed of my charge, I am in a peaceable estate, and therefore it is needlesse to arme the Prouince against me. By birth and many other great respects, I am more tied to your Maiesties seruice then any one within the Realme: This should giue a better Impression of mee then of those in whom they put all their confidence here. I hold of the deceased King your father, my honour, my goods, & whatsoeuer I haue in this world; he is liuing in your person: I am well grounded to beseech you, to entreat me as he did: besides the reputation of Iustice which your Maiestie shall purchase, your Prouince of Britany shall be restored to peace; the consequence may extend farther, and I shall be able to serue you with life and goods in all occasions, where I shall haue the honor to be employed; which I will attend with patience, and execute with the fidelity,

From Ansenis 1<sup>st</sup> of March,  
1614.

Of your most humble, most obedient and most  
faithfull seruant and subiect,  
Casar de Vendosme.

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The Kings letters to the Parliament of Britanie.

A They conceived by this letter that the Dukes intention was conformable to that of the other Princes: and vpon an aduertisement giuen vnto the Queene that he had caused Blauet to be taken & fortified, and that he was become master of Lambale, and of many other places in the Duchie of Ponthieure belonging to the House of Merlaur, they fear other letters to the Parliament of Rennes dated on the 5 of March, forbidding all persons to leaue any troopes without commission and expresse commandement from his Maiestie; giuing authority to the Earle of Vertuz Gouverneur of Rennes, to haue a care that no troopes should be raised in that Countie of Britany without commission, and especially that the company of his base brother the Duke of Vendosme should not assemble vnder the Cornet of his said base brother, vpon paine to be declared guilty of high treason. The Court made a declaration according to the tenor of these letters, and withall enioyned all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other the Kings subiects to repaire presently with their Armes and equipage to the Kings Lieutenants in that Prouince, to strue the King vnder their commands.

The Duke of Vendosme seeing all the Countie in Armes against him, and that his first letter vnto the King had preuailed little, hee was much amazed; for that some had informed their Maiesties that he did arme in Britany, (as in truth there were some troopes of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others which did assist him) and that he had fortified Blauet against the Marquis of Coeuvre, refusing him to enter into the same Fort. These reasons made him to write againe vnto his Maiestie. In the which he complains, First, that they had giuen their Maiesties to vnderstand that he was in Armes, and that hee fortified Blauet, to the end they might invade him with their Forces in that Countie. Touching which points hee would satisfie their Maiesties. Secondly, That as for his Armes hee knew not whether they grounded themselves vpon his traine, or vpon his actions: if on his traine, hee confessed he had beene alwaies assisted with a good number of Nobility, and that in other voyages he had not beene lesse accompanied: If vpon his actions, it were to be desired that Rennes and other townes in Britany were as peaceable and quiet as his, all then should be in better estate. He concludes in these termes. Sir, to acquaint you with the true cause of these combustions: there is a rooted faction within the Prouince, which hath reduced it to this estate, a worrne which will kill the tree if you endure it any longer. The head of it hath beene alwaies impatient to endure his superiours, hauing found the like members, who doth not know the practices that he and they haue held these foure yeares to vlturpe my place: from this spring they draw the aduertisements that I am in Armes: but to what end? to haue the head of this faction sent with an Army, and to make vse of your Maiesties name and Forces, to commit all the insolences which factions are wont to doe when they haue power. If I had no respect but to mine owne particular, I would not endeavor to diuert this designe. I am come of too good a stocke to apprehend and feare my priuate enemies whatsoeuer. But Sir, I cannot endure without complaining that by their practices and importunes, they still seeke to moue your Maiesty to choller against mine innocency, and against the continuance of my obedience. Vpon this second protestation of seruice, I beseech you most humbly to re-establish mee here in the exercise of the charge which I hold of the deceased King your father; not to honor thereof, (in attending this effect of Iustice) those which haue in times past borne armes against him, and which are now my irreconcilable enemies, and to hinder them from troubling with open warre the peace of this Prouince. In a foraine warre, Kings may teape honor and profit, but in a domestick all the losse falls vpon themselves. If your Maiesties Armes haue no other object but me to worke on, it shall suffice to honour mee with your commandements: My perfect obedience shall giue good testimony, that I haue nothing in my hart more firme, then the inuolable quality of your most humble and most obedient subiect and seruant, Casar de Vendosme.

The Duke of Vendosme second letter to the King.

France was amazed at this brute of Armes, and the people troubled, yet all stood firme for the Kings seruice: vpon this assurance that their Maiesties had of the fidelity of their good subiects, the Queene resolved to treat louingly with the Princes: and to this end on the 6 of Aprill they sent the Duke of Venadour, the Presidents Lannin and Then, with the Siegneurs of Boissie and Bulion as deputies from the King, to conferre with the Princes at Soissons. The Prince of Conde hauing left Sedan in the end of March, with all the Princes which assisted, hauing about 4000 foot, French, Wallons, and Liegeois, and

Deputies sent from the King to conferre with the Princes.

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The Princes  
three first de-  
mands.

and fixe or seven hundred horse, he arrived there on the 5 of April, the duke of Mayen having put a great garrison into the Towne for their safeties. On the 14 of April the Kings Deputies entered into conference with the Princes in the Castle of Soissons, where as all the Princes in general and particular protesting to love their Majesties service, and the quiet of the State, before all humane duties, they demanded to have these three points granted. First, The continuation of the Estates. Secondly, A stay of the Kings marriage, and of the Lady his sister. Thirdly, A disarming on either side. After which they would treat of the safety and libertie of the said Estates, and of all other assurances. The Queene desired to maintaine peace. The second demand touching the stay of the marriage, was that whereon they made some question, touching the time, how long it should be delayed: for the Princes demanded till after the assembly of the Estates, whereunto the Deputies vnder their Majesties pleasure would not consent, but vnto the time of the Kings Maiority. They would have peace, but with security, in preferring his Majesties authority. In the end the said three Articles were concluded with this condition, *That the surseance of the Marriages should be until the Kings Maiority, and that it should not be inserted into the Articles of the peace which should be published, but that the Queene should promise it by a letter which she should write to the Prince.*

The three Ar-  
ticles agreed.

During many goings and comings from Paris to Soissons, the Kings Army which was drawne together in Champagne was increased with 6000 Swissers leauied by *Galatius* so as they prepared both for warre and peace at one instant. Some held that the Prince of Conde grew into calouise, and it was said, that all the Princes being now in Soissons, an enterprife vpon them would have been more easie: The Lorraine Regiment of Vaubecourt had commandement to goe lodge in Vitry, and the King Army was to go towards Saint Manehold. This made the Prince and his Army to leaue Soissons, having written a letter vnto the Queene, thanking her for that shee had granted the three points aboue mentioned, and sending her word, *That he had intreated the Dukes of Mayen and Bouillon to remaine at Soissons, giving them power to finish the treaty with her Majesties Deputies, to agree of the safetie and libertie of the said Estates, together with the points which concerne the disarming, and the estate wherein the King and Queenes persons, and of the other Princes and Noblemen which assisted him should remaine, until the Conuocation of the Estates.*

The Prince of Conde going towards Vitry, had aduertisement, that the Kings troopes were entred the Towne. The Duke of Neuers with his traine alone, and eight of his guard went towards Rethel, and so to Saint Manehold. *Bouconville* Gouverneur of the Towne and Castle, with the chiefe inhabitants, hearing of his approach went to meet him. The Inhabitants besought him not to enter into Saint Manehold, telling him that they had receiued letters of command from their Majesties not to suffer any one of what qualitie soeuer to enter into their town without a new commission from her Majestie: they intreated him to beleue that they were his seruants, but the subiection & obedience which they did owe vnto the King, was of more force. The Duke told them that he would enter into his Castle, that he would not endure, that they should refuse him entry into the Townes of his Government, nor into his owne inheritance. Finally, the Inhabitants falling vpon their knees, could not diuert him from his resolution. These being returned vnto the Towne, they made report of the Dukes intention, which stricke a great terror among the people. *Bouconville* retired himselfe into the Castle, which is diuided from the Towne by the riuer of Eync. The Duke of Neuers being thus refused entry into the Towne, hee threatened to raine them within 24 houres: and they seeing how few men they had, spent the time in consulting what they should doe. The Duke desirous to find a way to enter into the Castle, hee was surprisid with a darke night and the riuer not to be waded through, so as he was forced to take vp his lodging at a house which is vpon a little hill nere vnto the Towne, where hee past the night. In the meane time the Prince of Conde vpon aduice he had had from him, aduanced with his Army, and came before Saint Manehold at two alocke in the morning: Which when the Inhabitants knew, they were much more astonied, and especially those who had propounded not to receiue the Duke. So seeing themselves betwene the Castle and the Army, they had no other helpe, but early in the morning to send vnto the Duke, to intreat him not to remember that which had past the day before, and to have a care to the preferuation of their townes.

The

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A The Prince of Conde mediating their peace, they entred into Saint Manehold, whereof they assured themselves. The Lieutenant of the Iustice, and some other Inhabitants, retired themselves vnto the neighbour places where there was any Garrison for the King.

These newes that the Princes were become Masters of Saint Manehold, and that there was some difficulties grown in the conference of Soissons, touching a demand made of the Castle of Amboise for the Prince, the Queene resolved to draw all her Troopes into the body of an army, and to giue the leading thereof to the Duke of Guise. This troubled many men, who besought her Majestie to forebare her resolution, for that it might reuiue quarrels, which peace had buried in forgetfulness.

B Hereupon the Queene sent *Montaigne* to the Prince, to moue him to hasten the treaty of peace: who being returned, reported that the Prince besought their Majesties that the Deputies which were at Soissons, might aduance vnto Rethel, whither he would also come: and that there should be no fault in him, nor in them which assisted him, that the treaty were not concluded. Whereupon the King sent new letters of Commission to his Deputies for the finishing of this treaty, and the Queene Regent wrote vnto the Prince of Conde touching the treaty of marriage, in this manner:

The confe-  
rence of -  
sions trans-  
ferred to Saint  
Manehold.

Nephew, you may remember that the resolution taken for the marriage of the King my sonne, and of my eldest daughter, was imparted vnto you, and to the deceased Earle of Soissons, as also to the other Princes and Officers of the Crowne which assist you, as well as to those which now attend the King: yet you having demanded a stay thereof vntill the Kings Maiority, I haue bene content herein to accommodate my selfe to your desire, seeing that the time of this Maiority is so neere, and that the nature of the businesse, and the course of affaires giue me this leisure: having also resolved with your aduice, to assemble the generall Estates before the said Maiority, whereof I thought good to assure you by these presents, being confident that herein you will shew your affection and fidelity to the King my sonne and me.

According to the Kings commission, the Duke of Ventadour and the other Deputies went to Rethel, but the Prince of Conde entreated them to come to Saint Manehold, the place being more commodious: Their commission tying them to no certaine place, the Deputies went thither, where all difficulties which might contradict the peace were reconciled, and the Articles following concluded: The which being signed, the Prince, the Kings Deputies, and all the other Noblemen, went to giue God thanks, and from thence to a Feast.

Articles accorded by the Duke of Ventadour Peere of France, and Gouverneur for the King in Languedoc, and the Siegneurs of Lannin, T bon, Boisfise, and Bullion all Councellors of State, and Commissioners deputed by his Majesty by vertue of a commission dated the 5th of May last past, To the Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, as well in his owne name, as of other Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and Noblemen which haue assisted him, be they present or absent.

Articles of  
peace conclu-  
ded at Saint  
Manehold.

E I That the Generall Estates of the Realme, shall be called and assembled in the Town of Sens, after the accustomed manner, by the 24 of August, in the which the Deputies of the three Orders which shall assist, may with all liberty propound whatsoever they shall thinke in their consciences to be profitable for the good of the Realme and ease of the subiect: That thereby his Majestie, with the aduice of the Princes of his blood and of other Princes, Officers of his Crowne, and chiefe Lords of his Councell, may make some good lawes and ordinances, to containe euery man in his duty: to fortifie the lawes and Edicts made for the preferuation of the publike tranquillity: and to reforme the disorders, which may giue iust occasion of complaint and discontent to his good subiects.

II. As for the Mariages with Spaine, the Queene Regent hath written her letters vnto the Prince, touching that subiect, whereby he hath receiued contentment, so as it shall not be needfull to make any mention thereof in this Article.

III. The fortifications of the Citadell of Meziers which are towards the Towne, shall be dismantled and defaced: and that, vpon a Petition made by the Duke of Neuers, that he would please his Majestie to assigne vnto him a summe of money to helpe to build him a house in stead of that which hee had in the Towne of Meziers, which was ruined and demolished when the said Citadell was built: It hath bene agreed that he shall haue an assignation of such a summe as shall be thought fit, to his good liking.

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IIII. The Fort of Blauet which hath bene seized on during these late alterations, A and which they have begun to rectifie & fortifie, shall be razed, and left in the same estate it was in before the surprisand that hereafter there shall not be any Capitaine or Garison in the same; and in like manner all other new fortifications made in Britanie by whomsoever upon this occasion, shall be ruined.

V. And to prevent the ruines and oppressions which the people suffer by souldiers, as well French as strangers, which have bene leauied since the first of Ianuary last past, and are dispersed into diuers parts of this Realme, whether for his Maiestie or the said Prince, they shall be discharged, and the strangers conducted out of the Realme by Commisaries deputed by his Maiestie and the said Prince, within twelve daies after the signing of these B Articles: and as for the French, they shall be enjoined to retire to their houses within 12 daies after notice given them, upon paine to be punished as Vagabonds.

VI. His Maiestie to gratifie the Prince, upon his request and instance made vnto him, and the assurance which he hath of his affection to his seruice, hath willingly granted the Towne and Cattle of Amboise vnto him vnto the conclusion of the Generall Estates; and for the guard of the said Castle, 100 men in Garison.

VII. The Duke of Vendosme being absent, yielding the obedience which is due vnto his Maiestie, for the causes contained in this present treaty, his pleasure is that the said Duke shall be restored to his Government, charges, honors and commands, to enjoy them as he hath formerly done; and that all inhibitions made by letters patents, shall be disannulled by the like letters directed to the Court of Parliament of Britanie, in such sort as they may proue no whit prejudiciall vnto him.

VIII. And touching that which he hath caused to be represented, that he had obtained the consents of the Estates of Britany, for the leauying of such money in the Country as was necessary for the entertainment of his guards; his Maiestie hath bene pleased to confirme and allow of that which the said Estates had done in that behalfe.

IX. As also having regard vnto the Petition presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Duke of Rerz, that he would bee pleased to entertaine the number of souldiers in Macheou and Belle-Isle, as it is contained in a Briefe granted by the deceased King; it is agreed that the said souldiers shall be continued for 4 years.

X. The enterprize made vpon Hennebont to the preiudice of the Seigneur of Camore, who is gouernour thereof, shall be repaired, and he restored to his charge, as hee was before these alterations.

XI. All Garisons put into any Townes or places of this Realme by reason of these present motions, since the first of Ianuary last, shall be discharged, except 100 men which shall be entertained at Meziens, vntill after the Assembly of the generall Estates, and 200 for the like space in Soissons, whereof the Duke of Mayen is Gouernour, and all other places shall remaine in the same estate they were in before.

XII. Letters Patents shall be directed to all Courts of Parliaments to be verified, by the which his Maiestie shall declare, that he hath bene duly informed, that the said Prince and other Princes, and Officers of the Crowne, of what quality and condition soever, which have followed and assisted him in these alterations, had no bad intention against his seruice, with all clauses necessary for their safeties and discharges, that they may not be called in question hereafter, and that they shall be restored to their Offices, Estates and Dignities, to enjoy them as they had formerly done.

XIII. And in like manner his Maiestie shall write to all Princes, Estates, and Common-weales, allied to this Crowne, and men of quality shall be sent expressly vnto them, to let them vnderstand what he had found concerning the innocency and good intention of the said Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and Noblemen which had assisted them.

XIIII. His Maiestie doth also grant, in regard of the charges which the Princes and other Noblemen have bene at, by reason of this alteration, to giue presently vnto the Prince of Conde, 45000 pounds sterling, to bee diuided by him amongst the rest as hee should thinke good.

XV. In consideration of the aboue-mentioned Articles, which otherwise had not bene granted by his Maiestie, the said Princes, Officers of the Crowne and Noblemen, doe renounce all leagues and associations with whomsoever, as well within as without the Realme, with promise neuer to make any more hereafter.

XVI. His

1614

A XVI. His Maiestie doth also grant in consideration of the great and worthy seruices done vnto this Crowne, as well by the predecessors of the said duke of Neuers as by himselfe, to giue him all necessary expeditions for the reuerfion of the Government of Champagne in the name of his eldest sonne. This treatie was concluded the 15 of May 1614, and signed by the Prince of Conde, the Kings Commissioners, and the other Princes and Officers.

These Articles were brought to the King and Queene, who signed and ratified them, sending them presently backe vnto the Prince: whereupon they resolved to separate themselves. Two daies after, the Prince retired to the Casteaux, the Duke of Neuers to Neuers, the Duke of Mayen to Soissons, the Duke of Longueville to Amiens, and the Duke of Bouillon and the Duke of Luxembourg to Sedan. Thus God turning the Princes hearts, made them to preferre the publike, before their priuate interest, compounding all things mildly, by a speedy and full resolution to the content of all good men. For the Prince fearing that his too long absence, ill interpreted by some, might open contrary to his intentions the way to some dangerous faction in the State, to the preiudice both of the King and people, he wisely resolved (and by his example, all they which did assist him) by his returne to free them from all iealousie and mistrust, which his absence had bred.

The Queene in like manner, to make it knowne that she could not grow distrustfull of those in whom before she had neuer seene any signe of infidelity or disobedience, iudging by their resolutions to peace, of their faithfull intentions, full of affection to the Kings seruice: and to take away all causes of iealousie, shee thought good to make knowne vnto the publike what assurance she had, by a letter she sent vnto the Court of Parliament, giuing them to vnderstand what had past in this treaty; and what satisfaction the Princes had giuen the King and her by their obedience; and that now all distrusts should cease: wherefore there was no further necessity, for the inhabitants of Townes to continue their guards, nor to forbid the entry to any; but that all things should remaine in the same estate they had bene in before these alterations.

Before their departure from Saint Manchold, the Marshall of Bouillon said vnto the President Iannin, that neither heretofore, now, nor hereafter, his owne particular should euer crosse or hinder that of the publike; desiring him to take that assurance from him, and to undertake for him to all those which should say the contrary. The Prince said also vnto the President, I giue all the iniuries which some haue sought to doe me, vnto the publike, and it rests in their Maiesties to giue me the effect of the treaty. I offer to add to my helping hand (as all they will doe which haue assisted mee) with a heart free from all bitterness, so heere from whomsoever an ouerture of the meanes that may bring all things to a good end: assure your selfe Sir, I desire not the ruine of any one for my priuate hatred, vntill I finde that it may deliuer the State from some approaching ruine. The Siegneur of Vignier returning to Court, he brought this letter which the Prince sent to the Queene.

Madam, I haue heretofore receiued so many testimonies of your fauour wherewith I hath pleased your Maiestie to honor me, as I hold my selfe infinitely bound: yea those which it hath pleased you to shew me in this treaty with his Maiesties Deputies, haue againe so strictly obliged me, as I can no longer forbear to make a most humble acknowledgement thereof vnto your Maiestie, whom I humbly beseech to beleue, that my inclination hath alwaies bene to yeeld all seruice and obedience vnto you. Consider if it please you with what freedome I haue alwaies caried my selfe, yea in the last moneth of Ianuary; and had not the malice and practice of mine enemies bene, who by false reports removed me from the honour of your presence and fauour, matters had bene as they need otherwise for the good of the Kings seruice, neither had all these disorders hapned: but seeing by the grace of God, and your Maiesties wise conduct they are now ended, and suppressed, I most humbly beseech you so to provide by your authority, as wee fall not hereafter into the like disorders; assuring you that for mine owne particular I will doe all that is in my power for the seruice of the King my Lord, and that of your Maiestie, Sec.

The Queene having receiued this letter sent to assure him of all fauorable visage and countenance: Desires should cause the Castle of Amboise to be deliuered vnto him.

During these alterations in Court, Henry duke of Montmorensi Constable and Peer of France died in his Government of Languedoc. After the death of the Constable

[h]

Anne

The Princes retire to their houses.

The Queene writes to the Courts of Parliament.

The Prince of Conde letter to the Queene.

Death of Henry of Montmorensi Constable of France.



1614

IIII. The Fort of Blauet which hath bene seized on during these late alterations, A and which they have begun to reedifie & fortifie, shall be razed, and left in the same estate it was in before the surprisand that hereafter there shall not be any Capitaine or Garison in the same; and in like manner all other new fortifications made in Britanie by whomsoever upon this occasion, shall be ruined.

V. And to prevent the ruines and oppressions which the people suffer by fouldiers, as well French as strangers, which have bene leauied since the first of Ianuary last past, and are dispersed into diuers parts of this Realme, whether for his Maiestie or the said Prince, they shall be discharged, and the strangers conducted out of the Realme by Commiffaries deputed by his Maiestie and the said Prince, within twelve daies after the signing of these B Articles: and as for the French, they shall be inioyned to retire to their houses within 12 daies after notice given them, upon paine to be punished as Vagabonds.

VI. His Maiestie to gratifie the Prince, vpon his request and instance made vnto him, and the assurance which he hath of his affection to his seruice, hath willingly granted the Towne and Cattle of Amboise vnto him vnto the conclusion of the Generall Estates; and for the guard of the said Castle, 100 men in Garison.

VII. The Duke of Vendosme being absent, yielding the obedience which is due vnto his Maiestie, for the causes contained in this present treaty, his pleasure is that the said Duke shall be restored to his Government, charges, honors and commands, to enjoy them as he hath formerly done, and that all inhibitions made by letters patents, shall be disannulled by the like letters directed to the Court of Parliament of Britanie, in such sort as they may proue no whit prejudiciall vnto him.

VIII. And touching that which he hath caused to be represented, that he had obtained the consents of the Estates of Britany, for the leauying of such money in the Country as was necessary for the entertainment of his guards; his Maiestie hath bene pleased to confirme and allow of that which the said Estates had done in that behalfe.

IX. As also hauing regard vnto the Petition presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Duke of Retz, that he would bee pleased to entertaine the number of fouldiers in Macheou and Belle-Ile, as it is contained in a Briefe granted by the deceased King; it is agreed that the said fouldiers shall be continued for 4 years.

X. The enterprize made vpon Hennebone to the preiudice of the Seigneur of Camore, who is gouernour thereof, shall be repaired, and he restored to his charge, as hee was before these alterations.

XI. All Garisons put into any Townes or places of this Realme by reason of these present motions, since the first of Ianuary last, shall be discharged, except 100 men which shall be entertained at Meziens, vntill after the Assembly of the generall Estates, and 200 for the like space in Soissons, whereof the Duke of Mayen is Gouernour, and all other places shall remaine in the same estate they were in before.

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XIII. And in like manner his Maiesty shall write to all Princes, Estates, and Common-weales, allied to this Crowne, and men of quality shall be sent expressly vnto them, to let them vnderstand what he had found concerning the innocency and good intention of the said Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and Noblemen which had assisted them.

XIIII. His Maiestie doth also grant, in regard of the charges which the Princes and other Noblemen haue bene at, by reason of this alteration, to giue presently vnto the Prince of Conde, 45000 pounds sterling, to bee diuided by him amongst the rest as hee should thinke good.

XV. In consideration of the aboue-mentioned Articles, which otherwise had not bene granted by his Maiestie, the said Princes, Officers of the Crowne and Noblemen, doe renounce all leagues and associations with whomsoever, as well within as without the Realme, with promise neuer to make any more hereafter.

XVI. His

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1614

A XVI. His Maiestie doth also grant in consideration of the great and worthy seruices done vnto this Crowne, as well by the predecessors of the said duke of Neuers as by himselfe, to giue him all necessary expeditions for the reuerfion of the Government of Champagne in the name of his eldest sonne. This treatie was concluded the 13 of May 1614. and signed by the Prince of Conde, the Kings Commiffioners, and the other Princes and Officers.

These Articles were brought to the King and Queene, who signed and ratified them, sending them presently backe vnto the Prince: whereupon they resolved to separate themselves. Two daies after, the Prince retired to the Castelaux, the Duke of Neuers B to Neuers, the Duke of Mayen to Soissons, the Duke of Longueville to Amiens, and the Duke of Bouillon and the Duke of Luxembourg to Sedan. Thus God turning the Princes hearts, made them to preferre the publike, before their priuate interest, compounding all things mildly, by a speedy and full resolution to the content of all good men. For the Prince fearing that his too long absence, ill interpreted by some, might open (contrary to his intentions) the way to some dangerous faction in the State, to the preiudice both of the King and people, he wisely resolved (and by his example, all they which did assist him) by his returne to free them from all iacalouse and mistrust, which his absence had bred.

The Queene in like manner, to make it knowne that she could not grow distrustfull of those in whom before she had neuer seene any signe of infidelity or disobedience, iudging C by their resolutions to peace, of their faithfull intentions, full of affection to the Kings seruice: and to take away all causes of iacalouse, shee thought good to make knowne vnto the publike what assurance she had, by a letter she sent vnto the Court of Parliament, giuing them to vnderstand what had past in this treaty; and what satisfaction the Princes had giuen the King and her by their obedience; and that now all distrusts should cease: wherefore there was no further necessity, for the inhabitants of Townes to continue their guards, nor to forbid the entry to any; but that all things should remaine in the same estate they had bene in before these alterations.

Before their departure from Saint Manchold, the Marshall of Bouillon said vnto the D President Iannin, that neither heretofore, now, nor hereafter, his owne particular should euer crosse or hinder that of the publike; desiring him to take that assurance from him, and to undertake for him to all those which should say the contrary. The Prince said also vnto the President, I giue all the iniuries which some haue sought to doe me, vnto the publike, and it rests in their Maiesties to giue me the effect of the treaty. I offer to add to my helping hand (as all they will doe which haue assisted mee) with a heart free from all bitterness, so heare from whomsoever an ouerture of the means that may bring all things to a good end: assure your selfe Sir, I desire not the ruine of any one for my priuate hatred, vlesse I finde that it may deliuer the State from some approaching ruine. The Siegneur of Vignier returning to Court, he brought this letter which the Prince sent to the Queene.

Madam, I haue heretofore receiued so many testimonies of your fauour wherewith it hath pleased your Maiestie to honor me, as I hold my selfe infinitely bound: yea those which it hath pleased you to shew me in this treaty with his Maiesties Deputies, haue againe so strictly obliged me, as I can no longer forbear to make a most humble acknowledgment thereof vnto your Maiestie, whom I humbly beseech to beleue, that my inclination hath alwaies bene to yeeld all seruice and obedience vnto you. Consider if it please you with what freedome I haue alwaies caried my selfe, yea in the last moneth of January; and had not the malice and practice of mine enemies bene, who by false reports removed me from the honour of your presence and fauour, matters had bene as they are otherwise for the good of the Kings seruice, neither had all these disorders hapned: but setting by the grace of God, and your Maiesties wise conduct they are now ended and suppressed, I most humbly beseech you so to prouide by your authority, as wee fall not hereafter into the like disorders; assuring you that for mine owne particular I will doe all that is in my power for the seruice of the King my Lord, and that of your Maiesty, &c.

The Queene hauing receiued this letter sent to assure him of all fauorable vantage and that Monsieur D'Escaux should cause the Castle of Amboise to be deliuered vnto him.

During these alterations in Court, Henry duke of Montmorency Constable and Peer of France died in his Government of Languedoc. After the death of the Constable

[h]

Anne

The Princes retire to their houses.

The Queene writes to the Courts of Parliament.

The Prince of Conde leaves to the Queene.

Death of Henry of Montmorency Constable of France

1614

The manner of  
his buriall.Death of the  
Chevallier de  
Guise.Suerre booke  
condemned by  
the Court.

*Anne de Montmorency* who died of his wounds received at the battell of Saint Denis in the year 1567, there had beene no Constable in France, vntill the year 1595, when as *Henry* the fourth aduanced him (being sonne vnto *Anne de Montmorency*) to the dignity of Constable: In his youth he was called *D'auinelle*, and vnder that name at the battell of Dreux, he tooke *Lewis* Prince of Conde prisoner. He was afterwards made Marshall of France, and after his fathers death had the government of Languedoc. Hee had borne Armes in Piedmont. During all the ciuill warres vnder King *Charles* the ninth, hee did many military exploits against the m of the reformed Religion: but during the time of *Henry* the third he would neuer come to Court. In the beginning of the league 1585, as the most ancient Marshall and first Officer of the Crowne, he ioyned himselfe with *Henry* the fourth (who was then but King of Nauarre) and *Henry* Prince of Conde, against the authors of the league. The good seruices he did to the state during this war, and since in the time of peace in the time of his honorable age vnto his death, are written at large by the Historiess of these times, and therefore I will forbear to make any farther repetition. His sicknesse was somewhat long, and his son *Montf. de Montmorency* Admirall of France came to see him and assisted at his death; to whom hee gaue goodly admonitions for the instruction of his young years: among other things, hee recommended two vnto him: the one was to bee alwaies faithfull and obedient vnto the King, and watchfull for the good of the State and aduancement of the publik: weale, as those goodly charges did binde him to doe. The other was that being dead, they should not make any funerals for him, but onely cary his body to the graue, being followed by him and his household seruants, and but with fixe Torchess, the which was obserued in euery point as hee had ordained: yet much against his sonnes will, who for the loue hee bare to the memory of his Progenitor had a great desire to prepare him a funerall pompe according to his quality, and to haue his body conuaducted out of Languedoc to Montmorency neere to Saint Denis in France, there to be laid in the sacred monument of his Predecessors. Hee left foure children, one son, and three daughters, the 2 daughters of the first venter are married, the one to the Duke of Ventadour, and the other to the Earle of Auvergne now duke of Angoulême: by the second marriage hee had one sonne, now duke of Montmorency, Admirall of France and Gouvernor of Languedoc, and his third daughter is married to the Prince of Conde: by his third wife hee had not any children.

In this month also newes came to Court of the lamentable death of *Francis Perle* of Loraine, Chevallier of Guise, and Lieutenant generall for the King in Prouence. This generous and maiesticall Prince, who aimed at nothing but honor and glory, going from Arles to the Castle of Baux, which is but fixe leagues off, hee would needes giue fire to a Cannon, which breaking, a peece wounded him so in the face, as hee died within 2 houers after: feeling himselfe thus wounded, hee refused all remedies, and contented this life to chuse better, crying out, let no man speake vnto me of liuing longer. The Duke and his other brethren were wonderfullly afflicted, so were the Prince of County, and the Princessesse his sister. The Duchesse Dowager of Guise continued too without any consolation. All France lamented the death of this generous Prince, and their Maiesties did weinisse (especially the Queene) how much they grieved for his losse.

The King, Queene, and Court being gone to Saint Germaine in Lay, the Court of Parliament had seized vpon a booke which was pernicious and preiudiciall to the French Monarchy, intituled, *Defensio fidei Catholicae & Apostolicae aduersus Anglicanae sectae errores*, the author whereof, was one *Francis Suarez* a Doctor of Diuinity in Greado, and a Jesuite by profession, printed first at Coimbra in Portugal by permission of the Prouinciall, in the year 1613: which booke the Kings Councell had verified in Court by the conference of the abstract which they had in hand printed from the original. And it is to be noted that this booke though most pernicious, had beene allowed not only by the Prouinciall of the Iesuits in Germany and commended by the Prouinciall of Portugal, but also by the Bishops of Coimbra, Alguaz, and Lameca, by vertue of a Commission given by the R. Don Pedro de Castille Vice Roy of Portugal, and Inquisitor generall of the aith, with a note made by Don Fernand Martinez, Bishop of Algarbe the which is worthy of censure.

Where as bringing their conclusions into the Court, and representing an extract of some speciall passages, they required that the propositions and maxims contained in the said booke of *Suarez* should be declared contrary to the ancient Councels, and to the decrees

1614

A crees of the Court, scandalous, pernicious, and tending to incite subiects and others, to attempt against the persons of Kings, Princes, and Christian Potentates, and that the booke should be forbidden to be sold, or for any man to haue it, keepe it, teach or dispute of such Maxims, vpon paine of high treason: Whereupon this Decree was made.

The great Chamber, the Tournell, and the Edict being assembled, and hauing scene a booke printed at Cullen, entituled *Francis Suarez Granatensis de societate Iesu Doctoris Theologi, Defensio fidei Catholicae & Apostolicae, aduersus Anglicanae sectae errores*: containing many propositions contrary to the soueraigne power of Princes ordained by God, and the quiet of their Estates, and that it is lawfull for their subiects and strangers to attempt against their persons. The conclusions of the Kings Attorneys generall being heard: the Court doth declare the propositions and maxims contained in the said booke to be scandalous & pernicious, tending to the subuersion of States, and to induce subiects to attempt against the sacred persons of Kings, making mention of King *Clouis*, and *Philip* the Faire, the which were false & calumnious. Wherefore the Court ordained, that the said booke of *Suarez* should be burnt in the Palace yard by the Hangman; forbidding all Printers and booke-sellers to print or sell them, and for all men of what condition soeuer to haue them, or for any other to write or keepe any such booke. Moreouer, it was decreed, that *Ignati. Armand* Rector of the Iesuites in Paris, *Cotton*, *Fronton*, and *Sirmond* should come the first Court day, and be giuen to vnderstand, that contrary to their declaration, and the Decree of their Generall, in the year 1610, *Suarez* booke had beene printed and brought into the Court, being contrary to the Kings authority & the safety of his person & estate: and that they should be enioyned to cause their Generall to renew the said Decree, and to haue it published, whereof they should bring an Act within fixe monthes, and provide that no booke containing such damnable and pernicious propositions should be made or put forth by them of their society: and that they should be enioyned in their sermons to preach the contrary doctrine vnto the people, otherwise the Court would proceed against the delinquents, as guilty of treason and troublers of the publique peace.

In this month of Iune newes came to Court that the Marquis of Bonniuet (hauing certain Troops of Horse in Poictou) had committed great spoiles, and that hee had ruined part of the suburbs of Poictiers, and some farmes belonging to the Bishop of that place, and that many of his men being disbanded, committed infinite acts of Hostilitie within the Country.

On the other side their Maiesties were informed that the Duke of Vendosmes souldiers in Britany did the like, to the great discontent of the Prince of Conde, and the said Duke, and to the great oppression of the poore people: whereupon their Maiesties resolu'd in Councell to make a voyage into Poictou and Britany thinking that the Kings presence would disperse and scatter (as it were) all these petty cloudes and threatnings of warre.

The Prince of Conde hauing taken possession of the Towne and Castle of Amboise, according to the Articles of the treaty, went into Poictou; visiting his houses, and hindering what he could, that those troopes which had followed him vnder the Marquis of Bonniuet should not oppress the poore people. He came to Chastelleraut whither many of his friends came to visit him, where remembering that hee had received some cause of discontent against the Bishop of Poictiers, being informed that hee had spoken vnworthily of him, and that to satisfie his promise vnto President *Jannin*, to forget all iniuries, hee would in regard thereof assure them of Poictiers of his sincere intentions: whereupon hee gaue charge to *Monsieur de Latrie* to carie Letters of assurance to the Towne-house, giuing them to vnderstand, that all things were pacified by the treaty: that hee had recovered her Maiesties fauour, and that for his part all discontents were forgotten: yet could hee not passe ouer with silence the words which the Bishop had spoken against him: which Letters were received by the chiefe of the Towne from *de Latrie*, but some of them hauing not heard the Letter read, or not well vnderstanding the sense, aduertised the Bishop of the Princes complaint, whereat both he and some of his friends were offended: so as on the 22 of Iune, *de Latrie* walking with a Gentleman called *la Blanchardiere* and one Footman, they were encountered by a troope of 40 or 50 men with short peeces, who were led by a Scholler called *Boux*, and countenanced by *Saint-George*, the Bishops kinsman: theise approaching neere to *de Latrie*, asked if he were not he which had brought the

A decree  
against Suarez  
booke.Spoile done in  
Poictou by the  
Marquis of  
Bonniuet.The Prince of  
Conde comes  
into Poictou.A sedition in  
la Poictiers.

1614

De Laitry wounded.

letters from the Prince against the Bishop of Poitiers. These two gentlemen finding they had an intent to assault them, drew their swords for their defence, but presently the others discharged their peeces, and wounded *de Laitry* in diuers places: they also slue his Footman and a Townesman which was neere them; after which they retired to the Bishops Palace, and *de Laitry* was led to the Maiors house there to be drest: where hee entreated *Blanchardier* to take the paines to goe and informe the Prince of this accident, whom he brought returning to Amboise, to whom he related the tragedie and the truth of the fact. The Prince finding himselfe wronged in the person of *de Laitry* thus wounded, fearing that he should hardly get out of the towne with his life, he resolved to goe himselfe and to free him from this danger: But to take away all cause of ialousie from their Maiesties, and the towne of Poitiers, he dismissed all the Nobilitie which was with him, entreating them not to follow him to Poitiers, and so onely with fifteene horse he approached neere the towne, with an intent to enter in person, and carie away with him the person wounded. Being come within two leagues, hee met with *de Laitry*, who had got forth by policy, yet notwithstanding he would goe on to be informed of the wrong done him, and the outrage vied to the party in doing that which he had in charge: Being within 50 paces of the gates, he heard of some mutinie within the towne, for the wrong done to *de Laitry*, wherein the Bishop did also intermeddle, who being aduertised of the Princes approach, and seeing two factions among the people (the one maintaining the fact of Saint George, the other the Princes interest, & of his friend wounded) apprehending also what might happen if the Prince entered, he resolved to take the government of the Towne into his hands and to keepe the Prince from entering, to whom he sent word that it was not good for him to enter, the which he would oppose. This message was deliuered vnto him by a young man called *Beaulieu de Perse*; yet notwithstanding the Prince went vnto the gate, where he found one called *Berland*, who told him he had charge from the Magistrats of the Towne to refuse him the gate, shutting the barre against him, neither could they get any better satisfaction from this resolute souldier. The Prince went away with much discontent for this refusal, for with this *Berland* there was another with his pistoll charged and the cock downe, and ouer the gate was a Capitaine called *Malagues* with certain souldiers, who by his commandement discharged their peeces, and hurt some of the princes traine.

The Prince complains to the Queene of the wrong done him at Poitiers

The Prince retiring to Chastellerault, hee made his complaint vnto the Queene, sending a Gentleman expressly with Letters, by the which hee demanded iustice for his friend which was hurt; for the refusal which was made to receiue him; and for the insolvency of their Porters: But he complained especially of the Bishop, as the author of this tumult, from whom he demanded a satisfaction due to his qualitie: and that information might be made against Saint George, at the suit of *de Laitry*, whom he protested to assist with all his means, seeing that he had bene wounded in doing him seruice.

The Duke of Rohannois gouernour of Poitiers comes thither, and what pass.

About this time the Duke of Rohannois, Gouernour of Poitiers came thither; hee was receiued by the Maior, Sheriffs, and some Burgeses, who conducting him to his lodging with all respect, he was invited to supper by the Maior, whither the Bishop of Poitiers came to visit him, entreating him to forget the attempt which had bene made in his charge at the Princes coming, whereunto the Duke did willingly consent; beseeching him that hereafter he would not attempt the like; and going to conduct him out of the Maiors house, he found him attended by eleuen horsemen with their pistolls, and about 400 foot carrying short peeces vnder their cloakes. The Duke being with the Maior and Sheriffs, he was aduertised that vpon his arrival the streets were barricadoed; whereupon hee resolved with them and others, to forbid any barricadoes to be made, or chaires to be drawne without his commandement, enioyning them to pull downe all the barricadoes which had bene made, and in case of any alarme to goe vnto the rendezuous appointed, there to receiue the Dukes commandement. The which was published the next morning, being the 26 of Iune, and the same day after dinner he went to visit the Bishop, where they resolved that hee should Duke with the Maior and Sheriffs should send *la lettre* vnto the Prince, who had bene with him the day before, from the inhabitants, to whom he had promised not to offer to enter into the Towne before her Maieitie had so ordained. The like he confirmed vnto the Dukes messenger: But the Bishop hearing that the Prince came within a league of the towne, he sent vnto the Duke to haue Saint Cyprians gate shut; to whom the duke made answer, that he held it not fit, being but three a clock; but

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A but he would take such order, as there should happen no inconuenience, whither he went to giue order for the sure guard thereof.

In his returne to his lodging he was aduertised, that they did arme about the Bishops Palace; whither going with some of the chiefe Burgeses, and being before the Palace, they found the chaires drawne, and lockes put vnto them; seeing many men armed, he demanded the reason of it, and why they had drawne the chaires: to whom they said, they had seene many horsemen without the towne and neere the suburbs: The Duke answered that he had bene without, but could not see any one which might annoy them; and that being their Gouernour, he would be the first which would oppose himselfe against any which should attempt against the Towne; that they should vie more moderation; and not arme so rashly, and at the same time he caused the chaires to be vnlocked.

The Duke saw many signes of a popular fedition; the Capitaine who had the guard of the port of Pont Ioubert, hauing abandoned his charge, let downe the Portcullis, and retired with all speed to the Bishop who had sent for him. The Duke returned in his Caroch by the Bishops palace, to see if the people were still in armes, where hee found the chaires drawn and lockt againe; and *de Roumay* coming vnto him, told him that the Bishop could no longer containe the people, whereupon hee entreated him to cause the locks to be opened that he might passe; which done, after some long attendance for that the Bishop kept the keyes, he past to the Bishops gate, where hee entreated one to goe vnto the

C Bishop in his name, and to tell him that he held it strange to see the streets chained, and the people armed: then going himselfe out of his Caroch, and seeing a great number of armed men, he began to tell them they did ill to arme so lightly, and that it was not for the Kings seruice to liue after that manner, and to vie such violent and seditious courses: a souldier being in the middle of the presse answered, that they would doe it notwithstanding his command; whereupon he instantly saw a number of other souldiers coming out of the Bishops palace, with Pikes, Muskets, and Harquebuses, and then he heard one cry out, Behold the Traitors; and thereupon they thrust at him with their pikes and holbars, which his people that were about him, and the Gentlemen which did accompany him, defended as well as they could, yet he was touched a little on the nose, so as hee

D bled: He was presently conducted by some that were with him into the palace, where he found the Bishop in the head of a great multitude, armed with his Curaffe, and a pike in his hand; to whom the Duke said, Why Sir, what courses are these, to seeke to murder good men, and such as haue the honour to be as I am, without any subiect where haue they learned to serue the King after this manner? whereupon, about 150 which were armed in the Court, would haue quarrelled with the Duke, telling him, that they were not to obseue any other orders then such as had bene accustomed: Hereupon one of his friends wished him to retire into an upper chamber, and to speake little, otherwise he might be in danger.

The chiefe of the towne were suffered to come vnto him, who testified their griefes for the iniurie that was done vnto him, and offered to die with him, rather then hee should haue any wrong. There was hee forced to sup and to stay till after midnight, hoping that they would suffer him to depart vnto his lodging, the which hee could neuer obtaine; having no other priuate friend there, by whom hee might demand safety of this mutinous multitude to goe to his rest; for all that were now with him were the Bishops friends, and dissuaded him, saying that the people would not suffer it, and that there was no safety for him but there, the which it seemed he was forced to beleue, for that the Sergeant Maior having by his commandement giuen charge to the six Capitaines to bring two Companies of euery Company to the old market place, there to vnderstand his Maiesties intention, and in what manner they should guard, *Pidoux* one of the six Capitaines understood that it should not be so, and that the Bishop was not placed there to discharge his judiciall function alone, but to gouerne the towne and to execute his priuate commission, adding thereunto in the presence of the Mayor, that all men did conceiue the Gouernour should haue shewed the speciall authority hee hath from the Queen, to commande others; but seeing hee hath not done it, to the whole body, they were not resolved to obey him. Then the Maior and Sergeant Maior told him, that seeing his commission had bene once published and enrolled, and hee installed in the place, hee had not any need of new Letters. But the Duke found the effects of his words: for about midnight one *Esnard* acted like a

[h]

Sergeant

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Sergeant of a band, came vnto him with twenty musketers, and some halberdiers (having A been first with the Bishop) and said, I come in the behalfe of 2000 men of this towne, who are very sorry for the danger you have bene in, and offer themselves for your preservation, knowing that you are a good servant to the King, and their Gouverneur; yet they desire to obey you vnder the authority of the Bishop of Poitiers: They are your servants, and will acknowledge you, desiring notwithstanding to serve the King after their owne fantasies, that is to say, to draw their chaires when they please, at the found of the Bishops drums, which are his bells; saying moreover, that there were traitors in the towne, whose counsel they would not have him to vfe.

During these speeches, *Boux* (he which had assaulted *de Latrie*) came vp accompanied B with many others, who in the Bishops presence spake many words vnto the Duke to moue him; but he obseruing the aduice which had bene giuen him, and seeing him to be the author of the sedition, and that the Bishop did in no sort blame him, he held his peace, resolving to suffer all indignities, having but foure Gentlemen with him, without any other armes but their swords against five hundred townesmen which were armed within the palace: And to finish the worke, they caused him to retire into a chamber to sleepe, setting two Sentinels at the doore, and a Corps de guard at the staires foot, and another in the garden right against his chamber window, commanding them to shoot, if they saw any one present himselfe: They also set two other Corps de guards, the one in the Bishops Court, the other at the gate.

The next day about nine a clocke, the Duke (seeing himselfe vnable to doe the King any C service, and for his owne safety) desired to retire himselfe out of the towne, being conducted by some of the chiefe Burgeffes; and it was happy for him, for all the streets were barred, and he past by their fauours which conducted him.

The Marquis of  
Cœure sent to  
the Duke of Vendôme  
with the  
Articles.

The Queene Regent, after the treaty of Saint Manehould, sent the Marquis of Cœures D into Britany to the Duke of Vendôme, who signified his consent by a declaration which he signed. But presently after the Marquis returned to Paris, the Queene was aduertised by Letters from Britany, that the Dukes troopes continued their hostilities, and that by the intelligence of the Seig: of Aradon, Gouverneur of the Towne and Castle of Vannes, he had entred the same towne: And that it seemed thereby he had no intent to keepe the treaty, whereupon he wrote presently vnto the Queene, to giue her an account of the whole businesse: That hauing by a declaration vnder his owne hand, deliuered vnto the Marquis of Cœure, promised to obey the Articles concluded, he thought hee had right to enioy the benefit of his re-establisment, vnto which her Maiesties bounty had restored him in case of obedience, and by consequence to enter into the townes of his government: That notwithstanding the decrees of the Parliament, hee was well grounded to demand entry of the Seigneur of Aradon: That being neere to Vannes on his way to Blauet, Deputies were sent vnto him in the inhabitants name to offer him entry into the town, where he entred, the inhabitants being in armes, receiuing him withall honour and respect: That he had found the towne in the guard of the inhabitants, and so had left it; not fearing to E put his person into their power, hauing none with him but his guards, and some of the Nobility, among 300 men that were armed: That to free them from all doubt of his sincere intentions, he had declared vnto them publicly his full submission to her Maiesties will, promising presently to dismisst his troops, whereupon hee entreated her Maiesty to take his entry into Vannes as an action of a Gouverneur, restored by her bounty and his obedience, &c.

The Duke enters  
Vannes, and  
writes to  
the Queene.

The Kings Declaration in  
fauour of the  
Prince of  
Conde.

Their Maiesties hauing resolved the voyage of Poictou and Britany, the King in his Council thought it fit in fauour of the Prince of Conde, and according to the Articles of the treaty of Saint Manehould, to cause a Declaration to be published, by the which his Maiesty did discharge the said Prince and all other Princes and Noblemen which had F joined with him, from all search, and from all that might be imputed vnto them by reason of the last troubles and alterations; suppressing thereby the memory of all that was past, during the said troubles, by means of his said cousin, and of the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, Noblemen, and others, which had assisted, followed, or fauoured him, were it in the leauing of troopes, taking of places, intelligences, and negotiations both within and without the Realme, or any thing else whatsoever; being sufficiently informed that their intentions were not against his seruice, nor the good of the common-wealth: forbidding any

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A any pursuit to be made against them in regard thereof, and commanding that they should enioy all their governments, honors, and dignities in like manner as they had done before the said alteration: which Declaration was verified the first of Iuly by the Court of Parliament.

After this Declaration, their Maiesties being ready to begin their progresse, the Prince of Conde being aduertised hereof, wrote a short letter vnto the Queene concerning the Duke of Vendôme, and the tumults in Poitiers. The Prince of Conde writes Letter to the Queene.

Madam (said he) I was euen now aduertised, that without any other considerations, the Duke of Vendôme hath obeyed you, the Marquis of Cœure is restored to Blauet, B and that in every circumstance, and in all places he hath freed me of my word giuen at S. Manehould: so as the voyage which they have perswaded you vnto, is altogether vnprofitable for Britanie, and it rests onely in you, Madam, to finish the disarming, in making your word compleat. There remains ten thousand pounds sterling, to send vnto the Duke of Vendôme, if it please you, being necessary to make him finish his disarming. I beseech you then that you will command it to be speedily sent vnto him. If your Maiestie come into these parts, it is to assaile me, for that I haue demanded iustice. I beseech you, Madam, be not caried away with these counsels, and beleue not (as some would haue) that I would be the meanes to haue the assembly of the States broken off, so much desired by those which are about you. In a word, Madam, feare hath no power ouer me, C and beleue that I haue in my hands wherewith to preferre my selfe from all oppression. But the loue I beare vnto my King, the Estates, and vnto your person, shall make me attend Monsieur de Mayen to giue you all content, assuring my selfe your Maiesty will command I shall receiue that which is due vnto my quality. And so, &c. This Letter was written from Duffay neere Poitiers, Iuly 16.

The Prince of  
Conde writes  
to the King.

The King being come to Paris, and giuing order for his voyage into Britany, his Maiestie receiued a Letter from the Prince of Conde, written from Lusignan, by the which he complained againe of the Bishop of Poitiers, and demanded iustice for the outrage they had done vnto his friend in that towne, for want whereof he protested to be reuenged: That he was their Maiesties most humble servant, and was ready to vndergoe all D their commandements, yet he could not forget nor passe ouer in silence what they had done vnto him in that place, nor returne out of Poictou, before he were satisfied for that affront: Finally, he besought him that iustice might be done, and that hee might receiue contentment. But without any answer, their Maiesties resolved to depart within two dayes, so as the regiment of the guards, and three companies of Swisse marched presently away: They gaue warning to all their Maiesties officers to be ready, and in like manner to the Councillors of the Grand-council.

The Councillors of the Court of Parliament, and of the other Courts, went vnto the Loure, to yeeld vnto their Maiesties that wherunto their duties did binde them. The Citie of Paris, carefull about all other of the sacred person of their Kings, fearing to lose E this glorious Sunne of France, from whom they borrowed all their lustre, sent their Prouoost of Merchants and their Sheriffes, to beseech the Queene Regent, not to suffer the King to goe out of Paris, promising to guard him, and to answer for him with the hazard of their owne liues, assuring her Maiesty that the Kings good subiects should receiue much contentment by his stay; fearing that his person being yet young and tender, might receiue some prejudice in his health, by the vndertaking of so long a voyage: which their petition vnto their Maiesties, they said, proceeded from the loue and common consent of all their good subiects of Paris.

The Parisians  
desire the Kings  
stay.

But the Queene gaue them wisely to vnderstand that the voyage was of great importance: That the affaires of the King would be in bad estate, if it were not speedily vnder- F taken: to stay disorders, restrain the liberty of troopes, cut off the way to reuolts, ease the people, assure the townes, restore the commerce, settle officers, cause the King to be obeyed, restore honour to the Magistrates, relieue iustice, heare the peoples complaints, helpe the oppressed, assure the fearfull, reconcile quarrels, and to giue peace vnto the prouinces, vpon whom did fall the choller of those Princes which are yet absent from Court: That the Duke of Montbason, the Marquis of Cœure, and the Earle of Verus, whom she had sent thither, could not preuaile: the Kings preference was therefore necessary to disperse these petty clouds: That there was no feare for his Maiestie in that voyage, that hee

The Queene  
answers vnto  
the Parisians.

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he would retorne soone to their comforts, bringing peace and rest to all his good subiects. A The Parisians at that time promised their Maiesties that nothing should passe within the City, nor thereabouts, but for the Kings seruice and contentment; that they would answer for the City during the said voyage, and keepe it if need were, but it was not held necessary, and they were only commanded to haue a care that no faction should arise within the City during their absence: and so they tooke their leaues of their Maiesties.

The King begins his voyage.

On Saturday the 5 of Iuly, the King departed with his company of Light-Horse, and soone after the Queene, with all the Princes, Noblemen, and Ladies of the Court, and all the Officers; leaving *Monf: de Mansan*, who led his company thither. Paris B was left to the custodie of the Inhabitants, under the command of *Monf: de Lieu-Court* their Gouvernor, and of *Monf: de Grioux* Prouost of Merchants; and the Citadell & Towne of Amiens, in the guard of the Marshall *D'Ancre*. In lesse then three dayes, Paris was emptied of about 30000 persons, for all men that had any businesse or suites, either before the Councell of State, or the great Councell, were forced to follow the King in his voyage to sollicite their causes. The first Towne where their Maiesties stayed for their traine was Elampes, where the inhabitants made shew of their publike ioy in receiuing their King: but I may not stand to make particular relation of the reception the King had in all the Townes as he past in this voyage, hauing much matter of farre greater importance to treat of.

The Duke of Mayen sent to the Prince of Conde.

The King came to Orleans, where the Inhabitants met him in Armes, and receiued their Maiesties with all the honor they could deuise: they stayed there eight daies, as well to attend the Prince of Condes answer, as to heare how matters went in Britany and Poictou: for before their going from Paris, their Maiesties had resolued (according to the Princes owne letter) to send some one to conferre with him: the Duke of Mayen had offered himselfe to this employment, promising to acquit himselfe, as hee assured their Maiesties to perswade the Prince to come vnto the King, wherefoeuer he should bee, to yeeld him that whereunto his birth and quality did binde him. The Duke vpon this promise parted from Paris, with some Gentlemen of his House, thinking to finde the Prince at Chastelleraulx or at Lusignan in Poictou, but hee was forced to goe to Chastelleraulx, D whither the Prince had retired himselfe, hearing of the Kings coming. Others say it was, for that the Duke of Neuers had intreated him to christen one of his Children; but howfoeuer, there the Duke found him, where hauing spent some dayes in conference with the Prince, he could draw no other reason from him, but that hee would neuer come to Court before the King had done him iustice for the wrong he had receiued from the Bishop of Poictiers, and that they had giuen contentment to the Duke of Vendosme, for the 10000 pound which was yet vnpaid by the treatie of Saint Manchould. The Duke of Mayen seeing him thus constant in his resolution, was forced to returne to their Maiesties without any effect, coming to Orleans on the 13 of Iuly, to whom he related the businesse as it had past, and assuring them that he could not perswade him to come to Court; E vnto the Duke had the contentment about mentioned: that for his part hee had vied all the meanes he could inuent, to make him forget the action of Poictiers, but hee tooke this affront done by the Bishop so to heart, as he said he had no power to resolue, vntill hee had drawne such reuenge from the King, as he desired, promising to come vnto his Maiestie as soone as it should please him to doe him iustice. Whereupon seeing hee would not yeeld to the intreaties of the Duke of Mayen, they thought it not fit for the Kings dignity to send againe vnto him, but to proceed on in their journey, to comfort the poore afflicted people, and to assure the Prouinces troubled with ciuill combustions.

The Kings troops aduance towardes Britany.

The Marshall of Brillac went on with 6000 Swisses, and led them to the frontiers of Britany, being a lamentable thing to heare of the spoiles, murders, and acts of hostility, F which were daily committed in Britany by the troops of the Duke of Vendosme, and by those of the Marquis of Bonniuet in Poictou: the Marshalls of Lauardin and Boisdauphin, and with them the Marquis of Sable, *Monf: Praslin* and others aduanced with the horse being about 1200: and withall *Monf: de Ramburge* was commanded to make ready his Regiment, which he did in lesse then fifteene daies, hauing 2000 men well armed ready for the Kings seruice, which troopes lay nere vnto Nantes, attending his Maiesties command.

During

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Letters for the restoring of the Duke of Vendosme to his Government.

A During the Kings stay at Orleans, he made a declaration directed to the Court of Parliament at Rennes, for the restoring of the Duke of Vendosme to his Gouvernement of Britany, and for the free inioying thereof, and of all his Charges, Honors, Captainships and Estates as hee had done before the last troubles: and also, for the disanulling of a decree which had beene made against the Siegneur of Aradon, concerning that which had past at Vannes, forbidding them in any sort to molest him or any other for any thing which had past in the Prouince of Britanie by reason of those late alterations.

About this time the generall Estates were assigned at Paris, and published through all the Prouinces of the Realme. The Magistrates of this great City gaue notice to all the B Inhabitants of what quality or condition soeuer, that they might freely and with all liberty bring or send vnto the Town-house what complaint or grievance they thought good, the which they might deliuer into the hands of the Prouost of Merchants or Sheriftes, or to their Deputies to be put into their instructions.

Publication of the generall Estates.

At the same time there past through France an Exhortation in forme of letters, directed to the Governours of Prouinces, by way of aduice giuen to the three Estates of the Realme, speaking to either of them in particular. And for that they containe some things worthy obseruation to moue a people to obey their King, and not to giue care to such as seeke to trouble the State, I haue set them downe in their order.

C To the Clergie.  
MY Masters of the Clergie, obserue well this aduice, there is not any one of you but doth remember in euery point the Articles of the last league, made by many Princes (and with the Kings priuaty) at Peronne in the yeare 1584, the which in shew was goodly and plausible, and so fauourably imbraced of all the world, as it seemed (especially to those of your coate) the Angell of God should confound him that would contradict it. What followed after 14 yeares of barbarous and intestine warres, without intermission? What hath the wisdom, policie, and purse of Popes, of the Confitorie of most of the Princes in Italy, yea in a manner of all you preailed? Nothing, as you know, but the aduancement of heresie, the ruine of temples, many communitie depriued of diuine seruice, D the shamefull punishment of some religious men, the sudden death of the chiefe authors, the poeury of all the Clergie of France, by the sale of their lands; and such a confusion in the government of your affaires, as the suites continue yet. It is a wonder how these miseries were suppressed by the generosity of the deceased King, who hath repaired your Altars and restored the Masse in many strong townes where for many yeares it had beene intermitted. You enioy againe your Benefices and houles, from whence the Cannon had chased you. All these disorders grew from this League, the fatal spring of our miseries, which made France so feeble, as, if his Maiestie had yeelded any thing to the opposition which was made against him at his coming to the Crowne, we had beene now strangers in our owne Country. But he being assisted by God and serued by his good seruants E treated with his disobedient subiects, and with strangers in the yeare 1598.

To the obseruation of which treaty you are especially bound, hauing comprehended you as fauourably therein as you could desire, as well for your reliefe, as for the maintenance of your authority and freedoms. My Masters, in recompence of this great Princes paines, he hath left you this precious treasure of peace, which he hath purchased with his owne blood, to the end you should adde to your helpes (as the first member of this French Monarchy) to preferue it carefully. Shew your duties then by your pietie and good instructions, making the Kings tender age an ample subiect to practise your fidelities; and yeelding vnto the sonne what you owe vnto the father, also vnto your Country that which you owe, imitating the zeale and wisdom of your predecessors, that by your F example euery man may doe his duty.

To the Nobilitie.

MY Masters of the Nobilitie and Gentry, honor the Princes because of their quality which is the most eminent amongst men; and if you haue the honour to be nere them in any good esteeme, neuer leaue them: If you doe not apparently percelue them to decline from their duty vnto the King their Soueraine Lord and yours, for in this case the necessity of the Estate dispenceth you of your faith. You my Masters who are the first newes



1614 "newes of this State, her strength and defence, did you finde your felues any thing bettered A  
 "during the said League, to haue run ouer all France sweating in your armes in the compa-  
 "nie of strangers, onely to support some of the said Princes, and for their particular seruices,  
 "forgetting inconsiderately what you did owe vnto your King and this Crowne? Is  
 "your honor increaseth you or your children advanced to the chiefe places of the State?  
 "Are your names become any whit the more famous? Are your goods increaseth? Are  
 "your debts paid? haue you not rather made your condition worse then better? The last  
 "peace concluded at Veruain in May 1598, hath it not made you repent that which  
 "is past, and acknowledge openly, that nothing but blame, reproach, feare and shame apper-  
 "taines vnto rebels and feditious: It hath also taught you by experience, that there is no  
 "greater misfortune, nor more to bee auoyded, then that which separateth children from  
 "the fathers obedience, and the Nobility from that of the King: when this comes to passe,  
 "God suffers his iudgments to light vpon men without respect of age, kindred, or qua-  
 "lity, by inhumane murders, whereby some of the chiefe houses of your body are ex-  
 "tinct, by surprises, sieges, ruines and burning of houles, rauishing of wiues and virgins,  
 "spoil of your goods, your fields left waste, & gourd with your blood: a general famine the  
 "remembrance whereof is so fresh, as you may easily ghesse what you are, & what you haue  
 "endured, and what you may: obseruing well what is past, and the present, there is no per-  
 "swasion, pretext, or ambition of any man shall euer deceiue you, nor make you forget that  
 "the most wicked condition of men, is to haue home-bred quarrels, and cursed bee hee that  
 "shall raise them. These Princes whom you haue so much affected, whose fortunes, haue they  
 "haue so long followed, haue they not abandoned you, and made their owne peace with the  
 "the King? They haue only obtained pardons for some: haue they had any other care to  
 "releue you (for so many ruines which you haue suffered in your houses) by any honest  
 "gratifications? when you haue had any occasion to vse them to your quarrels, (whereof  
 "you haue too many) or for your ciuill or criminall suites, or for any other affaires, haue they  
 "not assisted you coldly? If you haue at any time craued their support vnto the King, for  
 "any government or place of command, haue you not bene better satisfied with his Ma-  
 "iesties reception, with his liberty of speech, and his facility to yeeld vnto your demands,  
 "then with those which presented you but for fashion sake.

"Finally my Masters, what support and fauour you haue receiued heretofore from D  
 "the said Princes, the like must you expect hereafter. So as they please their owne pas-  
 "sions, and attaine to their owne ends by your assistance, they care not what may happen  
 "for your particular, (they imbrace you if they haue cause to imploy you,) and if you in-  
 "treat them they know you not, they haue no Angell to open the doores when you are  
 "prisoners for their sakes, they bring your heads to the blocke to perserue their owne.  
 "A Marshall of France, a great Captaine (if euer there were any) lost his being, decei-  
 "ued by strangers: Let the King seaze vpon your lands, they will not giue you any of  
 "theirs to recompence your losses. One of the first Presidents of a Soueraine Court  
 "hath bene in a manner brought to beggery, and yet they which were the causes of this  
 "poverty, pity him lesse then others.

"Moreouer, represent vnto your felues, that the King is in his Minority, that hee is but  
 "thirteen yeares old, that you are his Tutors and Guardians, and therefore your ser-  
 "uice should neuer faile him, both for this consideration, and for the strict bond which  
 "euery one of you hath to the memorie of that great Captaine the deceased King his  
 "father: who by his vertue and incomparable courage, hath purchased for euery one of  
 "you, with Armes in hand, in open field, in the sight of Paris, and elsewhere against  
 "rebels and strangers, the honour to haue bene the preseruation of your Country: bee  
 "so still vnto him according to occurrences, lest that you lose that glorie.

"Finally, seeing that in our priuate actions, we desire not to admit of any superiour to E  
 "command ouer vs, being Masters of our owne conduct: doe you so in like manner,  
 "without expecting any prayers or intreaty from the King, and haue an especiall care that  
 "no pretext whatsoever may make you stray from your obedience: fly all procurements  
 "as dangerous rocks. Wee haue iust cause to complaine, that vertue, experience, good  
 "seruices, yea and loyalty, are without esteeme and ill intreated; by reason of the sale of all  
 "Offices and charges within the Realme; which kinde of husbandry or couetousnesse,  
 "the forepassed warres of the League, of the publike weale, and of the reformation in  
 "the conduct of affaires haue brought in, and you know the reason. Yet

A Yet let vs proceed in our complaints as our predecessors haue taught vs: let vs present our 1614  
 "humble petitions when as we shall haue the honour to be called; whereof the Queene Re-  
 "gent hath assured vs, and that they shall be willingly seene and yeelded vnto by the King,  
 "her Maiestie, and the Councell, so as they bee modest and reasonable: It is not in vs to  
 "prescribe a reformation, but to craue it, and following this course we cannot erre.

## To the People.

G Ood people, I will tell you that no gratifications from their Maiesties haue made A  
 "me to write thus vnto the Clergie, the Nobility, and your felues: for as touching my  
 "fortune, *Collatus sum in obscuris sicut mortui sepulchri*: but as a humble subiect to their Maie-  
 "sties, zealous of my Country, and fearing lest it should be hereafter (as we haue seene) the  
 "scorne and pittie of all our neighbours, yea and of Barbarians, hath induced mee to contri-  
 "bute to the continuation of peace, as euery good and naturall French man ought to doe:  
 "you doe willingly giue eare to all that is spoken of the affaires at this day, and you doe  
 "greatly apprehend the alarmes that are giuen you: I assure you there is reason, and I doe  
 "aduertise you that you are the most interessed: if you labour not resolutely to quench this  
 "fire whilst it kindles, or lies smothered, you shall be first of all set on fire, and if it increa-  
 "seth you shall serue (as you haue done heretofore) for matter to make it continue: Con-  
 "sider of all inconueniences which may happen, and assure your felues, that both in field  
 "C and towne, you shall be the marke whereat the choller and inolenie both of friend and  
 "emie, of French and stranger will aime. Remember that the contempt which you  
 "made of the royal authority, the respects you had to the heads of a faction, who had blind-  
 "ed your eyes, and corrupted you by their flatteries and pretexts of Religion, or of the  
 "common weale, and had so prodigiously diuided you, haue furnished matter for all the tra-  
 "gedies which haue hapned in France, and in our sight, whereof there yet remaine through  
 "their continuance, and your wilfulnesse, wounds almost incurable; whereof there is some  
 "amendment by the wholsome remedies applied by the deceased King a most excellent  
 "Physician, who hath preserued the life of our Country, and like a good Captaine recoile-  
 "red this lost Monarchie, the which by the helpe of God shall bee continued by his Maie-  
 "D stie, if you alone continue constantly his most faithful subiects and seruants; and to binde  
 "you more strictly therunto, set before your eyes, your miseries past, the infinit toyle,  
 "and the dangers, and clemency of Henry the fourth, of whom we may say,

*Quærit Henrico parem?  
 Nemo est nisi ipse.*

And that Lewis his sonne, hath neuer done wrong to any of you; who for our happines  
 "approacheth neere the age wherein he may doe good to all cause himselfe to be respected,  
 "and punish the feditious: in doing this you will soone lay aside Armes, which doe but de-  
 "bauche you from your labour, and will frustrate the designs which may bee practised  
 "vpon your facility and accustomed insconstancy. There haue bene occasions offered to  
 "E alter the peace, since the lamentable death of that great Prince Henry the fourth, if the  
 "Queene Regent had not courageously and wisely preuented it, which we now enioy by  
 "her care and vigilancy. Be not for your parts so inconsiderate as to lose the fruits; and  
 "renouncing all dissolayall practices, let vs make our felues capable of the peace we now en-  
 "ioy, purchased with so much blood: First by our deuout prayers vnto God, that hee  
 "would preserue the King, of whom by humane meanes depends the health of vs all; by  
 "amendment of our liues, and by an exemplary obedience and fidelity to their Maiesties,  
 "to the end that this flourishing Realme be not torne in peeces in our time, and that wee be  
 "not aduersed by our posterity to haue bene the instruments to such lamentable effects, as  
 "may happen by the renewing of troubles: or too negligent wherewith we may reproach  
 "F our forefathers, for that they had not rooted it vp in the beginning as you see. There was  
 "neuer Regency more free from warres and lesse troubled with theues (which might hin-  
 "der the safety of commerce) then this: let vs all assist her Maiestie with heart and affecti-  
 "on, to the end the may goe on from good to better.

## To the Officers of the Crowne.

Y OU my Lords the Officers of the Crowne and of Iustice, who are the eye, the mouth,  
 "and the right hand of our Prince, and the Adresser of the State: Giue good counsell  
 "to

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to his Maieſty vpon all occurrents which ſhall be offered; looke you faile nor your felues; A  
cauſe the lawes and ordinances of this Monarchy to be duly obſerued, and by the ſame  
lawes puniſh all thoſe which ſhall offend, without exception, or acception, for commonly  
the puniſhment of a wicked and peruerſe man, doth aſſure all good men, and terrifie  
others.

Commande-  
ment to arme  
at Paris.

During their Maieſties abſence from Paris, on the 19 of Iuly there was commande-  
ment given to all the inhabitants of the City and ſuburbs, to haue their armes in a readi-  
neſſe, and to iſſue forth vpon the fiſt warning ſhould be given them; which grew vpon a  
report that the Prince of Conde ſhould come vnto the City: And as this continued (ſee-  
ing alſo many arriue daily with horſes and baggage) it made the Magiſtrates of the towne B  
to giue a freſh commandement that euery one ſhould ſtand vpon his guard.

The Princes  
troops diſband  
in Poictou.

The King hauing paſt through Orleans, Blois, Tours, and Saumur, and receiued all  
the honors which could be deuſed by his good ſubiects: coming neere to Chafte-  
lerrault, the Prince of Condes troops retired themſelues in ſmall companies without armes,  
ſtaffe, or ſtick, fearing the maieſtie of him whom they had offended in moleſting his good  
and naturall ſubiects, and namely the Marqueſſe of Bonniuers troops, which elcaped by  
diuers wayes, hearing of his coming: who without doubt would haue puniſhed them  
ſeuereſly; conſidering the complaints, teares, and cries of the poore people, which came  
vnto his Maieſties eares, for the indignities which they had cauſed them to ſuffer, and for  
the great ſpoiles which they had committed in Poictou, to the great grieſe of the Prince C  
himſelfe: yet they could not ſo ſpeedily retire themſelues, but that ſome of them were  
met withall by ſome of the Regiment of the guard, who hauing heard the complaints of  
the poore people, charged them and chaſed them like theues and robbers as they were.  
Neere vnto Chafteſtellerault, they met with a great cart laden with all ſorts of armes which  
the Marquis of Bonniuer had cauſed to be transported out of Poictou, which cart was  
ſtayed, and the armes laid into a certaine caſtle in Poictou, belonging to the Duke of  
Longueville. They alſo found many Magazines in diuers places where armes lay hidden,  
all which were ſeized vnto the Kings vie, and laid with the reſt, the Regiment of the  
guards, hauing commandement to diſarm all ſuch as they ſhould find armed to any other  
deſigne then the Kings ſeruiſe, and to ſeize vpon ſuch as they ſhould find to keepe the D  
field, to make them giue an account of their intent in bearing armes.

The King  
comes to  
Poictiers.

The King came to Poictiers, where his Maieſtie was much deſired, and where the In-  
habitants did yeeld all duties of obedience, and did ſtrive to make it appeare that they were  
moſt affectionate to his ſeruiſe: The Biſhop and Magiſtrates of the Towne, made rela-  
tion of the tumults paſt, and gaue him notice of all ſuch as had bene faithfull to him, dur-  
ing the brutes of warre, beſeeching his Maieſtie to take in good part that which had bene  
done for his ſeruiſe, & to pardon ſuch as had caried themſelues with too much zeale and  
heat for the defence of the City. The King ſtayed long there, cauſing a new Maior to be  
choſen, and other officers to the peoples content, and the ſafety of the towne: And dur-  
ing his abode there, he receiued the humble ſubmiſſions of the dukes of Rohan and Sully, E  
and of the Seigneurs of Parabel and la Boulay, Gouvernors of Nyort and Foutenay: the  
Duke of Sully teſtifying in the name of all the Prouince of high and baſe Poictou, that his  
Maieſtie might reſt aſſured that he had none there but good and faithfull ſeruants: That  
what had paſt was to their great grieſe, and that for his part he had done his beſt endea-  
uour to hinder the ſpoiles made by troops, and the great liberty of ſouldiers, which did  
moleſt the ſubiects, and annoy the country. The Earle of Rocheſaucault was then made  
Lieutenant Generall for the King, and Gouvernour of Poictiers.

The Rochellers  
ſend the keyes  
of their towne  
vnto the King.

The Maior and Magiſtrates of Rochel ſent certaine Deputies thither, to make offer vnto  
his Maieſtie both of the keyes of the towne, and of their hearts, affection, and ſeruiſe; F  
which did ſo content the King and Queene, as thereby they tooke occaſion to hope for a  
good and durable peace for France: for at their Maieſties preſence in an inſtant, all thoſe  
troops which the Marquis of Bonniuer had in Poictou, did melt away like ſnow againſt  
the Sunne.

Death of the  
Prince of  
Conde at  
Paris.

During their Maieſties ſtay at Poictiers, Francis of Bourbon Prince of Conde died at  
Paris in his Abby of Saint German de Pres: his long ſickeſſe had taken from him all de-  
ſire to liue any longer, enduring ſuch continuall paines in his body. The princeſſe his wife  
being abſent from him, was in continuall care for his languiſhing infirmity, ſo as ſhe could  
not

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A not reſt but in feare, ſtill apprehending the houre when ſhe ſhould heare of her husbands  
death: who dying the third of Auguſt, poſts were preſently ſent to aduertife the Princeſſe  
his wife, which newes the receiued two dayes after being in her Chamber at Poictiers;  
the heavineſſe and melancholy ſhe was in the day before, did preſage this ſiniſter accident,  
which being confirmed, ſhe lamented the death of this good Prince with many teares and  
ſighes. Their Maieſties being aduertified thereof were much grieved, and it gaue the houſe  
of Guife a new occaſion of mourning, to whom they were allied by their ſiſters marriage.

The King hauing pacified all things in Poictou, and ſeized the Country of ſouldiers,  
there remained nothing but Britanie, where the affaires of the Prouince growing deſpe-  
rate, required his perſonall preſence, for which effect their Maieſties parted from  
Poictiers to Angiers. The duke of Vendome hauing ſome intelligence of his approach, he  
called all his troopes to Port Pelerin, which is betweene Chynon and Ancenis neere to  
Nantes vpon the riuer of Loire, vpon a pretext of a generall Muſter, whither all his com-  
panies (being about 2000 foot) came, and the duke himſelfe arriued ſoone after with ſome  
troopes of horſe, who ſpeaking to the Commanders & Captaines, he told them he would  
vſurme and diſmiſſe his troopes, commanding the ſouldiers to deliuer vp their Armes:  
giuing to euery one a peece of money: And whereas they cryed out of the ſmall recom-  
pence they had for aſſiſting him, and that they were ſorry they were no more employed  
for his ſeruiſe: he answered them, that he had not taken armes to preuent ſome reuolt  
C in Britany againſt his perſon, and to force the obedience due vnto him in that Country, and  
to haue the King ſerued vnder his comandements: and that ſeeing now it pleaſed his  
Maieſty to come thither in perſon to ſettle all things, and to command as absolute Maſter,  
there was nor any further need of Armes; that there were no enemies but the enemies of  
his King, and therefore nothing to be feared where he ſhould be: That he thanked them  
for their aſſiſtance, and intreated them earneſtly to retire ſpeedily, if they would not bee  
taken and hanged by the Kings people who approached, the which they did with ſuch  
haſte as in few dayes all were vaniſhed out of ſight.

The Duke of  
Vendome diſ-  
armes at the  
Kings com-  
ming into Bri-  
tany.

Their Maieſties drawing neere to Nantes, the D. of Vendome with all the Nobility he  
could draw together within the Country, came to meet him, where deliuering his ſword  
D vnto the King, he craued pardon if any thing had paſt by this occaſion in Britanie, contrary  
to his Maieſties pleaſure, at which time the King receiued him very gratiouſly, remit-  
ting all wherewith he might bee charged by reaſon of the leauing of ſouldiers, and the  
complaints of the Inhabitants of the Prouince, ſaying vnto him, *Go and continue in doing  
me good ſeruiſe, and I will loue you for euer as my brother.* Whereupon the King gaue him  
new letters of reſtaurment, and an abolition of all violences which had been committed  
in Britanie. After theſe aſſurances and acts of ſubmiſſion giuen vnto the King by the D. of  
Vendome, their Maieſties came to Nantes, and cauſed an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of Bri-  
tany to be held there, which he did many times honor with his preſence, and alſo the D.  
of Vendome in his behalfe: where they treated of many things concerning the affaires of  
E the Prouinces. This Conuocation was very profitable and neceſſary for the Country,  
where the King redreſſed many grieuances, and granted moſt of their petitions.

The Duke goes  
to meet the  
King.

The Kings  
words to Ven-  
dome.

Before the ſaid Eſtates, the King ſent his regiment to Blauet, with the Swiſſes and the  
regiment of Rambour, for that it was reported there was ſome reſiſtance in that fort, but  
they found nothing but obedience, and all things yeelded to the Kings ſeruiſe. It was re-  
ſtored to the Marquis of Coeuvre by the commandement which the Duke of Vendome  
had giuen to him which kept the place: and for that the Inhabitants of the Country com-  
plained that the ſaid Fort of Blauet (if there ſhould be any war) might annoy the Prouince  
and be prejudiciall to the Kings ſubiects keeping them in awe: the King with the aduice of  
the Queene Regent and the Princes and Lords of his Councell, ordaine that the ſaid Fort  
F of Blauet with diuers others in that Prouince, ſhould be razed to the ground, for the effe-  
cting whereof the Swiſſes ſhould remaine there, with the regiment of Rambour, and 12  
ſouldiers out of euery company of the Guards. This done, their Maieſties parted from  
Nantes hauing ſeized the affaires of Britany, and returned to Paris, to giue order for the  
holding of the General Eſtates of France being aſſigned there.

The Fort of  
Blauet razed.

In the meane time the Prince of Conde leaues Chateſteauroux, paſſeth into Poictou and  
came to Amboiſe, reſolving to returne to Court, forgetting his diſcontentes and the aduice  
of Poictiers, and giues aſſurance to their Maieſties, that he would be at Paris as ſoone as  
they.

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The King comes to Paris.

The Prince of Conde arrives at Paris.

Funerals of the Prince of Conde.

The solemnity of the Kings Maiority.

they. The duke of Vendosme, after the Kings departure from Nantes, went before to Paris, to be at his wiues lying in, where hee arrived about the 8 of Sept. and stayed there vntill the King made his entry into the City. The King having past by Angers, Mans, Chartres, and other good townes, being received with all the ioy and applause which could be, came about the midlt of September to Paris, where the Citizens received his Maiestie without the suburbs, being about 12000 foot, richly armed, and so hee was conducted to the City, where there were rare deuices at his entry, which for breuities sake I must omit. And about the end of September, the Prince of Conde arrived at Paris being accompanied with about 300 horse, whereof some stayed in the suburbs of St. Germain, and the rest followed him still, he entred by St. James Gate and went towards the Loure to salute their Maiesties: he mourned for the death of his vnckle the Prince of County: the Parisians were full of ioy to see this Prince reconciled to the King, which made them hope it would breed a peace of long continuance. Being vpon the new bridge, he was told the king was gone to Bois de Vincennes to hunt, which made him turne towards S. Antonies gate, where he met the King, who seeing the Prince his cousin, caused his Caroch to stay, and gaue him place by him, being very glad to see him, and so they went on to the Loure, where hauing left his Maiesty, he went to salute the Queene, and then retired to his house. Soone afterwards were the Funerals of the Prince of Conde in the Abbey Church of Saint Germain, with a pompe fit for the quality of his person. At which assisted the said Prince, with many Dukes, Prelates, Noblemen, and great Ladies, with the Courts of Parliament and Accounts, and many others.

During this moneth of September, there was an Assembly of the Pariffians in the Bishops palace, where there assisted many Burgeses and others of good quality, vpon the election of the deputies of the said City, to present the peoples complaints vnto the next Assembly of the generall Estates. The day being come, there was some dispute among the Burgeses, touching the said Election, so as some departed out of the Hall and went their way, but in the end all was pacified and concluded to content, where they made choice of men which were worthy and capable of such places.

Before the Assembly of the generall Estates, it was concluded in Council, by the aduice of the Queen Regent, the Princes of the blood, and of all the other Princes and Noblemen and Officers of the Crowne, to haue the King declared of full age, according to a fundamentall Law made by King Charles the fifth surnamed the Wise, and verified by the Court of Parliament, by the which it was ordained, that the Kings of France hauing attained the full age of thirteene yeares, and entering into the fourteenth, they should take vpon them the souereigne government of the State: whereof they gaue notice to the Court of Parliament that this royal action should be celebrated at the Palace in the golden chamber, where they prepared to receiue their King a Maior, as they had accustomed to doe in the like solemnity. The day for the solemnizing of this act, was appointed on the 2 of Octob. but the day before he caused a declaration to be made in the presence of the dukes and Lords of his Council, for confirmation of the Edicts of pacification, against Duells, combats, and encounters: A prohibition for all his subjects, to enter into any Leagues and Associations both within and without the Realme, and for his Officers and pensioners, to receiue any wages or pension from any one but himselfe, forbidding all swearing and blasphemy, with an intent to haue this Declaration verified the next day in Court, as the first act of his Maiority, he sitting in his seat of Iustice.

The next day all things being prepared at the Palace, and the Regiment of the Guards placed on either side the street from the Loure vnto the Palace: The Lord Chancellor being followed by many Councillors and Masters of Requests, went vnto the Palace, and were receiued by some Councillors in their robes, deputed to that end, who conducted them into the golden Chamber.

Afterward the Queen arrived, being followed by the young Ladies her daughters, Queen Margaret and other Princesses and great Ladies; then the Cardinals of Rochefaucault, Perron, and Bomfi, came to assist at this Ceremony, as Peeres of France, according to the Kings command. About tenne of the clocke, his Maiestie went vnto the Palace, before him there marched his Company of light horse, the Archers of his Guards, and the Swisses then came his Maiestie richly attired, being followed by the Duke of Aniou his brother, the Prince of Conde, the Earle of Soissons, the Dukes of Guise, Elbeuf, Espernon,

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A non, Vantadour, and Montbazou, and seven or eight hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen, richly attired. Being come into the Chamber, euery one took his place according to his qualitie and the order prescribed him: being all set, the King who was vnder a rich cloth of Estate, beganne to shew himselfe vnto his Court of Parliament, and to speake these words.

*My matters: being by the grace of God come to the age of my Maiority, I thought good to come into this place, to let you vnderstand, that being of capable yeares as I am, I meane to gouerne my Realme by good counsell, with piety and iustice: I attend from all my subjects the respect and obedience which is due vnto the Soueraigne power and Royall authority which God hath giuen me: They must also expect from me the protection and fauour which they may attend from a good King, who about all things affects their good and tranquillity. You shall vnderstand my pleasure more amply by my Chancellor.*

His Maiestie hauing thus spoken, the Lord Chancellor made an eloquent Oration vpon the subiect of the Kings maiority, shewing them how much France was bound to thanke God, that during his Maiesties minority it had enjoyed a sweet and happy peace, vnder the glorious and royall command of the Queene his mother, who by her great wisdom had conducted all things to a happy end, during the time of her Regency, of which charge she had so worthily acquitted her selfe, to the Kings honor, her owne glory, and the contentment of his subjects, as France will for euer yeeld her the praises due to her incomparable vertues.

After this, the Queene rising from her seat, and aduancing towards the King, she made a short speech, saying, That she deliuered into his Maiesties hands the reines of his Empire, desiring him, together with the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, to haue for euer in remembrance, the care which she had taken in the administration of the publicke affaires of the Realme. After which, the King did rise from his royall Throne, and marching two or three steps towards the Queene with his cap in his hand, he said: Madam, I thank you for the great paines you haue taken for me; I pray you continue to gouerne and command as you haue done heretofore: I will and meane that you be obeyed in all things, and that in my absence you be the chiefe of my Councell. This being ended, Monsieur de Verduin the first President, made a long and learned Oration touching the maiority of the Kings of France, whereby he gaue much content to that noble assistance. After whom followed Monsieur Seruin, the Kings Aduocate general, whose rare inuention vpon that subiect, rauished that royall Assembly with admiration. These speeches being ended, there followed a Decree of the Kings Maiority, with the aduice of the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, Councillors of State, Prelates, and other persons of qualitie, which were there present, the which was pronounced by the Chancellor: And then the Declaration made the day before in Council (as you haue heard) was verified by the Court, the King sitting in his seat of iustice. After all which, the King returned to the Loure.

Within few dayes after, the Dukes of Neuers, Sully, and Rohan, came to Paris with their ordinary traines, and the Deputies of Prouinces arrived daily, according to his Maiesties Letters sent throughout all the Governments of his Realme, to appeare at the generall Assembly of the Estates, which should be soone after held in the Augustins Conuent. But before we enter into it, we will make mention of a memorable structure or building which was this yeare concluded of.

The King and Queene his mother, continuing the desire which the deceased King had for the beautifying and enriching of his Citie of Paris, and hauing bene aduertised that he held it necessary for the ease of the other bridges, and the beautifying of the City, that there should be a bridge built to passe the riuer of Sein from the Tournelle to Saint Paul, they receiued the propositions of diuers persons which would vndertake the worke vpon certaine conditions. Among all which, finding none more profitable then those of Christopher Marie, a Burgesse of Paris, hauing had the aduice of the Treasurers of France, and of the Prouost of Merchants, and Sherifffes, there passed a contract on the 19 of April this yeare, betwene his Maiesties Commisioners, and the said Marie, vpon diuers Articles: And vpon the 11 of Octob. the King and the Queen his mother laid the first stone of the said Bridge.

By the first Article concluded at Saint Manchould, the Generall Estates were to be held at Sens, and the day was appointed on the tenth of September. But the King and the Queene

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The Kings speech to his Parliament.

The substance of the Chancellors speech.

The Queenes speech to the King.

A contract for the building of Marie bridge.

Why the Estates were held at Paris, and not at Sens.

1614. Queene his Mother, being forced to goe to Poitiers, and into Britanie, in the months A of July, August, and September, it was deferred vnto the tenth of October following.

The King having performed the first Act of his Maioritic in Parliament, and the greatest part of the Deputies of the three Estates of France, being come to Paris, his Maiestie on the 13 of October caused it to be proclaimed, that his pleasure was, the Assembly of the three Estates should be held at Paris, and not at Sens. And that the Deputies which were arriued, should assemble themselves; the Clergie at the *Augustins*; The Nobilitie at the Franciscan Friars; and the third Estate at the Towne House. But after their first meeting, the Nobilitie and Commons besought the King (to the end the three Houses might more easily conferre together, to suffer them to hold their assemblies in the two other Halls of the *Augustins*, that they might be neerer vnto the Clergie, where the three Houses in the beginning sent their Deputies to salute one another according to their usual custome.

The Presidents  
for the three  
Orders chosen.

The day of the Overture of the Estates, they made choice of their Presidents. For the Clergie (as *Malingre* writes) was chosen the Cardinal of Ioyeuse, Deane of the sacred Colledge of Cardinals, Archbishop of Rouen, and Primate of Normandie; *Mercurie* affirmes, that the Cardinal of Sourdis, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, was elected to that place. For the Nobilitie they made choice of *Henry de Beaufremont* Baron of Sennecey, Gouernour of the Towne and Castle of Auſonne; and *Robert Miron* Councillor of State to the King, President of Requests in his Court of Parliament: and the Prouost of Merchants for the Citie of Paris, was chosen President in this Assembly for the Commons. I will not trouble the Reader with the names of the Deputies, nor the places from whence they were sent, being in all about 470. Whilst the Chambers for the three said Orders, were by the Kings commandement making ready, they also prepared Bourbon House, for the King, Queene, Princes of the blood, and other Princes, Lords and Officers of the House and Crowne of France, to receive the Orations, Complaints and Grievances, and to resolve thereon with the aduice of the Lords of his Councell. In the Hall of this house where the King should sit, there were scaffolds built, & none were suffered to enter there during the Kings sitting but such as were qualified.

The beginning  
of the assembly  
of the Estates.

The Estates began the 27 of October, and the Deputies being all in the said Hall, according to their ranks and qualities: the King being in his Royall Throne, assisted by the Queene his Mother, and Monsieur his Brother, by the Princes of the Blood; and other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Cardinals, Prelates, and other Officers of the Crowne; Councillors of State, Secretaries, and Masters of Requests of the Kings House, every one being first according to his degree; His Maiestie beginning to speake, said, That hee had not desired the Conuocation of the General Estates, and an assembly of all the Orders of his Realme, but to reforme the abuses and disorders, which time had bred in all sorts of men: That he would ease his people, as much as possibly hee could, and that his will should be more amply declared vnto them by the mouth of his Chancellor.

The Kings  
Speech to the  
Estates.

The Lord Chancellor making a speech which was much commended and admired by that Royall and noble Assembly. He gave them to vnderstand how much their Maiesties had been grieved for the abuses, disorders, and corruptions which they had found, were crept into all the orders of the Realme. And that now they were much pleased to see so many good men assembled in that place, ready and disposed to take paines to discover vnto him (who is the onely Physician of France vnder God) the miseries and most dangerous maladies of the Estate: That they should expect from his Maiestie all that good which naturall subjects may attend and hope for of a good King, who loues and affects the quiet of his people: wherefore his Maiestie for his part, did attend from them all assistance and fidelitie, who being charged with the complaints and grievances of the people, they should represent them with all libertie; but especially with all purity and equity of conscience, as the charge of their deputation required, being chosen to propound the good and the ease of the people. Whereupon the Deputies of the three Orders, in presence of his Maiestie, and that Noble assembly, made their answers, protesting by their feuerall O-rations (which for breuitie sake I omit) that they would neuer aime at any other end, then the dignity of the Realme, the good and quiet of the Estate, & the ease of the people.

The Deputies  
labour to abo-  
lish the Sale of  
Offices.

After this assembly at Bourbon House, whereas all the said Deputies tooke a solemne Oath to performe all that did belong vnto their duties and charges: They then began to labour

1614. A labour seriously about their instructions; and the first thing which was resolved by all the three Orders, was the abolition of the sale of Offices of *Iudicature*, and others which tend to the oppression and ruine of the people: In the beginning there were some of opinion, that the Sale of Offices of Iustice (which they vse in France) was not so preiudiciall & dangerous, as the common fort did beleue, and many reasons and arguments were produced on either side: but notwithstanding haueing been concluded in the end of Nouember by the three Chambers of the Estates, that the Sale of Offices should be abolished, by reason of the vexations of the subiect which grew thereby. The remonstrances haueing bin made at Bourbon House: his Maiesties pleasure was, that the said Sale of Offices shal be extinguished, according to that which was required by the general instructions of the three Orders; so as some new Impositions of money might be laid vpon salt and the Aydes; whereunto the third Estate opposed, saying that then this Sale should be abolished at the poore peoples charge, who should receiue discommoditie without any profit: Whereupon they drew a Petition, which all the chiefs of the Deputies did signe, which was presented vnto the King by Monsieur *Philbert* Lieutenant General of Bloys in this manner:

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Sire: Your most humble and most obedient subjects, the Deputies of the third Estate of France, haueing had an aduertisement of some new leauies, and Imposts, as well vpon the Salt, as the Aydes; wherewith they propound vnto your Maiestie to overcharge this Order, to extinguish the Sale of Offices required by all our instructions; and also to pay the duties of the other orders, contrarie to the accustomed formes; they hold themselves bound by the duties of their places and deputations; to make their humble remonstrances vnto your Maiestie touching this subiect, wherein if they should faile, they should not onely abandon them which rely vpon their trust, and haue committed their interest vnto them; but also violate the faith which all do owe vnto your Maiesties seruice, if they should dissembel the notable prejudice you should receiue therein, by the alteration of the hearts and affection of your people, who without doubt would impatiently beare it (their miseries and calamities being already extreme and lamentable) If they should reape by the assembly of the Estates, thornes in stead of fruit, and ease which hath been so often promised them. Your Maiestie may iudge, if you please, what hope of good there is, if the sale be extinguished at your poore peoples charge, & that they receiue great prejudice, without any present or sensible profit; there being nothing more true then that this order hath no more interest in the abolition then the rest, and yet for one Clergie man or Gentleman which lends to the *Garniers* for Salt, there are 2000. of the Commons which furnish themselves there, so as they may iustly thinke they are over-charged and oppressed in this assembly, for the benefit and contentment of the other orders, although they may glory, that they haue contributed as much zeale and affection as the others in all occasions for your Maiesties seruice, and the peace & tranquillitie of the Realme. But (Sir) there is a meanes to recompence your casuall Parties, full of Iustice, vpon the demands which the three orders haue commonly made, so as no man shall haue cause to complaine. It is the taking away of excessive pensions, granted to men of all orders, conditions, and qualities, to the great oppression of your People, the wasting of your Treasure, and discontent of many of your Subjects, who thinke themselves lesse bound to your Maiesties seruice, seeing the affection and fidelitie of others, better rewarded then theirs. There are other lawfull meanes of husbandrie and sparing, represented by the general instructions, whereby your Maiestie may draw great summes of money, the which shall not be bathed in the Teares of your poore people, whose Deputies thinke they cannot returne with honour and safety into their Proninces, if they carrie not backe sufficient Testimonie, to witness that the overcharging of this order (which it seems some seek of purpose) hath not hapned by the fault and negligence of the said Deputies. They most humbly beseech you, that as the Kings your Predecessors haue alwaies by their bountie & iustice taken in good part, the remonstrances and complaints of their subiects, yea, and their opposition to the Execution of their Edicts and Declarations obtained by surprize; it would also please your Maiestie to accept of this most humble Petition, with the opposition of the said Deputies: Not to the Execution of your will & pleasure, who haue not yet ordained the said new leauies, but to the reception & allowance of the aduice which is given you, & that vpon the said opposition the ouertures may be rectified, as preiudiciall to your Maiesties seruice, & tending to the oppression of your people: that it may be lawfull for your Deputies

The Prebend  
of the Cam-  
mons.

1614 "to haue their petition entred into your Councell booke, and that they may haue an Act thereof, to serue them as a discharge and iustificatiō, not onely with the Townes & communitie which haue sent them, but also with your Maiestie, who shall find by the euents, that you haue not in this Assembly, nor euer shall haue more faithfull seruants and subiects, then those who haue caried their causes courageously, for the preferuatiō of your honored person and authority) endeavour to continue the hearts and love of your people, who will continually pray for your Maiesties greauesse and prosperitie.

His Maiestie hauing heard their petition, made answer in these words. I will ease my people as much as possibly I may: I haue vnderstood you well, and will conferre with the Queene my mother and Councell, Whereupon the Queene said vnto the Deputies, that they were much incommoded, might take their charges, and retire themselves. Presently after in fauour of the said petition, the King made a declaration for the ease of his people. This Petition was presented at the conclusion of the Estates.

A Combat of two souldiers.

Whilst they were labouring in the generall Estates for the good of France, the Duels were reuiued, not onely among Noblemen and Gentlemen, but also among priuate souldiers and others, so as in this month of Nouember, two yonger brethren of the regiment of the guards, hauing had some dispute in their *Corps de guard*; they went presently to the field to decide their quarrel by the sword, who being not releued soone enough by some of their fellow souldiers which followed them, the one of them was slain by his companion; which being done in the iurisdiction of the Abbey of Saint Germain de Pres, the Bayliffe of the said place came thither with his Sergeants, and tooke vp the dead body and wrested him, that had slaine his fellow out of the hands of certaine souldiers, carying both him and the dead body vnto prison.

The Duke of Espernon hearing hereof, and that the two souldiers had not bene deliuered to the Prouost of the Guards as to their ordinary Iudge, hee resolved the next day to cause him to be deliuered into his hands; giuing charge to the Marquis of Luallette his sonne, to take the two companies (which should that day goe out of Guard) and to march to the suburbs of Saint Germaine, and make them deliuer the prisoner and the dead body willingly or by force. Being there, they went to the Bailiffes lodging, who being absent, they commanded the Taylor to deliuer them; but he refusing it, they forced the prison and tooke them away, carying them to the suburbs of Saint Marcell. At the same instant the Bailiffe of Saint Germaine went to the Court of Parliament, to complaine of the affront which had bene done him by the Duke of Espernon, saying they had forced his prison, and therefore he required iustice.

The Parliament incensed against the Duke of Espernon.

The Duke of Espernon being informed that the Court of Parliament would take notice of this businesse, hee came in the afternoone accompanied with many Noblemen to the Palace, to giue an account vnto the Court of that which had past. Being entered into the great Hall, there were some insolencies committed by the Gentlemen of the Dukes traine, the which hauing much troubled the Parliament, considering the reuerence and respect which is due vnto that place: The Court meant to take information thereof, and to lay the fault vpon the Duke of Espernon: being ready to informe against him, aswell for that which concerned the fact committed in the suburbs of Saint Germaine, as for the insolencies done in the Palace. To pacifie all this, the Duke of Espernon had recourse vnto the King, and obtained of his Maiesty a letter vnder his signet, directed to the Parliament, by the which they were enioyned to surcease for two daies, aswell for that which had bene done in the suburbs, as in the Palace. The letters were brought into the Court by *Monf: de Pralin*, the 24 of Nouember, whereunto obeying, it was ordained that day in Parliament, That the Court (hauing receiued the Kings letter of Signet, brought by the said *Monf: de Pralin*, obeying his Maiesty) had decreed to surcease for two daies to determine of that which had past in the suburbs of Saint Germain, and of the rest which followed; and they humbly besought his Maiesty to consider that they could not doe iustice to priuate persons, if it were not done to them for a contempt committed against his Maiesties authority.

The Saturday following being the 29 of Nouember, the Duke of Espernon came to the Parliament with the Duke of Ventadour, being sent expressly by his Maiesty to assist the said Duke, who informed the Court, that the King was very well pleased with that which had bene done in this action: That he thanked the company, and would thanke them

A them more when the Court should depute any to goe to his Maiestie: That the Court had bound him vnto them, (if Subjects may binde their Prince) and that the Duke of Espernon should come presently to make his excuse and reparations: that in regard of the place which is due vnto him, the King for certaine considerations thought it good, that he should haue the place of Duke and Peere.

The Duke of Espernon said: My Masters, I did not thinke my actions should haue bene mis-construed, hauing so long serued Kings, especially hauing had the honour to be thirtie yeares of this bodie, which is the greatest and most illustrious of the Realme: I came the day after, that which had past in the Suburbs of Saint Germain, to satisfie this companie, which I found not assembled, so as I could not effect my designe: And since I haue endeouored to come twice, and would haue come sooner, if I had not thought the companie would haue taken it in ill part. I most humbly beseech it to beleeue, that knowing the honour and respect which I owe it, being of my age, and growne gray in the seruice of Kings, that I would now haue any other intent: You know that after that calamitie which hapned, that seemed to threaten France, I alone of my qualitie came to offer my seruice to this companie. As for the two last actions, the first I leaue to the Kings Censure: And for the second, if you haue conceiued any bad opinion, I humbly beseech you to forget it. And if any one findes my stile somewhat rude for the delicate eares of the companie, I humbly intreat you to excuse a poore Captaine of Footmen, who hath alwayes endeouored rather to doe well, then to speake eloquently, and to beleeue that to maintaine the honour of this companie, I would employ my blood and life.

Whereupon the first President said vnto him: seeing it hath pleased the King to impart his grace and fauour vnto you, vsing his mildnesse and Clemencie like vnto his Predecessors, hauing commanded this Companie, as well by his Letters, as his owne mouth, to reueile your excuses and satisfactions. The Court censuring fauorably of the actions of an Officer of the Crowne, Duke and Peere of France, of the Age, Qualitie, Valour, and Merits that you are: Touching that which hath past in the Suburbs of S. Germaine, and at the Palace, hath receiued and willingly allowed (by the Kings expresse commandement) of your satisfaction, and will alwaies be mindfull of your seruices, hoping that hauing done seruice to the King, you and your posteritie will hereafter yeeld the same as you ought to Iustice and the Lawes: And the Court doth forget for this respect whatsoever hath past of importance, that may concerne you: And by the same Decree it was ordained that the Prisoner should be sent backe to the Prison of S. Germaine, which was done: where hee continued long; but in the end at the suite of the Duchesse of Vantadour, hee escaped, not without great difficultie.

The Ecclesiasticall Order, vpon the report of so many Duels made in the face of the Loure, and of the Estates, resolved to make their complaint vnto the King by their Deputies, to the end there might be an exact obseruation of the Edicts made against them. The Charge whereof was giuen to the Bishop of Montpellier, who hauing audience of their Maiesties, deliuered this Speech: The Prelates and Clergie your most humble Subjects, assembled in this Towne by your authority, come to complaine of the publike scandall of Duels, which doe miserably blemish the honour of your Realme, doubting not but this mischief doth touch the hearts of the other Orders, or rather that France mourning, laments the losse of her worthiest children. But these complaints doe more properly belong to the lips of the Clergie; who seeing that whilst the French powre forth their most generous blood in quarrels, the soules committed to their charge goe downe to Hell: And that they haue not bene so dearely redeemed by the blood of the Innocent, to be so fatally spilt in Duels with the guiltie. We know well that this fury is inspired by him who is called in holy Scripture a *Murderer from the beginning*, who maliciously makes the Image of Honour to shine in these barbarous actions, vpon which the French Nobilitie do naturally commit Idolatrie, to raise it to credit, as he doth vpon Altars polluted with murder and blood, to recuite in sacrifice their bodies and soules.

Many things are cursed and to be lamented in this prejudiciall action to France, shame, ill to Nature, contrary to God, and doth dangerously charge your Maiesties conscience, First of all, France is wonderfully weakened by this excelsse, and as the great losse of blood quencheth the vigour of the bodie, makes the visage pale, and the functions of Nature slow and languishing: so Duels which spilt so much Noble blood, weaken it

The first Presidents speech to the Duke of Espernon.

The Bishop of Montpellier speech to the King, touching Duels.



1614. this Estate, deface the lively colours of her face and beauty : and this weaknesse may A  
 „ give great advantages to our enemies. To say that this action is an exercise of Valour,  
 „ which may fortifie it in making of Souldiers, or that the reparation of an iniurie cannot  
 „ be done but by Armes, without a blemish to him that is wronged ; it doth contradiēt the  
 „ iudgement of Henry the Great your Father, whose memorie shall bee blessed in all Ages,  
 „ who by his Armes and infinite Victories had purchased the title of the true Iudge and so-  
 „ ueraigne Arbitrator of Honour, who by his Sacred Edicts, declared those actions contra-  
 „ rie to true Honour, whereof he detested the use, as a Brutish fury. In truth the action is  
 „ neither glorious, nor worthy of Honour, which the violence of a passion may draw from  
 „ the most fearefull. All France is equally generous, seeing wee see no man refuse the B  
 „ Combat : We cannot say that it is an infallible mark of Honour, being so common to  
 „ all. But as Metals have some things which resemble them ; so vertues haue vices which  
 „ counterfeit them. The vertue of Valour being properly a setled temper of a iudicious  
 „ spirit, alwaies equall and vniforme, which takes time to look into dangers without trem-  
 „ bation, and contemnes them, or surmounts them by some designe worthy of commenda-  
 „ tion, the which shall neuer belong to the blind and vncertaine actions of Duels, which we  
 „ may call a transport of fury. Wee cannot thinke of the fearefull accidents which accom-  
 „ pany this madnesse, and not deest it ; neither can wee speake of seconds without trem-  
 „ bling, and curse the time wherein they are borne, seeing it makes vs see so many Mon-  
 „ sters. No friendship hereafter can be so safe and holy among the French, (which vertue C  
 „ vnitheth and bindeth with an honorable cymment) but before they are aware, they shall  
 „ finde themselves engaged in this mischief : for being inuited by the principals of the  
 „ quarrell, the one on the one side, the other on the other, the friend must kill his friend who  
 „ hath neuer offended him. It serues to no purpose to bee modest in words, temperate in  
 „ actions, courteous to all men, faithfull to his Prince, and exceeding vertuous, if freeing  
 „ himselfe from the subiect of all quarrells, he must haue a share in other mens. I would here  
 „ be silent, to heare Nature speake, who complains that the French confound the condition  
 „ of Friends, with that of Enemies, and breake the sacred bond of friendship, and humane  
 „ societie, which the most barbarous Nations honour with some religious respect. But it is  
 „ not Nature alone which complains, Heauen also thunders ouer our heads : And we that D  
 „ are especially ordained to expound his Word, denounce vnto your Maiestie his wrath, by  
 „ reason of this crime, which continueth before your face, before that of all the Orders of  
 „ your Estate, and in the sight of heauen and earth.

„ The blood which was found in all the Cisternes of Egypt, into which the Waters of  
 „ Nilus were changed, was not only the first of the ten plagues wherewith the Realme was  
 „ afflicted, but a presage of the subsequence. And we feare that this blood spilt in so many  
 „ parts of France, which pollutes most of the Noble Families, with murders and punish-  
 „ ments, will not onely bee a dangerous wound vnto your Estate, but also a fearefull  
 „ threat of the heauens bloodie rods. Pithagoras drew certaine Letters and Characters  
 „ vpon a Looking-Glasse with humane blood, the which appeared presently in the bodie E  
 „ of the Moone. It is more certaine that what swords write here below with blood pow-  
 „ derd out in Duels, appears in heauen, which growes red with wrath, and will doublelesse  
 „ reuenge this barbarisme. If your Maiestie, assisted with the Councell of the Queene your  
 „ Mother, of incomparable wisdom and pietie, doe not prevent this mischief by some  
 „ substantiall remedie worthy of the most Christian King and eldest sonne of the Church.  
 „ It doth much offend God, to see his workes defaced which haue cost so deare, and the  
 „ soules to be carried away, for the which he hath made such tryals of his power, & shewed  
 „ so many miracles of his loue : And it grieues him to see them lost with the blood of men :  
 „ and the rather, for that in his being shed, he hath first consecrated the diuine mysteries of  
 „ our life and glorie.

„ All these complaints are not onely addressed vnto the eares, but also vnto the conscience  
 „ of your Maiestie, whom God hath here established to command, hee is a free and  
 „ liberrall dispenser of his graces, but he requires a strict account. You are seated in your Fa-  
 „ thers Throne, but he that giues Kingdomes, doth make you answerable (with those  
 „ which assist you) for the good of your Subjects. We doubt not of your Maiesties holy in-  
 „ tentions, nor of the Queene your Mothers : but wee should betray our places, if in the  
 „ midst of so many disorders vnworthy of men, of French men, and of Christians, wee  
 „ should

A should hold our peace. They haue not onely past all bounds of feare, but of shame like :  
 „ wife. They make a triumphant shew hereof both about, and within this Citie of Pa-  
 „ ris, in view of the Louure, with a shew of warrantie, and they seeme to bee lawful for  
 „ that they are become publique.

I beseech your Maiestie consider of how many euils you make your selfe guiltie, al-  
 „ though that your age seemes to fauour your innocencie. The people haue not only trans-  
 „ ferred their common rights into their Kings person ; but also their publique faults, when  
 „ they are dissembled or suffered. Wherefore God who doth often reuenge the Princes ini-  
 „ quities vpon the Subjects ; so doth hee sometime punish the Prince for the crimes of his  
 „ Realme. I beseech you thinke that you are borne to saue the people made subiect to the S-  
 „ bedience of your Scepter, even when as they seeke to lose themselves ; if you abandon  
 „ them, and France be gored in her owne blood, shee will soone be abominable before  
 „ God, and be visited in his wrath. Showers of blood haue prefiged horrible calamities  
 „ where they haue fallne, we must apprehend the like during your raigne, if your Maiestie do  
 „ not cause these abominable Duels to cease, which produce streames of blood. I beseech  
 „ you represent vnto your selfe the Soule of Henry the Great your Father, who beholds  
 „ these disorders from the highest heauens : for if any thing would trouble the rest of the  
 „ blessed, without doubt this furie would alter his felicitie. God gaue vs him as a Iasper  
 „ Stone, to stanch the blood which flowed from Ciuill Warres, and seeing that Duels drew  
 „ C it in a full peace from this bodie to weaken it. He made rigorous Edicts, to prevent this  
 „ mischief, and confirmed it by the ceremonie of a solenne vow. What can his thoughts  
 „ be, seeing France which he hath saued and crowned with his victories, to become madde  
 „ against it selfe, deuouring her owne children ? wee must beleue that they displease you,  
 „ and then which assist you with counsell : but you must make it knowne to all France, that  
 „ this crime is not onely condemned in the Louure, but contemned, setting honour at liber-  
 „ tie which remains captiue in the Center of this brutish passion. Honour, which is the  
 „ recompence of vertue, is by this meanes become the portion of barbarisme : I beseech  
 „ your Maiestie arme your Arme which is your Iustice, with the rigor of Ordinances both  
 „ Diuine and Humane, to the end this Monster may be encountred both from heauen and  
 „ D earth : If your Subjects herein violate your Edicts, doe not you violate them : if they for-  
 „ get your restraints, remember the punishments ; for in these desperate diseases, it is an  
 „ extreme cruelty to be pitifull.

The Prelates and others of the Clergie (preft by their duties) could not be silent, but it  
 „ makes them to complaine against this scandall, which loseth so many soules, and drawes  
 „ vpon our heads the wrath of God. And for the discharge of their consciences, they desire  
 „ that it may be written in the eternall memorie of France, that hauing foreseene a dange-  
 „ rous tempest approaching, they haue giuen warning vnto the people : and seeing God  
 „ greatly offended, they haue made it knowne vnto your Maiestie. They beseech you to  
 „ looke vpon this France weeping, which stretcheth out her armes vnto you, and coniuers  
 „ E it to prepare some speedie antidote against this poison of Duels, which doth suffocate  
 „ it : So many subjects as your Maiestie shall saue by these remedies, so many immortal  
 „ crownes will the set vpon your head. It will bring peace to Families, assurance to peace,  
 „ force to France, consolation to the Church, and soules to God, which will prolong  
 „ and blesse your daies, making your raigne to flourish, equall to your zeale and royall  
 „ pietie.

The King and Queene heard this Prelates speech with great attention ; to whom the  
 „ Chancellor made answer, that their Maiesties were very desirous to employ all kinds of  
 „ remedies to prevent the disorders which they saw in Duels, and that they would take in  
 „ F good part all aduice should be giuen them vpon this subiect ; That besides the deceased  
 „ Kings Edicts which were very strid ; his Maiestie had made another in the yeare 1613 ;  
 „ (the which he deliuered vnto the Bishop saying, let your Order see it, that they may adde  
 „ whatsoeuer they shall thinke necessarie, and giue their aduice thereon, the which their Ma-  
 „ iestie will alwaies take in good part. After which the Clergie drew certain Articles touch-  
 „ ing that subiect, and presented them vnto the King.

The General Estates laboured about their grieuances, and about the fiftieth of De-  
 „ cember, there was one Article which caused a great distraction, betwixt the Clergie and  
 „ the House of Commons, touching the safety and souerainity of their Kings. The Ar-  
 „ ticle was, That the safety of Kings

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stance of this Article, concluded by the Commons being their first, was : That it should be declared by the said Estates, and set down as a fundamentall Law; That the King did not hold his Realme of any but of God & his sword, and that he is not subiect to any superior power vpon Earth for his temporall Estates ; and that no booke should bee printed containing any doctrine against the Person of Kings, touching the question too much debated in these times, by men put vp with presumption and rashnesse, who make questions whether it be lawfull to kill Kings : which question shall be forbidden to propound, dispute, or write of. And if hereafter there bee any bookes found like vnto those which haue bin condemned by the Court of Parliament, the said bookes shall bee publicly burnt in destruction of such Writings, which may draw weake spirits to the like attempts, the sole approbation whereof is full of horror. And to prevent such damnable propositions, the whole order with the Author thereof should be punished and banished the Realme without hope of returne.

The Clergie being aduertised of this Article on the twentieth of December, and that it had past the House of Commons, without any contradiction, they conceived that the Commons had put their Sickle into their Haruest; that it was a case of conscience, which concerns faith and Religion; and that it was propounded by some persons that were desirous of innovations, and were not well grounded in the faith; whereupon they desired to haue that Article withdrawn, the which some which were of greatest credit amongst them undertooke, and to that end they sent the Archbishop of Aix, who came the same day to the House of Commons, and made a learned speech to this effect.

The Archbishop of Aix his Speech to the House of Commons.

My Masters, although that we all tend to the publique good, yet these three Orders haue some particular ends, and we must not thinke it strange if they haue diuers apprehensions; for that their professions differ: but this difference should end in a good Harmonie, and come vnto the Kings cares in a pleasing tune. If there bee in the Articles of the Clergie any particularities concerning Iustice and the Treasure, it is not fit they should be concluded before they are imparted vnto you. And in like manner if in your Articles there be any propositions found which concerne the Church, it were requisite you should communicate them vnto vs. Truth is waunting, and Truth which was the Sonne of God, had need of the support of men: That hee being the Sonne of God did rely vpon the Church, and the Church vpon him, *Iuxta super dilectum suum*. If the Son of God would make choise of this support, it is fit that private men should be tyed to the same Church, that they should bring all their Vowes vnto it, and depend immediately vpon it. You shall therefore communicate that vnto vs which you treat of concerning the Church. I inuite you vnto it, being not lawfull to remoue the Altars, nor to touch the foundation of the Church without vs. We are of the same Countrey and the same blood, and inclined to the same ends, *Pietas ad omnia*, and this Pietie should be so deare vnto vs, as we should not seeke to deform this Ecclesiasticall bodie, lest wee make the Holy Ghost (who is the Author of peace) sad. The Proposition which I make vnto you is generall; some few daies since, there was an Article presented vnto vs, which we haue reiected, for that it did not concerne vs: In like manner, if there be any Article among you which doth belong to vs, you ought to impart it.

After complements and thanks giuen; the President *Miron* made answer, that they vnderstood him not, and that they could not satisfie his proposition vntlesse hee did explain himselfe more particularly. The same day it was resolved in the House, that the Clergie should be giuen to vnderstand, that the Commons had inserted nothing in their Articles concerning the Doctrine of the Church, and that if it had been so, they would haue acquainted them therewith: That touching the policie of the Church there had bin something treated of, and set downe in their Articles, and that it had been concluded not to communicate it vnto them, to auoid tediousnesse, to the which the King would make answer at his pleasure.

For the carrying of which message vnto the Clergie, there were certaine Deputies chosen, and Monsieur de *Marmiesse* an Aduocate of the Parliament of Thoulouse was appointed to deliuer the Speech: who comming to the Clergie on the 22. of December, hauing made a learned Speech, he concluded, saying, That the King hauing called the three Estates of the Realme, had married the three Orders together, to bring forth felicity and happinesse to France. Discord falling among vs, hath sought in the beginning to stirre vp

A Speech to the Clergie from the Commons.

1614

A emulation, and enuies, and to diuine (by the difference of the qualities of the three Orders) those which were vnited by loue to labour for the common-weale. You know that three small words spoken in the Chamber of the Nobilitie by the Deputies of our order, hath heretofore alienated their hearts and affections from vs, and buffed all the three Chambers about a dispute of qualities, as much vnprofitable as prejudiciall to the State; and you know what difficultie you had to reconcile those two Orders. Wee must therefore auoid all occasions to fall into like disputes, be it with the Nobilitie, or with you; the which cannot bee auoided, if all the Articles bee communicated vnto the three Chambers. It is not for any desire we haue to infer into ours, any thing that shall bee bitter, or offensive: contrariwise we will exactly weigh the least words, to the end there may be nothing which may giue you iust occasion of offence. The dignitie of your Order, which exalts you above all others; the Characters imprinted by the hand of God vpon your sacred heads, which makes you to be reuerenced of all; and the ranke which the Prerogative of your Places, and the Dignitie of your Charges doe worthily giue you in France, commands our respect and honour towards you. If we finde in our consciences, and by the charge which we haue, that we are bound to require some reformation in your order, and not to speake against in particular: we will doe as *Plutarch* saith they did in old time, which would demolish the Houses which were neere vnto their Temples: they suffered those parts to stand which were next adioyning, lest they should touch any thing which was Sacred: Or as the Eagle, who taking vp *Ganimede*, by the commandement of *Iupiter*, touched nothing but his cloathes, lest hee should hurt this well beloued of the gods. Wee in like sort will vse so much discretion in the drawing of our Articles, which shall concerne this first and sacred order of the Church, as wee will neither wound the Church, nor her Ministers. We will onely touch the Robes and exterior actions of those who blemishing the beauty of this venerable body, may cause (with too much scandall) a shame vnto Religion, and a hearts grieft to all good French men, who desire to see their Church in his Puritie, Honors, Prerogatiues, and Authoritie: And vpon this assurance we beseech you to allow of our resolution, to the which we haue not brought any thing but a pure and sincere affection.

The day following, the Bishop of *Montpellier* came to the House of Commons, and required communication of the said Article; and hauing made an eloquent discourse vpon that subiect, in the end he demanded why that order did not impart this proposition vnto them, and that they could not refuse the communication of the Article, to the end that all together might make one, the which should be set in letters of gold vpon the Front of their Remonstrances. But they must not mingle it with other propositions which are in question betwene France and her neighbours. That there were two powers, the one Temporall, the other Spirituall; that they sought to confound them, when as the one was deriued from the other. That both these authorities had but one Fountaine. That their orders should labour to entertaine concord, and reconcile these two powers, and doe as the Ancients did, who puled the Gaule out of the beasts which they sacrificed. That resolving vpon this businesse they should free their hearts from all thoughts of iealousie and emulation, and with writings full of mildnesse and peace, conspire ioyntly for the publique good; not onely looking to that which is before their eyes, but (extending their thoughts further) consider of the consequence of many things, which in the beginning seeme plausible, and yet in the end will proue hurtfull. That this Article (as it was drawne) would cause a Schisme, and it may be, kindle a warre not onely in France, but throughout all Christendome. So it would be a rending of that Vesture without seame, which is so carefully to be kept whole. That this order ought not to be caried away with the first persuasions. That his purpose was not to plucke vp at once, that which was feared. That this order had not power to doe it, for that a melancholy spirit could not be so fild, if he were not inuited by the Author of the Church. That they must not thinke their order was able to hinder this pernicious designe, and that they must hope for the end from them. That they must referre affaires of so great importance concerning the life and preservation of the King vnto vs.

The Commons hauing resolved to communicate the Article vnto the Clergie, the Seigneur de *Marmiesse* was presently sent with some other Deputies, to execute this resolution; who presenting the Article vnto the Clergie, made this speech: My Masters,

The Bishop of Montpellier demands communication of the Article.

1615

Monsieur de  
Marmiesse  
Speech to the  
Clergie.

we shall seeke in vaine to preferre our priuate fortunes, if we suffer the publike to be lost, A feeling the danger of priuate men cannot be auoided, but by the safety of the Generall. But with lesse reason shall we endeavour for the safety of the State, if we be not careful to preferre the sacred Maiestie of Kings, which are the soule of States. There must bee so strict a bond from the particular to the Generall; and from the Generall to the King, as the vnion may be made in his sacred Person; and that the other parties being tyed vnto it by the bond of respect and obedience, may maintaine and preferre themselves in their being. The happinesse of the Realme, and the fortunes of priuate men, are so vnited to the fortune of Kings, and God (of whom Monarchies are the handy-workes) hath so feared them, as no harme can come vnto them, but it drawes with it the losse of our Houses, and B the ruine and subuersion of the State; whereof we haue too many lamentable and vnfortunate examples.

The Deputies of the third estate (terrified with the remembrance of what is past, and fearing greater dangers which threaten them, if these parricides be not restrained, if they be not contained in the dutie of respect and reuerence due to Kings, these sicke spirits, who (pre-occupied by false opinions, and troubled with vaine Illusions) seeke in the death of our Kings, Hell for themselves, and miserie for France) haue drawne an Article, the execution whereof (warranting the life of our Princes, from the snares which they lay for them) will maintaine (as they thinke) peace within the Realme.

We haue not acquainted you heretofore with this Article, no more then with the rest C which we haue concluded, for the priuate reasons which I deliuered vnto you some daies past. But seeing you desire to see it, and that you haue summoned vs thereunto by the Bishop of Montpellier, we come to tell you, that as the wallies of Iericho fell at the sound of the Priests Trumpets, so we bow vnder the voice of that Reuerend and learned Prelate; and being vrged by his eloquent words, contrarie to our first resolutions, we offer vnto you the communication of this Article, whereof we bring you a Copy.

We will not discourse vnto you on the subiect thereof, our Company hath forbidden vs, concealing that in so important a businesse, in so reasonable an action, and so profitable for the general good of France, you will bee as well disposed to receive and fauour our holy & commendable intentions, as we to discourse vnto you of the occasions which D moued vs to draw this Article, and the reasons we haue to maintaine it. We will onely say vnto you, that in deliuering this Abstract, we would imitate a ceremonie obserued by the Ancients in their sacrifices. They were accustomed to cast the tongues of the Beasts sacrificed to their gods, into a purifying and no consuming fire: euen so wee as Deputies bring our vovues into this general assembly for the good of France, that in dedicating our selues to the seruice of the Publike, we haue consecrated vnto it both our hearts & tongues in giuing you this Article. Let vs cast the tongues which haue dedicated it into the Fire of this Deuotion; of this Charitie; of this ardent affection, which you haue for the good, glory, and peace of this Estate.

The affection then which you beare vnto the preseruacion of Kings, shall serue as a fire, E not to consume, but to purifie these tongues. Nor to abrogate, (for you haue already promised by the mouth of the said Bishop that it was not your intention:) but to polish this Article; to the end that as gold cast into the fire, (although it loseth his forme, yett his substance) shewes more beautifull, more rich, and more polished then it was before: euen so this Article coming out of your hands, without any change or alteration in the substance, would carry a command of greater authority, by reason of your adiunction, stronger imprecations, and severer punishments, then those we haue set down, to contraine euery man in his dutie. This is all we haue to say vnto you in the behalfe of our assembly, who attend your resolution touching this subiect.

In the beginning of the yeare the controversie reuiued, touching the Soueraignty of the Kings of France which had continued aboue three weekes of the last yeare. On the second of Ianuary the Cardinal of Perron was deputed by the Clergie to the House of Commons, touching the subiect of their first Article, being accompanied by many Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and about 60. Gentlemen of the Chamber of the Nobilitie which were sent to assist them. Being carried into their Chamber, by reason of his indisposition. He began to speake in the praise of Iustice, and the government of the Church, concluding in the end that they should continue vnited together for that which concerned

The Cardinal  
of Perron  
comes to the  
house of  
Commons.

1615

President Miron  
answers to the  
Cardinal.

A need the safety of the Kings life. And as for that which concerned the doctrine of the Church, the Article should be wholly referred to the discretion of the Church, and in so doing that the third estate would rest contented, that this Article should bee taken out of their instructions.

Whereunto President Miron made answer, concluding after this manner. I will assure you that this company neither hath, or euer will haue any intention to wound the Church in the resolution of this Article, the which they cannot retract; neither yet to touch the holy Sea, nor enter into dispute, touching the power of our Holy Father the Pope; that he hath all soueraignie but in spiritual things onely, and therefore out of our knowledge and iurisdiction: And if his authority and obedience, which we acknowledge B all Christians owe him in spiritual things (not excepting Kings) were lost or called in question, it should be found as well fortified among vs, as in any one order. For here resides the body of the Officers, and Soueraigne companies, alwayes found in faith: the which hath contributed much to the maintaining of the Church, as we will alwayes doe; But wee will haue a care to bring in this mixture of power, whipter by such as yme at nothing else but to diuide vs, and thereby to disperse vs, and in the end ruine the one by the other, whereof we haue but too many examples, whose wounds bleed yet among our neighbours. The intention of this Company hath bene to maintaine the Independancy of our Kings Crowne, which cannot be iustly taken from him by any power. That C his Holinesse hath not this power; That the Church hath neuer pretended it: that those which write the contrary, may bee punished as guilty of high Treason, by the secular Iudge: intending not to make an Ecclesiastical Law of this proposition, as appertaining not thereto, but a rule of Policy, which obligeth all the subiects of his Maiestie of what profession so euer. Yet notwithstanding if there be any words in our Article, which may

giue you occasion to suspect, that wee goe about to meddle with the iurisdiction of the Church; We declare that these words which seeme to containe this reproach, haue not bene inserted, to assume vnto vs the power by our owne autoritie, to declare it damnable, or contrarie vnto Gods Word; but by relation onely. As a Father which instructs his children in that which he learned in a Sermon, cannot be accused to haue put himselfe D into the Pulpit, or to take vpon him the Ministers authority: So when wee declare that to bee damnable, and contrarie to Gods Word, the which is contrarie to our Proposition; wee viter that which wee haue learned in the Decrees, Canons, and Statutes, which wee haue had from your selues, and which wee hold of the Church, to be held and kept by vs. When either of vs shall transgresse any of them, we abuse them, and from hence comes our appellations as of abuse, because it is abuse when a man transgresseth that which hee hath submitted himselfe vnto. It is not then by way of enterprize, nor by a presumed power that wee doe this, but by obedience vnto the same Decrees, Canons, and Ecclesiastical constitutions, and by the executive and not ordinarie power of them. Wee constrain that to be obserued, which was established by your selues, betweene you and vs.

E Our Article is not any more then a repetition of the same: and being good as the company resolved to leaue it in their instructions, what inconuenience is there to speake it; and if there be none, what danger is there for all of vs to sweare and assume it? and yett the substance of the Article remaining, if there be any words which trouble you, setting downe in writing what you require of vs, I thinke wee shall agree together, without altering any thing of the subiect of the Article, and the company will all strive to giue you contentment with the same, still obedience which they haue vnto the beginning of this Assembly, and the which they will alwayes ioyne vnto the respect, honour, and seruice, which they haue made, and doe againe make profession to yield vnto you.

F Vnto this the Cardinal replied, that the Clergies intention was not to accuse any of that company or others of blander. In the end he gaue thanks vnto the President, and the third Estate in general; concluding that it did not belong vnto them to interpret, but to solve and conclude, in the like cases of doubtful questions when they are offered. That was incident vnto the Clergie, who are the Iudges to determine them.

The same day the Court of Parliament being informed by the Kings Council, that many persons tooke libertie to call in question, and to dispute of the Soueraignty of Kings, and to hold those Maximes disprouable, as if they were subiect to some periculous

the Court of Parliament, touching the safety of King.

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periculous

1615

The Clergie  
complaines  
of the Court of  
Parliament.The Prince of  
Conde  
advises  
to the King  
being in Coun-  
cell.

perious power, and that they might attempt against their Sacred Persons, whetby here A might grow great inconveniences, the prevention whereof was very necessary. They required that all former Edicts vpon that subject might be renued. Whereupon the Court, (all the Chambers being assembled) ordained that the Decrees made in the year 1561, and in the year 1594 and 95; and likewise in the year 1610, and 1614; should be kept and observed according to their forme and tenour: forbidding all men of what condition so euer, to infringe them, vpon the paines contained in the same.

This Decree did much trouble the Clergie, as if they had attempted against their spiritual, and Ecclesiastical power, vpon a consideration fought out of policy. Whereupon they resolu'd that the Cardinall of Sourdis, assisted by some Cardinals, Arch- Bishops, Bishops, and other of the Clergie, should goe presently and make complaint to the King; for that the Parliament would limit and restraine the liberty of the States and meddle with affaires which were treated of by them; humbly beseeching his Maiestie to stay the course of the said propositions and Decrees. Which being done, the Cardinall *du Perron* taking vpon him to speake concerning the said Article and Decree, fought to perswade his Maiestie, that it did import his good and that of the State, to haue this businesse no more talked of, and that all might be suppressed and disallowed without any farther question of any matter therein contained. The next day the King being in Councell to aduise how to suppress these differences, the Prince of Conde said.

Sir, I thinke the businesse here present, is one of the most important that hath bene argued in your Councell these hundred years, and worthy of your presence. There is question of two points of most great consequence; the one hath respect vnto Gods honour, the establishment of the Catholique, Apostolique, and Romane Church: the other, the safety and preservation of your estates.

Certainly, Sir, your Maiestie may rightly terme your selfe the greatest King in the world, who hold your Crowne but of God alone, before whom the more powerful you are; the more you should be humble, being subiect to the Pope who is head of the Church in spiritual things. But in that which concerns your temporal, the subiection of your Subjects; the obedience which is due vnto you; and the D sacred respect which they must yeeld to the preservation of the Lords Anointed; the spiritual power hath no command. That although you were an Heretike or an Infidel, yet they owe you obedience in that which is merely temporal. So making a long discourse vpon the Ordinances which had bene made against the Popes enterprises, vpon the authoritie of the Kings of France; in the end he concludes, saying, Sir, these reasons make me to admire the wisdom of your Parliament: who by the Testimony they give you of their fidelity, binde you for euer and all France, to esteeme them faithfully, courageous, and incorruptible Magistrates, who are the true preservers of holy Decrees; and from whom there proceeds nothing but Oracles of infallible truth. Magistrates who make you to be reuerenced, seeing that your person alone in France, is exempt from their iurisdiction. I speake onely for the Kings interest, for I hope hee shall liue many ages, and Monsieur his brother in like manner, so as by a multitude of children we shall see our selves assured of a settled peace. Yet seeing that rough cures were neuer good; I am of opinion to forbid any further dispute of this question, in regard of the Clergie, and the said Estate, and to referre it to your selfe, leaving them to draw their Articles as they please; and whereas your Maiestie shall answer the remonstrances, we shall then see by your wisdom, our ancient Maxims confirmed. And for that the Clergie and the Nobilitie are conceited that the Decree of the Parliament doth prejudice their libertie, I hold it fit your Maiestie should forbid the signing and publication thereof.

A Decree in  
Councell con-  
cerning the Ar-  
ticle of the  
King's Ma-  
iestie.

Whereupon there was some after a Decree made in Councell, whereof the effect was, That the King having heard of the differences which had hapned in the Assembly of the three orders of the Estates of his Realme touching an Article propounded by the house of Commons, & a Decree made by the Court of Parliament vpon that subject, having heard the remonstrances of the Deputies of the Clergie & Nobility, His Maiestie being in Councell, assisted by the Queen his Mother, the Princes of the blood, and other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, & others of his counsell, for good & great con-

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1615

considerations hath called in, and doth call in vnto himselfe the foresaid differences: hath surceased, and doth surcease the execution of all Decrees and deliberations which have hapned thereupon. Doth expressly defend and forbid the said Estates, to enter into any new deliberation vpon that matter, and vnto the said Court to take any iurisdiction or knowledge thereof, or to proceed to the signing and publication of that which had bene decreed.

The Clergie seemed not well satisfied with this Decree, both for that it made mention of differences between the three orders of the State, (the Clergie and the Nobilitie B concurring well together) as also for that they had no full answer to those points which they had propounded to the Councell. Whereupon they sent certaine Deputies to the Lord Chancellor, giving him to vnderstand, That the Clergie could not in any sort proceede to any businesse before that his Maiestie had commanded the House of Commons to suppress the Article propounded by them, and presented to the Chambers: And forbidden the Court of Parliament, and other Soueraigne Companies, hereafter to enter into any deliberation concerning the doctrine of the Church, nor to iudge or determine vpon any Question depending thereon, As of the Popes authoritie, referring to himselfe in the last point to treat with his Holinesse, with the aduice of the Prelates of his Realme.

The Clergie having by their Deputies made a new Petition vnto the King touching C these points. On the sixt of Ianuary his Maiestie sent the Marshall of Brissac vnto them to let them vnderstand, That to giue satisfaction vnto the complaint which they had made against a Decree of the Court of Parliament, the King had caused the Printer to be committed to prison, for printing a Decree which had not bene signed. That touching the Article of which there had bene so much debate, the King had called it to himselfe to determine thereof with the aduice of the Clergie, and therefore the King had cancelled it: And that if the Clergie had drawne any Articles vpon that subject, his Maiestie would be well pleased therewith. Touching the complaints which they had made against the Court of Parliament, they should set them in the front of their Bills, and his Maiestie promised to answer them fauourably. And whereas the Clergie desired to see a particular Estate of the Kings Reuenues, as the Nobilitie and Commons had in like manner done; his Maiestie was ready to send it vnto them, but his desire was they should make choise of a small number. Finally, the King intreated them to prepare the Bill of their Grievances, to the end he might make answer therunto, whereby the assembly might grow to an end, the continuance whereof held many mens mindes in suspense, and bred sinister opinions and apprehensions, the which it was expedient to suppress, to settle all things in peace and tranquillitie.

I cannot insit vpon all which past touching the Article propounded by the Commons, nor make any ample relation of the Popes Briefes to the Clergie and Nobilitie, giuing them great thanks for the opposition they had made vnto the said Article, and intreating them to continue in their good zeale, hauing much other matter of importance to treat E of. They were againe pressed by the Duke of Vantadour in his Maiesties name, to make haste to present their Grievances, if it were but to free the Realme of the impatience it suffered by this long delay. Whereupon on the 30. of Ianuary the three Orders resolu'd by pluralitie of voices, to beseech his Maiestie, First, that the Princes and Officers of the Crowne should alone iudge of the answers which were to be made to their generall grievances. Secondly, that if his Maiestie desired that any other of his Councell should assist, that he should be intreated to giue a list of their names, and that five or sixe of the Estates might be named among them. Thirdly, that three or foure of the Deputies of either Chamber might assist in Councell, when the said answers should be resolu'd. Fourthly, that the Estates should not be dissolved, vntill after the said answers. And fifthly, that F their Orations and thanks should not be made vntill after the said answers.

Their Maiesties having bene informed of this deliberation, made complaint vnto the Cardinall of Sourdis, saying, That they were innovations which could not be allowed; which being reported to the assembly, Cardinall *du Perron* being present, said, That in truth he found in the said demands many inconveniences & difficulties. Whereupon they all resolu'd to conform themselves to the Kings will, & to yeeld him all obedience; yet afterwards being moued by the Deputies of the Nobilitie, they joyntly made a Petition against vnto the King, & that with the Princes and Officers of the Crowne there should be only

A second de-  
mand vnto the  
King.

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1615

The Kings answer to the Estates Petition.

fixe of the ancientest of the Councell to assist and to give their aduice touching the answers of their grievances: and secondly, that the Estates after the presentation thereof, might still assemble themselves vntill they had received their answers. Wherevpon their Maiesties hauing giuen a fauourable Audience vnto the Deputies, made answer, That they were desirous and resolu'd to giue all content vnto the Estates: But this could not be but vpon the deliuerie of their grievances, the which they desired might be speedily done, at the furthest by Thursday next. That after the said Presentation, and when as they should treat of the answers, if any occasion were offered why the Estates should meete, they would provide for it.

This answer being deliuer'd to the three Chambers; in that of the Clergie some said; B That the Kings seruite, the good of his Estate, the necessitie of affaires, and the impossibilitie to resolu'e vpon their most important propositions (if the Estates did not continue and assemble after the presentation) were strong reasons to moue them to make a third Petition to their Maiesties.

Discourse among the Clergie, touching the Kings answer.

But most of them considering, that they should but offend their Maiesties by importunitie, in making farther instance vpon that subiect: That the Lords of the Councell said that the demand they made was of bad consequence, and that they would neuer aduise the King to grant it; That it was not fit the Estates (who should fortifie his Royall authoritie) should be an occasion to weaken it, yea although it were for an aduantage; which cannot bee of so great importance, as the least diminution of the royall authoritie. That the Estates should be very careful, not to purchase to themselves any blame or reproach, especially the King being yong, it did infinitely import to fortifie his authoritie, and not to shake it. Many other reasons were deliuer'd to moue them to obey his Maiesties will. Wherevpon the Clergie resolu'd to content themselves with the said answer, and to perswade the other Chambers to conforme themselves to their resolution, that hauing obeyed the Kings commandement, they might labour seriously to draw their demands into forme to be presented on Monday the 23 of February, the day which their Maiesties had prefixed for the conclusion of their Estates.

The Clergie demand the obseruation of the Councell of Trent.

On the 19. of February, the Bishop of Beauuais was deputed from the Clergie to the House of Commons, to intreat the company to ioyne with them in their demand vnto D King for the Councell of Trent, and the obseruation thereof. This Bishop made a long and learned discourse touching the said Councell, and in the end concludes, that it would please that order to ioyne with the Clergie in their demand vnto the King, for the publication of the Councell of Trent within this Realme.

The answer of President Miran.

President Miran answering his Speech, desired them to consider, that it was a thing neuer heard of in France, to haue a Councell published, how Oeconomically focuer; nor is there any mention thereof in any Registers of Parliament. The true publication of Councils consists in the obseruation and execution thereof; as for example, many things contained in the Councell of Trent, are practised amongst vs, and yet not necessary to expresse the name; it being neither Trent, nor Basill, nor Constance which haue made the Councils, but the resolution of the Fathers which were there assembled.

We are of opinion (with your good fauours) that it is not now expedient to intangle our felues in that Question, whether the Councell of Trent should be published or not. It is almost threescore yeares since this Councell was held, and hath remained in silence since that time; that we hold Councils in France in forme of Decrees. To shew that the Councell of Trent, should not be receiued and published in France before any other, there haue beene many oppositions made by our Kings, Chapters, and Communities of France; the discussion whereof deferred a second assembly of the Estates; and if my Masters of the Clergie would haue sent their reasons in writing in the beginning of the Estates, the businesse might haue beene inserted; the which cannot bee now F done, our grievances being perfected, and ready to be presented vnto the King.

The diuersitie of times wherein we liue, imports a necessitie both to you and vs, to reiect the publication of this Councell, rather then to embrace it: yet my Masters may if they please submit themselves thereunto, in practising their resolutions, and cutting off pluralitie of Benefices, and reforming other abuses, for the which it doth prouide; humbly thanking them for the zeale they made shew of, to the increase of Catholique Religion: whereunto they like obedient children would willingly submit them-

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The Clergie and the Commons

A themselves; whereof they should haue farther instance by their particular answers, which was, that the time was too short to handle such a Question. To signify vnto the Commons, that notwithstanding the Clergie should againe to intreat the House of Commons to ioyne with them in the Nobilitie, touching the publication of the said Councell of Trent, The Article contained a demand of the said Councell, without prejudice to the Priviledges and Liberties of the French Church, in the interest of the State, for the which his Maiestie should be intreated to moderate the said Councell. President Miran made answer vnto the Bishop of Beauuais, That the Company could not now receiue the said Councell. That they embraced the faith contained therein; yea could they not, yea to those B which concerned the Government, for that it was preiudiciall to the interest of the State. That the Masters of the Clergie might obferue the said Councell amongst themselves, and giue the first example, & that they which had into or three Benefices might quit those vnto them which had none, desiring the Clergie to allow of their reasons and excuses.

But before we come to the conclusion of the Estates, I will relate an accident, which bred an alteration betweene the Nobilitie and the Commons. In the first of February, the Deputie for the Nobilitie of high Limosin hauing giuen the Bastinade, to the Lieutenant Vzerche; one of the Deputies of the House of Commons for bas Limosin, there was a great tumor among the three Chambers. The Commons complained presently vnto the King, who sent the knowledge of this action vnto the Parliament. The Chamber C of the Nobilitie hearing of this complaint, they presently sent five Deputies to the Clergie to complain likewise against the Commons: for that embracing the quarrell of a private man (a pretended Deputie of their Order) they would make it generally, and haue recourse vnto the King, without giuing aduice thereof vnto the other two orders, who (it may be) might haue found meanes to compound the difference, and giue contentment to both parties. The Clergie hauing deputed the Bishop of Agon vnto the Commons vpon this complaint, to aduise them that their Chamber had beene intreated by the Nobilitie to ioyne with them in a Petition, which they would present vnto the King, that he would assuue vnto himselfe, the knowledge of this difference, offend it, or the Estates there to be compounded. Wherevpon the commons deputed five of their order D to visit the Clergie, the Lieutenant of Blois deliuering the Speech, who said, That their Chamber intreated them to consider, what their quality and condition, & the foolishnesse of the wrong done vnto one of their body (and no pretended deputie as they would haue him) could not permit them to depart from the course which they had taken. That being Deputies from all parts of the Kingdome, to seeke among other things the meanes, to settle the authority of Iustice, it shall be a very shamefull and dangerous precedent, if so great an indignity, committed in sight of the Louure, in the Kings presence, and of the generall Estates in the Capitall Citie of the Realme, and in the face of the Parliament, should remaine unpunished, or disguised by any accommodation or complacencie.

That the crime was of that quality, as they neither could nor ought to haue recourse vnto E the Chambers for satisfaction, as in former alterations & combussions, where there was no question but of words ill understood, & interpreted in another sense then they had beene spoken, and wherein if their Chamber would haue shewed as great a feeling as the Nobilitie did, they might haue had as much subiect, and yet they made a great complaint vnto his Maiestie. That in truth if the question had bene betweene the two Chambers, as in other actions, there had beene reason to communicate it, and to demand aduice and remedy thereof from the third; all three being as it were bound to this correspondency. But their complaint was for a wrong done by a private man, the which they assured themselves, the Nobilitie would not maintaine nor iustifie, hauing no interest therein, but were rather bound to seeke a condigne punishment for his offence, who had violated the laws F of the Estates and so much wronged one of the Orders; the interest not onely concerning their Chamber, (although it had had the better part, for that the party wronged was one of their body;) but all the Chambers, together. And therefore that they could not doe lesse then to ioyne with the Commons, to demand iustice and reparation, at the least, that they would be pleased, that the prosecution might be made in Parliament, whether the King (out of his owne motion) had sent the knowledge thereof.

The Cardinall of Sourdis who did then reside, made answer, That their Order had bene much grieved to heare of any alteration betweene the Chamber of the Nobilitie



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billie and the Commons; and that concerning two private persons, having had no particular knowledge of the truth thereof, but what they had heard by common report, and as the Deputies of the Nobilitie had given them to understand, that the offences were reciprocal. Whereupon without any further information of the grounds, yet with an intention after knowledge of the truth, to blame the Offender and to procure a just separation of the offences, for many consultations and particularly fearing the two other Chambers should be at strife, they have endeavored to seek out some reconciliation: and that hereafter their House would neuer doo any thing, but with the same purpose and affection, not to preiudice any man but only to procure the peace and correspondency of the Houses.

The House of Commons having in the meane time followed the suite in the Court of Parliament, there was a Decree made, by which he that had stricken, was condemned to lose his head; and to pay two thousand Franckes for recompence vnto the said Lieutenant, which Decree was set in a Table at the end of Saint Michaels Bridge on the 16 of March.

The quarrell  
between Rochefort  
and the Prince of  
Condé, being  
the Prince  
of Condé, and  
Marillac his  
Maistie  
fuerant.

Although this quarrell and offence were great, yet happened there one on the sixt of February a farre more important, between the Seigneur of Rochefort, a Gentleman of the Prince of Condé, & Monsieur de Marillac, a Gentleman belonging vnto his Maistie, and the Queene his Mother, because their Maisties followed the suite themselves to have justice done for the wronging of their servant, and the Prince did all he could to uphold Rochefort. There is a long discourse of the Originall of the quarrell between these two Gentlemen when they were both belonging to the said Prince in the yeere 1613. Wherefore we will briefly set downe how all the three Houses went vnto the Louvre, vpon the advice which their Maisties had given them of what had past betwene them and the said Prince.

On the Saturday the 17. of February in the morning, the Presidents of the Estates made each of them his report in their severall Houses (as they had bin informed by their Maisties) that the Seigneur of Rochefort accompanied with five Horse-men, and five or six tall foot-men, did set vpon the said Marillac, in Saint Honours street, wounding him with words and staves: whereof his Maistie being advertised, he sent vnto his Attourney General that he should make information, and prosecute the Law: which the Prince of Condé hearing of, and being yesterday in Councell, had much speech with the Queene touching that subject, among which hee often said, *That hee found it strange that they would submit him to the Law like other men; that Rochefort had done nothing but by his commandment; and that hee did avow it.*

The Queene  
Speach to the  
Prince of  
Condé.

Whereunto the Queene answered, *That he bore the good mind, and that she had no such conceits of him.* These words bred many replies wherewith their Maisties were somewhat moved: yea, the King being ready to speake, the Queene stayed him and after the Prince was gone he told her, *Madame, you have done me much wrong to hinder my speech.*

There Maisties being desirous to informe the States of what had past, being resolved not to endure any such actions of any man how great soever, but to protect their liberties, and especially their household servants: Vpon report hereof, the three Chambers were much moved, and every one in particular made shew of their griefe. Either of them resolved to goe vnto their Maisties, to make offer of their fidelitie and obedience; and to let them understand, that notwithstanding the Princes avowing of the fact, they besought the King that iustice might be done for such outrages, wherewith their Maisties seemed to be much fatished for these demonstrations of their affection and love.

In the meane time informations were made against Rochefort for the Kings interest; the Prince represented his request vnto the Court, pretending many things against Marillac, who he said had been his household servant, and had done him bad service: That he had commanded the first of his followers which should meete him to give him the bastinado, which Rochefort had done who had found him first. The Queene having heard of this request, and that the Princes intention was to discharge Rochefort, shee sent for the Presidents of the Court, and told them the whole proceeding, and for that they had objected that Marillac was of base condition, shee said, *He had served the King well, and I know he is a Gentleman descended from the House of Grand-Scin, in the Countrey of March: the King tels it you, and I assure it, therefore he should not be thus entreated.* Hereupon the

The three  
Estates goe to  
the King about  
this business.

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A the Parliament desired that Rochefort should be apprehended having abused himselfe and that it was giuen out that he was in the Princes House, he hearing of this protested that it should bee open vnto Justice, but this House which not enter but by order of the Courts, whereupon by his commandment all the chambers of the house were opened, vnto them which came to search for him, but they found not Rochefort. This abiding out in pursuing much the publicke peace, the Queene Marillac and the Countesse of Spaldow went vnto the King and Queene, telling them that the Prince was their most humble servant, and would forsake their desires. The Queene answered that the countesse was not that she the King were satisfied, she should be in like manner to see this man stricke with the Louvre, where finding the King in the Queenes Chamber, he besought him, to forget what was past, to whom his Maistie said, I doe it with all my heart, and I assure you that you shall be welcom vnto me.

This alteration being thus pacified, there remained nothing but Rocheforts Maisties, the which was ended by letters of abolition which were vnto the Parliament, *Marillac* could not oppose himselfe, desiring rather to end their quarrell by combat, then by any other meanes. For as soone as his wounds were cured, hee sought all meanes to challenge him, whereof the Paunce being informed, hee found Rochefort in the presence of many Noblemen to receive any challenge from Marillac either by word or writing.

But lets now returne vnto the conclusion of the Estates appointed on the 23 of May. On May 23. There had beene on the 19 of February complaint made vnto the Chamber of the Clergy touching the estate of the Catholike Religion in Beanes; that the two Bishops were oppressed, That the exercise of the Catholike Religion was hindered, with many other considerations especially a great insolency which had beene committed at Millene whereupon the three orders sent the Archbishop of Lyons with their Deputies to these Maisties to craue reparation of these disorders, and execution of iustice for the restoring of the Bishops to their dignities. At the same time, the Agents for them of the said religion made many complaints vnto their Maisties, to the Chancellor touching that which had happened at Balea, where they had burned the Temple which shole of the Religion had caused to be built in a place which had beene given by the Edicts of pacification for the exercise of their Religion. They demanded that the knowledge of these two causes concerning the Edicts might be transferred to the chamber at Castres, as it was where afterwards there past decrees but to the contempt of the said party.

The 23 of February being come for the conclusion of the Estates, the three Orders came to Bourbon Hall, which was prepared as it had beene in the beginning, but the order was great by reason of the multitude of people which were suffered to enter. The Bishop of Luion for the Clergie, the Baron of Senefley for the Nobility, and President Merion for the third Estate, made long and learned Orations to give his Maisties thanks, and delivered their grievances. The chiefe points of the Clergies complaints were,

The Conclusion  
of the E-  
states.

I. That excessive expences and immense gifts and pensions bred most of the miseries which ruined an Estate; that such gifts did hurt more then profit; that the peoples misery flowed chiefly from this fountain, being certain, that the increase of expences made the receipts increase: and that the more they spent, the more they were forced to draw from the people who were the onely Mytes of France.

II. That the sale of Offices had beene put in practice to supply the necessity wherunto the State had beene reduced by profusion and excessive expences.

III. That they depuied Clergie men of their chiefe honors, were it in Councell, or in the employment of Affairs: That when as Prelates had beene employed by their Princes, the French Church was full of Maisties, whereas now they were so fallen from their ancient splendor, as they were scarce to be knowne: For they were so farre from seeking any aduice of Clergie men in that which concerned the Estate, as it seemed they thought the honor which they had to serue God, made them incapable to serue their King. If it were lawfull for any to enter into Councell, it was onely for formes sake, the which appeared plainly for that they were received with such contempt, as it was sufficient to be a Layman to have place and presedency before them.

III. That Clergie men giuing willingly the tenth of their goods, they suffered them to be dispossessed of the rest, either for that they were dedicated to the world, and not to God, or for that they wanted faith and were iworne enemies to the Church: That they suffered

The complaints  
of the  
Clergie.

suffered the enemies of the faith to pollute sacred places by their prophane burials: and that contrary to the Edicts, and all reason they held by force the Churches of Catholics; hindering divine service to deliver the intentions of men.

¶ That there being no meanes to oblige the Nobility, by ordinary wayes besetting their profession, they had extended themselves so farre as to part with that which was Gods, and to receive it into the prejudice of the Church: so as it seems but a slight matter to give away an Abbey for a Lay Gentleman, or to put it into their hands which are of the contrary Religion: but in the meane time that it was true and easie to be seen, that the loss and ruine of the Church came from hence; for so much as the presentation of the greater part of the Cures of France are annexed vnto Abbeyes; which was the cause that being so possessed by persons of such condition, it was impossible to have any good Pastors (who notwithstanding are the true pillars which uphold the Church and maintain it in reputation.) It being evident, that a Courtier, or any other, more tied to earth then heaven, hath little care to choose one of good conversation: and that the enemies of the Church triumph, when ignorant men, and of scandalous life are placed therein. And although there might be more reason to grant pensions out of Benefices vnto Lay men, then to give them the Title to enjoy in their owne names, or by interposed persons: yet there were no equity to give them part of the fruit, which did not participate of the paines.

¶ XVI. If to come from pensions to reversiones, who would thinke it fitt to give a success-  
ful man that is living, exposing his life to the mercy of him that should profit by his death. That Councells had condemned this practice as most dangerous: That King Henry the third in the last Assembly of the Estates had bound himself by a solemn oath never to be the author of such reversiones during his reign.

¶ XVII. That the Clergy should be free from all Taxes and other impositions; payers being the true tribute they should draw from Churchmen.

¶ XVIII. That the Ecclesiastical authority was to be distinct from that of the secular Magistrate, as Cyrillus was bold to witness, that the excommunicates vpon the Church and the consent of the Tribunal of Bishops gave entry to Schismes; and broke the bond which united all the children of Iesus Christ in his house. That it was most certain that France could no better reach his subjects to obedience his power, then by suffering them to attempt against that of the great God, from whom he holds his.

¶ XIX. That of late in a full peace they had trodden downe him that should be adored, not onely by men but of Angels: so as they had great cause to say with Ieremie, Let our cities be covered with shame and ignominy, for that strangers pollute the sacred temple of the great God: and with greater reason to apprehend for this Realme the horrible punishment wherewith he hath threatened them who have filled that with abomination, which was particularly affixed for his inheritance. These were the chiefe heads of the Clergies complaints, whereunto they annexed the remedies, on which I will not insist.

¶ XX. The President for the third Estate (for there was nothing published of the Nobilities grievances) said, That the two chiefe pillars which had alwaies supported the State were Piety and Iustice. That there remained nothing in France but the name and shadow of these two vertues. That Piety was banished by the defects of Prelates, there being many Bishopricks destitute of Bishops, and many flocks without Pastors and yet the rourcemes were gathered by supposed names or stewards: That most part of the titulary Prelates fled resistance; contemning the ancient Ecclesiastical Lawes. That as the authority of Bishops had become much impaired, so pietie had become abolished and banished. That the Cures which were subiect to Bishops were reiectors for that they were so poor, as a man of mean knowledge would hold it a shame to be called vnto them: and if they had any good Reuerends, they which disdaine not the tide to receive the fruits, supplied the execution of the charge with some poore and ignorant priest with small wages. That in halfe the Abbeyes of France, there were not Abbots with Canonical titles, but the Abbeyes were held by Receiters, Gentlemen, or men of other qualities. That multiplicitie of Benefices held by one man, open Simony, and disguised by pensions reserved, were the cause of all the miseries for the which God afflicted France.

¶ That there had crept into the order of the Nobility such exesse, such contempt of Justice and Iudges, so many contraventions against the Kings Lawes and ordinances, and

A violences against the weake and feeble; That at this day their chiefe actions are consumed in excesive play, in superfluous expences; monsters and prodiges of this age, which darken the ancient luster of this Order.

That the delays, excuses and shifts of Iustice to make futes immortal, were infinit, and had no bounds by the malice of the parties, which innocently blemished the honor of the Iudges. There were few futes either ciuill or criminall if any great man or rich were interested, which past not through all the inuiditions of the Realme, by reason of euocations too frequent: for the onely iudgement of a competency before they entered into the ground of the cause, so as the accessories (smoothing the principals) in the end the plantife and the defendant found themselves ruined; and the reason of these disorders was the multiplicity of Courts of Iustice, and the excesive number of Officers & Iudges, who were not rewarded nor punished according to their merits. Having afterwards represented the inhumanities of souldiers which held the field, he besought the King for the reestablishment of Policy and trade: to cause the Treasure to be well gouerned: to abolish pensions: to ease the poore people of Taxes: and to reduce all to the same estate it was in, in the year 1576. He then directed his speech vnto the Queene Mother.

Madam, God hath committed this Realme to your care and vigilancy, whereof you have acquitted your selfe worthily during your Regency, to the content of all good men: And seeing the King doth againe referre the Gouernment vnto you, as it hath pleased him to declare vnto vs, having charge to beseech you to continue this holy resolution, guided by your good aduice and wise counsels, to the discharge of so many impositions which oppress the people, set downe at large in our remembrances, to the end that being our iust and lawfull Prince, hee may not desire more in his soueraine fortune to bee seene great, then iust and mercifull, mingling together by your example, two things, which are very diuerse, power and modestie: and that his subjects swimming as it were between loue and reuerence, may behold him as their Father, their Benefactor, and author of their safeties, by the ease for many sorts of impositions, as can hardly bee numbered; and by the same meanes to free them from the oppression of souldiers: That none but sufficient men may have the commissions to lead them who may answer for them: That the Parishes exempt from lodging, may contribute to the charge of others, without difference of land belonging to any degree, seeing they are all your subjects equally contributable to the charges of the Realme. That to this effect the Collectors of subsidies in Parishes where they lye, shall carry a note of their charges vnto the Iudges, to be equally diuided among the rest: That the Commissaries which lead them might be answerable, and if they themselves lye at discretion (as many now doe) that they may be punished with death. That information may be made against Commissaries, who have bene so audacious leading of Companies to cause themselves to bee defrayed by the people. Moreouer, forbid day works which oppress the peopls as much as taxes, a poore man being forced to leaue his seed time, and to abandon his harvest, to go and worke for a Gentleman: That this act might be declared bafe and punished with all rigor; and oppose your selfe generously against all oppressions. It is the surest meanes to retaine so many heads with one, and to reduce mildly vnder the common yoke of obedience this great turbulent and diuinit multitude. So we hope your Maiesty will suffer your selfe to be mildly forced by our perswasions to the entertainment of our iust petitions. For as in an absolute Prince, it is a great happinot to be forced, so it is a most miserable thing not to suffer himselfe to be periuaded.

After the conclusion of the Estates, the King suffered all the three orders to assemble, so as it were not at the Augustins or in any other publike place, but only in the houses of the Presidents of either Order, with charge not to make any new propositions touching the affaires which depended of the Estates. The King for a more speedy dispatch of answers to their grievances, had caused them to be drawne vp into three Chapters, and had appointed three seuerall companies to peruse them and consider of their answers. Vpon this diuision, the three Orders of Estates made choice of particular Deputies to confere with the said Commissioners, where the first Articles were first viewed and examined.

On the 24 of March the King gave the chiefe of the three Orders to understand, that he desired they should come to the Louure, where being assembled in the great Gallery, their Maiesties assisted by their Councell, the Chancellor speaking to the Estates said, That the King and his Councell had seene their Grievances; That the multitude, diuersity and importance

Disorders in Iustice.

His speech to the Queene Mother.

The causes of the third Estate by President Miran.

Disorders in the Church.

Disorder in the Nobility.

The Kings answer to the chiefe Articles of the Estates.

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importance of the Articles represented therein, did not permit their Maesties to make answer vnto them so soone as they thought to haue done and much desired. That for this occasion, and to the end that the Estates might receiue the testimony of their good will in their principall Articles, and vpon which they most insisted and were most affected vnto : That their Maesties were resolu'd to take away the sale of Offices, and establish good order in all which depended thereon : To reestablish a Chamber for reuiew of the Treasure, and to cut off Pensions : And all in such order and forme as the Estates should haue occasion of content. For the rest of their grieuances which were very many, they should be answered with all possible speed.

By the abolition of the sale of Offices, the King was to lose 150000 pounds sterling yearly in his casual profits: whereupon there was a proposition made to lay three shillings B vpon the bushell of salt in Countries subiect to imposition, and an equivalent proportion in others, the which should cease after ten years. Many of the Clergie and the Nobility liked of this proposition : but the third Estate held it very preiudiciall for their Order, whereupon they presented a Petition vnto his Maieftie for the stay thereof, as being hurtfull to his Maiefties seruice, and tending to the oppression of his poore subiects, whereof I haue formerly made mention.

Reception of  
the Comm-  
ander of Silley at  
Madril.

In the Spring, newes came from Spaine touching the reception of the Commander of Silley, whom his Maieftie had sent to cary a New-year's gift to the French Queene : It was said that at his entry into Madril, the Duke of Lerma was sent by his Catholike Maieftie, to receiue him with extraordinary ceremonies, being accompanied by many C Grands, and other Noblemen richly appointed; who conducted him to the Palace, where he went to salute his Maieftie, who receiued him with all shewes of loue and affection: After complements done, the King tooke him by the hand, and led him to the Infanta's Cabinet, to whom hauing done his obeysance, he declared vnto her the subiect of his Embassage, and the King his Masters affection vnto her: After which, he presented in his Maiefties name, a rich bracelet made of Diamonds & other precious stones curiously wrought with certaine deuices, a present valued at about 40000 Pound sterling, the which the receiued with great admiration and ioy; and after she had put it on her arme, she tooke it off againe, and placed it in her bosome, to shew the great affection she bare vnto his Maieftie : After which hauing taken his leaue of the King, and of the Infanta, hee was conducted to his lodging, where he was dayly visited by the chiefe of Spaine, and entertained with all the sports and deuices they could, to testifie their publike ioy.

Death of  
Queene Mar-  
garite.

Soone after, towards the end of March dyed Queene Marguerite in her Palace in the suburbis of Saint Germaine. As the deceased King Henry the third her brother had bene the last King of the Royall branch of Valois, so this Queene was the last of the Princesses. This branch of the Royal House of Franch, had reigned 261 years, from Philip of Vallois, who was King in the yeare 1328, vnto the death of Henry the third, which was in the yeare 1589.

Hauing lyeen sixe daies vpon a bed of State in her Palace Hall, her body was afterwards conducted to the Chappell of the reformed Augustines, where it lay vntill that the affaires of the Kingdome were settled, after which they made choice of a place for her interment. The Queene Mother had a care to giue content to her creditors, and to most part of her Officers and household seruants, as shee had recommended it before her death.

Proceeding in  
the Court of  
Parliament on  
the 28 of  
March.

Oa the 27 of March, ten Presidents and Councillors deputed from the Chambers of Inquest, that is to say, two from either Chamber, came vnto the great Chamber of the Parliament, to intreat the first President to assemble all the Chambers to consult and determine vpon the Remonstrances which they had long before resolu'd to make vnto the King : the which was granted, and presently performed.

Being all assembled, the President of the first Chamber of Inquest said, that they had commanded this Assembly touching that which the King had promised to the Court of Parliament a litle before : That he would giue no answer to the grieuances which should be presented vnto him by the deputies of the three Estates of the Realme, nor make any resolution, before he had heard the remonstrances of his Parliament. That he held it a fit time to aduise now what the Court should doe in this point, considering in what estate the affaires were.

Vpon this proposition they began to deliberate after their accustomed manner; but being not able to conclude, it was deferred vntill the next day being the 28, where after

much

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A Decree of  
the Court.

A much debate, a Decree was concluded in these words : The Court, all the Chambers being assembled, hath decided, under the Kings good pleasure, That the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne hauing place and a deliberative voice therein, being at this present in the City, shall be invited to come into the Court, there (with the Chancellor and all the Chambers assembled) to aduise vpon the propositions which should be made for the Kings seruice, the ease of his subiects, and the good of his Estate.

This resolution was caried that night vnto their Maiefties as some say in grosse, and not in the same termes it had bene set downe, and by one of their own company. Some illaffected vnto the Court, whispered in their Maiefties eares, that the Parliament sought to meddle with the affaires of State, enter into knowledge of the government thereof, and giue counsell vncalled: That it was an apparant enterprize against the Kings authority, and did touch the Queenes Regency, which they would contrroll. Their Maiefties were much incensed against the Court vpon this report, which they held to be true : whereupon they sent to one of the Princes and some Peeres, forbidding them to go to the Parliament if they were invited, the day after the King sent for his learned Councell, to whom the Chancellor said, that the King had sent for them touching the decree of the Parliament, wherewith their Maiefties were much discontented, being giuen to vnderstand, that the Court had ordained, that the Princes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne should be invited to the Parliament, to take aduice touching the government of the Realme; whereunto Mons<sup>r</sup> Seruain the Kings Advocate answered, That they had not heard so much, but they had vnderstood, that the Court had assembled to witness their good and sincere affection, hauing for their only ayme and vow, the safety of the King and the State. Hereupon the King and Queene entering into their Cabinet, the Queene said vnto them, That they had bene aduertised of diuers speeches which had been in this assembly, by the which the Kings authority had bene wronged, and that it was a strange enterprize : whereunto the Advocate answered, that they had not bene present at this resolution, being retired after they had required that which was necessary for the Kings seruice, and concerned the publike : but they had bene summoned to propound that which they held profitable and fit in this season for his Maiefties seruice and the good of the State; where without any further ouerture, they besought the Court to remember that they had formerly propounded what they might doe, hauing not yet seene his Maiefties Declaration vpon the remonstrances and petitions made vnto him by the Deputies of the three Estates : whereupon the Court had resolu'd to giue aduice vnto his Maieftie of that which they thought concerned his seruice : the which they had not done to attempt against his Royall authority, but only with an intention to make an ouerture for the good of his seruice and ease of his subiects : and also to insuffle the constant fidelity of all the Officers of his Parliament, in the presence of the Princes, Peeres, and others which should then assist with the Lord Chancellor. And after a long discourse of the integrity and good intention of the Court, he besought his Maieftie to hold them for his most humble and faithful subiects and seruants.

The Kings  
learned Coun-  
cill sent for to  
Lourea.

The Advocates  
Speech to the  
King & Queene.

After this, the Councell was presently assembled, and the Procureur and Advocate commanded to enter into the Councell Chamber, to whom the King said, stay here you shall heare what I will resolve: whereunto they answered, Sir, we are at your feet to obey you, and hauing the honor to be of your Councell, will doe whatsoever it shall please you to command vs in any other action : But the question being touching a resolution taken in your Parliament, seeing we are of that body, it may please you to dispence with vs from being in a place, where if any speake against the Parliament, we neither ought nor can endure to heare it; but are bound to speake for the authority of the Decree. Whereupon the King finding their excuse reasonable, commanded them to withdraw into the lesser Chamber, where hauing attended an houre or more, in the end they were called in, to whom the King said (in presence of the Queene and Chancellor) I haue sent for you to giue you that in charge which I haue resolu'd on in my Councell, which you shall deliver on my behalfe to my Court of Parliament: it being my will that you should be the messengers.

Then Mons<sup>r</sup> Seruain besought the King to excuse them, and to commit those words of the discontent which it seemed he had, to some others, letting him vnderstand that they were at his feet to do him most humble seruice, when he should command them: they were also daily at the doores of the Iudgement of the Court, the necessity of their charges

of the Court  
of Parliament  
sent for to  
the Court

of the Court  
of Parliament  
sent for to  
the Court

tying

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tying them thereunto, to require that which concerned his service, and to second the good intentions of his Parliament; whom they had alwaies found full of trust, courage, and good affection, necessary for the preservation of his authority and State. But notwithstanding all their sure, and the excuses they could alledge, they were commanded to deliver unto the Court the reasons why his Majesty held himselfe wronged by the Decree of the 28 of March.

Three reasons declared in Councell against the decree of the Court.

The first, That the King being in Paris, the Court of Parliament ought not to have assembled to consult of affaires which concerne the State, nor inuite the Princes, Peeres, Nobles, and others having place in Parliament, before they had acquainted his Majesty therewith.

The second, That the King being declared of full age by the Lawes of France, although all his other subjects were Minors at his yeares, yet God having imparted vnto him greater graces then to other men, he should be held for more vertuous: and that his power was not lesse then that of his Predecessors.

The third, That this Conuocation ordained by the Court, although that the Chancellor were required to assit, could not be done by the motion of the Parliament or otherwise, but by his Majesties Letters Patents, it depending of his sole and soueraigne power. After which, he commanded them to bring him the Original of the Decree, forbidding the Court to proceed any further in the execution thereof.

This charge being delivered to all the Chambers by the Kings Councill, they retrying themselves; the first President propounded what was to be done concerning this charge; where after much consultation they resolved to deliver the Decree into the hands of the Kings Councill, who came vnto the Louure on the last of March; and being admitted to his Majesties presence, *Monf. Seruin* said vnto him: Sir, we owe vnto your Majesty the obedience of faithful subjects; having received the commandement you gave vs, we acquainted the Court of Parliament with your pleasure, wherof we are to give you a faithful account. We have acquainted them with your words: the which being heard, we observed in them all in general a wonderful griefe, to see your Majesty incensed against them; remembering that they had alwaies given examples of obedience to all your subjects, not thinking that they should incurre your indignation. In the end, letting them understand, that you would aboue all things maintaine your authority; and labouring with the Court that they would make a good resolution for your Majesties content; we have beene charged by the Court to bring you the Decree made on Saturday last, under your good pleasure; and to let you understand that they hold nothing so deare or in so great recommendation, as the preservation of your Soueraigne power and fauour, without the which all your Officers of this Company, your most humble and most affectionate, loving servants, cannot execute their charges honorably nor profitably: They most humbly beseech you to receive the Decree made with an upright heart, and with no intention to attempt any thing against your authority.

*Monf. Seruin* Speech delivered the Decree vnto the King.

The King and Queene seemed to be well content with these words, *With the Kings good liking*, and his Majesty taking the Decree into his hand, said, That he would looke on it, and acquaint the Court of Parliament with his pleasure. They thought that matters should have so rested: but they were advertised that three Presidents of the Inquests coming into the Court on the 9 of Aprill, desired that they would consider if it were not fit to beseech the King, that hee would be pleased to give an answer vnto his Parliament, and to let them know his pleasure according to his promise; that it was fit and necessary to know it; and that it were not good that the resolutions of the Parliament should remaine without effect.

The Parliament sent for by the King.

Hereupon the Presidents of the great Chamber with foure of the ancient Councillors, with many Presidents and Councillors of the Inquests and Requests, were sent for to the Loure: being brought into the Kings Chamber, he said vnto them: *My Masters, seeing you would know my answer vpon your Decree, which my Councill brought mee: the Lord Chancellor shall deliver it vnto you.* Who presently began thus, That the King being advertised how that some of the Parliament desired to understand his answer, notwithstanding that he had beene aduised for good and reasonable considerations to deferre it: yet he had given him in charge to say vnto them: that he was much offended at the enterprise which the Parliament had made vpon his authority, being of full Age: and moreover, in his Capital City to have sought to assemble the Princes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne,

The Chancellors Speech vnto them.

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A a thing without all president, without reason, and without apparance, the which no Parliament had euer done before. That his Majesty knew well, that the power and iurisdiction of the Court was limited, and as they tooke no knowledge of Accounts, nor of the imposts of salt, so Kings have alwayes referred to themselves, the knowledge of the affaires of their Estate: That the Parliament should remember the answer made vnto the Duke of Orleans, in the time of King *Charles* the eighth, by the President *De la Vaugery*, whose services and memory had bene commended by Kings: And the sensible feeling and dislikes which King *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Francis* the first did shew vpon a far lesse attempt. And of the rigour of a Decree which was made during the Reigne of *Charles* the ninth: For that in a matter of lesse consequence, they would contest against his authority: whereupon the resolution of the Court was cancelled, and the execution published, the doores being shut. That this Parliament being the first of the Realme, should employ her authority which she holds from Kings, to maintaine that of the King, and not to seeketo suppress it, being of full yeares and in his presence, wherat although he were much offended, yet hearing that it had past by the plurality of voyces of the yongest and last admitted, and that the ancientest were of a contrary opinion; he was well satisfied with them, and intreated them to continue, assuring them that he would not forget that good office. And for that the Parliament should haue no colour to excuse the Decree, for that they had referred the execution to the Kings will, hee was well advertised of the Decree, the first day it was resolved on; and of that which had bene corrected, and newly added to assuage his displeasure, all which notwithstanding gaue him no full satisfaction. Wherefore he prohibited the Parliament the execution thereof, to assemble any Princes, or Peeres, or to deliberate any more thereupon. Then the King began to speake and said, *My Masters that which the Chancellor hath delivered vnto you, it is I that speake it. To morrow I will send you my answer in writing; In the meane time I forbid you to proceed.*

Whereupon the first President made answer: Sir, wee are much grieved that since your happy coming to the Crowne, having so faithfully served your Majesty, the deceased King *Henry* the Great, and the Kings our soueraigne Lords, since the first erection of your Court, to see that our services (so well knowne to all the world) should bee so ill interpreted as to be taken for enterprizes against your authority; and that you are offended with vs. We are assured that if it were lawfull for vs to reply after a displeasure testified by your owne mouth, and signified vnto vs by my Lord Chancellor, we could with all honorable respect, to your Majesties content, and the satisfying of all those that assist you, represent, that your Parliament hath neuer concluded any thing, but the Kings have allowed it: and for the which (instead of dislike and finisier construction) wee have alwaies received praise and commendations, yea during the reignes alledged by my Lord Chancellor. But for that we are called by your commandement, having no charge from the Parliament, we will not faile to present vnto them what it hath pleased you to pronounce by your owne mouth, and by the Chancellors. In the meane time wee most humbly beseech you to take the Decree in good part, as made, not by the aduice of the last of the Company, but by the generall voice and consent of your whole Court, whereto yong and old have equally contributed; and to hold it rather an excess and abundance of a good, sincere, and true intention to your service, rather then any presumption against your authority. Then the Queene sayd, I know well that the young men first propounded this aduice, and that they have caused it to passe by plurality of voyces: I blame not the Court, but thanke the Ancients, and all those which opposed themselves; I will employ my credit with the King my Sonne, to take knowledge of them, and to require their good will. The first President answered, Madam, we most humbly beseech you to beleue that we have all participated in the Decree, and that you would be pleased to forget the contrary report, and to honor them equally with your fauour to the King.

The first President Speech to the King.

The Queens Speech to the Parliament.

The Court of Parliament being informed of his Majesties pleasure, notwithstanding continued in their first resolution, to draw their remonstrances, and to present them in writing to the King; wherof his Majesty being advertised, he sent the next day being the 12 of Aprill, to command the Presidents and some ancient Councillors: to come to the Loure; wher in the Queens presence (the Chancellor being absent) he said, that hee had

The Parliament sent for to the Loure.

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The Queens  
Speech vnto  
them.

sent for them, hearing that notwithstanding his prohibition to make any remonstrances concerning the affaires of his estate, yet they had deputed some of euery chamber to draw them, touching the which, the Queen his Mother should let them vnderstand his pleasure. The Queene repeating the Kings words, said: that it was a thing had neuer bene attempted, and that he did forbid them. That if the Parliament should presume to doe it, the King would be displeased, he is (said she) your King and Master, who will vse his authority if you contradiet his will: whereunto shee added, that it was a faction of men ill affected to his seruice, and which thought to do things against his will: and withall she said in choller that she would be reuenged. Whereunto the first President answered, that he would aduertise the Court of Parliament thereof.

His report being made, they tooke aduice what was fit to be done, and in the end resolved, that according to their former deliberation, the Chambers should bring their instructions to be viewed by the Presidents and some Councillors of the great Chamber, to draw the remonstrances which the Court had resolved should be made. But for that they were not presented vnto the King before the 22 of May, wee will insert some particularities which past in the Moneths of March and Aprill.

The Kings Declaration  
requiring the E-  
dicts of pacifi-  
cation.

During the Assembly of the Estates, there was a great contention and dispute in the Chamber of the Nobility between the Catholike Deputies and them of the reformed Religion, for that the Catholike Deputies had propounded and caused it to be resolved that the King should be intreated to maintaine the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion, according to the oath which he had taken at his Coronation. The Deputies of the reformed Religion made great complaints thereof, whereupon the King made a Declaration on the 12 of March, which was verified in Court the last of Aprill. It contained, That the Catholike Deputies had made this request vnto the King, to witness their zeale and affection to the Catholike Religion, and not to offend any person: the which they had protested both in particular, & all together vnto his Maiesty, desiring the obseruation of peace established by the Edicts, being fully perswaded by experience of what was past, that violent remedies had but increased the number of those which were strayed out of the Church, in stead of teaching them the way to returne: and that vpon this protestation his Maiesty (to free them from all bad impressions which made profession of the reformed Religion with a pure and innocent zeale free from all factions; as also the pretext of any which would seeke to trouble the quiet of the Realme) declared and commanded, that all Edicts, Declarations, & priuate Articles made in fauor of them in the reformed Religion, as well by the deceased King his father as by himselfe, should be kept inuiolably, and the breakers thereof punished as the breakers of the publike peace. The Agents of them of the Religion, having besought the King to name them a place where they should hold their Assemblies for the chusing of new Agents, which they did vually euery three years: they had first a Brieffe to assemble at Gergeau: but afterwards the place was changed, and the assembly was held at Grenoble.

The Parli-  
ament gooe to  
the Louure to  
Present their  
Remonstran-  
ces.The Presidents  
Speake to the  
King.

We will now returne to the proceedings of the Parliament, who hauing prepared their Remonstrances gaue charge vnto the Kings learned Councell to go vnto the Lord Chancellor, to demand audience of the King, for the deliuey thereof in writing as it had been decreed. Who hauing deliuered their charge, returned answer that his Maiesty would giue them audience the 22 of May: when as the Chambers being assembled about three of the clocke in the afternoon, there went 6 Presidents, and 12 Councillors of the great Chamber, and a President; and 3 Councillors of euery chamber of Inquests and Requests, with the Kings learned Councell, being in all about 40 persons. Being come to the Louure, they were conducted by a Captaine of the Kings Guard by a priuate staires into the Councell Chamber, for otherwise they could hardly haue past by the ordinary staires, the presse so great. In the Councell Chamber were the King and Queene, assisted by the Dukes of Guise, Neuers, Vendosme and Epemon, the Lord Chancellor, the Marshalls of Ancre, and Souure, with many other Lords and Officers of the Crowne, and other Councillors of State. The first President hauing done his obeysance vnto the King, spake on this manner: That hee had charge giuen him to represent vnto his Maiesty most humble Remonstrances on the behalfe of his Court of Parliament, and not to deliuey vnto him the motiue of the Decree which was made the 23 of March: That they most humbly besought him to beleeue that no other will nor intention had moued them thereunto, but the

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A the necessity of the Estate of the Realme, and a great, good, and sincere affection which it hath alwayes borne, and doth still to his seruice, and to the good and quiet of his Estate: wherein it would not giue place to any whatsoeuer; and whereof it had alwayes yielded to good and faithfullest intimonies as greater could not be desired: That it did not enuy the great riches, fauour nor dignity of any person, nor malice any. That it had neuer failed in the fidelity due to the Kings seruice, and had alwayes this Maiesty for its soveraigne Lord and only Master, beseeching him to receive them with a good ele, as committing them to the most honour, faithful, and obedient company that liues; Whereupon her presence came vnto the King, who deliuered it vnto a Secretary of State, and then his Maiesty comman-

B ded the Parliament to retire. But before they went forth the first President said, that hee had charge humbly to beseech his Maiesty, that the Remonstrances might be presently read, the which was done very distinctly, and heard with great attention by all which were in the Chamber. And for that they were very long and would take vp too much room, I must inuente the Reader to satisfie himselfe with the chiefe points and heads thereof, which were; A Declaration of the causes of the Parliaments Complaint: That the Parliament of Paris, was borne with the State of France, and holds place in Councell with Princes and Barons, which in all ages was neere vnto the Kings person. That the Parliament had alwayes deale in publike affaires. That some Kings which had not liked of the remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris, did afterwards witness their griefe. That Popes,

The chiefe  
points of this  
Parliaments  
Remonstran-  
ces.

C Emperours, Kings, and Princes, had voluntarily submitted their controuersies to the iudgment of the Parliament of Paris, reasons which had moued them to the Decree of the 23 of March. Of the disorders which were in the State, and the remedies. Not to suffer the Kings soveraigne power to be made doubtfull and problematicall. To entertaine the ancient alliances. To dismis from the Kings Councell such as had bene of late years addicted by fauour. To punish the Kings Officers, with reueue gifts or pensions. To maintaine the Officers of the Crowne, and the Governors in their authority and functions. Not to giue any more reuerfions of any charges & governments. To forbid the sale of the Offices of the Kings House, and of the Infants of France. Not to commit any charges and gouernments vnto strangers. To forbid the Kings subjects to haue any intelligences or communica-

D tions with the Ambassadors of foraigne Princes. To preserve the French Church. To reforme the multiplicity of new Orders of religious men; & to haue a care to the nomination of Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots. Not to admit strangers to Prelacy. To search out and punish Avaricious, Lewes, & Magicians. To continue the deceased kings designs for the restoring of the Vniuersity of Paris. Not to suffer unpunished the violencies which were done to hinder the course of Iustice. To reforme the knowledge of affaires which are treated of in the Kings Councell. Not to dissolve or suspend the Decrees of the Court of Parliament vpon petitions. Not to giue letters of abolition and pardon for qualified crimes. To cause the Edicts against Duels to be obserued. To provide that Decrees concluded in council, might not be changed. To abolish fees newly brought in at the Seale. E To forbid all Councillors of State to take any Pensions from Partisans or vnderakers of the Farmes. To ordainethat the Edicts against tabling houses may be executed. To reforme the Financies or treasure. To reduce the excessive gifts and pensions to the same Estate they were in during the reign of Henry the Great, and to reuoke the Pensions granted to some Officers of Iustice. To reduce the managing of the treasure to few persons. And of the disorders of the treasure since the death of the deceased King. To forbid hereafter the execution of any Edicts, Declarations, or Commissions, before they were verified in soveraigne Courts. To grant a search of them, who haue gouerned the incomes in the treasure. Of vnmeasurable gifts. To forbid the transport of gold and siluer, and all exesse. To suffer the execution of the Decree of the 28 of March.

F In the end they concluded with a protestation to name the authors of these disorders. (if it should please his Maiesty for the discharge of their consciences before God and men, and for the good of his seruice and preferuation of his Estate.

The Parliament  
saues offer to  
name the au-  
thors of the  
disorders.

These Remonstrances being plainly and publicly read, the Kings Maiesty commanded the Parliament for to retire: but within halfe an houre after they were called for backe againe; to whom the King sayd, That hee had rightly vnderstood of these Remonstrances, whereof he was not well satisfied: That the Queene his Mother should deliuey herselfe. Wh he beginning to speake, sayd, That the King had not occasion to be offended

The King and  
Queene  
Speake to  
the Parliamen-  
t.

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The Chancellor  
Speech to  
the Court of  
Parliament.

with the Parliament: who contrary to his restraint had meddled with officers of State. A  
That the Parliament would deal in reformations, and dispose the Government and the Treas-  
ures, and that they had not yett finished judgement but that they knew they had an intent to call her  
Regency in question, she which all the Orders of the Realme, assembled in one body of State, and  
the Parliament it selfe had commended: That they could not speak of the Government of the  
Officers of the Realme without touching her. That she was well advertised that these Remon-  
strances had not bene allowed by the whole body of the Parliament: That there were sixe Pre-  
sidents as of present as objected which had opposed them, and that there were vnder their seuen  
Presidents and Councillors which were the motives. That hereafter the King would no more  
endure it. That she would have every man know and might boldly speake it: That there was  
no Regency in France more happy then hers. After which, pausing a while, and seeming  
much moved by her countenance, she commanded the Lord Chancellor to make the  
Kings answer.

Whereupon the Chancellor said, That France was a Monarchy, where the King alone  
commanded, holding his Realme sovereignly from God: That he had Lawes and Or-  
dinances by the which he was to gouerne them, and for the which he was not to give an  
account to any man: That it did not belong vnto the Parliament, to controul his go-  
uernment: That the Kings of France had distributed the charges and functions of the  
Realme distinctly: To the Chambers of Accounts matters of Account: To the Gene-  
rals of the Iustice, the Aydes, whereof the Parliament might not Iudge: And with great  
reason the Parliament of Paris might not intermeddle with the conduct and direction  
of his Estate, and that they might not vnder take more then the King would suffer there:  
It was true that Kings in great affaires had bene accustomed to take aduice of the Court  
of Parliament, and he did beleue they might doe great seruice: but it was when it pleased  
him: That when their authority was vnto the Kings will it was excellent good; and  
he would alwayes aduise the King to vnderstande their Counsell: not that they should giue it of  
their owne motion, without the Kings pleasure: That the Parliament had bene carried  
insensibly to a resolution which did much blemish the Kings authority: That the time it  
selfe was very opposite, when as they laboured about the grievances of the Estates, the  
which being sent vnto the Parliament, they should then haue found a subject to object that  
which they haue now done out of season: That out of doubt the Parliaments intention  
was good, but to speake truly there was a defect: That he had formerly said it was done  
without reason, but now he said it was without president, having expresse commission  
to say both the one and the other, for that it cannot bee found: (the King being in Paris)  
that the Court of Parliament of their owne motion, hath assembled the Princes, Dukes,  
Peeres and Officers of the Crowne, whereof hee would no other proof then the presi-  
dents produced in their Remonstrances: That touching the Citations whereof they  
complained, there had bene none granted without Deliberation of the Councell, and  
that was to stay the Parliament from taking knowledge of their countroversies, which had  
kindled in their company. As for abolitions and pardons, he could assure them, that  
hereafter none should passe, the Councell being so ordered: as it should be a very difficult  
thing to effect: And as for the dissolving of the Decretes of the Parliament, it had bene  
done when as the Parliament attempted to iudge contrary to the restraint of the Coun-  
sell, who held their iudgements for no Decretes: That they had caused the Councell to  
cease, to treat without intermission about the grievances of the Estates, and that being now  
vpon that of Iustice, his Maiesty had commanded to take their aduice: That the Parlia-  
ment did not obserue the Ordinances concerning the reception of Councillors admitting  
many bretheren and neere kinsmen into one Parliament: That they neither could nor  
ought to complaine of the Queenes Regency, which hath bene so happy, as neuer El-  
ectors haue observed the like: during the which, France hath abundantly enjoyed all  
good blessings: That the Queene was not to giue an account of her Regency, but to  
God onely: and if she would do it vnto the King, his Maiesty would giue her thanks:  
That no man could prescribe vnto the King what Councillors hee should entertaine:  
That he had thought good to make vse of those persons whom the deceased King had  
chosen, by whom he hath bene well serued.

President  
Speech to  
the Parliament.

The Court of Parliament thinking to retire, President Iamies spake, that ha-  
ving managed the Kings Treasure vprightly, with such as are employed therein, he thought

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A hee should worthily incurre blame, if hee should not speake some thing concerning his  
charge, for the which he would answer before the severest Iudges: And that he wonder-  
ed to heare himselfe blamed, not by a multitude, who interpret of another mans actions  
lightly, but by a company of graue & wise men maliciously informed of the managing of  
the Kings Treasure. That the question they made was to him, and not to the Queene  
who was not bound to giue an account of their Regency but to the King. And to enter  
into particular, that after the kings death, the Duke of Sully had continued the Com-  
mand of the Treasure, vnto the warre of Iuliers, and had set downe the expences, hauing  
left in the Treasurers hands, but 350 Pounds sterling. To say that the kings reuenues are  
augmented since his fathers decease, it cannot be verified, but contrariwise there hath  
bene 200000 Pounds sterling abated vpon the Imposition of salt, and 400000 pounds  
sterling, increase for the necessity of affaires. As for the money in the Bastile, what ne-  
cessity the Estate hath suffered, yett hath it not bene toucht: but to stay the course  
of these last alterations, and for the voyage of Poitiers.

And whereas they sayd, that in the time of the deceased King, they layd vp yearly  
200000 pounds sterling, that it was not so, they bringing in onely 80000 pounds. That it  
was a dangerous thing to touch a diseale and bring no remedie for it. That they should  
name particularly such as had bene the cause, who should be presently abandoned by all  
good men, and he himselfe would be the first should doe it. That in truth it were expe-  
dient to cut off the great expences and vnecessary charges: that his duty bound him to  
speake it.

After this, some of the great personages there present began to speake, and the Presi-  
dent was ready to answer, but the Queene imposed silence; whereupon the Marshall  
d'Ancre approached aker vnto her; and deliuered her a little booke, which gaue her oc-  
casion to say vnto the President: *Ton suffer scandalous libells to be sold*, against the Kings  
honour and mine, and doe no iustice: hold, read this booke, intituled *Cassandra*, the which  
he deliuered to one of the Secretaries of State, who read some leauies which were noted;  
whereunto the first President made answer, that three dayes since hee had caused a strict  
search to be made among the Printers, but could not yett discouer any thing: whereup-  
on the Duke of Espemans said that it was not those poore men they should punish who  
fought nothing but to get their liuing. This libell which was called *Cassandra* they made  
to speake as a Prophete, saying, That the King should nor allie himselfe by marriage out  
of France, with this exclamation, what thinke you to doe French men? you make Bon-  
fiers and spend the nights in Maskes and Dancing, in hope of these pretended marriages:  
Doe you thinke thus to reconcile two Nations which haue bene alwayes enemies: the  
water and fire will sooner mingle themselves together and so produce their effects, then  
the French will agree with the Spaniards: This was the opinion of some malecontents,  
but this libell was answered to the full.

The day after the deliury of the Remonstrances, there was a Decree past in the Coun-  
cell of State both against them and the Decree of the Parliament, wherein, making a  
long relation of what had past, in the end it concludes, That the King desiring to pre-  
uent such disorders and vnde enterprizes hereafter, had againe disannulled, annulled and  
declared vnde the said Decree of the 23 of March, forbidding the Parliament hereaf-  
ter, to meddle with affaires of State, but when they should be commanded. And to the  
end the memory of this enterprize and disobedience might be extinct, his pleasure is, that  
the said Decree, together with the Remonstrances shall be cancelled and taken out of the  
Registers; and that the Register shall be bound to bring them to his Maiesty instantly  
after notice of this Decree, or else to lose his Office, his Maiesty promising as speedily  
and as abundantly as he can to provide for the complaints and grievances contained in  
the intensions of the Generall Estates; which hee causeth to be viewed and examined  
daily, not onely in that which concerneth iustice, but also the Clergy, the Nobility,  
the civill government, and the Treasure, the Edicts whereof shall be sent vnto the Parlia-  
ment, his Councillors, his Parliaments and sowerigne Courts of the Realme to verify them;  
and to make such remonstrances as they in their consciences should thinke profitable for  
the publicke and themselves willingly see them, make necessary consideration, and  
would haue as good a respect as should be requisite for witness that his Maiesty would  
use nothing good and take of his good subjects.

A Decree of  
the Councell  
of State against  
the Remon-  
strances of the  
Parliament.The Decree  
of the Coun-  
sell of State  
against the  
Remonstrances  
of the Parlia-  
ment.

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The Speech of  
the Kings learn-  
ed Councell  
to his Maiefty.

The Court of Parliament in generall, complained much of this Decree: and the Kings A learned Councell was sent for three severall dayes together to the Loure, First, to heare the reading of the said Decree in Councell: Secondly, to enioyne them to cary it, and to cause it to be read in Parliament: and the third time, to know of them what diligence they had vnder concerning that which had bene given them in charge. They all three humbly besought the King and Queene, to excuse them of this charge, being fitter for other men to cary the message then themselves; but no excuses would serve, the Queene telling them, that the King would have it so; that he desired to preferue his authority, and that the Kings commandements and hers might bee executed without excuse or delay. Whereupon the Kings Proctor generall said vnto the Queene, Madam, you make vs cary B a Torch which will kindle a fire, the embers whereof will continue long, and we feare the event. What event replied the Queene? but that the people will mutine? No Madam said he, but an alteration of the good affections and deuotions of the Kings good subiects and seruants, and the diuision of the greatest companies of this Realme, who administer iustice, which makes Kings to raigne. There was a long contestation about this refusal, yet the Proctor generall fell vpon his knees before the King, beseeching him not to force them to this seruice but to haue regard vnto what they were, and that the quality which they held in the Court of Parliament might excuse them: but the King cryed full, no, no, I will haue it so, and the Queene also: whereupon they were forced to obey.

On the first of Iune, *Monf. Seruin* deliuered what they had in charge from his Maiefty, C and withall they gaue their aduice vnto the Court, how they might compound this business with the Kings fauour and the honor of the Parliament: which was, That the Court should depute some amongst them to the King and Queene, to let them vnderstand, that by their remonstrances, the Parliament had no intention to thinke or speake of the King or Queenes actions, nor of her Regency and government: to reiterate their great submissions which they had already made, and to make protestations of all seruice, obedience, fidelity and respect: which done, they did verily beleue their Maiesties would rest satisfied. All the Chambers being assembled, the business was taken into deliberation, and in the end it was resolved according to the aduice of the Kings Councell. Vpon the second of Iune in the afternoone, the Kings Councell were sent for to the Loure, to whom the D Queene said, that the King could not heare any thing of the execution of his will, or that the Decree made in Councell had bene read and inrolled: whereupon *Monf. Seruin* gaue her to vnderstand, that the Parliament was resolved to performe all the duties their Maiesties could desire, and to giue all the satisfaction they can vnto their King, namely concerning the three points which they had desired.

First, That they had neuer thought to speake of the King, nor of his actions.

Secondly, Neither of the Queene mother, or of her Regency and Government: but had greatly commended her wisdom, care, and affection to the good of the Estate, and quiet of the Realme, yet since the Kings Maioity.

Thirdly, That they had not attempted against the Kings authority, by the Decree whereof they complained, and that they did neuer beleue that they had any other authority but what had bene put into their hands by their Kings, neither that they could have any soveraigne power in this Realme but the Kings: so as they could not attempt any thing of themselves, neither could they subsist without his: That they breathed nothing but obedience and faithfull affection to his seruice, and a generous desire for the preferuation thereof. Notwithstanding this protestation, the Queene said, That the King gaue charge his commandement should be executed, and that the Decree should be read and inrolled vpon paine of disobedience: wherewith the Court being made acquainted by the Kings Councell, the Chambers being assembled, there was much consultation touching their proceeding, and in the meane time the Queene sending againe for the Proctor generall, and the Advocates, said vnto them, *That hearing the Court had past a Decree, to make such submissions vnto the King as were due vnto him, with a testimony of the honors which they here vnto her the execution of which decree was expected, and that when the Court should begin, the King would giue such answer as every one should rest satisfied.*

They making a new protestation of the Courts fidelity & affection to the Kings seruice, with the reuerence & obedience they did owe vnto their Maiesties, finding that the King and Queene by their good countenance (confirmed by their words) had made them con- stration

The Queene  
speech to the  
Kings learned  
Councell.

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A stration of their will and intent, whereby the Court might assure themselves of all the good that might be expected from a King which takes pleasure in wife and faithfull seruants: This they thought good to represent vnto the Court, that knowing what had past, they might resolve by their wisdoms of what they should hold fit for the Kings good and seruice. Whereupon the Court being assembled, they decreed to make their humble submissions vnto the King and Queene; after which, matters remained as they were before, the Remonstrances and Decree continued in the Registers Office, and the Decree of the Kings Councell was not inrolled.

During these businesses in France, the Warre reuiued in Sauoy, betweene the Catho- B lique King and the Duke, vpon certaine differences; the King pretending a Title to the County of Aste in Piedmont, & the Duke challenging his deceased wifes Dowry in the Duchie of Millan. The last yeare they had great forces in field on either side, but by the mediation of the Popes Nuncio, and the Marquis of Rambouillet Embassador for the French King, there was a suspension of Armes for foure moneths, either party withdrawing his Armie; whereat the King of Spaine was not altogether pleased with his Gouernour of Millan, for that he had granted the Duke so long a truce and drawne his Armie out of Piedmont, to oppresse his owne subiects in the Duchy of Millan: whereupon he commanded him (by his Letters written this yeare in January) to march with all speed into Piedmont for the lodging of his Armie there; to chastise the Duke of Sa- C uoy, for the reputation of his Armes, and the execution of his commandements.

These Letters were surprised by the Duke of Sauoy, but the rigour of the winter, and the abundance of snow, hindered all warlike attempts vntill March, and in the meane time they prepared their forces. The Duke of Sauoy being aduertised that the Gouernour of Millan, leaued great forces, and made all warlike preparations, with an intent to besiege Aste, and Verceil, he fortified himselfe from France, Lorraine, Swisserland & Holland: and in the Spring both the Armies went to field, where there were many sieges, encounters, and militarie exploits; the particularities whereof I must leaue to the Original.

The Commander of Sillery being sent into Spaine to carry a New-yeares Gift to the D Infanta, from the Christian King: He had also the affaires of Sauoy in charge, to the end he might procure a peace, and know the King of Spaines intention touching that subiect. The Marquis of Rambouillet being aduertised of his Negotiation, hee sent to demand audience of the Duke being at Aste. But the Duke thinking it not fit (considering the state of the warre and his affaires) to treat of a Peace in Aste: he sent him word that by the ninth of May he would be at Valfenera, which was ten miles off, where hee would giue him audience.

At his coming thither, the Marquis told the Duke, that the Commander of Sillery had brought from Spaine, that the Catholique Kings intention was, not to take any satisfaction, nor submission from him; but that he should presently disarm, retaining only such troopes of Souldiers as shall be necessarie for the guard of his places, and for the safety of his estates and Countreys. That the said Duke should referre all the controuersies he had with the Duke of Mantua, to the Emperours iudgement; with promise not to wrong the said Duke of Mantua, nor to attempt any thing but by a ciuill course for all his pretensions. That in doing this, all the places which the King had taken from him should be restored. And if the Catholique King should attempt to wrong him, or his estates, the most Christian King did promise to vndertake his defence.

The Duke of Sauoy hearing of the King of Spaines intention, he held it fit to consider thereof before hee should make any answer, telling the Marquis that hee had a desire to confert with the Prince his sonne, his Councell, and the Embassadors of Princes which were with him touching that subiect; and that on Saturday following, hee would meet him at Quieres, and there acquaint him with his resolution. The Gouernour of Millan being with his Armie before Aste, in the meane time on Whitsunday, there was a great concluded for three dayes, during which truce, the Marquis of Rambouillet went vnto the Spanish Campe to treat with the Gouernour of Millan for the conclusion of a Peace. This truce gaue good hope thereof: The Spanish Armie suffered much, having bene six weeks in one place in great care and want of water: they held their enemies to be defeated but on one side onely, without hope of forcing it: yet both the one and the other were

Warres be-  
tweene the  
K. of Spaine,  
and the Duke  
of Sauoy.

The King of  
Spaines inten-  
tion touching  
the Duke of  
Sauoy.

very circumspect not to be surprized during this Treatie of Peace. The Governour of A Millan having made a new Trench, and placed 36. Gabions thereupon, hoped there to make his batterrie, and thence to play vpon the new Fort of Saint Peters, which the Sauoyards had made. But the 21 of Iune, an houre before day, the Marquis D'Yrfe with 800 foot, followed by 800 others, and 200 horse conducted by the Earle Guy of S. George went and fired the said Gabions, and the Sauoyard entered into the Spanish Trenches, where there were many flaine on both sides: the Earle Guy was shot into the shoulder with a Musket, and two Spanish Captaines were flaine. This action was like not only to hinder, but even to break off the Treatie of Peace: yet it was apparently seene, that the Spanish Armie decayed dayly; and on the contrarie the Sauoyard increased with Gentlemen and Souldiers, which (notwithstanding proclamation to the contrarie in France) found the means to get thither.

The Ambassador of France, was very desirous, seeing he had brought the Sauoyard and Spaniard so neere the Temple of peace, that they should enter the same; and to this end exhorted the Duke of Sauoy to signe the Capitulation the same day: which hee did that evening. On the morrow, the Ambassador went vnto the Spanish campe, to cause the Governour of Millan to signe the two promises of obseruing the points of the accord: which were of this tenour:

That for so much as the most Christian King by his Ambassador had invited him; as also his Maiestie of Great Brittain by Sir Dudley Carleton, and the Swissers by their Ministers effectually exhorted him vnto peace, for the publicke good of all Christendome: His Highnesse for the reuerence and respect he beares vnto their Maiesties; and the Common-wealth of Venice, and the desire he hath to satisfie them; and all the world of his good will and loue vnto the peace and tranquillitie of the Christian Common-wealth, according to the desire of the aboue-named Princes and States, is content, and promiseth to disarme himselfe within one month after publication of these presents. And not to retaine out of his whole Armie, above foure ordinarie companies of Swissers for the assistance of his Estates, and defence of his places, and as many of his subjects as shall suffice for their safeties.

He promiseth also not to offend the Duke of Mantua: and touching their differences and pretensions, his Highnesse shall not attempt anything by force against the said Duke, but shall proceed civilly by way of Justice before the Emperor, in regard whereof the Marquis of Rembouillet promised in his Kings name, that the vassals and subjects of the Duke of Mantua, which have caried Armes, and served his Highnesse of Sauoy in the last warre of Montferrat, shall be secured for their persons, and restored to their goods, to enjoy them as before the warre.

All places shall be restored after this disarming, with all the Artillery, Armes, and Munition which was found in them, with all prisoners taken on either side: And in case the Spaniards (contrarie to the Tenour of this Treatie, and the Word giuen by the King of Spaine to the Christian King) shall directly, or indirectly, seek to trouble his Highnesse in his person, or Estates, his most Christian Maiestie shall take their protection vpon him, and shall giue him all necessary aide for his defence. The execution of the retreat of both Armies, shall be made in this manner:

1. The Marquis of Rembouillet shall intreat his Highnesse to draw 2000 foot out of Afte, and at the same instant hee shall write to the Gouverneur of Millan, and intreat him to withdraw the King of Spaines Armie from those places where it now lies, and cause to retire as farre as Croix Blanche: After which the Marquis shall againe intreat his Highnesse to retire the rest of his Armie, retaining onely a sufficient number for the defence of his Estates. And the same day that this shall be agreed, he shall make request vnto the Governour, to retire with all the Catholique Kings Armie out of his Country: And the said Marquis did promise vnto his Highnes in his Kings name, that the Governour of Millan presently after they had disarmed, should so dispose of the whole Armie, as neither his Highnes, nor any other Prince should haue cause of ialousie; neither should they demand in the Catholique Kings name, any passage for souldiers through his Highnesse territories, during the space of six months next ensuing.

His most Christian Maiestie shall presently command the Marshall of Deslignieres, and all the Governours of Prouinces which confine vpon his Highnesse Estates, having effected what he ought, (in case the Spaniards should faile on their part) to assist him with

Articles of a  
Peace between  
the King of  
Spaine, and  
Dof Sauoy.

The manner of  
the Armes  
retiring.

all their forces, without compelling any other order or commandement from Court, and notwithstanding any prohibition they haue formerly had: That the Swissers and Valesians shall haue free passage in the Duchy of Millan, as they had before the Warre. That his most Christian Maiestie should pardon all his Vassals and Subjects, who contrarie to his proclamations had served his Highnesse in this occasion; restoring them to their honours, pensions and entertainments, and granting them all necessarie Letters of absolution according to the custome of France: His Highnesse had three months time to giue aduice to his friends and confederates to forbear from all Acts of hostilitie, yet if anything should be done during the said time, it should not prejudice the peace, his Highnesse restoring those things which should be taken, and giving satisfaction to the parties interested.

And all the said things (except the order which shall be giuen to the Marshall of Deslignieres, and other Governours of France) shall be executed by his Maiestie, after his Highnesse disarming: the said Marquis promising in his Kings name to see the aduices of this Treatie duly obserued, as well for that which doth concerne the most Christian King, as for that which depends vpon his Catholique Maiestie, and to cause all to be executed by his most Christian Maiestie, within twenty dayes after the conclusion of this Treatie, which was signed on the 21 of Iune, by the Duke of Sauoy, the Marquis of Rembouillet, and the Agent for France: His Maiesties Ambassador of Great Brittain did also signe this Capitulation with these words. That they should faile on the King of Spaines behalf, or would directly, or indirectly, undertake against his Highnesse person, or his Estates, that the King his Master would take him into his protection; and giue him all necessary aide for his defence. Signed Dudley Carleton. Now came to the Ambassador for the State of Venice, who the like, promising that if after his Highnesse of Sauoy had disarmed, the Spaniards should faile in the conditions promised, and should offer violence vnto his Highnesse, to violate the relations for his defence with the Crowne of France, and with other Princes, which had subscribed to this Capitulation. Signed Renier Zeno.

After all this the Marquis of Inojola Governour of Millan promised vnder his hand to performe the Articles of this Treatie: and as these words were ended by the declaration of the Christian King without arming or oppressing his subjects with the cruelties of warre, Henric himselfe had beene an Arbitrator betweene these two great Princes, proceeded to the Duke of Sauoy, and stayed this Duke from attempting anything by armes in opposition against the Duke of Mantua.

There doe many times growe ialousies, and afterwards quarrels, betwixt the Countenours, and the Kings Lieutenants in one Prouince. The Duke of Longueuille, Gouverneur of Picardy; and the Marshall D'Ancre who was the Kings Lieutenant there, and Gouverneur of the towne and Castle of Amiens were in no good termes. There happened many things in the beginning of this yeare to increase their quarrell. The Marshall D'Ancre had resolved to settle himselfe in Picardie, and especially in the Citadell of Amiens, where hee had caused certaine houses to be beaten downe neere the bridge, which diuided the Citadell from the towne by a Channell of the River of Soame, the which hee could be so accommodated, as he might draw it when hee pleased. This Bridge did increase the ialousies betwixt the Duke and the Marshall, and betwixt the citizens of Amiens, and the Citadell. The townefmen complaining that they could not goe in and out on horsebacke by the Bridge at their pleasure: All these distrusts betwixt the Duke and the Marshall made them propound an exchange of the Gouverneur of Northmandie, for that of Picardie; the which the Duke would nor accept. In Iune the Duke and the Inhabitants of Amiens had resolved to break the chaines of the Bridge, called Pont Doleit: for the effecting whereof, the Duke came downe accompanied with thirty horse, setting certaine Lock-Smiths on worke to break the chaines: but they were interrupted by some which came out of the Citadell, which caused an alarme within the towne and Citadell, so as all went to Armes. Whereupon the Duke to avoid any further inconuenience, resolved to depart, sending word to the Gouverneur of the Citadell, that although he had not advertised him of his intention to break the Bridge; yet he had sufficient authoritie to doe it as Gouverneur of the Prouince. They told him that without doubt those which had resisted, would be disauowed by the Marshall.

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upon this occasion they were of aduice, that he should suffer the Duke of Longueville to break the Bridge in his presence, by which means they should pacifie all their forces. That after his departure they might repaire it againe in the Marshall dole command. *Hereupon* having in a manner yielded to this aduice, they sent word thereof to the Duke: and *de Thier*, (who had made all this opposition) was maine to reue from the Bridge into the Citadell with his souldiers: Whereupon hee went to the Governour, who propounded the resolution vnto him with all the considerations, to whom hee answered, That hee had undertaken to keepe and make good the Pont Dole, or there to die; that they might not abandon it, without committing the great battelle which could be imagined, and unworthy of men which bore Armes; And hereupon returned to the Bridge; where hauing spoken with the souldiers, they promised to assist him with the hazard of their liues. Whereupon the Governour ascribed the Duke of Longueville, charging him not to lett him any thing, considering *de Thiers* resolution. The Duke to auoid some greater combustions, refused to give out his designe, and retire himselfe to his lodging. The newes hereof being come to Court, *de Thier* was commended; and afterwards advanced to a command of Horse.

The Prince of Conde & other great men retire from Court.

The Duke of Bouillon Letter to President Lamoignon.

Their Maiesties hauing resolved to part, about the end of Iune, to goe into Guiney, all things being prepared in Paris for the marriages. The Companies of Horse being called to accompany them this voyage. And the continuing the ancient Councellers of State, for the government of affaires. All these things I say increased the Jealousies and contentions of the Prince of Conde, and other great personages which had assisted him in his former alterations, taking diuers pretexts to retire themselves from Court. The Prince of Conde was the first. Some write that hee held himselfe wronged by the Seigneurs of Dole, and Bulson Councellers of State; and that he had protested he would inuoluntarily returne to Court while they sat in Council. In the beginning of Iune; The Marshall of Bouillon wrote this following Letter to President Lamoignon, which treats of nothing but matters of State, and shewes reasons of their contentions.

Sir, I had written vnto you, but receiued no answer. I do not thinke that all libertie is best, but that they which haue place and Office in the Kings Council, may communicate what they hope for, or that which is continued in the affaires of State, that by these communications they may find out the means which are offered to carry them to more profitable counsels, and to free them from those which may hurt and weaken the royall dignity, which is the ground-wooke whereon this Estate hath her chiefe support. I haue seene the remonstrances of the Parliament, and the Decree of the Kings Council, by the which itemes his Maiestie is much offended with the Parliament, ordaining that the Decree and Remonstrances shall be cancelled and brought out of the Register vnto his Maiestie. Being none of the Robe to understand their formes, I will make a briefe relation of the thing: which is, concerning the aduice which this great and honorable company giues vnto the King of many things importing his seruice. They forcing nothing, neither in the time, nor in the forme, which his Maiestie and the Queene would hold for the redressing thereof. His Maiestie seemes to referre the remedies to the answer of the Estates grieuances; which Estates as you and I know, had little or no libertie, and less satisfaction to carry into their Provinces; which leaues small hope that in their answers there will be any contentment for the publique. The ouerture made by those Remonstrances will giue his Maiestie occasion to satisfie many bad Censures, which haue beene made of the successe of affaires, seeing that the ouerture to the remedies is ill taken. That we see notable changes in their resolutions, as of the annual Rent called Paulette, and the sale of Offices; which they did allow, and promised solemnly to the Estates; yet since they haue confirmed both, and left them as they were before. They command the General Deputies of them of the Religion, to take a Bribe for their assembly at Gergeau, and yet without any cause or motion of them of the Religion they transferred it to Grenoble. These examples, shew the change of Councils: they speake also of the execution of the marriage, by which it seemes they will augment the feares of such as loue the Estate, the progresse whereof hath beene communicated to few or none of those who principally ought to haue knowledge thereof. Wee see daily many Commissions sealed and dispatched. The Duke of Sauoy more and more oppressed. The King of Spaines forces

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A forces a foot in many places, and so shall likewise those of France bee leauied. And why so? but to violate the Kings right, and that of the State, in fauour of his most flourishing enemies: Who sayes it is not good the King should marry? or that the Infante is not the greatest Princeesse in Europe? Who knowes not that the mariages betwixt great personages should marry the persons, but not the Estates, and that in this regard no man hath dislike of this alliance? But the proceedings and preparations make many feare, that it will ingage vs in our former miseries, trouble vs, and make vs lose our ancient Allies, and vnto vs to those which will draw vs from the greatest of our Estate, to the exaltation of theirs; from our rest to troubles; and from the balance which France hath alwayes held in the affaires of Europe, to a forced coniunction with Spaine. The feare of these inconveniences is lawfull, and the desire of the remedy which should be bred in all true Frenchmen, to pray vnto God to inspire the Queenes heart, to diuert it as it seemes easie. If they would with the greatest part of the State deliberate of these things, and take aduice to remedy them, not sparing any one whom they shall finde to be Author of these bad counsels: They shall know them that loue their Maiesties, and the State, and nor by the false colours which are giuen by daily flanders, the which are more credited then truth. And for that I know I am more assaulted then any other, I desire to make my actions knowne to the world. They say I make leaues of souldiers, It is vntrue, but if I should assure my selfe by my friends, what should I doe, but every man in France doth the like? What can I thinke when they leaue forces in France for the Kings seruice, and I am not imploied to haue the chiefe command? If they imploy not me and other good Frenchmen, Is it not a signe that these forces shall serue to support factions contrary to the State. If this be so, why should I suffer my selfe to be oppressed, hauing committed no basenes nor treacherie? Sir, you that loue the King and the Estate, bee a means they may cast their eyes vpon the remedies, and vpon the length and diuersitie of accidents, to the end they may advance the one, and recoyle the other, to the which I will contribute faithfully, and courageously what lyes in me without any consideration of mine owne particular. I will not omit the refusal of that which is due vnto me, in regard of Sedan, and for the protection thereof, which shewes that they neglect the Kings right; and a thing of great importance, the which (notwithstanding these bad affections) I will preferre with the helpe of God for the Kings seruice, and good of France, and that no fraud or power shall diuert me.

To this Letter there was an answer published vnder the name of an ancient Councellor of State, wherein he said, That they which gouerned the State, were the cause of the abuses and disorders. That the Fountaine of all the miseries of France, proceeded from the discontent of great men, who thought they were not fauoured enough. That few busineses concerning the generall good of the Estate had beene concluded, without the aduice of the greatest which were in Court, especially of the Prince of Conde. That their Maiesties desire was to reforme the Council, if there were any necessity. That they stirred vp the people to rebell, rather then ease them. The state of the reuenues since the Kings death, and the great expences to maintain the Kings authoritie, and to preserve France from ciuill Warres in the last alterations procured by the Prince of Conde. That the publishing of the Remonstrances of the Parliament, had beene done by some which fauoured designs preiudiciall to the State. That the King had more interest to maintain the authoritie of Iustice, then any of his subiects. Hee makes answer to the Marshals complaints, touching the change of resolutions in Council, and of their Maiesties care to maintain the alliances of the Crowne of France. That it should be a shame for the King to deferre the execution of the mariages. Their Maiesties holily desire to maintain peace amongst Christian Princes. That the Princes leauied men secretly. Their Maiesties had resolved to be at Bourdeaux vpon the eighth of September: but the insupportable heate, and some affaires of State, stayed their departure vntill the 17 of August: and in the meane time the King had inuited the Prince of Conde by word of mouth, to giue him so much contentment as to accompany him in his voyage, and afterwards hee sent the Countesse of Soissons and the Duke of Neuers to perswade him; but seeing that he was gone from Saint Maur to Clermont, he dispatched the Seigneur of Villeroi vnto him. First, to presse him to satisfie his desire, and to returne to Court to accompany him to Bayonne. Secondly, to learne the cause of his absence: for his Maiestie desired

An answer to the Duke of Bouillon Letter.

The King sends Monsieur Villeroi to the Prince of Conde.

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fired that he (being the first Prince of his blood) should have the honour to conduct Madame the Kings Sister, and to receive the Princesse of Spaine his promised Spouse. But he made answer that before he returned to Court to accompany the King in his voyage, they must provide for the reformation of some disorders which were in the State; that is to say: 1, Upon the assembling of the Kings Councell. 2, Touching the Remonstrances of the Parliament: and 3, Touching certaine points which concerned his owne particular, and that of his friends: This being reported vnto their Maiesties by Monsieur de Villeroi, they tooke aduice for reformation of the Kings Councell, and gaue an extract of their intentions vnto him vpon that subiect, and sent him the second time vnto the said Prince, who having presented them, and deliuered his charge, the Prince seemed to allow of the Kings intentions, touching the reformation of his Councell: but touching the other points, which were represented vnto him, he said hee could not resolve any thing before hee had conferred with his friends: whereupon he departed presently from Clermont to Couchy, for two reasons: the first (as they said) was, for that it was easier to surprise his person remaining any longer at Clermont, there being many companies of men at Armes and light-horse lying thereabouts: and the second was, to meete with the Dukes of Longueville and Maine, the Earle of Paul, and the Marshall of Bouillon.

Monsieur de Villeroi sent againe vnto the Prince of Conde.

Monsieur de Villeroi third Voyage to the Prince of Conde.

The King desirous to give content vnto the Prince, and to take from him all subiect and pretext of his absence from Court, he sent the said Villeroi backe the third time, to testifie vnto him his Maiesties loue; where they entered into conference, the which if it had not bene interrupted, it was thought would have given content both to the King and Prince. But his Maiestie considering that time did presse him to beginne his voyage of Guienne; and to be at Bourdeaux the eighth of September, whereof they had aduertised the King of Spaine, they resolved to part on the first of August, their Maiesties giving warning vnto all, which should attend them to prepare themselves: whereof they thought good to aduertise the Prince, and other Princes and Noblemen which were with him, giving the charge vnto the Seigneur of Pont-Chartrain a Secretary of State, commanding him to ioyne with Monsieur de Villeroi to present the Kings Letter vnto the Prince: who coming to Couchy on the 27 of Iuly, acquainted Monsieur Villeroi therewith. But he perfwaded him to forbear the deliuerie, for that hee was vpon the point to reconcile the Prince vnto his Maiestie, and that all would succeed well, if the conference were not interrupted: notwithstanding Pont-Chartrain told him that the King had resolved to depart within sixe dayes, and that hee had given expresse commandement to aduertise the Prince thereof, and to deliuer him his Letters, the contents were as followeth.

Pont-Chartrain brings Letters to the Prince.

Coufin, I have often made you acquainted with my desire, that you should accompany me in my voyage to Guienne, for the accomplishment of my marriage, and have inuited you to come vnto me for that subiect; yea, I have let you vnderstand my good intentions touching certaine points, whereof you desired to be satisfied, before your returne, as well concerning the general, as other things: to which end I have often sent Monsieur de Villeroi vnto you, by whom you might be assured of my affection, & loue, and of the Queen my mothers vnto you. Notwithstanding, I have not yet heard your intention, there being nothing but excuses and delays on your part: wherefore being pressed to depart, I send the Seigneur of Pont-Chartrain, to acquaint you with my resolution, meaning to depart on the first of the next moneth without delay; and to inuite you againe on my behalf, to come and accompany me, and to hold the ranke which is due vnto you by your qualitie and birth; or tell them if (contrarie to my hope) your intent be to make any difficultie, and to deny mee this content, to the end I may be fully satisfied, being the chiefe subiect of his voyage: referring my selfe to that which Monsieur de Villeroi, and he shall deliuer vnto you, I pray God, &c. Paris 26 Iuly 1615. Signed Lewis.

The Kings Letter to the P. of Conde.

The Prince taking occasion to breake off the Conference vpon the Kings sodaine departure: by his answer he besought him to have patience, vntill that hee had given order for these Articles aboue-mentioned, otherwise he could not assist his Maiestie in the said voyage. This was the tenour of this answer.

Sir, vnderstanding by the Letter, which your Maiestie hath bene pleased to write vnto me, of your sodaine resolution to vndertake your voyage of Guienne, and the commandement you made me to come and assist your Maiestie; I was of opinion that this haste depart-

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A departure (before you had settled the affaires of your Estate, and provided for the disorders which have bene presented vnto you, as well by the general Estates, as by your Parliament of Paris) was a continuation of their bad counsels which are the Authors, whom I have not heretofore named in my most humble Remonstrances, to the end I might not displease you, nor the Queene your Mother, hoping they would forbear to abuse your Maiesties bounty: but seeing they continue to make vse of your authority for a pretext of their pernicious designs, and violent Counsels, too publique to be any longer suffered; seeing they employ them to the subversion of your Estate, to the weakening of your Crowne, the ruine of your House, and of other Princes, Officers of your Crowne, and chiefe of your Nobilitie; I am forced, Sir, after a long patience to present vnto your Maiestie (with the humilitie of a most humble subiect) the iust reasons which stay mee from obeying your commandement. I will tell your Maiestie, that when I was retired to Creil, it having pleased you to send Monsieur de Villeroi with commandement to come vnto you, making offers that your Maiestie would aduise to settle some good order in the publique affaires of your Realme: I made him answer, that having been eight moneths at Paris, where I had seene the beginning, progresse, and issue of the Estates such as it was, the practices which were vsed to corrupt the Deputies, and to frustrate their deliberations, and resolutions: The Parliament insulted vpon, and vnworthily intreated, for that they desired to serue your Maiestie: my life, and the liues of many other Princes and Lords of qualitie put to compromise; for that wee deliuered our opinions freely in your counsell, touching those things which were presented for your seruice, and the good of the Estate; I could not returne with dignity nor safety, vntill it should please your Maiestie to provide for the reformation of your Counsels, and the publique disorders contained in the remonstrances of your Parliament. Whereupon it pleased you to send him backe againe to Clermont, with a more ample commission, wee conferred together touching the reformation of your Counsell, and the orders which hee had charge to shew mee: and as for the Remonstrances of the Parliament, I did forbear to deliuer my opinion, vntill I had conferred with other Princes, and Officers of your Crowne, which concurre in the same opinion with me, as Monsieur de Villeroi hath given your Maiestie to vnderstand, who not disliking of this reason, had thought good to send him backe to this place, where being aduised this morning, wee were already entered into conference, touching the said Remonstrances, so as matters seemed to bee vpon termes of a good accommodation, whom as the Seigneur of Pont-Chartrain arriving, hee deliuered mee your Maiesties Letter; and acquainted mee with your sodaine departure, the which deprives the publique of the fruit which they expected by the issue of this conference; makes matters impossible to bee executed by reason of your haste: and by this meanes increaseth the disorders which are in your Estate, whereof I am constrained to name the authors vnto your Maiestie, which are, The Marshall D'Ancre, the Chancellor, the Commander of Sillery, Dole, and Bullion, who had bene onely aymed at by the remonstrances of the Parliament, on whom I beseech your Maiestie to doe publique Iustice: ordaining that the complaints made against their actions, may be verified, and that they may bee proceeded against by ordinarie course, according to the usuall forme; as also for the assassinate or murder, committed some few dayes since vpon the person of the Seigneur of Prouille, Sergeant Maior of the Towne of Amiens by an Italian Souldier of the Citadell, ordaining that hee may be deliuered into the hands of the ordinarie Iudges, to proceede in his tryall as so wicked an assassin.

had a most  
secretary  
allready

And vntill the orders for the reformation of your Counsell may be made and executed, the Remonstrances of the Court examined, the disorders contained therein provided for, and Iustice done as well on those persons whom I have now named to your Maiestie, as on the said Italian Souldier: I most humbly beseech you to excuse me, if I cannot attend you in your voyage: the which otherwise I would and will without any difficultie, if it please your Maiestie to provide for these things before your departure. Remaining your most humble, &c. Henry de Bourbon. From Concy the 27 of Iuly 1615.

By this answer their Maiesties conceived that the Princes desire seemed so stay their said voyage, and to lose the commoditie for this year, the which was sufficiently

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Letters sent in-  
to all Provinces  
for the safe keep-  
ing of their  
Towns.

The death of  
Pronville at  
Amiens & the  
D. of Longue-  
ville executed.

Pronville slain.

The Marshall  
D'Ancre's speech  
upon the death  
of Pronville.

by the refusal the other Princes and Noblemen with him, made to assist the King in this voyage. Whereupon their Maiesties being frustrate of this content which they expected from the said Princes; and that they all declared themselves to be discontented, the which might breed some combustions within the Realme; It was resolved in Councell to aduertise the Gouverneurs of Provinces, commanding them to provide for the safety of their townes, to the end that no troubles might happen to the preiudice of the Kings seruice, and the peace of the Realme. Whereupon Letters were sent into all Provinces, commanding the Governors of Townes, Places, and Castles, not to give entry vnto the said Princes; That they should keepe a strict guard during their Maiesties voyage: Nor receiue any but such as had expresse commission from his Maiestie.

But before I proceed in this publique action of the Kings voyage, I must relate an ex-  
cess committed at Amiens, whereof the Prince of Conde makes mention in his Letter. The Iudge criminall of Amiens, had caused an Italian souldier of the Cittadell to be hanged for wounding an Apothecaries seruant. The Marshall D'Ancre being at Paris; and receiuing aduertisement thereof, was wonderfully offended, vowing reuenge; and that hee would cause the Iudges nose and eares to be cut off. Hee wrote in choller to *Herculaque*, Gouverneur of the Cittadell, who excused himselfe and laid the fault vpon *Pronville*, Sergeant Maior of the Towne. On the two and twentieth of Iuly, *Prince Lodouici* the Marshals Secretarie came vnto the Cittadell to pay the Souldiers. *Pronville* hearing thereof went from the Towne to visit him, where making many excuses for that which was past in the execution of the Italian Souldier, hee tooke his leave, and retired. Vpon the way neere vnto Pont-Dolent, hee was met by *Alphonso*, another Italian Souldier of the Cittadell, who at his first approach gaue him two stabs with his dagger and slue him, and then fled into the Cittadell. The iustice took vp the dead bodie, and vpon the complaint of his kinsfolke and friends, they demanded of *Herculaque* the Souldier *Alphonso* to proceed against him. But *Herculaque* made answer, that it was a businesse of great importance; That both he and the Souldiers of the Cittadell remembered the execution of the Italian Souldier which was hanged: An execution held by all men to haue bene rashly done, and that it had bred ryots betwene the Souldiers of the Cittadell and some inhabitants. Wherefore to maintaine the peace, and to take away all occasions of combustions, he must aduertise their Maiesties of what had past in the death of *Pronville*: That *Alphonso* was not to be tryed before the Criminall Iudge of Amiens being a Souldier. That he had caused him to be put in prison, and that according to their Maiesties commandement, he would deliuer him to the Prouost Marshall which should be appointed for his tryall. That *Alphonso* protested he had no premeditated designe to offend *Pronville*; who meeting him had vied some words of contempt against his Nation: whereupon they growing into choller, *Pronville* stricke him with his knife, and he had slaine him.

The kinsfolke and friends of *Pronville* pretended on the other side, that it was a murder committed of purpose, & commanded by the Marshall D'Ancre and his wife. That *Alphonso* had bene at Paris, and was returned but three dayes before. That before the fact hee had bene seene walke an houre together alone like a melancholy person, ha-  
ving some had designe: and that *Pronville* would rather haue stricke him with a cudgel which hee carried then with his fist. *Lodouici* was sent speedily to Paris to aduertise the Marshall of what had past; who deliuering the Gouverneurs Letters vnto him being in bed, hee swore a great oath, that it was too much, that he should haue giuen him a staffe ouer the face, or done him some affront, and not to haue slaine him. But afterwards by the Marshals commandement, the Gouverneur tooke him out of prison and conducted him himselfe into Flanders.

This death of *Pronville* happened when as the Duke of Longueville went to the Assem-  
bly of Coucy, where the Prince of Conde receiued newes thereof. They all con-  
sidering that the occasion which was offered by the discontent of the people of A-  
miens vpon this accident, would aide them much to expell those which were in the Cittadell of Amiens. Whereupon the Duke of Longueville was to re-  
turne the next day to Amiens to entertaine such as hee thought were incensed against

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A against the Cittadell, and that according the disposition of affaires, the Princes would draw all their forces into Picardy, to assure themselves of Amiens, and of whatsoeuer else they could get by force or intelligence; but the Queene hauing notice herof, shee sent *Nerisfan* to command in the Cittadell of Amiens, and *Longueville* gouerned the Towne.

The Duke of Longueville being returned from Coucy to Amiens, the Towne and Cittadell were full of practices, reports, and distrusts. The Duke going out of Amiens on the Saturday morning, the second of August, came backe againe the same night, hee had giuen out that he was gone to hunt the Stagge; and those of the Cittadell belie-  
ued hee was gone to Corbie, and that the place was at his deuotion, as well as the heart of Rubempre; that it was the Rendezvous of his friends, that from thence they might with more conueniencie make them Masters of Amiens, and the Cittadell. The inhabitants in the meane time were in feare, apprehending that their Towne would be made the Thea-  
ter where the Duke and they of the Cittadell would Act their Tragedies. Some of the people which did affect the Duke offered to make a Corps de Garde before his lodging. But they of the Cittadell being armed with the Kings name, and his Letters Patents by which they were forbidden to receiue the Duke of Longueville into any Towne of his government of Picardie; they sent for the chiefe of the Clergie, the Magi-  
stracie, and the Inhabitants into the Cittadell, to whom hauing read the said Let-  
ters containing his Maiesties pleasure, they all protested to continue constant in the Kings obedience.

The Duke of Longueville hearing of all this; as hee was at dinner on Sunday the thirteenth of August, hee was informed that the Captaines and Souldiers of the Cit-  
tadell were arming and preparing themselves for some designe. Whereupon his peo-  
ple calling to Armes, they seized vpon a Port, by the which hee retired to Corbie. The Duke hauing receiued this affront, wrote his Letters of complaint vnto the King, informing him, that the Lieutenant and Souldiers of the Cittadell, had suborned two Traitors to draw him from Corbie to Amiens, saying, that it was very necessarie for the Kings seruice, and the preservation of the Towne, that he should goe speedily; the  
D which hee did in the night, being onely accompanied with three horses. Being armed, the people offered to make a guard before his lodging, the which hee refused, being at  
free from feare, as hee was from guilt. That being the next day at dinner, they of the  
Cittadell began to cry to Armes, telling the people that there were 1000 horse at  
the gates which came to surprize them, seeking by this means to draw them into a mu-  
tiny, where assuring themselves that I would come (howsoeuer accompanied) they meant to  
surprize me; but being aduertised thereof by one of the partie (an honest man then the  
rest) hee seized vpon a gate where he attended their coming; but they seeing they could  
not execute their pernicious designe, they sent him a Letter in his Maiesties name, by the  
which hee had declared him guiltie of high treason, & forbidden all the townes of his go-  
uernment to receiue him. That hee had retired to Corbie, whether his friends had come vnto  
him to prevent the like designe, and not to suffer these men to get so great power & au-  
thoritic in Picardie, as in time to come his Maiestie should be no more obeyed, to prevent  
the which, hee would willingly employ his life. Befeeching his Maiestie that hereafter he  
would not engage himselfe in their interests, nor suffer them to abuse his name and au-  
thoritic; but to doe as Kings his predecessors haue done, which was, To make themselves  
neuters in particular quarrels, to the end that hee might the more easily oppose himselfe a-  
gainst the violent designs they had vpon his life and fortunes, and that afterwards hee  
would willingly sacrifice both the one and the other for his Maiesties seruice.

After the declaration of the Kings will, which was sent to all the townes and countie  
F of his obedience, to forbid the Princes entrance; and that their Maiesties were resolved to  
depart without any delay. The Prince seeing they would haue no regard into his remon-  
strances, resolved to warre; but before he would take Armes, hee caused a declaration  
of his designes to be published, the which hee sent to the King and Queene, and was  
fled it to be printed and dispersed ouer all France and foraine countries. The chiefe points  
whereof are.

First hauing often acquainted the King and Queene mother, with the miseries and  
disorders which afflict France; and multiply dayly. Some about the King and  
[ m 2 ]  
uerting

The Duke of  
Longueville  
complaint vnto  
the King.

The Prince of  
Conde's declara-  
tion and iusti-  
fication of his  
actions.

verting this nourishment into poison, made the remedy to bee the entertainment of the A  
disease. 1. He complains, That demanding iustice for the abuses & disorders within the  
Realm, they fought to oppress him by Armes, and the Kings forces. 2. That such pro-  
ceedings against humble suitors, innocents, and unarmed, having beene publickly de-  
tested, there were yet some good men about their Majesties, which stayed the execution  
of so pernicious a Councell, and then they propounded a conference, which was con-  
cluded at Saint-Marchould by a goodly resolution, for the assembling of the generall E-  
states of the Realme, the wholesome remedie for domestique wounds. 3. That they  
did expect a happy successe of the said Estates, and farre other then did appear by  
the event; the remedies which they had applyed were made fitter to nourish and enter-  
tine the disease, then to cure it. 4. That they had made practises throughout all the  
Prouinces for the election of Deputies; that they had called none to particular convoca-  
tions, but whom they pleased; and that the libertie of election had beene wholly sup-  
pressed by Monopolies, threats, and violencies. 5. That they had sent instructions  
throughout the Prouinces, of that which they would have inserted in their Bills, the  
which in many places had beene drawne, and neuer imparted to the bodies of Townes  
and communities, as well of the Nobilitie, as of the people; so as the Estates assembled  
had nothing but the name, for that the people hath not yet found any ease by them,  
nor conceived any good hope, but many prefaces of more miserie. 6. That the house  
of Commons (which was the greatest part of the assembly) desiring (according to the C  
affection they beare vnto the King) to provide for the safety of his person, by a reme-  
die held fit by all good men; they had beene commanded to silence, by a Decree of the  
Kings Councell, as if the safety of the life of Kings had beene a scrupulous proposition,  
and not worthy to moue debate: so as by this silence or base preuarication, they have  
consented to the setting of so dangerous a mischief against the sacred persons of Kings,  
as to cause the Article to be drawne out of the instructions of the Estates, which menti-  
oned a search of the detestable murder committed on the person of the deceased King  
of happy memory, whereof the bloody wound cryeth for vengeance before the ius-  
tice of God against the treacherous authors of his death. 7. He complains that an  
Italian Souldier of the Cittadell of Amiens was so audacious as to assassinate pub-  
likely the Seigneur of Prouille, Sergeant Maior of this frontier Towne, and no ius-  
tice hitherto done; and yet in the meane time many Gentlemen have beene rigou-  
rously pursued for slight causes, being sensible of the treacherie of their household ser-  
uants; which hath been held a great offence, for that they had affected the said Princes  
seruice, and hee had taken their protection. 8. Hee said they had vsed all art and  
inventions to leauy money of the people, and that there had beene thirtie sue or for-  
tice Edicts sealed to that end. That this money was not appointed to come into the  
Kings Coffers, nor to supply the publique necessitie of the State, but to glur the in-  
satiable couetousnesse of some priuate persons. 9. That these things and many o-  
ther of the like nature, too boldly attempted, had beene made manifest to the Estates, E  
who having nothing remaining but the name of their ancient Dignitie, it was not law-  
full for them to propound any thing without the consent of those which are the au-  
thors of disorders; and if any good men (not defiled with corruption, and in whose  
hearts there remained any sparke of the vertue of our Ancestors) have started for  
griefe, and cast out the last fobs of their dying libertie, they were put to silence, and  
by this means the little good which was expected from this assembly was smothered.  
Moreover hee said, that being resolved to goe and exhort euery one to lay a-  
side priuate interests, and to bend their affections to the good of the Kings seruice,  
and the ease of his people, and to expose himselfe first of all to the censure of the E-  
states, and to awaken their fidelitie and diligence, to doe their endeavors for the lay-  
ing open of the causes and authors of so many miseries; to propound the reme-  
dies; and to beseech the King to punish the guiltie; hee had notice given him,  
that the King forbade him to goe to the Estates. 10. Hee complained that ha-  
ving forborne to enter into the Estates, to the end there should no fault be imputed vn-  
to him (but that his too great affection vnto the Kings seruice, and the good of the  
State is made a crime) they would have seised vpon his person, and of other Princes, Of-  
ficers of the Crowne and Noblemen, who cannot endure to see the Maiesty of their King

A so miserably trodden under foot, nor the shamefull and licentious propagation of all  
things: And for that the people could not be perswaded that such violencies had beene  
commanded by his Maiesty. It was concluded in counsell to disarme the Parisians, to  
change the Captaines of quarters; to take away the chaines of their streets; to weaken  
the strength of the Towne; and to lodge Swifves and other Souldiers there. 11. He said  
that as these Estates had yielded no fruit, but penfions and aides to many Deputies of  
corrupt consciences, and a doubling of miseries, and apprehensions to the poore people;  
The Couste of Parliament of Paris (which hath alwayes yielded so many testimonies  
of her fidelitie for the preservation of this Crowne, which watcheth continually for  
the Kings seruice; and hath alwayes so profitably directed her Counsels to the good of  
the Estate) had in March last decreed vnder the Kings good pleasure, that the Princes,  
Dukes, Peeres, and other Officers of the Crowne, which haue place and voice in the  
Court, should be invited, to aduise vpon the propositions which should bee made for the  
Kings seruice; the ease of his subiects, and the good of his Estate: they sought presently  
to perswade his Maiesty that the Parliament had attempted against his authority, and by  
diuers practises to make the iust intentions of this company to be suspected, yea to moue  
him to indignation. Whereupon the Parliament having presented their humble remon-  
strances, whereby they layed open the miseries which did afflict the State, and discovered  
those which were the Authors: which made euery good man hope to see a speedy refor-  
mation of the affaires, & examples of iustice in the punishment of the culpable: But they  
made a Decree in the Councell of State, declaring the Parliament incompetent, to repre-  
sent vnto the King the miseries & disorders which multiplied dayly to the oppression of  
his subiects, and ruine of his Estate; terming them calumnious, & enterprisers of disobe-  
dience against his Maiesty, ordaining that (to extinguish the memory) they should be taken  
out of the Registers of the Court & brought to his Maiesty. 12. He complains that they  
suffer some Councillors of State to vsurpe all the power of the kingdom, & to change all  
things as they list, pervert the lawes and order of iustice; to abuse and tread downe the  
Parliament, suppress all honest true Frenchmen, and the Kings faithfull seruants, all the  
Court depending vpon them which can giue Penfions, and Benefices, Offices and govern-  
ments, and dare offer violence at the gate of the Louure, in the Kings Chamber, and in his  
presence. 13. He saith that the world sees, that since the alliances with Spaine, what con-  
tempt they make of forraigne Princes and Neighbours, and of the ancient friends & allies  
of this Crowne, and the great aduantages the Spaniards haue gotten in diuers places,  
witness the taking of Aix and Wesell, and many others vniuilly detained by the Mar-  
quis Spinola in the Countries of Cleues and Iuliers. They know that this alliance is  
not onely of persons, but of Counsels. They see that the King goes to mingle his affaires  
with a Prince which is in his full vigour; opens an entree for him into all the parts of his  
Realme; communicates his counsels vnto him to receiue his, for the government of his  
Estate: and they are not ignorant that the Queene his wife will haue her affections, her  
E fauourites, and her designs. That shee will haue power to bring in Spaniards into the  
greatest governments of the most important places, as they had seene Italians since the  
Kings death.

That they were in alarme for the Kings sudden departure, to see them without ne-  
cessitie (the affaires of the Realme being in so bad an estate) seeke to force Nature, and  
to hazard the health of his person, by the accomplishment of this mariage; the which  
might be deferred to another season, to auoid the dangers and inconueniences which are  
to be feared. In the meane time the King should grow in age, and in strength of body and  
minde; the affaires in better estate; His subiects more content; his neighbours and allies  
better assured, and his person in better disposition to marry. Hee should no more depend  
F on the ambition, couetousnesse, and peruerse affections of any one. Hee should be mode-  
rator of his owne will, and hold the reines of his Empire. Hee should be wise to free his  
people from miserie; strong to resist his enemies, and powerful to assure his ancient Al-  
lies. He should be flourishing in peace, inuincible in warre, his Realme filled with all blef-  
sings from heauen, and abound in all earthly felicities.

That they of the reformed Religion, who desire nothing, but rest vnder the benefit of  
the Edicts, complained also of this mariage, during the Kings tender age; as tending to  
their ruine; and also of the refusal made by the Nobilitie in the Estates, to demand the

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maintenance of the Edicts of pacification, the which ought to be observed as a fundamental law of state. And also of the reception and observation of the Council of Trent, sworn so solemnly within these few days by the Clergie, assembled at Paris, in view of the King and of his Council, to the great contempt of his authority, and the honour of his Crowne, a thing neuer heard of before, and which had not been practised in France or elsewhere. Wherefore the Prince affirms that these reasons haue bound him humbly to beseech the King before his departure to provide for the reformation of his Councils, and the disorders of the State. In the meane time to prevent slanders, and to informe the world of the integritie of his intention, hee addes what he thought fit for the satisfying of all Kings, Princes, Estates, and Nations of Christendome; and of the iust and necessarie reasons which moued him to retire from Court.

14. He saith, that since the Kings maiortie, and the assembly of the generall Estates, he hath bene alwayes neere vnto his Maiestie, to testifie his humble obedience by his presence and actions; confessing that he hath bene received with all testimonies of honour and fauour, when he hath bene silent of the publike miseries and calamities; and contrariwise ill intreated whensoever he came to touch this vicer. Every man knew the affronts he had receiued, and that notwithstanding this contempt, (very sensible to a Prince of his quality and courage) he had continued eight moneths in Paris, and although he had been often excited by his duty, provoked by the cry of the publike; and urged by the violence of the cull it selfe; yett had hee alwayes patiently attended and tryed all means, vntill all men saw his presence grew more contemptible, then profitable. And to take away all occasion from such as were wont to caluminate his actions, hee restored into the Kings hands (in view of the Estates) the Towne and Castle of Amboise, which had bene giuen him by the Treatie of S. Manchould; to make knowne vnto all France, that he desired no other security but that which depended on his own innocencie, the fauour of their Maiesties, and the loue of all good men.

That they had vsed his Maiesties name, and sent the Siegneur of Saint Geran to forbid him to goe into the Parliament, vpon diuers occurrents, for the good of the State, with commandement to arrest him if he did not obey this violence, proceeding from the same counsaill's which had often refused put him in the Bastile, with the other Princes and chiefe Officers of the Crowne, which were vnted vnto him. In the end (seeing that he exposed himselfe dayly to all sorts of dangers) he had retired himselfe to his houses for his more safety. After which followed the conferences with Monsieur de Villerey and the Siegneur of Pont-Chartrain, as I haue formerly written. 15. Hee complaines that vnder colour of this conference, they had a designe to surprize him in Clermont, hauing caused many companies of men at Armes and light-horse, to aduance and lodge thereabouts. But now it was no wonder if they had broken off the said conference, and negotiation begonne by Monsieur de Villerey, seeing it did serue but for a cloake to a wicked and pernicious designe, the which they would haue disguised.

With this Declaration the Prince of Conde, with the rest of the Princes and Noblemen which assisted him, publish a Protestation, containing, That they had no other end but to yeeld all humble obedience due vnto his Maiestie, and the Queene his mother: That they did not consent vnto, nor participate with any of the pernicious Councils which were vled in the government of this Estate. That they detested all factions, enterprises, and intelligences against the Kings authority; and that they desired to see a reformation of the State; the people relieved; iustice to raigne; the good to be defended from all violence; the bad to be punished, and things to be restored to their ancient splendour and dignity, by a generall reformation of so many disorders, and by the iust punishment of those which are the Authors. In the end, they entreated and exhorted all men of what condition or quality soeuer, that call themselves Frenchmen, to assist and aide them in so iust a cause, coniuering all Princes and foraine Estates to doe the like, and not to suffer such good and loyall subiects to be suppressed by such a conspiracie. *Cuncy 9. August.*

The Prince sent this declaration with a Letter vnto the King, beseeching him to take it in good part, if he sent the said Declaration vnto all his Courts of Parliament, and other assemblies, and to all Princes and Estates, his allies and confederates; to the end that every one might know whereto his actions tended, which had neuer any other end, but the good of his estate, and the preservation of his Crowne. Hee wrote also

The Prince's  
protestation.

The Prince  
writes to the  
King.

A also vnto the Queene mother, by the which he gave her to vnderstand, That his fidelity, birth, and courage, bound him to complaine of a Letter sent vnder the Kings authority vnto all the townes of France, forbidding them to open him their Gates: Madam, take good aduice, reiect that which is giuen you, seeing by the euent they are found ruinous. *Excuse me* (said he) *if I oppose my selfe vnto the will, offering my obedience to the King, and the respect due vnto your Maiestie; I send vnto the King the declaration of the instigation of my actions past, and what I shall haue to doe hereafter, which he will communicate I hope vnto your Maiestie.* Hee sent also this Manifestation vnto all the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, and to each one a Letter of almost one tenour.

B As for the Letters which the Prince sent vnto the Parliaments, he besought them, Not to endure (during his Maiesties tender age) those Ministers of State, which made a pretext of the Kings name to ruine the ancient Maximes and fundamentall lawes of the State, for the preservation whereof their Court had bene established; *Ioyne* (said he) *your desires with mine, which tend but vnto the publicke good, without any particular interest; this I protest and sweare vnto you, which I beseech you to beleue.* It is written, that all the Soueraigne Courts to the which he wrote, sent the packets forthwith vnto his Maiestie without opening them.

On the thirtieth of Iuly, the Prince had sent the Seigneur of La Hay to the Assembly of the Reformed Religion at Grenoble; and he likewise sent to the Maior and Sheriffs of

C Rochell, writing as followeth.

My matters, I send vnto you the Seigneur of Gruyolle, to let you vnderstand, that I haue likewise sent vnto the Assembly at Grenoble, and to enforme you particularly of that which hath past in the conference betwixt me and Monsieur de Villerey, and the resolution which I haue thereupon taken: by the which I inuite you to ioyne your felues to my holy intentions, as well for the preservation of the State, as to maintain your felues in particular. It concerns you. The assistance that my Father and Grandfather haue alwayes had from you, makes me to hope for the like courtesie from you, seeing that I haue the same affection to serue you. His Letter to the Assembly at Grenoble was to the same effect.

D Their Maiesties being aduertised of all these proceedings, and that the Prince continued discontent, yea that he meant to take Armes, it was resolved to provide for the safetie of the Townes and Prouinces of the Realme, especially for the Isle of France and Picardy, whither they sent many Commissions to leaue souldiers, and the Regiments of Ram-burge and Nauarre were set on foot. The towne of Soissons (being the chiefe retreat for the Princes) their Maiesties were enformed that it was easie to surprize; there being yet no souldiers within it; and that the chiefe inhabitants would countenance this enterprise, if their Maiesties would send some souldiers of the Regiment of the Guards to execute it. They made this action so easie, and the profit so great, (for that it seemed if this Towne were taken from the Princes, they should be forced to liue in peace) that one night they drew 800 men out of the Regiment to doe this execution. But as in ciuill warres there is alwayes some friend in the Cabinet, by whom they discouer their conclusions; so the Duke of Mayenne (being aduertised of this designe) put so strong a Garison into Soissons, as the troops (finding it was discouered) returned to their lodgings. Afterwards, the Duke purthoof out of the Towne whom he suspected to affect their Maiesties seruice, and to haue any credit within the towne.

All things now prepared to armes on either side, the Marshall D'Ancre leaues Paris, and comes to Amiens on the sixt of August, where he began to raise 600 horse, and 4000 foot for the preservation of Picardy. Hee presently aduertised all the Gouernours and Maiors of Townes of their Maiesties intention, contrary to that of the Duke of Longueuille: all assure him of their fidelity to the King. Hee of Arrdes (who was held to affect the Duke) remained a neuter during these combutions. But the Gouernor of Chastelet followed the Princes party, contrary to the promise he had made. The Marquis of Bon-neur sought to fortifie himselfe in Estaples, but it was without effect: So as in all Picardy there was not any but *Ruberpré* in Corbie, and *Haraucourt* in Chastelet, that declared themselves of the Princes partie. There were great leaues made in Picardy for both parties. The Prouost Marshall of Amiens being commanded by the Marshall D'Ancre to goe with eight men at armes of the Queenes Company and his Archers, to seize vpon a Gentle.

1615  
and to the  
Queene.

To the Princes  
and Nobility.

To the Courts  
of Parliament.

To the Rochel  
and Sheriffs of

Preparations  
to warre.

Marshall D'An-  
cre goes into  
Picardy.

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Gentlemen who leauied Souldiers for the Princes. Hee came thither, found him in his house, spake with him, and yet suffered him to escape; the Prouost returned to Amiens; thinking to excuse himself, saying, he could not execute the Marshalls command, without killing of the Gentleman, and that hee had no compassion to take him aliuie or dead; wherewith the Marshall was much discontented, and causing a gibbet to be set vp, he told the Prouost that he should be hanged; for an example to all others to serue the King faithfully. The Prouost was in great feare of his life, although he were not committed; but the Noblemen which were with the Marshall interceded for him, and obtained his pardon, for the which he gaue them thanks.

The Marshall of Bois-Dauphin Lieutenant general of the Kings army.

Being resolu'd in Councell to raise an army, the Marshall of Bois-Dauphin was made Lieutenant General of the Kings Army (which should consist of 1500 horse, 8000 French foot, and 2000 Swisses) in the Ile of France, Brie, Picardy, and Champagne, during their Maiesties voyage, to stop the passages of the Riuers, and to oppose himselfe against the Princes attempts: They put new Garisons into the townes vpon the Riuers of Seine and Marne, forbidding them to suffer any to passe without authority from the King or the said Marshall. The Bridges of Nante were broken by the Kings commandement: and in the meane time the Princes lay still at Coucy, Corbie, and Soissons, without any apparant shew of leauying any troops.

It was decreed that their Maiesties should part from Paris on the 17 of August, and that the Duke of Guise should conduct Madam the Kings sister, promised vnto the King of Spaine; to Bayonne; and receiue the Infanta which should be married to the King, which was a great honor to the Duke. They drew much money out of the Bastile, for the extraordinary expences of this voyage: and the Assembly of the Clergy (which was then held at Paris, to heare the accounts of their Receiuer general) promised to giue their Maiesties 44000 pound sterling.

The Magistrates of Paris sent for to the Louure.

Before their Maiesties departure, the Prouost of Merchants of Paris, with other Magistrates, were sent for to the Louure, where they receiued commandement to haue a speciall care to all things which pass within the City and thereabouts during the voyage: to looke into the dispositions of all men: to prevent seditions and tumults: to hinder practices & factions: and to be watchful, that there should be no leauies of souldiers, nor transport of armes or munition for warre, but for the Kings seruice: that their Maiesties left the guard of the Citie to the fidelity of the Burgeses vnder the authority of *Monsieur de Lion-court* their Gouverneur, and of President *Miron* Prouost of Merchants of the same Citie: and to assure and comfort the Parisians during the Kings absence, his Maiestie said that he left with them Monsieur his brother, desiring them to guard him carefully.

The King departed from Paris.

The day for the Kings departure being come, having taken the oath of fidelity from the Magistrates of the Citie, the Court of Parliament, and some other Officers, he went out of the City by five of the clocke in the morning. It is written, that some dayes before, he had sent word to *Monsieur le Jay*, one of the Presidents of the great chamber, that he desired to make vse of his seruice in this voyage: But hee excusing himselfe by reason of his indisposition, their Maiesties grew iealous of him, which made them loath to leaue him in Paris during their voyage. Whereupon two Exempts or Yeomen viuers of his guards, with 15 Archers of the body, went in his Maiesties name vnto the President, and told him that hee must refuse to depart presently, for that the Kings pleasure was hee should follow him in this voyage. They found him laid in his bed, ill disposed and sicke, yet notwithstanding any excuse, they caused him to rise suddenly, and going out of his house, they put him into a Caroch drawne by sixe horses, and let downe the windowes, and in this manner he was conducted by twelue or fifteene horse to Amboise, and there put into the Castele vnder a good guard.

President lay carried away.

The Queene mother parted after the King, and the Noblemen and officers in like manner: but about three of the clocke in the afternoone, Madam the Kings sister went out of Paris in great state. The Prouost of Merchants and the Sherifes of Paris (hauing the honor alone to accompany the Daughters of France, when they goe out of Paris to accomplish the promise of their marriages) prepared themselves to performe this duty vnto the Lady, and to take their leaues of her: they sent commandement to the 16 Capitaines of the quarters, to come to the Towne-house by two of the clocke in the afternoone, with twelue Burgeses out of euery quarter on horse backe: and the like charge was giuen vnto the

the

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A the three Companies of the Archers to be there also on horsebacke. All being ready according to the accustomed order, the Prouost and other officers being attired in their lueries on horse back, went to the Louure, where hauing saluted the Lady, she came forth and entered into a Litter, open on all sides, and richly embroydered with gold and silver, and so she passed through the streets of Paris with great ioy and acclamations, they wishing all happinesse to her voyage and marriage.

The day after the Kings departure, President *La Hayes* wife came to the Court of Parliament, complains of her husbands imprisonment, and craues their assistance and fauour in her distresse; at whose instance there were certaine Councillors of the Court deputed to goe vnto the King to know his pleasure: who had no other answer from his Maiestie, but that he meant to vse his seruice in that voyage: but the cleare sighted Iudged it should be but to the Castele of Amboise, where they would lodge him; which they conceiued was done, both for that he had great credit in the Parliament, and was very familiar with the Prince of Conde, who came often to visit the President during his abode in Paris.

Now after the Kings departure they beganne to draw their Forces together, and to frame their camps. The King is at Meaulx. On the 20 of August, the Marshall *Bois-Dauphin* being in Paris, gaue order for ammunition bread for his army, consisting then but of 4000 foot, and 7 or 800 horse, but there came presently vnto him many Commanders, Noblemen, and Captaines; among others, *Monsieur de Pralin*, the Barons of Vitry and Monglas, Colonel *Gallati*, the Baron of Buify, *D'Amboise*, *Bailloupiere*, *La Marke*, *Rembure*, and diuers others: In the meane time the Princes leaue new troops about Noyon, and Soissons, Corbie, Abeuille, Sedan, and Mezieres. This great preparation to armes on either side, doth amaze and terrifie the poore people with the euent of the warre: The villages in Picardy and Bry are abandoned, and they retire their goods into Townes and Castles: about Paris the peasants carie away all they might lose; yea the very suburbs of the City was left empty both of people and goods; fearing that if the Prince should aduance with his army towards Paris, or neere vnto it, to find a passage; his troops would spoile euen vnto the very gates, which apprehension continued from the Kings departure vntill the end of October. They put strong Garisons into Saint Denis, Saint Clou, and other places, as well for the assurance and commodity of the City of Paris, as to guard the passages of the Riuier of Seine against the Prince.

Troops leauied for the King and Princes.

The Prouost of Merchants and Magistrates of Paris, sent to Corbeil, to know if they needed any Forces for the preservation of their Towne; who gaue them thanks for their care, but refused any helpe; saying that the place had at other times defended it selfe against greater attempts, and that now the danger was not so much to be feared, as they must haue recourse to Garisons and new Forces, onely to guard the passage of a Riuier.

Paris and other townes forbide themselves.

They fortifie themselves euerywhere, apprehending the danger to bee greater then it was. Paris labours in the reparation of her wals; repairs the chaires within, keeps good guard at their gates; keeping nine open, they shut vp sixe. Saint Denis doth neither solemnize Holyday nor Sunday, the inhabitants are so busie continually about their fortifications. The Reliques and other pretious things, reserved in the Treasury of the Abbey, are for more safety sent to Paris: so great was the bruite of warre in the Ile of France.

In the meane time the Duke of Montbazon leaues troops in Normandy for the Kings seruice, assures them of Rouen; puts Garisons in places of most importance where need required, especially towards Picardy and the sea coast. In Champagne the Marquis of *Vicville* the Kings Lieutenant there, with *Dandelot* and others; observe the Prince of Tingre; and hinder his surprizes, yet they could not prevent it, but that his souldiers being about foure hundred foot, and three hundred horse, spoiled the Champagne country, & until they were defeated by the inhabitants of Troyes, who slue many of them.

The Duke of Montbazon assures Normandy.

The Prince relying vpon his friends promises, leaues Coucy and retires to Soissons, where he finds the Dukes of Longueuille and Mayen, who had disarmed the inhabitants, seized a good Garison, and made himselfe master of the place. The Prince was received with all honor and respect, being followed by many Noblemen and Gentlemen.

About the end of August the Marshall of Bouillon came to Soissons with good numbers of horse and foot: he brought artillery with him, and good store of munition, especially of armes for their foot; but it was not sufficient for their new leauied souldiers:

The Prince's preparation to armes.

for

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for the Prince found men enough, but they could hardly recover armes: the King having given commandment throughout all the townes, that they should not suffer any to passe but for his service. They got some quantity out of Paris, but without the knowledge of the inhabitants: for being once discovered that the Prince had any intelligence in the towne for the recovering of armes, the Gates were more strictly guarded, and every thing searched that went forth.

The Duke of  
Bouillon made  
Marshall of  
the Campe.

The Marshall of Bouillon being come to Soissons, hee was made Marshall of the Princes campe: All the armie is mustred, and within few dayes Noyon was wholly reduced to their obedience, where the Campe was assigned, and all commissions deliuered for the leauing of men. As soone as the Princes campe was settled at Noyon, the Kings Forces, commanded by the Marshall *Bois-Dauphin*, prepare themselves to march, and to stop the Princes passage.

The Kings  
Declarat<sup>on</sup> against  
the Prince of  
Conde and his  
associates.

In the meane time their Maiesties goe on their voyage and come to Poitiers, where on the tenth of September the King made a Declaration, whereby he deprived the Prince of Conde, with the other Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and all which did assist and adhere unto their designs, of all their honours, Estates, offices, governments, pensions, priuiledges and prerogatiues, which they had from him or his Predecessors: declaring the said Prince and all his adherents, disobedient, rebels, and guilty of treason: commanding all his soueraine Courts and others, to seize vpon their persons and goods; if within one month after the publication thereof in the Court of Parliament, the said Prince and they which did assist him, did not acknowledge their faults, and come or send vnto him to performe that effectually which belongs vnto their duties: and in regard of gentlemen and priuate subjects, if they did not make declaration and protestation enrolled in some of his Courts, and did not abandon all actions and enterprises contrary to his authority and seruice.

This Declaration brought vnto the Court of Parliament at Paris to be verified: There were diuers opinions by reason of the Prince of Conde the third person of France: some were of opinion they should write vnto the King, and lay downe the reasons and considerations why the Court could not proceed to the publication and enrolling thereof: that it should be sufficient to forbid the taking of armes without the Kings commission: and to enioyne all the Princes to goe and attend their Maiesties persons to doe their seruice. Others said, that the rebellion being so plaine and apparant, they should sinne against the Maximes of State, if they should not follow the Kings will. So the 13 of September it was verified, and a decree published and fixed on the corners of the streets of Paris.

The proceeding  
of the two  
armies.

Their Maiesties comming to Poitiers on the fourth of September, they stayed there vntill the third of October, for that the young Lady fell sick of the small pox. In the meane time let vs observe what passed betwixt the two Armies. The King on the one side, and the Prince of Conde with his friends on the other, made leaues of souldiers in all the prouinces of France: But the King had the advantage at the bridges of Riuers and of Townes, which made his army the stronger, and much hindered the Princes from passing the Loire, and those Lords which had leauied troops for him beyond the riuier of Seine from ioyning with him.

The taking of  
the Siege of  
Friaize.

During their leaues it happened, that *Friaize* one of the Princes Gentlemen, being at Chartres in Beaufie, was there taken, with commissions to leaue companies for his seruice: being thus seized on, hee is caried to Paris, imprisoned, and deliuered ouer vnto the Parliament, to bee proceeded against: the Court deputed certaine Commissioners to make his processe, and it was bruted through all Paris that hee should bee executed; but many good and particular considerations stayed the Parliament from further proceeding. Before this resolution of the Court, the Prince being advertised in what danger *Friaize* was in doing him seruice, laboured to free him: He wrote first to the Marshall of *Bois-Dauphin*, demanding his friend detained prisoner, promising to doe the like by the first which should fall into his hands: To whom the Marshall answered; That hee could not hinder iustice, nor giue any pardons, the which was referred to the King and the Parliament. Whereupon the Prince wrote particularly to the Court, setting downe the causes which had moued him to take armes, which hee laid were for his Maiesties seruice, the preservation of his Estate, the good of the publicke, and the reuenge of the deceased Kings death. Then making relation of the taking of this Gentleman, he concludes thus; And

to

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A to the end, I may haue no cause to complaine, I beseech you to entreat him in such sort, as I may haue no occasion to liue otherwise then I haue propounded, resoluing hereafter to make all those which shall fall into my hands to endure the same which hee shall suffer. I shall be much grieved to come to these extremities. But seeing the enemies of the State are resolu'd to all rigour, I will doe the like, and will make reparaill of the goods and persons of such as shall meddle in this businesse, if the fortune of the warre put them into my hands.

In the beginning, the Princes army was about 1500 good horse, as well men at armes, light horse, as Carabins; and about 4 or 5000 foot, but most of them ill armed: with two Culuerins, and two field pieces. The Duke of Longueville had in his troope which hee brought out of Picardy 4 or 500 horse, and 1500 foot. The Seigneur of Montbarot was his Marshall. The Duke of Mayen had 3 or 400 horse, and some foot: The Viscount of Tannes his brother in law was Marshall of his trooops. These two trooops made the foreward. The Princes troop consisted of 3 or 400 horse, and that of the Duke of Bouillon of 300 horse, and 800 foot, the which were well armed. Some write, that these Princes being at Noyon, concluded:

The estate of  
the Princes  
army at Noyon

I. That as their armes were leauied for the good of the State, the charges should bee borne by the money which was ordained for the maintenance of the Crowne: That they should appoint places for the receipt of the Kings money, whereof the Marshall of Bouillon should haue the direction as well as the conduct of the army.

The resolution  
of the Princes.

II. For that the townes of Roie and Montdidier did hinder the free passage between Noyon and Corbie, the army should approach, to the end they might make some attempt vpon those townes.

III. That from thence they should march into the Country of Beauvoisin to put garisons into the Castle of Clermon, and the towne of Creil vpon Oyse, and there appoint the receipt.

IV. That from thence they should crosse into Vexin, to force some one of the Bridges vpon the Riuier of Seine, that they might ioyne with the trooops which the Vidame of Chartres had leauied in Beaufie and thereabouts, and that they should send for the Duke of Luxembourg to come with his trooops which hee had leauied in Champagne.

V. That to winne the hearts and affections of the Parisians, the army should not approach neere vnto the City, and preserve all their Countrey houses.

VI. That they should march with what speed they could into Guenne to ioyne with the Earle of Saint Paul and their other friends, to the end they might hinder the execution of the mariages, and take from their enemies the government of the State.

With this resolution the Princes army passeth the Riuier of Oyse, and lodgeth about Roie and Montdidier, but they preuailed nothing; the townes being well supplied with m<sup>unition</sup>, whereupon they turned head towards Clermon. In the meane time the Marshall *Bois-Dauphin* (who was stronger in foot and Cannon then the Princes, but not in horse, for that his trooops were not yet come vnto him) put good garisons into all the townes, bridges, and passages which are vpon the Riuier of Oyse, and at the same instant hee put a garison into Creil. The Princes being advertised that all the bridges vpon the Riuier of Seine from Paris to Rouen were strongly guarded, they altered their first designe, and resolved to seeke their passage through Champagne, over the Riuers of Marne, Seine, and Yonne, which was a great march for their army, yet notwithstanding it encreased daily.

On the 17 of September, 4 or 500 souldiers of the Regiments of Piedmont and Picardie, were charged by the Duke of Mayen, with the Princes Cheualierie, who defeated them, and put them to runne, where some were slaine vpon the place, and many drowned in the Riuier of Thierin: some Commanders, with many souldiers, were taken prisoners, all which the Prince released, except those which would follow his party: In which defeat they got armes for 200 souldiers. The Marshall *Bois-Dauphin* hearing that the Prince had a desire to passe the Riuier of Seine at Pontoise or Poisse, came and encamped at Daumartin; and fearing lest he should attempt to surprize Saint Denis, thereby to annoy Paris, the Parisians thought good to send 200 men to fortifie the garison, the towne being of great guard. But the Princes went and passed the riuier of Seine at Soissons, and thereabouts, and marched directly to Chasteau Thierry, which they did inuest, causing part of their armie to passe the riuier of Marne, which was then so low, as they might easily

A defeat of  
some of the  
Kings trooops.

wade

The Prince  
writes to the  
Marshall Bois-  
Dauphin, and  
to the Parlia-  
ment.



1615  
Coffea. This  
entry yielded to  
the Princes.

wadethrough. The Kings army made haste to relieue this towne : but the Marshall of A Bouillon having discharged some volleys of Cannon, the inhabitants were so amazed, as they forced the Gouvernor to yield to a composition, which was made the last day of September. The Prince being entred, he exacted a good summe of money from the inhabitants. The Marshall *Bou. Dauphin* hearing of the yeelding of this towne, he imagined that the Princes would turne the head of their army towards the riuier of Seine where vpon he sent garisons to Montreault-Yonne, and other townes where there were bridges, but the riuers were so shallow, as they might easily wade through them. The Kings army lying about Sezanne in Brie, mustred about 10000 foot, and 2000 horse. The Princes army marcht vp on both sides the riuier of Marne, as if they meant to inuest Espenay : the which did so amaze the inhabitants, as they yeelded suddenly, where the Prince also leaued great summes of money.

Espenay yeelded to the Princes.

Progress of the Princes army.

The Marshall of Bonillon having received a commission from the Prince, appointed *Espenay* for the receipt of the Kings reuenues from the hands of the Kings Receiueurs : and thereupon gave warrant to two of his guard to force the said Receiueurs to deliuer such money as was due by them, vnto one whom he had appointed for the receipt thereof. The Princes gaue it out, that they would besiege Rheims, but they presently marched towards Nery vpon Seine, where they passed their Cannon through the riuier with much ease ; then turning towards Yonne, the Kings army past those two Riuers at Montreault, to hinder their attempts against Sens, Joigny, & Auxerre. They thought the Prince would attempt Sens, where the inhabitants did much affect him, by reason of his neighbourhood. The army came to Marigny, whereas the Duke of Luxemburg (called Prince of Tingry in his fathers life time) joined them with 300 horse. The Prince coming within a league of Sens, heard that the Marshall was entred, and that the Kings army was thereabouts : whereupon the army marched vp the riuier of Yonne, and passed at diuers Fords neere vnto Joigny, so as they which had leaued troops for the Princes between Seine and Loire, had good meanes to ioyne with them. The Duke of Luxemburgs troops lying at Chanlay neere to Joigny, were inuested by part of the Kings army, and in the end (after some volleys of great shot) forced to yeeld by composition, where they lost all their forces and baggage. The next day being the 22 of October, the Princes army forced a small towne called Epoungny, and spoiled it. It is written, there were great violences and rapes committed, whereof the Prince and Duke *de Mayen* being aduertised, they caused two souldiers to bee hanged. The two armies were neere together about Bony, where there was some appearance of a battell, if the Princes had not marched away in the evening, and past the riuier of Loire at Neufuy, by three Fords ; at what time the Duke of Luxemburg (who for the losse which he had at Chanlay could not follow them) having obtained a passport from the Marshall *Bou. Dauphin*, retired into Champagne with many others which did accompany him. And at the same instant there were 600 Reiters (which had crossed through Champagne from Sedan) came to the bankes of Loire, and waded through it, and then ioynd with the Princes army in Berry.

600 Reiters come to the Princes.

The Marquis of Repel, Gouvernor of Vitry, hearing of their march, without any further discouery of them, went to charge them with certaine Carabins, they (who had double the number and were all souldiers well mounted and well armed) had some put to rout these Carabins : where the Marquis was slaine vpon the place. He was a valiant Gentleman of the House of Amboise, whose death was much lamented. But it is commonly said, an ill fortune comes not alone, for this death was the second which the House of Amboise receiued during this warre : for in September past, certaine Cheualiers of either army meeting neere vnto Clermont, charged one another, in the which *Bussy D'Amboise* was slaine on the Kings side, having aduertised himselfe too farre. His death was much lamented by the Marshall *Bou. Dauphin* and all the Commanders of the army.

Death of Bussy D'Amboise.

Matters doe not alwaies succeed according to the desires of Kings, Princes, and great men. The Princes had conceit that their friends in Guienne of either religion should haue so much power and credit, as to procure their Maiesties to end their voyage at Poitiers : but they were deceived. For they entred into Bourdeaux the 7 of October. Madam parted the 21 to goe to Bayonne, and from thence came to the Riuier of Bidassio to accomplish the exchange of the marriages, and all without any let, as you shall heare. On the other side their Maiesties (who had great confidence that the Assembly at Grenoble

would

A would end to their contents, and that the Marshall *D'Espenay* had credit enough to hinder their dissensions) found the contrary to their expectation.

The Assembly having still crated the assistance of the said Marshall by their *Propos* he came on the 21 of October into the said Assembly, flying vnto them. *Edictes* *de* *Justice* Letters were full of shewes of their loue and fauour, and that although the Duke of Rohan and Sully gaue testimony of the violence and correspondence which they would haue in the resolutions of the said Assembly. But whereas it seemed they had refused to retire from that towne, by reason of the Letters which they had receiued from their Deputies at Court, whereby they had no great hope of any good answer to their requests and grievances, he would by no means aduise them to it, before they had receiued the answer and the Kings commandemens. To say, that, often youd intervene from hence you will goe and continue, together in some other place, as they did a little before the Edicts of Nantes ; I must answer, That there was no forced peace betwix them of the Religion, who liued vnder toleration in those times : but to make that berry now, were directly to breake the said Edict, and to subuert the Churches : neither could they doe it without the content of their Princes, and the Kings permission : it were a matter of distrust where there is no cause ; at which a signe of distrust is by an unlawfull change, whereby they should offend his Maiesty, and make him think that his subjects of the religion (who haue alwaies been a patient of perfect obedience) proiect an open rebellion without any lawful cause. The offence his Maiesty shall reueale will be very sensible, and therewithall not want to aggravate the crime, especially those which seek authority by armes, and to haue the chief command : They haue talked of the stay of the marriages : it is now too late : the King is now gone aduanced, and the Prince is in the remotest part of the Realme, who doth not anything capable to deferre it : Nay it seems hee hath giuen ouer this instance, to content himselfe with the obseruation of the ancient Ordinances which doe not allow strangers in the Court, nor to hold any offices or benefices in the Realme.

The marriages being accomplished, there is no doubt but the Queen will be ready able for to content the Prince vpon the rest of his demands, whereas there had been some speech as Tours, to send the Seigneur of *Rignac* to the Duke of Bouillon and the Duke of Neuch, who holds himselfe neuer, is ready to employ himselfe in this treaty : besides that, as the Prince is resolved not to attempt anything, for the Mar shall *Bou. Dauphin* is commanded not to aduance, which makes men think that there is no cause to despaire : whereas they must content themselves within the bounds of discretion, and not to draw vpon the Churches the hatred of the troubles of the State.

The Assembly must wisely foresee what it may obtaine according to the condition of the present estate and our owne : Wee must measure our felues to that which wee may, and not to what wee would, to that we may get, and not to that which we thinke doe vnto vs. If we match alwaies by declining, without doubt wee shall fall into the precipice of warre. Behold the inconveniences which will follow, and cannot be avoided. We would haue our union appare, and it will bee disioyned more and more : for there will bee a great number of them of the Religion found, who (being wise and well aduised) would neuer consent to their owne ruine. The Deputies to whom peace hath bene especially recommended, will bee disaduowed at their returne : and they will be demanded why they haue concluded of things whereof they had no Commission to giue their opinions. The King shall bee counsellled to take the way of rigour, or of mildnesse : if of clemency, in suffering them which containe themselves to liue vnder his Edicts, hee shall with draw from them that take armes, most of the men by whom they should be assisted ; And to the shall haue an easie conquest of the rest. If of rigour, in forbidding the Exercise, and in entreating them of the Religion, who haue no retreat, there will bee lost in one day, five or three hundred Cowards. The felues will let their felies vpon their throats, they will lose no occasions to make massacres, finding the people slaine against those whom they hold the authors of the warre. All good Frenchmen who would put vs, and euenque, for vs : if wee were persecuted, without cause, we will then defend

Adulce of the Marshall *D'Espenay* to the Assembly at Grenoble.

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and hate vs as turbulent persons which cannot be content to live in rest and quietnesse. A

And what can be the event of this warre? They must iudge whose many years have taught them great experience. They will consider the difference between necessary armes, and those which are willfully undertaken: betwixt the resolution of one of the Religion pressed and persecuted, and one that may live at quiet. They will remember how often our fathers and we have fighed for such a liberty as wee now enjoy: they will observe that there is no Estate in Christendome, vnder a Prince of a contrary Religion, where it hath the like: the Gospell generally preached; the Ministers partly entertained at the Princes charge; many places given them for their safety, and the garisons paid by him, and chambers erected to doe them iustice: In the which if there be any defect, wee may iustly craue reparation; the better to settle the condition of our Churches. But wee will not exceed the bounds of conscience or wisdom; of conscience in taking armes, which cannot be blest of God but when they are iust; nor iust, if they bee not necessary. Of wisdom, in hazarding against stronger and better prepared Forces then ours, a certaine condition, vpon a weak hope of some small advantage.

Some one will reply, that our condition is not secure by reason of the alliance with Spaine: whereunto I will answer, That a Prince which takes his neighbours daughter, doth not marry his Counsell, neither will hee willingly set fire on his Estate to doe him a pleasure: Wee haue leisure to see the forme come, and to prepare for our owne preferation.

Finally, having continued constant in our duties, if they seek to deprive vs of our religion, or to take that from vs whereon our liberty and safety depends, purchased by the blood of our fathers and our owne, and granted vnto vs by that great King the restorer of France: we shall enter into this carriere full of iustice and true zeale; finde againe in our breasts the courage and vertue of our ancestors; wee shall bee supported in our iust defence by all good Frenchmen; assisted by all Princes and Estates which loue the true religion, or the good of this Estate: and in a word, we shall bee fauoured with the blessings of God, whereof wee haue heretofore had good experience in our armes, and which will bee to the glorie of his Name, and the spiritual advancement of our Churches.

His conclusion was, That he wished them to forbear from all violent courses; if a iust necessity did not force them; and that they should attend in that place for those which they had sent vnto his Maiestie, to vnderstand his pleasure; which was not onely his aduice, but also many other Noblemens of the said religion.

The Assembly  
goes from  
Grenoble to  
Nismes.

Within some dayes after, contrary to this graue aduice, the Assembly left Grenoble, and went to Nismes in Languedoc. Men spake diuersly of this translation made of their owne motion, contrary to the Kings will. Some write, that the practises of the Prince of Condes agents were the chiefe cause: afterwards the King sent them word, that he would allow of the continuation of the said Assembly at Montpellier: wherevpon the Deputies would not yeeld, saying, That the same reasons which had caused them to retire from Grenoble, preferred themselves at Montpellier: that is to say, a Governour for the King, and a Soueraigne Court, which might direct them from their resolutions.

This change of the Assembly was nothing pleasing vnto the Marshall *Disseguierres*, to whom they sent their Deputies to entreat him not to abandon the body of the said Assembly, assuring him that hee should alwayes find amongst them the rancke and respect which was due vnto his quality. To whom hee answered, That hee would continue alwayes vnited, notwithstanding the displeasure hee felt by their change.

The King goes  
from Poitiers.

Madame the Kings sister being recovered, they parted from Poitiers the third of October. It was expected there would haue beene some opposition made vpon the passing of the river of Dordone, there being many good townes of safety vpon that river, which were held by the Protestants, and many great men were on the Princes party, as the Earle of Saint Paul, the Duke of Rohan (who should haue beene their leader) the Marquis of La Force, Governour of Beanne, the Seigneurs of Boisse, Fausse, and Pardillan, with many other Lords of Guisane, all which should ioyne together, and make

A make the bodie of an Armie of one thousand horse, and foure thousand foot. But their Maiesties were resolu'd to force a passage, hauing twelue hundred horse, with the Regiment of his Guards, in which there were about three thousand men, and the Swisses.

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The King being at Angoulesme, the Countesse of Saint Paul had to labour with the Earle her husband, as shee reconciled him to their Maiesties, and Frontac and Caumont were assured for their seruice: The Earle came afterwards to Bourdeaux to their Maiesties.

During the Kings abode at Angoulesme, there fell out an accident which troubled them. The Earle of Candale, eldest sonne to the Duke of Epemon, had ioynd himselfe to the Duke of Rohan, and made profession of the reformed Religion. This did much trouble the Duke his father (whom they of Rochel held for their capital enemy) and hee was so inwardly afflicted, as he fell dangerously sicke. Thus the Earle of Candale left the King, and embraced the party of the Princes, and of the Assembly at Nismes, contrary to his fathers will.

The Earle of  
Candale ioynes  
with the  
Princes.

Whilest the King aduanceth from Poitiers to Bourdeaux, the Prince of Conde comes to his house at Chateauroux, where hee findes about two thousand foot, and neere twelue hundred horse, which his wife had caused to be leauied for him in Berry: There the Viscount of Chartres ioynd with his troops, and the Marquis of Rhoisy came to visit him, and assisted him with some horse: Whereupon being thus fortified, hee marched vnto Poitou. The Marshall of Bois-Dauphin seeing that the Prince had past all the riuers and was farre aduanced, resolu'd onely to follow him, and to keepe the townes from surprize: being in Poitou, he sent vnto the King to know his pleasure, who commanded him not to hazard any thing, but to hinder the Prince from entring into the Countrey of Angoulesme.

The Princes  
army fortified.

The Prince being catusped in Poitou, hee required them of the religion to ioyne with him, sending first to Rochel, and letting them vnderstand, that his taking of armes was for the peace of their Churches, the tranquillity of the Estate, and the reformation of disorders, demanding ayd from them for the warre which he had begunne. To whom they made answer, That they could not ioyne with him in this warre, seeing it would be found a bad example and of perillous consequence, which would draw after it, both the Kings indignation against them, and the curse of the whole Countrey; which might iustly blame them for renewing a cruell ciuill warre, to their great charges, who liue in peace vnder the power and benefit of the Edicts: all which they would leaue vnto his Excellencies consideration; for whose particular contentment they would not spare their liues, goods, honors, and fortunes, in any thing wherein his Maiesties seruice and the peace of the State should not be interested.

The answer of  
the Rochellers  
to the Prince.

Their Maiesties being come to Bourdeaux, it was resolu'd, that the Espousals should be solemnized vpon the eighteenth of October, the which was performed with great ceremonies in Saint Andrews Church, where the Duke of Guise did espouse Madam the Kings sister, in the name of the Prince of Spaine: and the same day the Duke of Lerma was to doe the like for the King with the Infanta at Burgos.

Their Maiesties being informed that the Duke of Rohan, with the rest of the reformed Religion (which had taken armes) had past the sister of Garrone, to stop the Ladies passage; they sent *La Brosse*, (an Ensigne of the Kings Guard) to know why they were armed, and to what intent. To whom they made answer:

*La Brosse* sent  
from his Maie-  
stie to the D.  
of Rohan.

1. That hauing sent many souldiers leauied in many parts of the Realme, and none of them employed, they had beene forced to arme for their defence. Moreouer, they had beene aduised by the Assembly of Grenoble, to put themselves in defence, in case F their Deputies (which they had sent to the King) should receiue no contentment vpon their demands.

The answer of  
the Duke of  
Rohan and his  
associates.

2. That they had beene assured their Deputies were sent backe without any contentment, and that there was no regard had vnto the Princes Remonstrances, nor to those of the Court of Parliament of Paris, as they had humbly besought their Maiesties by their Deputies.

3. That it was published in diuers parts of the Realme, that by the means of these marriages betwixt France and Spaine, they would ruine all those of the Religion:

What  
made  
the  
King

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and that this iust feare had caused them to arme, without doing any act of Hostilitie. A This report made, they held it not fit for their Maiesties dignitie to send againe to the Duke of Rohan and his associates, but to hold them as sworn enemies against the Kings seruice, and the publicke peace: That they should prouide for the Governement of Beaurie, and other places which the Marquis of La Force held; and that they should make a Declaration against all them of the Reformed Religion which had taken armes.

The towns  
upon the way  
to Bayonne,  
affured to the  
King.

The King sent to the Gouvernors of Tartas, Acqs, and Montmarfan (three townes which are lying in the way to Bayonne) to assure them to his seruice: The Gouvernors of these three townes desired their Maiesties by their Letters, that they would not doubt of their fidelity, nor of the inhabitants deuotion: which made them iudge that the Princes partisans hauing no retreat, the passage for Madam would be safe: the Earle of Grammont, Gouvernor of Bayonne, hauing also sent to assure their Maiesties that he would ferue them in this voyage with 200 horse, and 1000 foot.

Madams depar-  
ture to  
Bayonne.

After the Espouals, it was resolved that Madam should part on the one and twentieth day, being conducted by the Duke of Guise, who also had the command of the army, which consisted of 4000 foot, 1200 horse, and foure Cannon; besides the Earle of Grammonts Forces which should meet with them. Upon this resolution Madam takes leave of the King and Queene, of the Princesses and the whole Court, where there was much weeping for her departure: The King conducted her halfe a League out of the towne: the Queene betooke her to her chamber very heavy for the Ladies departure; where she remained in private two dayes. The Lady arrived at Bayonne the second of Nouember without any disturbance; whereof they priuely aduertised their Maiesties.

In the meane time the Marshall D'Ancre lay not still in Picardy, hauing leauied an army of 3500 foot, and 6 or 700 horse: He caused two Forts to bee built neere vnto Corbie, where Aubertin commanded with two Regiments, which much annoyed the towne of Amiens.

Exploits of the  
Marshall  
D'Ancre.

In Clermont Marancourt commanded for the Princes, with a Regiment of eight Companies, which did much oppresse the neighbour Princes by their leauying of taxes. This made the Marshall resolve to take this towne from the Princes: whereupon he sent Nerfian with certaine Companies of horse and foot, to force the safe towne by Petard, who coming neere vnto Clermont, found that the enterprize was discovered; yet he resolved to goe on, and in the end tooke this safe towne, where they barricaded themselves; attending the Marshall D'Ancre with the rest of his troops and artillery, who being come, and his artillery planted, the besieged yielded by composition, and retired to Noyon.

Clermont taken by the  
Marshall D'Ancre.

During these ciuill combustions, the poore Peasants were wonderfully oppressed by the soldiers, and forced to pay their taxes double, by the receipts which were erected by the Princes in the Prouinces of Picardy, the Ile of France, Champagne, Auxerre, Berry, Touraine, Poitou, and part of Anjou, sending out their garisons to take the richest Peasants in euery Parish, whom they kept prisoners untill they had paid the taxze of the whole Village.

Monsieur de Plessis Gouvernor of Saumur (continuing in his Maiesties obedience) made a Decree, by the which hee commanded the Parishes to set vpon those rebels which fought to leaue the Kings money, forbidding all Gentlemen to assist them, vpon paine to be made liable to taxes.

Let vs returne now to Bayonne. On the sixt of Nouember, Madam the Kings sister came to Saint Iohn de Luz, and at the same time the Catholike King with the Infanta arrived at Fontarabie. The river of Bidaso or Margari makes a diuision of France from Spaine, at a place called Andajo which is a League from Fontarabie, and two from Saint Iohn de Luz. There the exchange was made betwene the two Princesses. But I cannot insitt vpon the particularities, which were very stately: hauing a very copious subiect to treat of.

The Kings de-  
ceit against  
them who  
belonged.

The Assembly at Nismes, thinking that they of the religion in Guienne, should ioyne their Forces with the Earle of Saint Paul, sent Letters to their Churches, to encourage them to take armes and to ioyne with the Prince. Whereupon the King made a Declaration against them of the Religion, with this Prouiso, That if within one moneth after the publi-

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A publication thereof, they make declaration in the Registers of the Bailiwicks where they remained: That they would desist from all enterprises, and doe him faithful seruice, and in no sort assist or fauour those which shall perse in their rebellion; and deliuer vp such places as they had surpris'd: He then tooke them into his protection, forbidding all his subiects to wrong them in word or deed, by reason of that which had past. But if after the time expired, they still continued in their rebellion, either in carying armes, or assisting and fauouring them that doe: he would haue them punished as guilty of treason, and troublers of the publicke peace and that the townes and communities which should adhere vnto them, should lose all their liberties and priuiledges which had beene granted vnto them.

The Kings Esponse being entred into the Realme, he wrote vnto her in these tearmes: Madam, Hauing no meanes according vnto my desire, to meet you at the entry of my Realme, for to put you in possession thereof, as of my affection to loue and ferue you: I send Luynes vnto you, to salute you in my name, and to tell you that I expect you with impatience, to offeryou both the one and the other: I pray you receiue him fauourably, and beleue what he shall say vnto you.

The Kings first  
Letter to the  
Queene his  
Spoule.

The Queene mother did also write vnto her, to assure her of her affection, in tearmes of a good mother, and a great Princeesse.

Madam my Daughter, The King my Son, hauing made choice of Monsieur de Luynes, as one of his most confident seruants, to congratulate your happy entry into his Kingdom, and to let you know with what passion and desire you are expected by him: I would not lose the opportunity to let you know, that I participate in the same desire to see you; for the comfort I shall receiue in mine owne particular, and to confirme by mouth the cordial loue I beare you: I pray you beleue what hee shall deliuer on my behalfe.

The Queene's  
Letter.

The Seigneur de Luynes met with the Queene at Bayonne, and was receiued with as honourable a reception as could be desired, to shew the loue and affection she bare vnto the King, in his person, whom the knew was much beloved of his Maiestie.

The young  
Queene enters  
into Bour-  
deaux.

On the 22 of Nouember, the King with his whole Court went out of Bourdeaux to meet with the Queene his Spoule, three leagues without the towne, where she was receiued in wonderfull great state: after which the Nuptials were celebrated in the Cathedral Church.

During their stay at Bourdeaux, there happened an accident which much troubled their Maiesties, and gaue a great affront to the Parliament of Bourdeaux, by an eminent person. A Gentleman called *Hauts Chastel*, a prisoner at that time in the Towne, being condemned to lose his head for many foule crimes, there was great sute made vnto the King for his pardon, and a Lieutenant of the Guards was sent vnto the prison, to stay the execution. Hereupon the Court sent Deputies to their Maiesties and the Chancellor, to enforme them of the fact; so as they had commandement to doe iustice, and the Guards were commanded to retire: whereupon they meant to execute him that evening: but a Iesuit which had him in confession, said, that he had many crimes vpon his conscience, as it would require three houres to admonish him, and therefore they must deferre it till the next day, neither could the Executioner be found, they being both corrupted to make this delay. The Court being risen, the Cardinal of Sourdis came presently on horse backe, booted, and his Almoner before him with a Croffe, accompanied with thirty or forty Gentlemen of note, whom hee had not acquainted with his intent; and holding a paper in his hand, coming neere the Palace, he cryed out, A Pardon, a Pardon, God saue the King: but he found the Palace gate shut, the which hee commanded to be forced by such as were about him; the like hee did to the prison, where finding the Keeper, hee would haue forced him to deliuer the keys; who vpon his refusal was slaine, his keyes being taken away, *Hauts Chastel* was drawne out of a hole and set at liberty, conducted to the Rivers, and put into a boat. The Cardinal also retired himselfe by water, to a house of his a league from the towne.

An insolence  
committed by  
the Cardinal  
of Sourdis.

Vpon this violence the whole Court went vnto his Maiestie, to make complaint of this attempt, and to beseech him that, untill this affront were repaired, the adherents punished, and the condemned man restored, they might bee dispensed withall from doing any act of iustice to any of his Maiesties subiects.

Some say that  
the King  
was angry.

The complaint  
made by the  
Court to the  
King.

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The King did let them vnderstand, that his pleasure was they should proceed against the Cardinall and his adherents, by the vñall formes, for the repairing of such a crime, and that he would countenance them by his authority: but he would also haue them continue in doing iustice to priuate persons: whereupon warrants were giuen out for the apprehending of the party and many of the complices. Thus you heare the History of a new spirit, who going among prisoners, raised one from death, and put to death one that was liuing, whereby in the Kings preference he abused his name and authority, to commit a violence vnworthy the thoughts of a man of his quality. Hereupon the Court made a decree, enioyning all the inhabitants of the towne, and others which had sene the said force and murder, and which knew the persons which had committed or assisted it, to come and depose the truth, and reueale their knowledge to the Commisfaries deputated by the Court, and vpon their refusal to bee punished as authors and fauorers of the said crime of treason, and enemies to the King. In like manner they made another decree for the apprehending of the Cardinall, and diuers others mentioned therein.

The Duke of Guise made Generall of the Kings armies.

Articles concluded betweene the Princes and the Assembly at Nismes.

On the 27 of Nouember, there were two actions past worthy of obseruation, the one was in the Councell at Bourdeaux, whereas the King made the Duke of Guise Lieutenant general of both his armies, which he meant to draw into one, giuing him all power & authority by his Letters Patents, to lead and conduct his troops in his absence. The other was at Sanlay in Poictou, whereas the Prince of Conde and the Deputies of the Assemblies at Nismes signed their Accord, whereof the chiefe Articles were: 1. To vñite themselves, and to demand an answer to the first Article of the third Estate: and to make an exact search for all those which had participated in the murder of the deceased King. 2. To hinder the reception of the Councell of Trent. 3. To preuent the inconueniences which might happen vnto the Estate, by the accomplishment of the alliances with Spaine. 4. To procure a new Councell of State about the King. 5. Not to lay downe armes before the King had granted the demands of them of the Religion. 6. To provide that they of the religion which had taken armes might bee restored to their goods, places, and pensions. 7. Not to giue eare vnto a peace without a common consent. 8. That there should be a correspondency of Councell betwene the Prince and the Assembly at Nismes. 9. That the direction of all money leauied in the townes which were held by them of the Religion, and the disposing of their armies should be managed by the Assembly at Nismes. 10. That there should be a prouision made of new places of safety in those Provinces where those of the Religion had no retreat. 11. To allow free exercise of the same Religion in the armies and townes held by the Princes. 12. That prouision should bee made for them of the Religion which were fled from their houses.

Men spake diuersly of this accord: some said, that the Prince made himselfe in effect protector of them of the Religion, although he had not taken the title, for that King Henric the Great had in his life time abhorred it, and was watchfull they should haue no other protector but himselfe or his successors: he knew the importance of this protection better then any one of his Realme, and said that it tended onely, to make an Estate within the Estate.

Some on the other side said, that the Prince had put himselfe vnder the protection of them of the Religion: that he had bound himselfe to serue them well, and not to make any peace before the King had granted them that which had bene often reiected. That they finding the necessity the Prince had of their succours, and to make his retreat during the winter into their townes of safety, they had forced him to accept of any conditions they pleased.

Both the Armies in Poictou.

Both the Armies are now in Poictou, where the poore people are much oppressed, and the King was dayly expected with the other Armie, lead by the Duke of Guise: so as it seemed all their quarrels should be decided by Armes in Poictou. In the meane time the Prince hauing taken Tonnay-Charante, he visited Saint Iohn D'Angely, Rochel, and some other Townes where he was receiued with much respect.

Mary beinge perswaded the Prince to demand a peace of the King.

In the most violent heate of warre, there are alwaies some men of qualitie which imploy themselves to make ouertures of peace. There were some Noblemen of either religion desiring to draw the Prince therunto, and spake vnto him, as of their owne motion, but they preuailed not. Men doe sometimes seeme to reiect that which they desire most,

and

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A and whereof they haue most need, either to preferue their reputation, or get the better composition. Some write that the Prince pissing neere to Chastellerault, a Capuchin letting him to vnderstand the disorders and violences which his Souldiers committed: I am more grieved (said he) then any man in France; but I haue bene forced to haue recouers to Armes for my safety. The Duke of Neuers seemed to haue continued a Newer in his Towne of Neuers, and yet it is reported that hee had fauoured their passage of the Riuier of Loire, and fortified their Armie with some part of the troopes which hee had raised vnder the Kings Commissions. Yet hee did not openly declare himselfe for them; but went from Neuers about the middle of Nouember towards Bourdeaux, where B he arrived about the beginning of December, as well to salute the Queene, as also to beseech the King to giue him leaue to conferre with the Prince, and to dispose him & the rest to demand a peace of his Maestie: with which designe their Maesties were well pleased. He had a great interest in these Princes, for he was a deare friend vnto the Prince, and the Marshall of Bouillon; the Duke of Longueuille was his Sisters sonne; and the Duke of Mayen his wifes brother.

Some write that at the same instant Sir Thomas Edmunds Ambassador Leiger for his Maestie of Great Britaine residing in Court, told their Maesties that the King his Master would neuer aduow the Princes taking of Armes. That the Marquis of Boniuer being sent into England by the said Prince to negotiate for succours of men and money, hee C had for his answer; that His Maestie would neuer goe against the peace, alliance, & good neighbourhood which was betwene the two Kings and Realmes of France and England. That the King his Master, hauing bene alwaies careful to maintaine peace in his owne Kingdomes, hee could not but desire the same in the Estates of neighbour Kings his allies, whereunto he would giue his best assistance. That hee had receiued commandement from the King his Master to acquaint his Maestie therewith, and had charge to repaire vnto the Prince, to dispose him to demand a peace: The which the King tooke in good part.

It is written that the poorer sort of them of the Religion had their braines so troubled with an imaginary persecution, as it was bruted in many good Townes of France, that D vpon the first alteration they would set fire on their houses, and come forth with their Armes to sell their liues dearly. The wisdom of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, seeking to preuent the causes in time, decreed that they of the reformed Religion should bring their Armes into the Towne-house, to take away all subiect of sedition and trouble, and to free many from feare which grew through their owne weakenesse, or some bad designe. Vpon this Decree, the two Ministers of Bourdeaux desired to retire themselves, and aduiled others to doe the like. Two Aduocates called Saint Angell, and L'Auergnac, professing the said Religion, presented a Petition to the Parliament, to the end those Ministers might be inioyned to continue the exercise at Begle: which was decreed accordingly, vpon paine to be punished as Troublers of the publique peace: and the Iurats E had charge to haue a care that they of the Religion might goe and come safely. Notwithstanding this Decree the two Ministers retired from Bourdeaux: The one to Tonnein, where the Duke of Rohan remained; and the other to Rochel.

Let vs now see what passed in Champaigne after the Princes had left it about the end of October: The Marquis of Vieuille the Kings Lieutenant in that Prouince about Rheims, and the Seigneur of Dandolor, being also Lieutenant towards Langres, hauing leauied some troopes of horse and foot: the Marquis went and tooke Neuchastell: and finding that Mery did much annoy the riuier of Seine, and the inhabitants of Trois, (who desired to be freed) he came thither with his troopes, and treated with the inhabitants, who promised to furnish him with foure Cannons, & powder for fūe hundred shot, with F eight of nine hundred good men. The Seigneur of Poirincourt, (being at his House neere to Mery, and aduertised of the Marquis his enterprize) gathered together his friends, and with some souldiers of the Regiment of Nauarre, which were in Garison at Nogent and Bray, hee went on the first of December and lodged in the base Towne of Mery, where hee found no resistance, for that Lamet the Gouverneur kept no guard there.

The same day the Marquis arrived with his troopes and Cannon before the high town where after the eighth shot, the besieged demanded composition, which was granted,

The Ambassador of England Speech to his Maestie.

A Decree of the Parliament at Bourdeaux touching them of the religion.

Neuchastell taken for the King.

Mery besieged and taken for the King.

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and they departed the next day with their Armes and baggage. Some write that *Poitrin-court* having a designe to make himselfe Gouverneur of Mery (as hee had beene duene by the League) seeing that the Marquis of Vieville as the Kings Lieutenant in that Province would place one of his owne; he resolved that night with his friends, to make himselfe Master of Mery in the morning. You must vnderstand that betwene the bafe Towne and the high there was a little streame of water, which at that time might be easily waded through. Neither were there any walles betwene the two Townes but onely Baricadoes.

*Poitrin-court*  
slaine at Mery.

At the same time when as the Seigneur of Reaux, appointed by the Marquis, entred into Mery to effect the capitulation, and *Lamet* with his men on horsebacke ready to depart; *Poitrin-court* couered with a Target, hauing a naked sword in his left hand, and a Pistoll in his right, and followed by his friends, past the water, and entered into the towne by the Baricadoes, crying out, God saue the King and *Poitrin-court*, and at the same time hee called the souldiers of the Regiment of Nauarre to enter by the gate, thinking they would haue seconded him; which they did not, but stood still in battell in one of the streets without mouing, which saved their liues. The Marquis histroope seeing this attempt, and that they cryed, kill, kill, did likewise aduance with the like noise, so as the skirmish grew hot, in the which *Poitrin-court* was slaine, with some hundred of his followers, and his sonne was taken prisoner. These bee the effects of ciuill combustions; where we haue seene an old Captaine, who after imploiment at Sea, and hauing beene present at diuers goodly actions, comes to die neere vnto his owne house.

Exploits in  
Champaign.

The Marquis hauing left a Garison in Mery, returned his Cannon to Troys. After which, the Seigneur of Dandelot came likewise to Troys to borrow their foure Cannons, with the which hee tooke the Castles of Brienne, with the townes of Rosnay, Pougy, and others.

*Ruberpre* thrust  
out of Corbie  
by his Sergeant  
Major.

*Ruberpre* you haue heard, had left the Kings seruice to follow the Duke of Longueville, and the Princes. About the end of this year *Le Heaume* his Sergeant Maior, (whom the Marshall of Bouillon had recommended vnto him, being of the reformed Religion) hauing intelligence with *Helincourt*, and other Captaines, hee met *Ruberpre* in the open street, and told him, that he had intelligence with the Marshall D'Ancre, so as hee might stay no longer in Corbie, whereupon heeled him to the gate, and thrust him out of the Towne, where he continued foure houres, shaking of an Ague, without money, and not knowing whither he might safely retire himselfe. *Le Heaume* and *Helincourt* hauing assured *Corbie*, and seized vpon that which did belong to *Ruberpre*, they sent him one of his horses, with some money, to retire where he pleased. You may easily iudge how hee was perplexed, fearing to fall into their hands, which kept the Marshalls torts. Being in this distresse, hee took his way towards Soissons, where the Princeesse Dowager of Gonde, and the Duchesse, mother to the Duke of Longueville remained. Afterwards *Helincourt* did also expell *Le Heaume* out of Corbie.

The Cheual-  
lier of Ven-  
dome comes  
to Rome.

This year the King had resolved to send a solemne embassage to Rome, to yeeld his full obedience vnto his Holinesse.

The Cheualier of Vendome, Grand Prior of Tholouse, was chosen to execute this charge in the Kings name: hauing beene five yeares at Malta, hee receiued commandement from the King to returne into France, and to passe by Rome; there to performe the said obedience, where his reception and entry was with very great state, and done in three severall dayes; that is to say, the day of his first entry, where he was met by the Dukes of *Guachiano*, *Santo Iemini* and *County*; the Prince of Sulmone the Popes Nephew, with an infinite number of Cardinals, Prelates, and Noblemen, being himselfe followed by many Noblemen and Knights of Malta of the French Nation: and this was performed on the second of September. On the fourth hee made his second entry into Rome in State: and two dayes after, hee was conducted to the publique Consistorie, where hee performed the Ceremonie of the Kings obedience.

The Baron of  
Montglas  
slaine.

In the Kings Armiethere hapned a great disaster, namely, the Duell of the Barons of *Vitry*, and *Montglas*: their quarrell chanced vpon a slight occasion, and beganne in the presence of Monsieur de *Guise*, and many of the chiefe of the Armie, comming forth of the Duke of Guises Chamber. Monsieur de *Montglas* taking exceptions at some words which Monsieur de *Vitry* had spoken vnto him, he challenged him, who thinking that he

had

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A had spoken in iest, gave little regard thereto for the present. But Monsieur de *Montglas* still offering him the Combate; and he making many excuses and intreaties not to fight with him, as hauing beene alwayes great friends; in the end they came into the field in Xaintonge, where after some encounters, Monsieur de *Montglas* was slaine, to the great griefe of the chiefe Commanders of the Kings Army. His body was caried to the Castle neere *Proins* in *Brie*.

In the meane time the Prince came from Rochel to Saint Iohn D'Angely, where at the instant request of his Maiesties Ambassador of Great Britaine, and of the Duke of Neuers, hee refused to a peace, and sent the Baron of Thiangeto his Maiefty with this Letter following.

The Princes  
Letter vnto  
the King.

Sir, I haue heretofore presented vnto your Maiefty, by my most humble Remonstrances; the disorders and miseries which threatened your Realme; and haue besought you with humilitie & respect, which a faithfull subiect owes vnto his King, to direct them by your wisdom, and to apply fit and necessary remedies in time; lest being neglected, the mischiefe growe honorable: wherein I neuer had nor will haue any other end or intent; then the preservation of your Estate, and the publike peace. Whereunto desiring to apply all my actions, and to seeke out all possible meanes to attaine thereto; for the aboyding of those miseries and calamities which a ciuill warre doth procure: I was determined before the arriuall of Sir *Thomas Edmonds* the Ki of Great Britaines

C Ambassador, and of the Duke of Neuers; to doe my dutie, and satisfie the desire and request of the Deputies of the Religion (assembled by your permission) to send vnto your Maiefty some man of qualitie, humbly to beseech you to giue peace vnto your Realme, so necessary, and so much desired of all your subiects: and to take into consideration (if you please) the remonstrances presented vnto your Maiefty, by the generall Estates; the Court of Parliament and my selfe: and to that end to call into your Councell the ancient Councillors whom the deceased King your father had so profitably employed, who are not interested in the said remonstrances; and desire nothing but the good of the Realme.

With this Letter there were certaine Articles presented vnto the King to treat of the Peace, on the behalfe of the Prince of Conde, and the assembly at Nismes: 1. The Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and they of the religion ioynt with him, desiring peace, humbly besought the King to giue it vnto his subiects. 2. That if it pleased the King to grant conference, and to send his Deputies, the Prince and they of the Assembly at Nismes will send on their behalfe. 3. The Prince humbly besought the King to grant a Briefe to them of the Assembly at Nismes, to transport themselves to some place neere vnto the Court. 4. The Prince desires that the Ambassador of Great Britaine may be present to be a witness to this Treatie. 5. That the Countesse of Soissons, and the Duchesse of Longueville might be also called to assist. 6. That the Prince might know the place and the persons whom his Maiefty would employ; and what should become of both Parties during the Treatie. The difficultie was vpon the second Article, touching the Deputies of the generall assembly at Nismes, for they would not heare them, nor reade their letters in this qualitie. In the end the Baron of Thianget told the King, that he could not returne vnto the Prince, before the Deputies of the Assembly had presented their Letters and had audience. This was granted as to Deputies of the Assembly at Nismes, and not of the generall Assembly of them of the reformed religion: so as in the beginning of this year 1616. the King being come to Roche-Foucault, they had audience and presented their Letters, which tended onely to peace.

Articles agreed  
on touching  
the submission  
of Rome.

On the 8 of January, the Duke of Neuers, and the Baron of Thianget returned to the Court being at Poitiers: and to agree vpon the time, the place, and the circumstances of the conference, the Marshall of Brillac, and Monsieur de *Villeray* deputy by the King, parted from Poitiers, with the Duke and Baron, to goe to *Fontenay le Comte*, whither the Prince had promised to come, and these following Articles were concluded. 1. That the King was pleased to enter into conference with the Prince, and all others which had ioynt with him, and assisted him of both religions. 2. That the conference should be held in the Towne of Loudun, by Commissioners appointed from his Maiefty, to treat with the said Prince and other Lords, and should begin on the tenth of February next. 3. And that nothing might trouble so good a worke,

was



was thought good with the Kings good pleasure, to have a suspension of Armes through all the Countreys of his Maiesties obedience, and likewise in the fouraignty of Sedan and Raicourt. To begin in regard of the Prouinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoumois, Bretagne, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry on the day that the present Articles shall be ratified by his Maiestie, of whole will the said Prince shall be satisfied by the thirtieth of this moneth. And in regard of other remote Prouinces, this suspension should begin the day of the publication thereof, and end the first day of March following, whereof the Prince should at the same time aduertise such as commanded in any places for him. 4. That his Maiestie should be humbly intreated to send speedy commandment for the publication of the said suspension of Armes: and that in the meane time all prisoners taken on either side after the thirtieth day of this present moneth to be set at libertie. 5. That no fortification should be made during this suspension in any towns or places, taken since the first of September last; nor any souldier leauied within the Realme. 6. And to hinder alteration by neareness of the Armies: it was agreed, That his Maiesties troopes should retire beyond the Riuer of Vienne, and not approach within eight Leagues of Loudun. Butts for the Garisons which might be held necessarie for the safety of the townes and places on this side the riuers of Vienne, and Clain, which might giue some cause of jealousy, there should be a list giuen vnto the Prince of the numbers which should be employed. 7. The like Article was concluded touching the Princes Armie which should not approach within sixe leagues of Poitiers. 8. That the Prince might lodge some troopes in Loudun and thereabouts for the safety of the conference. 9. That the troopes might retire if they pleased, hauing leaue from their Generals in all safety, so as they aduertised the Governours of places where they past, and did not march about twenty together. This Accord was confirmed by the Kings Decree. Signed the 22 of January.

A strange accident at Tours in the Council Chamber.

The falling of Saint Michaels Bridge at Paris.

Great mortality upon the Kings returne from Bourdeaux.

gambles consumed during the suspension of Armes.

After this, the King came to Tours, during the extremity of the cold, where on the nine and twentieth day the Council being assembled, the Floote of the Chamber began to shake, so as many Noblemen and great Personages fell with it, in the which the Earls of Soissons, the Duke of Elspemon, with many Noblemen were hurt. The Queens Mother was on the other side of the Chamber, conferring with the Cancellor, and some other Counsellors of State and fell not, which gaue great content to all the Court.

This newes being brought to Paris increased their sorrow, for the same night of the 29 day: the Riuer of Seine hauing bene frozen, there coming a thawe, the Ice brake and caried away many boates laden with Wood, Corne, Wine, Salt and other Merchandize of a very great value; a part of Saint Michaels bridge fell into the water, which caused great losse, but none drowned but one Maid-servant: the other moiety of this bridge fell in July following, so as they were forced to make another of wood towards the Auguins, whilst they built the other of stone.

The season of the yeare was violently cold, during the Kings passage from Bourdeaux to Tours; whereof they write extraordinary things. That betwene Poitiers and Chastellerault, there were Coachmen seene to fall downe dead from their Coaches; that there died for many groomes and seruants to Princes and Noblemen, that being at Tours they were forced to make new traines, and such as escaped, some lost an eare, some fingers, some toes which were frozen off. That in the Regiment of the guards which consisted of three thousand men, there died aboue a third part as well of cold, as of burning Feuers. That without any combat there was dead in the Kings Armie, and the Princes aboue 10000 souldiers, which had so infected the Countrey from Bloys to Ancenis (which is 50 leagues) as there died afterwards aboue 10000 other persons, and of the best families. The King lost at Tours his Schoolemaster, the Queens her Physician, and Deles a Councillor of State, with diuers others left this life.

The conference was now beginning at Loudun; yet the suspension of Armes was not generally obserued. In Guienne, La Force and Grammont continued the warre one against another; and the Duke of Vendomes troopes committed great Acts of Hostility. Many Townes of Anjou, Maine, Perche, and Britanie were forced to contribute money vnto them. Whereupon the Court of Parliament at Rennes (seeing him unwilling to discharge his troopes) made a Decree against him, giuing leaue to the countrey people to set vpon them. This made him to write a Letter vnto the King, which gaue their Maiesties no great content, but made them coniecture, that the Prince (notwithstanding all his protestations)

A testations had some secret intelligence with the Duke of Vendome, who should play the Newter during the conference, and by that means obtaine by force the advantages they desired. Upon this occasion his Maiestie did three things. First, he caused many of his troopes to passe the Riuer of Loire, hearing that the Duke of Vendome was gone towards Britanie with his troopes. Secondly, he caused eight Cannons to be drawne out of Paris with munition, and conducted to Orleans to be employed as occasion should serue; and thirdly, his Maiestie sent an Herald to the Duke of Vendome, who found him in the Castle of Chantocé in Anjou on the eighteenth of February. He was conducted into his Castle by two of his guard, coming to the gate, he took his coat of Armes, and so went into the Dukes Chamber, who was accompanied by many Gentlemen and others. The Duke hauing his hat in his hand, and the Herald requested he said vnto him:

*To you Caesar of Vendome: I command you by the Kings Sovereign Lord your Master and mine, and all your adherents, that presently you lay downe Armes, and dismisse the troopes which you haue leauied, and come vnto his Maiestie; and all which which asist you to retire to their Houses; and for want hereof I pronounce you Rebels, and guilty of Treason, and as such an one to be punished by force of Armes: To whom the Duke made answer, I am a most humble servant to the Master whom you serue, I will confesse with these Gentlemen which doe me the honour to asist me, and then give you my resolution.*

After dinner he said vnto him, *That he was a most humble servant to the King, and that the Armes which he had taken were signed with the Prince of Condés intentions, to reuenge the death of the deceased King his Father: to which end he would employ his life, goods and friends.*

This Declaration stayed the Kings troopes from further proceeding; vntill the conference at Loudun, which began on the tenth of February, according to the decree made at Fontenay. There came for the King, the Countesse of Soissons, the Duke of Neuers, the Marshall of Brillac, Monsieur de Villers, President Thun, and Monsieur de Vich Counsellors of State. For the Prince besides himselfe, there were, the Prince of the Month, the Duke of Longueville, the Dukes of Longueville, Myenne, and Enghienburg, with the Marshall of Bouillon. Soon after came the Dukes of Rohan, Sully, Tremouille, and the Earls of Candale, St. Thomas Edmunds Ambassador for his Maiestie of Great Britaine assisted also, and the Assembly of Nismes was transferred to Rochel. The Prince presented thirty Articles, whereby it was coniectured that the peace could not be so soon concluded; and therefore the truce was prolonged till the 15 of March. In the meane time the Duke of Vendome came to the Conference to be comprehended in the Treatie, and present his complaints.

The Kings Deputies had given answer in writing to the thirty Articles; but for that there was some conelation touching three which were suspended, the truce was againe prolonged vnto the 15 of April: the chiefe question being about the raising of the Citadell of Amiens towards the towne. But in the mid the Kings Councill gaue the Prince to understand, that the King would not raise the Citadell razed, and that the Marshall d'Ancre would deliuer it into his Maiesties hands, to giue the gouernment to someone that should not be suspect vnto the Duke of Longueville, Gouernour of Picardy. The interests, advantages, and assurances which the Prince and his associates desired; and the contentments which they had secretly demanded, caused a new prolongation of the Truce, vntill the 25 of April, during the which the private Articles were often sent to Tours: in the end the King caused the Castle of Chyront to be deliuered vnto the Prince. They promise him the Tower of Bolarges, and Berry, with 1500000 Franks for the charges of his Armie, for the satisfying whereof, there were impositions raised vnto the Salt, and other Merchandize.

Some held this peace to be dearly bought by the King, and that a warre had bin more profitable and honorable: but the Estate of the Kings affaires being considered, it was resolved to giue the Prince what he should require for his content. There was no speech now but of a Peace, the Court was full of ioy, & the Princes drinke to the Kings and Queens health, and protest to doe their best endeours for the entertainment of the Duke of peace.

But in the meane time the Prince was dangerously sick at Loudun. The Maifestie sent to visit him, and the truce was prolonged vntill the 15 of May, as well by reason of the

An Herald sent vnto the Duke of Vendome.

The Dukes answer to the Herald.

The conference at Loudun begun.

The Kings Deputies had given answer in writing to the thirty Articles.

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and that this iust feare had caused them to arme, without doing any act of Hostilitie. This report made, they held it not fit for their Maiesties dignitie to send againe to the Duke of Rohan and his associates, but to hold them as iuror enemies against the Kings seruice, and the publicke peace: That they should prouide for the Government of Bearne, and other places which the Marquis of La Force held; and that they should make a Declaration against all them of the Reformed Religion which had taken armes.

The townes  
vpon the way  
to Bayonne,  
affured to the  
King.

The King sent to the Gouvernors of Tartas, Aeqs, and Montmarfan (three townes which are lying in the way to Bayonne) to assure them to his seruice: The Gouvernors of these three townes desired their Maiesties by their Letters, that they would not doubt of their fidelity, nor of the inhabitants deuotion: which made them iudge that the Princes partisans hauing no retreat, the passage for Madam would be safe: the Earle of Grammont, Gouvernor of Bayonne, hauing also sent to assure their Maiesties that he would ferue them in this voyage with 200 horse, and 1000 foot.

Madams depar-  
ture to  
Bayonne.

After the Espoufals, it was resolved that Madam should part on the one and twentieth day, being conducted by the Duke of Guise, who also had the command of the army, which consisted of 4000 foot, 1200 horse, and foure Cannon; besides the Earle of Grammonts Forces which should meet with them. Vpon this resolution Madam takes leaue of the King and Queene, of the Princesses and the whole Court, where there was much weeping for her departure: The King conducted her half a League out of the towne: the Queene betooke her to her chamber very heavy for the Ladies departure, where she remained in private two dayes. The Lady arriued at Bayonne the second of Nouember without any disturbance; whereof they presently aduertised their Maiesties.

In the meane time the Marshall D'Ancre lay not still in Picardy, hauing leauied an army of 3500 foot, and 600 700 horse: He caused two Forts to bee built neere vnto Corbie, where Ruberpre commanded with two Regiments, which much annoyed the towne of Amiens.

Exploits of the  
Marshall  
D'Ancre.

In Clermont Maraucourt commanded for the Princes, with a Regiment of eight Companies, which did much oppresse the neighbour Provinces by their leauying of taxes. This made the Marshall resolute to take this towne from the Princes: whereupon he sent Nerseus with certaine Companies of horse and foot, to force the bafe towne by Petard, who coming neere vnto Clermont, found that the enterprise was discovered; yet he resolved to go on, and in the end tooke the bafe towne, where they barricaded themselves, attending the Marshall D'Ancre with the rest of his troops and artillerie, who being come, and his artillerie planted, the besieged yielded by composition, and retired to Noyon.

Clermont taken by the  
Marshall D'Ancre.

During these ciuill combustions, the poore Peasants were wonderfully oppressed by the souldiers, and forced to pay their taxes double, by the receipts which were erected by the Princes in the Provinces of Picardy, the Ile of France, Champagne, Auxerre, Berry, Touraine, Poitou, and part of Anjou, sending out their garifons to take the richest Peasants in euery Parish, whom they kept prisoners vntill they had paid the tax of the whole Village.

Monsieur de Plessis Gouvernor of Saumur (continuing in his Maiesties obedience) made a Decree, by the which hee commanded the Parishes to set vpon those rebels which sought to leaue the Kings money, forbidding all Gentlemen to assist them, vpon paine to be made liable to taxes.

Let vs returne now to Bayonne. On the sixt of Nouember, Madam the Kings sister came to Saint Iohn de Luz, and at the same time the Catholicke King with the Infanta arriued at Fontarabie. The ruer of Bidasso or Margari makes a diuision of France from Spaine, at a place called Andajo which is a League from Fontarabie, and two from Saint Iohn de Luz. There the exchange was made betweene the two Princesses. But I cannot insitt vpon the particularities, which were very stately: hauing a very copious subiect to treat of.

The Kings de-  
ceit against  
them at the  
Religion.

The Assembly at Nismes, thinking that they of the religion in Guienne, should ioine their Forces with the Earle of Saint Paul, sent Letters to their Churches, to encourage them to take armes and to ioine with the Prince. Whereupon the King made a Declaration against them of the Religion, with this Prouiso, That if within one month after the publi-

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A publication thereof, they make declaration in the Registers of the Bailiwicks where they remained: That they would desist from all enterprises, and doe him faithfull seruice, and in no sort assist or fauour those which shall persist in their rebellion; and deliuer vp such places as they had surprisid: He then tooke them into his protection, forbidding all his subjects to wrong them in word or deed, by reason of that which had past. But if after the time expired, they still continued in their rebellion, either in carrying armes, or assisting and fauouring them that doe: he would haue them punished as guilty of treason, and troublers of the publicke peace and that the townes and communalities which should adhere vnto them, should lose all their liberties and priuiledges which had beene granted vnto them.

The Kings Espouse being entred into the Realme, he wrote vnto her in these tearmes: The Kings first Letter to the Queene his Spouse, Madam, Hauing no meanes according vnto my desire, to meet you at the entry of my Realme, for to put you in possession thereof, as of my affection to loue and serue you: I send *Luynes* vnto you, to salute you in my name, and to tell you that I expect you with impatience, to offer you both the one and the other: I pray you receiue him fauourably, and beleue what he shall say vnto you.

The Queene mother did also write vnto her, to assure her of her affection, in tearmes of a good mother, and a great Princeesse.

Madam my Daughter, The King my Son, hauing made choice of *Monsieur de Luynes*, the Queens Letter, as one of his most confident seruants, to congratulate your happy entry into his Kingdome, and to let you know with what passion and desire you are expected by him: I would not lose the opportunity to let you know, that I participate in the same desire to see you, for the comfort I shall receiue in mine owne particular, and to confirme by mouth the cordiall loue I beare you: I pray you beleue what hee shall deliuer on my behalfe.

The Seigneur de *Luynes* met with the Queene at Bayonne, and was receiued with as honourable a reception as could be desired, to shew the loue and affection shee bare vnto the King, in his person, whom she knew was much beloved of his Maiestie.

On the 21 of Nouember, the King with his whole Court went out of Bourdeaux to meet with the Queene his Spouse, three leagues without the towne, where she was receiued in wonderfull great state: after which the Nuptials were celebrated in the Cathedrall Church.

During their stay at Bourdeaux, there happened an accident which much troubled their Maiesties, and gaue a great affront to the Parliament of Bourdeaux, by an eminent person. A Gentleman called *Hault Chastel*, a prisoner at that time in the Towne, being condemned to lose his head for many foule crimes, there was great sute made vnto the King for his pardon, and a Lieutenant of the Guards was sent vnto the prison, to stay the execution. Hereupon the Court sent Deputies to their Maiesties and the Chancellor, to enforce them of the fact; so as they had commandement to doe iustice, and the Guards were commanded to retire: whereupon they meant to execute him that evening: but a Iesuit which had him in confession, said, that he had so many crimes vpon his conscience, as it would require three houres to admonish him, and therefore they must deferre it till the next day; neither could the Executioner be found, they being both corrupted to make this delay. The Court being risen, the Cardinal of Sourdis came presently on horse backe, booted, and his Almoner before him with a Crosse, accompanied with thirty or forty Gentlemen of note, whom hee had not acquainted with his intent; and holding a paper in his hand, coming neere the Palace, he cried out, A Pardon, a Pardon, God saue the King: but he found the Palace gate shut, the which he commanded to be forced by such as were about him; the like he did to the prison; where finding the Keeper, hee would haue forced him to deliuer the keyes; who vpon his refusal was slaine, his keyes being taken away, *Hault Chastel* was drawne out of a hole and set at liberty, conducted to the Riuer, and put into a boat. The Cardinal also retired himselfe by water, to a house of his a league from the towne.

Vpon this violence the whole Court went vnto his Maiestie, to make complaint of this attempt, and to beseech him that vntill this affront were repaired, the adherents punished, and the condemned man restored, they might bee dispensed withall from doing any act of iustice to any of his Maiesties subjects.

The young  
Queene entred  
into Bour-  
deaux.

An insolence  
committed by  
the Cardinal  
of Sourdis.

The complaint  
of the Parlia-  
ment at Bour-  
deaux.

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The King did let them vnderstand, that his pleasure was they should proceed against the Cardinal and his adherents, by the viall formes, for the repairing of such a crime, and that he would countenance them by his authority: but he would also haue them continue in doing iustice to priuate persons: whereupon warrants were giuen out for the apprehending of the party and many of the complices. Thus you heare the History of a new spirit, who going among prisoners, raised one from death, and put to death one that was liuing, whereby in the Kings prefence he abused his name and authority, to commit a violence vnworthy the thoughts of a man of his quality. Hereupon the Court made a decree, enioyning all the inhabitants of the towne, and others which had sene the said force and murder, and which knew the persons which had committed or assisted it, to come and depose the truth, and reueale their knowledge to the Commissaries deputed by the Court, and vpon their refusal to bee punished as authors and fauorers of the said crime of treason, and enemies to the King. In like manner they made another decree for the apprehending of the Cardinall, and diuers others mentioned therein.

The Duke of Guise made General of the Kings armies.

Articles concluded betweene the Princes and the Assembly at Nismes.

On the 27 of Nouember, there were two actions past worthy of obseruation, the one was in the Councell at Bourdeaux, whereas the King made the Duke of Guise Lieutenant general of both his armies, which he meant to draw into one, giuing him all power & authority by his Letters Patents, to lead and conduct his troops in his absence. The other was at Sanfay in Poictou, whereas the Prince of Conde and the Deputies of the Assemblies at Nismes signed their Accord, whereof the chiefe Articles were: 1. To vnite themselves, and to demand an answer to the first Article of the third Estate: and to make an exact search for all those which had participated in the murder of the deceased King. 2. To hinder the reception of the Councell of Trent. 3. To prevent the inconueniences which might happen vnto the Estate, by the accomplishment of the alliances with Spaine. 4. To procure a new Councell of State about the King. 5. Not to lay downe armes before the King had granted the demands of them of the Religion. 6. To provide that they of the religion which had taken armes might bee restored to their goods, places, and pensions. 7. Not to giue care vnto a peace without a common consent. 8. That there should be a correspondency of Councell betweene the Prince and the Assembly at Nismes. 9. That the direction of all money leauied in the townes which were held by them of the Religion, and the disposing of their armies should be managed by the Assembly at Nismes. 10. That there should bee a prouision made of new places of safety in those Prouinces where those of the Religion had no retreat. 11. To allow free exercise of the same Religion in the cities and townes held by the Princes. 12. That prouision should bee made for them of the Religion which were fled from their houses.

Men spake diuersly of this accord: some said, that the Prince made himselfe in effect protector of them of the Religion, although he had not taken the title, for that King Henry the Great had in his life time abhorred it, and was watchfull they should haue no other protector but himselfe or his successors: he knew the importance of this protection better than any one of his Realme, and said that it tended onely, to make an Estate within the Estate.

Some on the other side said, that the Prince had put himselfe vnder the protection of them of the Religion: that he had bound himselfe to serue them well, and not to make any peace before the King had granted them that which had beene often reiected. That they finding the necessity the Prince had of their succours, and to make his retreat during the winter into their townes of safety, they had forced him to accept of any conditions they pleased.

These armies in Poictou.

Both the Armies are now in Poictou, where the poore people are much oppressed, and the King was dayly expected with the other Armie, lead by the Duke of Guise: so as it seemed all their quarrels should be decided by Armes in Poictou. In the meane time the Prince hauing taken Tonnyay-Charante, he visited Saint Iohn D'Angely, Rochel, and some other Townes where he was receiued with much respect.

Many feignd persuade the Prince to demand a peace of the King.

In the most violent heate of warre, there are alwaies some men of qualitie which imploy themselves to make ouertures of peace. There were some Noblemen of either religion desiring to draw the Prince thereunto, and spake vnto him, as of their owne motion, but they preuailed not. Men doe sometimes seeme to reiect that which they desire most, and

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A and whereof they haue most need; either to preserve their reputation, or get the better composition. Some write that the Prince pissing neere to Chastellerault, a Capuchin letting him to vnderstand the disorders and violences which his Souldiers committed: I am more grieved (said he) then any man in France; but I haue beene forced to haue recourse to Armes for my safety. The Duke of Neuers seemed to haue continued a Newer in his Towne of Neuers, and yet it is reported that hee had fauoured their passage of the Riuer of Loire, and fortified their Armie with some part of the troopes which hee had raised vnder the Kings Commissions. Yet hee did not openly declare himselfe for them; but went from Neuers about the midle of Nouember towards Bourdeaux, where he arrived about the beginning of December, as well to salute the Queene, as also to beseech the King to giue him leaue to conferre with the Prince, and to dispose him & the rest to demand a peace of his Maiestie: with which designe their Maiesties were well pleased. He had a great interest in these Princes, for he was a deare friend vnto the Prince, and the Marshall of Bouillon, the Duke of Longueville was his Sisters sonne; and the Duke of Mayen his wiues brother.

Some write that at the same instant Sir Thomas Edmunds Ambassador Leiger for his Maiestie of Great Britaine residing in Court, told their Maiesties that the King his Master would neuer aduow the Princes taking of Armes. That the Marquis of Boniuert being sent into England by the said Prince to negotiate for succours of men and money, hee had for his answer; that His Maiestie would neuer goe against the peace, alliance, & good neighbourhood which was betweene the two Kings and Realmes of France and England. That the King his Master, hauing beene alwayes carefull to maintaine peace in his owne Kingdomes, hee could not but desire the same in the Estates of neighbour Kings his allies, whereunto he would giue his best assistance. That hee had receiued commandement from the King his Master to acquaint his Maiestie therewith, and had charge to repaire vnto the Prince, to dispose him to demand a peace: The which the King tooke in good part.

It is written that the poorer sort of them of the Religion had their braines so troubled with an imaginary persecution, as it was bruted in many good Townes of France, that vpon the first alteration they would set fire on their houses, and come forth with their Armes to sell their liues dearely. The wisdom of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, seeking to prevent the causes in time, decreed that they of the reformed Religion should bring their Armes into the Towne-house, to take away all subiect of sedition and trouble, and to free many from feare which grew through their owne weakenesse, or some bad designe. Vpon this Decree, the two Ministers of Bourdeaux desired to retire themselves, and aduised others to doe the like. Two Aduocates called Saint Angell, and L'Auergnac, professing the said Religion, presented a Petition to the Parliament, to the end those Ministers might be inioyned to continue the exercise at Begle: which was decreed accordingly, vpon paine to be punished as Troublers of the publique peace: and the Iurats had charge to haue a care that they of the Religion might goe and come safely. Notwithstanding this Decree the two Ministers retired from Bourdeaux: The one to Tonneix, where the Duke of Rohan remained; and the other to Rochel.

Let vs now see what passed in Champagne after the Princes had left it about the end of October. The Marquis of Vieuxville the Kings Lieutenant in that Prouince about Rheims, and the Seigneur of Dandelot, being also Lieutenant towards Langres, hauing leauied some troopes of horse and foot: the Marquis went and tooke Neuchastell: and finding that Mery did much annoy the riuer of Seine, and the inhabitants of Trois, (who desired to be freed) he came thither with his troopes, and treated with the inhabitants, who promised to furnish him with foure Cannons, & powder for five hundred shot, with eight or nine hundred good men. The Seigneur of Poitrincourt, (being at his House neere to Mery, and aduersed of the Marquis his enterprize) gathered together his friends, and with some souldiers of the Regiment of Nauarre, which were in Garison at Nogent and Bray, hee went on the fift of December and lodged in the base Towne of Mery, where hee found no resistance, for that Lamet the Gouverneur kept no guard there.

The same day the Marquis arriued with his troopes and Cannon before the high towne where after the eighth shot, the besieged demanded composition, which was granted and

The Ambassador of England Speech to his Maiesty.

A Decree of the Parliament at Bourdeaux touching them of the religion.

Neuchastell taken for the King.

Mery besieged and taken for the King.

1615 and they departed the next day with their Armes and baggage. Some write that *Poirincourt* court hauing a designe to make himselfe Gouverneur of Mery (as hee had bene during the League) seeing that the Marquis of Vieville as the Kings Licutenant in that Prouince would place one of his owne; he resolved that night with his friends, to make himselfe Master of Mery in the morning. You must vnderstand that betwene the base Towne and the high there was a little frame of water, which at that time might bee easily waded through. Neither were there any walles betwene the two Townes but onely Baricadoes.

*Poirincourt* At the same time when as the Seigneur of Reaux, appointed by the Marquis, entred into Mery to effect the capitulation, and *Lamet* with his men on horsebacke ready to depart; *Poirincourt* couered with a Target, hauing a naked sword in his left hand, and a Pistoll in his right, and followed by his friends, past the water, and entered into the towne by the Baricadoes, crying out, God saue the King and *Poirincourt*, and at the same time hee caused the souldiers of the Regiment of Nauarre to enter by the gate, thinking they would haue seconded him; which they did not, but stood still in battell in one of the streets without mouing, which saved their liues. The Marquis his troope seeing this attempt, and that they cryed, kill, kill, did likewise aduance with the like noise, so as the skirmish grew hot, in the which *Poirincourt* was slaine, with some hundred of his followers, and his sonne was taken prisoner. These bee the effects of ciuill combustions; where we haue seene an old Capitaine, who after imploiment at Sea, and ha- C uing bene present at diuers goodly actions, comes to die neere vnto his owne house.

Exploits in  
Champains.

*Ruberpre* thrust  
out of Corbie  
by his Sergeant  
Major.

The Marquis hauing left a Garison in Mery, returned his Cannon to Troys. After which, the Seigneur of Dandelot came likewise to Troys to borrow their foure Cannons, with the which hee tooke the Castles of Brienne, with the townes of Rosnay, Pougy, and others.

*Ruberpre* you haue heard, had left the Kings seruice to follow the Duke of Longueuille, and the Princes. About the end of this year *Le Heaume* his Sergeant Maior, (whom the Marshall of Bouillon had recommended vnto him, being of the reformed Religion) hauing intelligence with *Helincourt*, and other Captaines, hee met *Ruberpre* in the open street, and told him, that he had intelligence with the Marshall D'Ancre, so as hee might D stay no longer in Corbie, whereupon he led him to the gate, and thrust him out of the Towne, where he continued foure houres, shaking of an Ague, without money, and not knowing whither he might safely retire himselfe. *Le Heaume* and *Helincourt* hauing assured *Corbie*, and seized vpon that which did belong to *Ruberpre*, they sent him one of his horses, with some money, to retire where he pleased. You may easily iudge how hee was perplexed, fearing to fall into their hands, which kept the Marshalls forts. Being in this distress, hee tooke his way towards Soissons, where the Princeesse Dowager of Conde, and the Duchesse, mother to the Duke of Longueuille remained. Afterwards *Helincourt* did also expell *Le Heaume* out of Corbie.

The Cheual-  
lier of Ven-  
dome comes  
to Rome.

This year the King had resolved to send a solemne embassage to Rome, to yeeld his E siall obedience vnto his Holinesse.

The Cheuallier of Vendome, Grand Prior of Tholouse, was chosen to execute this charge in the Kings name: hauing bene five yeares at Malta, hee receiued commandment from the King to returne into France, and to passe by Rome; there to performe the said obedience, where his reception and entry was with very great state, and done in three seuerall dayes; that is to say, the day of his first entry, where he was met by the Dukes of *Brachiano*, *Santo Iemini* and *Country*; the Prince of Sulmone the Popes Nephew, with an infinite number of Cardinals, Prelates, and Noblemen, being himselfe followed by many Noblemen and Knights of Malta of the French Nation: and this was performed on the second of September. On the fourth hee made his second entry into Rome in State: F and two dayes after, hee was conducted to the publique Consistorie, where hee performed the Ceremonie of the Kings obedience.

The Baron of  
Montglas  
sane.

In the Kings Armiethere hapned a great disaster, namely, the Duell of the Barons of Vitry, and Montglas: their quarrell chanced vpon a slight occasion, and beganne in the presence of Monsieur de Guise, and many of the chiefe of the Armie, comming forth of the Duke of Guises Chamber. Monsieur de Montglas taking exceptions at some words which Monsieur de Vitry had spoken vnto him, hee challenged him, who thinking that he had

A had spoken in iest, gaue little regard thereto for the present. But Monsieur de Montglas still offering him the Combate; and he making many excuses and intreaties not to fight with him, as hauing bene alwayes great friends: in the end they came into the field in Xaintonge, where after some encounters, Monsieur de Montglas was slaine, to the great griefe of the chiefe Commanders of the Kings Army. His body was caried to the Castle neere Proüns in Brie.

In the meane time the Prince came from Rochel to Saint Iohn D'Angely, where at the instant request of his Maiesties Ambassador of Great Britaine, and of the Duke of Nevers, he resolved to a peace, and sent the Baron of Thiangeto his Maiesty with this Letter B following.

Sir, I haue heretofore presented vnto your Maiestie, by my most humble Remon- strances; the disorders and miseries which threatned your Realme; and haue besought you with humilitie & respect, which a faithfull subiect owes vnto his King, to diuert them by your wisdom, and to apply sic and necessary remedies in time; lest being neglected, the mischiefe grow incurable: wherein I neuer had nor will haue any other end or in- tent, then the preservation of your Estate, and the publique peace. Wherunto desir- ing to apply all my actions, and to seeke out all possible meanes to attaine therunto; for the auoyding of those miseries and calamities which a ciuill warre doth procure; I was determined before the arriual of Sir Thomas Edmunds the K. of Great Britaines C Ambassador, and of the Duke of Nevers, to doe my dutie, and satisfie the desire and re- quest of the Deputies of the Religion (assembled by your permission) to send vnto your Maiestie some man of qualitie, humbly to beseech you to giue peace vnto your Realme, so necessarie, and so much desired of all your subiects: and to take into consideration (if you please) the remonstrances presented vnto your Maiestie, by the generall Estates, the Court of Parliament and my selfe: and to that end to call into your Councell the ancient Councillors whom the deceased King your father had so profitably employed, who are not interested in the said remonstrances; and desire nothing but the good of the Realme, &c.

With this Letter there were certaine Articles presented vnto the King to treat of the D Peace, on the behalfe of the Prince of Conde, and the assembly at Nismes. 1. The Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and they of the religion ioyned with him, desiring peace, humbly besought the King to giue it vnto his subiects. 2. That if it pleased the King to grant conference, and to send his Deputies, the Prince and they of the Assembly at Nismes will send on their behalves. 3. The Prince humbly besought the King to grant a Briefe to them of the Assembly at Nismes, to transport themselves to some place neere vnto the Court. 4. The Prince desires that the Ambassador of Great Britaine may be present to be a witnesse to this Treatie. 5. That the Countesse of Soissons, and the Duchesse of Longueuille might be also called to assise. 6. That the Prince might know the place and the persons whom his Maiestie would employ; and what should become of both Armies during the Treatie. The difficultie was vpon the second Article, touch- ing the Deputies of the generall assembly at Nismes, for they would not heare them, nor read their letters in this qualitie. In the end the Baron of Thianges told the King, that he could not returne vnto the Prince, before the Deputies of the Assembly had presented their Letters and had audience. This was granted as to Deputies of the Assembly at Nismes, and not of the generall Assembly of them of the reformed religion: so as in the beginning of this year 1616. the King being come to Roche-Foucault, they had audience and presented their Letters, which tended onely to peace.

On the 8 of Ianuary, the Duke of Nevers, and the Baron of Thianges returned to the Court being at Poitiers: and to agree vpon the time, the place, and the circum- F stances of the conference, the Marshall of Briac, and Monsieur de Villeroy deput- ed by the King, parted from Poitiers, with the Duke and Baron, to goe to Fontenay le Conte; whither the Prince had promised to come, and these following Ar- ticles were concluded. 1. That the King was pleased to enter into conference with the Prince, and all others which had ioyned with him, and assisted him of both religions. 2. That the conference should be held in the Towne of Loudun, by Commissaries de- puted from his Maiestie, to treat with the said Prince and other Lords, and should begin on the tenth of February next. 3. And that nothing might trouble so good a worke, it was

The Princes  
Letter vnto  
the King.

Articles tou-  
ching the trea-  
tie of peace.

Articles agreed  
on touching  
the conference  
of Amies.

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was thought good with the Kings good pleasure, to have a suspension of Armes through all the Countries of his Maiesties obedience, and likewise in the foueraignty of Sedan and Raucourt. To begin in regard of the Prouinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoumois, Bretagne, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, on the day that the present Articles shall bee ratified by his Maiestie, of whose will the said Prince shall bee satisfied by the thirtieth of this month. And in regard of other remote Prouinces, this suspension should begin the day of the publication thereof, and end the first day of March following, wherof the Prince should at the same time aduertise such as commanded in any places for him. 4. That his Maiestie should be humbly intreated to send speedy commandement for the publication of the said suspension of Armes: and that in the meane time all prisoners taken on either side, after the thirtieth day of this present month to be set at libertie. 5. That no fortification should be made during this suspension in any towns or places, taken since the first of September last; nor any souldier leauied within the Realm. 6. And to hinder alteration by nearness of the Armes: it was agreed, That his Maiesties troopes should retire beyond the Riuer of Vienne, and not approach within eight Leagues of Loudun. But as for the Garisons which might be held necessarie for the safety of the townes and places on this side the riuers of Vienne, and Clain, which might giue some cause of iea- lousie, there should be a list giuen vnto the Prince of the numbers which should bee im- ployed. 7. The like Article was concluded touching the Princes Arme which should not approach within sixe leagues of Poitiers. 8. That the Prince might lodge some troopes in Loudun and thereabouts for the safety of the conference. 9. That the troopes might retire if they pleased, hauing leaue from their Generals in all safety, so as they aduerted the Gouernors of places where they past, and did not march about twenty together. This Accord was confirmed by the Kings Decree. Signed the 23 of January.

After this, the King came to Tours, during the extremitie of the cold, where on the nine and twentieth day the Councell being assembled, the Floor of the Chamber began to sink, so as many Noblemen and great Personages fell with it, in the which the Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Elpernon, with many Noblemen were hurt. The Queene Mother was on the other side of the Chamber, conferring with the Chancellor, and some other Councellors of State and fell not, which gaue great content to all the Court.

This newes being brought to Paris increased their sorrow, for the same night of the 29 day: the Riuer of Seine hauing bene frozen; there coming a thawe, the Ice brake and caried away many boates laden with Wood, Corne, Wine, Salt and other Merchandize of a very great value; a part of Saint Michaels bridge fell into the water, which caused great losse, but none drowned but one Maid-servant: the other moiety of this bridge fell in Iuly following; so as they were forced to make another of wood towards the Augustins, whilft they built the other of stone.

The season of the yeare, was violently cold, during the Kings passage from Bourdeaux to Tours; wherof they write extraordinary things. That betwene Poitiers and Chastelleraut, there were Coachmen seene to fall downe dead from their Coaches; that there died so many groomes and seruants to Princes and Noblemen, that being at Tours they were forced to make new traines; and such as escaped, some lost an eare, some fingers, some toes which were frozen off. That in the Regiment of the guards which consisted of three thousand men, there died about a third part as well of cold, as of burning Feuers. That without any combat there was dead in the Kings Arme, and the Princes about 10000 souldiers, which had so infected the Country from Bloys to Ancenis (which is 50 leagues) as there died afterwards about 10000 other persons, and of the best families. The King lost at Tours his Schoolemaster, the Queene her Physician, and Dole a Councillor of State, with diuers others left this life.

The conference was now beginning at Loudun; yet the suspension of Armes was not generally obserued. In Guienne, La Force and Grammont continued the warre one against another; and the Duke of Vendomes troopes committed great Acts of Hostility. Many Townes of Anjou, Maine, Pearch, and Britanie were forced to contribute money vnto them. Whereupon the Court of Parliament at Rennes (seeing him vnwilling to discharge his troopes) made a Decree against him, giuing leaue to the country people to set vpon them. This made him to write a Letter vnto the King, which gaue their Maiesties no great content, but made them coniecture, that the Prince (notwithstanding all his pro- testations)

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A testations) had some secret intelligence with the Duke of Vendome, who should play the Newter during the conference, and by that means obtaine by force the advantages they desired. Upon this occasion his Maiestie did three things. First, hee caused many of his troopes to passe the Riuer of Loire, hearing that the Duke of Vendome was gone to Paris with his troopes. Secondly, hee caused eight Cannons to be drawne out of Orleans to be employed as occasion should serue; and thirdly, his Maiestie sent an Herald to the Duke of Vendome, who found him in the Castle of Chantocé in Anjou on the eighteenth of February. He was conducted into his Castle by two of his guard, coming to the gate; he tooke his coat of Armes, and so went into the Dukes Chamber, who was accompanied by many Gentlemen and others. The Duke hauing his hat in his hand, and the Herald couered, he said vnto him:

To you Cesar of Vendome: I command you by the King my Soueraigne Lord your Master and mine, and all your adherents, that presently you lay downe Armes, and dismisst the troopes which you haue leauied, and come vnto his Maiestie; and all those which assist you to retire to their Houses; and for want hereof I pronounce you a Rebell, and guilty of Treason, and as such an one, shall be punished by force of Armes: To whom the Duke made answer, I am a most humble seruant to the Master whom you serue, I will confesse with these Gentlemen which doe mee the honour to assist me, and then giue you my resolution.

After dinner he said vnto him, That he was a most humble seruant to the King, and that the Armes which he had taken were iigned to the Prince of Condés intentions, to reuenge the death of the deceased King his Father; to which end he would imploy his life, goods and friends.

This Declaration stayed the Kings troopes from further proceeding; vntill the conference at Loudun; the which began on the tenth of February, according to the Treatie made at Fontenay. There came for the King, the Countesse of Soissons, the Duke of Neuers, the Marshall of Brissac, Monsieur de Villeroi, President Thou, and Monsieur de Vicq Councillors of State. For the Prince besides himselfe, there were, the Princesse his Mother, the Duchesse of Longueuille, the Dukes of Longueuille, Mayenne and Luxemburg; with the Marshall of Bouillon. Soone after came the Dukes of Rohan, Sully, Tremouille, and the Biske of Candale: Sir Thomas Edmunds Ambassador for his Maiestie of Great Britaine assisted also, and the Assembly of Nismes was transferred to Rochel. The Prince presented thirty Articles, whereby it was coniectured that the peace could not be so soon concluded, and therefore the truce was prolonged till the 15 of March. In the meane time the Duke of Vendome came to the Conference to be comprehended in the Treatie, and present his complaints.

The Kings Deputies had giuen answer in writing to the thirty Articles; but for that there was some contestation touching three which were suspended, the truce was againe prolonged vnto the 15 of Aprill: the chiefe question being about the razing of the Citadell of Amiens towards the towne; but in the end the Kings Councell gaue the Prince to vnderstand; that the King would not haue the Citadell razed, and that the Marshall D'Ancre would deliuer it into his Maiesties hands, to giue the gouernment to some one that should not be suspect vnto the Duke of Longueuille, Gouernour of Picardy. The interests, advantages, and assurances which the Prince and his associates desired; and the contentments which they had secretly demanded, caused a new prolongation of the Truce, vntill the 25 of Aprill, during the which the private Articles were often sent to Tours: in the end the King caused the Castle of Chynon to be deliuered vnto the Prince. They promise him the Tower of Bourges, and Berry, with 1500000 Franks for the charges of his Arme. For the satisfying wherof, there were impositions raised vpon the Salt, and other Merchandize.

Some held this peace to be dearly bought by the King, and that a warre had bin more profitable, and honorable: but the Estate of the Kings affaires being considered, it was resolved to giue the Prince whatsoever he should require for his content. There was no speech now but of a Peace, the Court was full of ioy, & the Princes drinke to the King and Queenes health; and protest to doe their best endeouours for the entertainment of the Edict of peace.

But in the meane time the Prince fell dangerously sick at Loudun. Their Maiesties sent to visit him, and the truce was prolonged vntill the 15 of May, as well by reason of the Princes

A strange accident at Tours in the Council Chamber.

The falling of Saint Michaels Bridge at Paris.

Great mortalitye upon the Kings returne from Bourdeaux.

Hostilities continued during the suspension of Armes.

An Herald sent vnto the Duke of Vendome.

The Duke sent to the Herald.

The conference at Loudun begins.

The Castle of Chynon deliuered to the Prince.

The Prince of Condé falls sicke.



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Princes sickness, as to provide for the discharge of the Souldiers, and to draw the Articles concluded into an Edict.

Their Majesties leaving Tours to goe to Blois, the Chancellor stayed behinde with the Councell, to give order for the affaires; as soone as he came to Blois, hee found that the practices of his enemies, and of the State, had prevailed more against him then was good for France; and therefore desiring to prevent their wils, hee came vnto the Queene Mother on the eight and twentieth of April, and demanded leaue to retire from Court, the which being presently published, was very sensible to many, especially vnto the Masters of the Requests, and such as were vnder his charge.

The Chancellor delivers the Seales into the Kings hands.

On the first of May, many Councillors of State, with all the Masters of the Requests and Officers of the Chancery, came vnto his lodging to accompany him to the Castle, whither he went at eleven of the clocke, causing the seales to be carried with him. He entered into the Queene Mothers Chamber, where the King was, into whose hands he delivered the Seales; what words past is not knowne, but at his departure the King seemed to be very heavy, and the whole Court grieved for his discharge.

The next day he left Blois, and retired to his house neere to Paris, still carrying the same countenance, constancie, and equalitie which he had alwayes done. They write of him, that he was the Chancellor which had served the Kings his Masters as faithfully, and was as worthy of the places, wherewith they honored him, as any one that had gone before him. The world marvelled that slander should be so bold as to wrong a man, who had so well deserved of all the French commonwealth.

The Kings Ordinance for the pacification of the troubles.

The King being at Blois, on the fourth of May there was an Ordinance proclaimed touching the pacification of the troubles, whereby the King injoynd all his subjects of what qualitie soeuer, to live in peace, unity, and concord one with another. That all Acts of Hostilitie, leauynings of money, and payment of contributions should cease. That all Prisoners should be delivered, and all troopes bee discharged, and presently retire. There was also another Ordinance published, for the retreat of all souldiers, as well French as strangers, which had followed the Prince of Candé, during these last alterations, to the end they might retire to their houses in small troopes, by ten and ten, or twelue and twelue, at the most, in all safety; forbidding all men of any qualitie soeuer, to doe them any disturbance.

The King and Queene come to Orleans.

The King signed the Edict of peace, and the priuate Articles on the sixt of May, and parted the next day, arriuing at Orleans on the eighth, where the Queene made her entrie. The Burgesses being sixe thousand in number very well appointed and armed, met the Queene almost a league without the towne: but that which gaue the greatest grace and best pleased their Majesties was to see three hundred young Youths about the Kings age, brauely apparelled and armed, instructed by their Leaders, marching before them like souldiers.

The Queene Mother arrives at Paris.

From Orleans they went to Fontaine-bleau, and from thence the Queene Mother arrived at Paris on the 11 of May, where she was receiued by the Gouverneur, Provoist, and Sheriffs of the Citie in great state, being conducted by them through the Citie from St. Victors gate to Saint Germain; she being desirous to see her stately building at Luxemburg house, from whence she retired to the Louure.

The Kings entrie into Paris.

The King was attended at Paris on the sixteenth of May, and received with all Militarie pompe. He was on horsebacke, and the Queene in her open litter, most richly imbroidered. There came out of the Citie about fifty thousand people to see their reception: and the streets and windowes were as full also as they could be. The slander of such as desired not the alliance with Spaine, had caused many things to be spoken of the yong Queenes person: but when men saw her so faire, and resembling the King, they were all humbled.

Prisoners delivered upon the Peace.

Although the Edict and priuate Articles granted to the Prince were not yet verified in Court; yet they proceeded to the execution thereof. The President le Jay was freed from the Castle of Amboise; and the day after his coming to Paris, he went to the Palace to execute his charge. Marquis Boniuet, (who had been taken at Calais, coming out of England, and sent to the Bastile by Marshall D'Ancre) was set at libertie, and the prison doores of the Concergerie were set open for *Friaize*. The Dukes of Mayn and Bouillon came to Paris, and went to salute their Majesties. The Baron of La Chastre, Gouverneur

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A uernour of Berry was sent for by their Majesties, to treat with him touching his gouernment: for the which the King gaue him satisfaction, and made him Marshall of France for his seruices; & they gaue recompence to the Caprains which held any places of strength in Berry to content the Prince. The D. of Vendome went to his house at Chenonceaux. The D. of Longueuille retired into Picardie, & came not to Paris. The Marshall D'Ancre left the Cittadel of Amiens, the which was giuen in charge to the D. of Montbazon, who exchanged his Lieutenantcy of Normandie for that of Picardy; and at the same instant the Marshall was made Lieutenant of Normandie. *Belfont* Gouverneur of the Castle of Cane left it; and *Du Thier* entred it for the said Marshall. The King had sent thrice for *Monsieur de Vair* first President in his Parliament of Prouence, to be made Keeper of the Seales, who came in the end. All the Parliaments of the Realme were much satisfied with the Kings election of a man, whose learning, vertue and integritie was so well knowne to all France. The first Act which he did in his charge was to Seale the Edict of peace, with the verifications and the particular Articles: The chiefe heads whereof I haue thought good to insert.

Articles of the Peace concluded at Loudun.

1. That the remembrance of the troubles past should be suppressed. An Iniunction to live in peace: The exercise of the Catholique religion to be restored where it had bene interrupted. A search for the death of the deceased King *Henry* the Great. The Publication of the Decree of the Councell of Constance, touching the safety of the life of Kings.

C. Of a Decree giuen in Parliament the second of January 1615; and of that of the Councell giuen sixe dayes after. That the grieuances of the generall Estates should be speedily answered; and that the first Article of the third Estate shall be presented. That no stranger should be admitted to charges, and Offices; but in regard of their great seruices. That Soueraigne Courts should be preferred in their Authoritie, and the Remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris considered of. That such as had been put from their Offices should be restored. That no Offices in the King and Queenes House, nor any Government, nor militarie affaires should be venale. Reuersions reuoked: Edicts of pacification (granted vnto them of the Religion) obserued. The place of a Councillor in Parliament at Paris, to be affected to them of the religion, in stead of one become Catholique. The reformed religion to be restored in all places, where it had been discontinued by reason of the troubles. The Prince and all those which had assisted him, of either Religion, held for the Kings good and koyal subjects; that they should desist from all Leagues and intelligences both within and without the Realme; and should be discharged from all which had happened by reason of the last troubles. A discharge for such as had been made directors of the *Treasure* for the Prince; and for such money as had been taken out of the Kings receipt. A ratification of the accompts made before the Prince. A discharge for such as had giuen no accompts, and for the Maior & Sheriffs of Rochel, for the Commissaries and keepers of the victuals; and for the widowes and heires of such as had died in following the Prince. All Edicts & Decrees as well against the Prince, as those which had assisted and followed him, should be void and taken out of the Registers, with the declaration made at Poitiers in September. 1614. The Priuiledges taken from any townes which had vnitied themselves vnto the Prince, should be restored. The Chamber of the Edict should be settled at Nerac. The Inhabitants of Poitiers which had left the Towne in regard of the tumult, which happened the three and twentieth of June 1614, shall be restored; and all proceedings against them disannulled. All which had vnitied themselves vnto the Prince, should freely inioy, their gouernments, offices, benefices, & goods. The D. of Vendome comprehended in the Edict of Loudun. Renouation of the Decrees of the Parliament at Rennes, giuen against him and those which had followed him. All proceedings in prejudice of the Treatie of S. Mane should be void, and iudgements giuen against absent persons which had not defended themselves. That the memory of such as had been executed by reason of the troubles should be restored. All prisoners to be set at liberty. A pursuait made for any prizes taken at Sea. Restitution of places taken by the Prince. Restitution of Tartas and townes of the Patrimoine of the Prince, & the Duke of Luxemburg. Of the yearely rent. The Impost of fifty sols vpon the quartet of Salt taken away; and that of forty sols vpon the quintall of salt in the Farme of Lionois. Imposts vpon the Rivers. The secret Articles shall be obserued. Verifications of the Parliament: of the Chamber of accompts, and of the Court of Aides. The particular Articles of Loudun.

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The French Church shall be conferred in her rights and liberties. The King shall not suffer any thing to be done against his authoritie concerning the Councell of Trent. The Castle of Lectoure shall be put into the hands of an Exempt of the guard, untill the difference betweene the Seigneurs of Fonterailles and D' Augalin be judged by the King. *Villemereau* a Councillor of the Parliament, and *Le Maistre*, Master of Accompts, shall be readmitted to their Offices. The Ministers of the Religion, shall enjoy those exemptions which have been granted unto them. The inhabitants of Millaw shall enjoy the effects of the abolitions heretofore granted. The Lady *D'Audoux*, and the Siegneur of Saint Foy, shall be discharged of that which hath past at Belstat. The Siegneur of Aradon shall be reestablished Gouverneur in Vannes. The charge of great Master of the Artillery confirmed in his authority, notwithstanding the Declaration made in favour of the Siegneur de Bors. *Cugnot* the Prouinciall Receiver of Tithes in Burgundy shall be discharged of one and twenty thousand Franckes, which *Monsi. de Mayen* hath received of him. The Commission for the razing of the Castle of Tigny in Anjou revoked. The Duke of Vendosme and those which have followed him shall have evocation for a yeare of all the suits which they have in the Parliament at Rennes. Fifteen hundred thousand Francks to be given to the Prince for the charges of the warre.

The Kings declaration touching his oath at his Coronation.

At the end of the Generall Estates in the yeare 1613 there had beene a great dispute betweene the Deputies of the Nobility of both Religions, for that the Catholikes had concluded in their Chamber, that petition should be made unto the King, That he would preferre the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, according to the oath which he had taken at his Coronation: which was in these termes: *I will endeavour with my whole power, faithfully to expell out of my jurisdiction, and the lands of my subiection, all which shall be declared Heretiques by the Church.* They of the Religion made great complaints hereupon, so as the King made a Declaration, of his intent; but they not satisfied therewith, the King was intreated to make a second this yeare the twentieth of July, whereby he declared, That his intent was not in the oath which he had taken at his Coronation, to comprehend his subiects of the Religion living in his Realme vnder the benefit of his Edicts, the which he would have inuolubly observed.

A Shoemaker beaten by the Marshall D'Ancre.

On the 19 of June, a Shoemaker called *Picard*, Sergeant of the quarter neerer to Saint D Michaels Bridge, going into Saint Germain suburbs, was so beaten with cudgels by two Grooms, set on by the Marshall *D'Ancre* Gentleman of the horse, as hee was in danger of death. This action was so followed, as the parties which committed this insolency were hanged. Some said that he had beene thus intreated in revenge of that which had past at Port Bussy, the day before Palme Sunday where he was in guard, and had stayed the Marquis *D'Ancre* from going into the suburbs without a Passport from the towne according to the order; whereupon the Marshall was forced to returne to the Louvre. Others affirmed that this Shoemaker was much afflicted to the Princes party, and had vied no respect in this action, so as he was growne so proud, as he spake scandalously of the Marshall in all places where hee came, the which the Gentleman of the Marshals horse hearing, he could not endure, but had caused him to be beaten as a seditious Detractor.

The Earle of Aumerye set at liberty and restored to his place.

The Earle of Aumerye, having bene eleven yeares and eight moneths prisoner in the Bastile; the King caused him to be set at libertie, and gave him his sword againe; for which he yielded thanks unto their Maiesties. Their pleasures were that the Duke of Nevers should resigne unto him the place of Colonell of the light horse, which had been granted him by the imprisonment of the said Earle. What a strange alteration, to see him that was a prisoner, and neuer thought to be freed at libertie, and within three weekes to command the Kings troopes.

An Ambassador from the great Master of Malta.

About this time *Don Lewis Mondes Vascoucelles* Bayliffe of Acre, and extraordinary Ambassador for the great Master, and all the order of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, came from Malta to Paris. Many great personages went to meet him, and the King caused him to be lodged, defrayed and served by his Officers. On the day of his audience he came to the Louvre with two and twenty Caroches: where making an honorable relation of the great Master, and of the Knights of the Order, hee besought his Maiestie that as heire to the vertues of his predecessors, as well as of their Estates; so he would continue the effects of his love, and not suffer the Duke of Nevers to dismember the order of the holy Sepulchre from this of Ierusalem, considering their long possession, and the Donation

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A Donation made by *Pope Innocent* the 8, with the generall consent of all Christian Kings and Princes, as well of the dignity of great Master, as of all the lands which they held in their countries. Hee also let him vnderstand, that this order of *S. Iohn* of Ierusalem was a Seminary of braue and experienced Captaines, and the refuge of the younger brothers of the best Houses of France, where they purchased honor, if they did surmount the hazards which they must vndergoe. Besides the Ports of the Lands which did import much the shipping which did traffique into the Levant. Moreover, he said, that by the erecting of this new Order, the French Knights should have the greatest losse, they holding the most important charges, yea, the great Masters being most commonly Frenchmen. In the end he concluded, that this new institution would be very preiudiciall to the Soueraigne, who should suffer his subiect to engage the will & affections of his Nobility, by a particular vow: shewing that *Philip* the 2. K. of Spaine, being moued with a holy zeale to aduance the dignitie of the great Master of the Order of the holy Sepulchre; hee no sooner heard the sensible complaints which were made unto him by the Order of Ierusalem, but he renounced his pretention, and commanded his Ambassador to moue his Holinesse to give them a confirmation of the annexion of the order of the holy Sepulchre. To whom the King answered, *If my Predecessors have heretofore protected the order with their Love, I have no lesse wil to testifie my affection; so as being informed of the reason which hath been heretofore made of the Order of the holy Sepulchre, will give charge unto my Ambassador residing neere his Holinesse, to incite him on my behalfe that there may be nothing innouated.* The which was presently done. In like manner the D. of Nevers wrote unto the great Master; That if he had known his pursuite had been so preiudiciall to their Order, he would neuer haue moued it.

*Rothefort*, a Gentleman whom the Prince of Conde affected much, came to Paris, & went to saluete their Maiesties on the Princes behalfe; telling them that hee would be sodainly there; but withall he besought the King, that the 33 Article of the Edict of Loudon, touching the inhabitants of Poictiers, who had retired themselves by reason of the tumult might be obserued. Hereupon the King sent the Marshall of Brisac thither. By the Article they were to enter into their charges, as well Militarie, as Iudicature. The common Councell of the towne intreated his Maiefty that they might not enter into their military charges. Hereupon there were many voyages made to the Prince, so as in the end the Militarie charges were excepted, and the Articles put in execution.

The Prince of Conde arrived at Paris the 20 of July: all the Princes and great men of France came thither in a manner at the same instant, amongst the which, the Dukes of Vendosme, Rohan, Sully, and Tremouille, with the Earle of Candale; the Prince of Orange, brother in law to the Prince, with Count *Iohn* of Nassau came to visit him. They sent Ambassadors to all the neighbour Kings, Princes and States, to aduertise them of the Peace which the King had given unto his subiects. And his Maiefty of Great Britaine sent an extraordinary Embassage by the Lord *Hays*, Viscount Duncaister, and now Earle of Carleil, to his Maiefty, to congratulate his marriage, who came with many Noblemen and Knights, and a very honorable traine. He was received almost as farre as Saint Denis by the Prince of Ioinville, and many of the French Nobility. He was conducted to his first audience by the Duke of Guise, accompanied by many great Personages; during his abode in Paris he was much feasted, namely, by the Marshall of Bouillon, the D. of Nevers, the Prince of Conde, and others. But a tumult which hapned at Peronne, and the Prince of Condes detention, made an end of their feasts, and bred a great alteration in Court.

The entry which the inhabitants of Peronne gave unto the Duke of Longueuille into their towne, and to put out *Faulx*, a Gentleman of Gascoine, Lieutenant to the Marshall *D'Ancre*, Gouverneur in particular of Peronne, Roy, and Mont-Didier, and what followed was the Leauin of the third ciuill warre. The Marshall *D'Ancre* being made Gouverneur of these townes in the yeare 1610, he made *Faulx* his Lieutenant in Peronne; who lodged in the Castle; and the Garison in the towne, who had for Captaine *Rame Basqueuille*, who had in his company 150 souldiers. In Iuly there was a brute dispersed, that the Marshall with his Lieutenant *Faulx*, would lodge 1000 men in Garison there, of those which should come out of the Cittadell of Amiens: that they would tyrannize ouer them, with their wives and children, and ruine their towne. They seeme amazed, and send to aduertise the Marshall *D'Ancre*, who was then going to his gouernment in Normandy. But withall they aduertised the Duke of Longueuille of their affection, intreating him to

Marshall Brisac sent to Poictiers

Viscount Duncaister comes to Paris.

The taking of Peronne, which was the end of the third ciuill warre.

favour their request vnto the King, for the entertainment of that which the deceased King A Henry had promised them when they left the league: That they should have no Governour but one of the Country a good Catholique. The Duke sent them word hee would see them shortly, perswading them not to suffer any Garison to enter. The chiefe Magistrates were willing to receive the Duke, whereunto their Governour opposed, protesting that he would maintaine the Marshalls authoritie with the hazard of his life, and not to suffer the Duke to enter into the towne. Whereupon they resolved to send to Court, to aduertise his Maiestie, and the Prince of Conde: but before their Deputies departed, they resolved to summon *Fauls* to shew the commission he had to refuse the entry of the towne vnto the Duke of Longueuille; which summons *Fauls* derided. So the Deputies departed. B Soone after they held an Assembly in the towne, where it was concluded, not to suffer any Gentlemen or Souldiers, friends vnto the Governour *Fauls*, to enter into Peronne, vntill their Deputies were returned from Court. After many things which past that I must omit, the Duke of Longueuille entred into Peronne, with great applause of the chiefe Magistrates.

The Duke of Longueuille enters Peronne

The Castle is yielded vnto him.

Monsieur Mangot sent to the Duke of Longueuille.

*Fauls* lost his goods at Peronne, and was imprisoned at Rouen.

On the sixteenth of August, Monsieur Mangot, a Secretarie of State, was sent with Letters from the King to the Duke of Longueuille, but hee arrived not before the Duke was Master of the Castle, and had given it in guard to the Baron of Bernieules; the which was done by the souldiers who were perswaded to yeeld: the Captaine and other Commanders being resolved to defend it, and to attend the Kings troopes which were coming from Paris vnder the leading of the Earle of Auvergne. Monsieur Mangot, having presented his Letters, he said vnto the Duke, That euery man blamed and condemned that which had bene done at Peronne, both by him and the Inhabitants. To whom the Duke answered, *That there had not been any thing done against his Maiesties service; but only to suppress the contempt which Fauls and Rames had made of him and of his quality, as Governour General of the Province, contrary to his Maiesties expresse will and intention, and the Treatie of Loudoun. Moreover, he assured himselfe, that this King would not take it ill, his service being no way interested, nor the generall of the State, it only concerning him, and the Marshall D'Ancre in particular, who would not acknowledge him in his qualitie of Governour General, and that he hoped his Maiestie would not make himselfe a party in private quarrels, as hee had formerly most humbly besought him by his Letters.*

The same day *Fauls* with his wife and family were thrust out of Peronne about fixe of the clocke in the evening; having thus lost his goods and fortune: thinking to goe and excuse himselfe to the Marshall D'Ancre, he was committed to prison at Rouen vpon this Maximie; That the Captaine which hath the guard of a strong place importing the State, and suffers it to be lost, should lose his life; yet afterwards he was set at liberty.

The Prince being returned to Paris, there was a councill held touching the businesse at Peronne. It was held that they should not aggravate any thing: and that matters might be reconciled, the Marshall of Bouillon was sent to Peronne to that effect; who vpon his returne vnto their Maiesties, reported, that the Duke of Longueuille, & those of the town besought the King to giue them leave to name three Gentlemen of the Country, one of the which his Maiestie should chooseth to be their Governour; or that he would confirm the Baron of Bernieules, whom the Duke had already put into the Castle. This demand did nothing please their Maiesties, thinking it a blemish to the Soueraignty. The Earle of Auvergne approaching with his light-horse, and part of the Regiment of the Kings guard, thought to lodge in Mount Saint Quintin neere vnto Peronne: but hee found that the Duke of Longueuille assisted by many of his friends and souldiers, which had bene sent vnto him, had seized vpon the place, and made it with a strong Garison. The inhabitants of Peronne were then annoyed not only with the Dukes Garison within the Towne, but also with the Earles troopes which lay about it.

A resolution to seize vpon the Prince of Conde.

Vpon these combustions there was a resolution taken in the Queenes Cabinet to seize vpon the Prince of Conde; person; it being giuen out that hee was the author of these Broiles; that a greater designe would burst forth, and that they meant to seize vpon their Maiesties persons. Wherefore they perswaded the Queene Mother, that if she would haue her selfe assure the Kings person, she should lay hold on the Prince, vnder whose name & authority this conspiracy was plotted. Some write that shee refused to this remedy with griefe, & distressed in heart the pernicious counells which had ruined this

A this great Prince, and had thrust him headlong into these miserable designs, which forced the King to intreat him lesse worthily then his qualitie required, and that for her particular she desired.

The execution of this resolution was on the first of December; the Prince coming to the Louure to assist in Councell. The day before in the evening, the Queene Mother had sent commandement to the Marshalls of France, the Campe-Master of the Regiment of the guards, to the Collonell of the Swisses, and to the Captaines of light-horse to attend the King the next morning. All came, and the Queene saw the Prince enter into the Councell Chamber. Monsieur de Themines had received commandement to haue his two sonnes still by him, and to giue order that a dozen of his people whom he did best trust, should walke in the Court to be employed vpon occasion. D'Elbene, Lieutenant to the Duke of Anjou company of light-horse, had the like charge. They draw their people together, and were led into a Chamber where they found the King and Queene alone: the King came to euery one of them a Halbard, saying, *I doe not giue you these Armes to offend any man, if you doe not see that Themines and D'Elbene are forced to draw their swords, and that there is resistance made to the execution of my command.* All hauing promised to live and dye in the fidelitie which they ought him, they were brought into a low Hall, whether the Prince should be brought as soone as he was arrested. All the Captaines which were in guard about the Louure were commanded to stand at their guard. The Baron of C Thiangs who walked in the Court; and seeing this stirring, hee coniectured there was some designe: and for that there was none of the Princes in the Louure but the Prince of Conde, he doubted of some enterprize against his Person, which made him goe to the Councell chamber doore, where were many Councillors of State.

The Queene Mother who was ready to execute this great designe, had a watchfull eye to all occurrents: she sent a Gentleman to the Councell chamber doore to see what became of the Prince. The Baron of Thiangs seeing him come, said vnto him, you come to call the Prince vnto the Queene. To whom he answered, pardon me, Sir, I haue some businesse with a person who is there within, but I feare me he will not come out so soon. Wherefore I will leave my Lackey here, to desire him that I may haue the honour to D speake with him before hee goe from the Louure. Hereupon Thiangs became the lesse suspicious: yet he stayed at the Councell chamber doore, vntill the Prince came forth, and drawing neere vnto him told him in his eare the ialousie which hee had. But the Prince little regarding this aduice, passed along through the Swissers Hall, with the keeper of the Seales, the Marshall of Brisac, and the President Jannin, and so entered all four into the Queenes Chamber, where the King was leaning in the window with many Lords about him. The Queene was in her Cabinet. The King turning vnto him as he entered, said, Good morrow Monsieur le Prince, I am going a hunting, will you make one? To whom hee answered, Your Maiestie, if you please will excuse me: Hereunto the King replied, I will goe tell the Queene my mother that I goe to hunt the Roobucke E after I haue heard Masse. *Adieu Monsieur le Prince.*

The Kings Speech to the Prince of Conde

The King being entred into the Queenes Cabinet, Themines came with his two sonnes out of an entry, who approaching neere vnto the Prince, said:

My Lord the King being aduertised that you giue eare to many Counsels, contrarie to his service, and that they will make you embrace designs ruinous to the Estate, and to your owne condition, hee hath commanded mee to seize vpon your person, to keepe you from falling into these accidents: and at the same time his two sonnes came on either side the Prince, who said to the Seigneur de Themines: Me? He answered, I obey my Lord. Then said the Prince, You know my qualitie: Themines. I know the respect I owe you; but I know also the obedience I owe vnto the King. Hereupon the Prince desired to speake vnto the King, and F to iustifie himselfe before their Maiesties. Themines said vnto him, My Lord, let us see whether the King hath commanded me to conduct you. The Prince offering to retire backe, and turning towards the Noblemen which were present, said, Is there no man here for mee? but they stood gazing at this confection, like transformed Statues; they were amazed to see the first Prince of the blood thus arrested; but knew not the cause. Then Themines said vnto him, My Lord, here is no place to make resistance. The Prince seeing himselfe prest to goe out of the Chamber, desired againe to speake with their Maiesties, for hee had no will to goe forth, vntill that Themines had assured

The Prince seized on in the Queenes Chamber.

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assured him, that neither he nor any other had charge to wrong him. In the end suffering himselfe to be led into a Hall which was prepared for him : and seeing D'Elbene (whom he loued not) with so many men with Halberts, he said, *Alas I am dead*, for he had a great apprehension of death, the which D'Elbene pacified, saying, *That all they whom hee saw there were Gentlemen and no murderers, who had not any other commandement from the King but to guard him.* He spake not any word against their Maiesties, but stood long silent, seeming much grieved for the change of his liberty into captiuitie.

The Princes flee  
from Paris.

At the same instant all the guards were set vpon the approaches of the Louure, and they which were walking in the Court were put forth. The newes hereof was soone brought vnto the Princes his associates. They were sodainly disperfed like a Cove of Partridges before the Hawke; they apprehended the danger, but were ignorant of the cause. They which were sent to seize vpon the Duke of Vendosme, found that in coming to the Louure he had bene aduertised, and was escaped by Saint Honories suburbs, posting towards La Fere (a towne which belonged vnto him, as the inheritance of the Dukes of Vendosme) so as they could not ouertake him. The Marquis of Cœuure, gouernour of Laon, Vncle by the mothers side to the Duke of Vendosme, went to aduertise the Duke of Mayen of the Princes arrest. Hereupon there was no other talke but of going to horsebacke, all flee away in small troopes. They goe and meet the Marshall of Bouillon nere vnto Charenton, being gone forth that morning to the preaching. At the rising of the Palace, President le Jay remembring Amboise, desired rather to take the fresh aire of the fields by Saint Anthones gate, then to remaine in Paris.

The Princesse  
Dowager of  
Conde flees  
to mouer the  
people.

The newes of this arrest being brought to Conde House, in the Suburbs of Saint Germain, where the Princes Mother remained, the presently tooke her Caroe and went to our Ladies Bridge, thinking to moue the people, some of the Princes Gentlemen did the like, crying, *To Armes my masters of Paris, the Marshall D'Ancre hath caused the Prince of Conde, the first Prince of the Blood to be slaine, To Armes good Frenchmen to Armes.* But there were very few which made any shew to stir: which the Princesse seeing, she returned to her lodging, where many Noble men, and Captaines came to take aduice whether they should arme and goe directly to the Louure for the Princes deliuerie. It was propounded, that there might be some Burgeses well affected would ioyne with them, and so together they might make an attempt. You may doe it said one of them: but consider that the Magistrates of Paris, with the common people will bee for their Maiesties, and then what shall become of vs, when as the Kings guards shall hinder our approach to the Louure, and at our backes they shall draw the chaines: before wee goe to this dangerous attempt, it shall be good to twetene the multitude with the spoile of the Marshall D'Ancre lodging, and thereby breed a desire in them to follow vs.

The Marshall  
D'Ancre house  
spoiled.

This aduice was allowed, and presently executed. The Marshalls House was neere vnto the Palace, which the Queene was building, and Conde house was in the same street. Some of the Princes household seruants, hauing encouraged certaine Mafons and other labourers which wrought in the Queenes buildings. They goe and breake open the gates, with such fury, as the Porter and other seruants were glad to saue themselves by the Garden. They went into the Hals and Chambers; some cast goods out at the windowes, others filled their pockets with gold, siluer, and what they found most precious. The first which caried any thing into the Citie, serued as Trumpets to aduertise the multitude that the Marshall D'Ancre lodging was vpon spoile.

In the afternoone Monsieur de Lioncourt, Gouernour of Paris, with the Knight of the Watch came thither with their Archers, thinking to stay this Spoile, but they found some of the Princes people armed with their Pistols, and encouraging the multitude, and one of them flew Adonville with a shot: whereupon the Gouernour retired. The multitude was so great, and so greedy of Spoile, as they hurt one another, yea, some were crueltie in pieces with that was throwne from above. All good men trembled at this action, and detested their counsell which had taught the people the way to spoile.

The Marshall  
de Lioncourt  
retired  
to Paris.

In the meane time the Duke of Mayen and the Marshall of Bouillons troopes encreased, marching towards Picardie. The Duke with some others were of opinion to returne to Paris, and to ioyne with them of their faction, but the Marshall de Bouillon was of another opinion, saying, *Our proceffe cannot be decided but when the doores are open, they that*

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*As haue bene accustomed to iudge when the doores are shut let them goe to Paris, if they desire to creep vnder there, I hold that the way to Soissons is the safest for vs.*

The Prouost of Merchants hauing bene at the Louure to know the Kings pleasure, he vnderstood that the Prince was onely in custody, the which was presently made knowne to all the quarters where many had shut vp their shops, commanding all the Coronels and Captaines to see the peace maintained, and to forbid them to arme but vpon commandement. The Duke of Guise being at his house, was presently aduertised of this accident: He sent the Prince of Ioinville his brother vnto their Maiesties, to know the cause; and soone after, Monsieur de Pralin came from the King vnto the Duke, who about foure of the clocke in the afternoone retired out of Paris, with the Prince his brother, following the Duke of Mayen their Cousin towards Soissons.

The Duke of  
Guise, and the  
Prince his brother  
retire from  
Court.

During these actions, Monsieur Themines, his sonnes, and D'Elbene, entertained the Prince: they asked him if he would eate, but he refused it; yet in the end he was content so as his officers might bring it: whereupon it was agreed, that one should come and serue him, and nor depart; and that his officers should prepare his diet and bring it to the chamber doore. Monsieur de Luyues came to visit him from the King, and La Motte from the Queene mother. He demanded if the Marshall of Bouillon were taken, and spake many things of him. The Queene mother hearing that Rouffort (a Gentleman whom the Prince affected much, and whom he had made Gouernour of the Castle of Chynon) was come thither, with an intent to hold it by strength, and to draw together the friends of that partie; he caused the Prince to signe Letters and to adresse them to such as hee had put into Chynon and the Tower of Bourges, that they should resigne those places into the hands of those the King should ordaine: which hee promised to doe, and afterwards performed.

The King and  
Queene lend to  
visit the Prince.

Night hauing caused them to stay their spoile in the Marshall D'Ancre house, hauing left nothing but the rafters, Iron, and some Lead, they came in troopes to make an end, and carie away all, which was a fearfull sight. About nine of the clocke, this rascall rable fell vpon the house of Corbinnell the Marshalls Secretary, the which within an houre and a halfe they emptied of all the goods, siluer, plate, or whatsoever was portable. They threatened the neighbour houses, and they were consulting to goe into the Citie, and to doe as much to the Colledge of Marmoutier, where the Abbot (brother to the Marshall D'Ancre wife) was lodged: This aduice was caried to the Louure. They of the Suburbs of Saint Germaine were presently commanded to arme: the Lieutenant Criminall with his Sergeants to goe into Saint Iames street, and Monsieur de Creguy to the Marshall D'Ancre house, with the three Companies, which should be relieved from their Guard at the Louure, which he effected accordingly. These spoilers saw themselves presently shut vp betwene the Kings Guards and the inhabitants of the suburbs who were in armes; yet they thought it good to giue them a free passage, with commandement to retire, and not to returne any more, vpon paine of punishment; for they desired to pacifie and not to exasperate things.

The Marshalls  
Secretary house  
spoiled.

Thus from Thursday till Friday at noone, the Marshall D'Ancre house and his Secretaries were spoiled and ruined, so as there remained nothing but foure bare wals, without couering. The losse was very great in pictures, guildings, marbles, apparell, linnen, mouebles, tapistrie, metalls of gold and siluer, plate, with many goodly curiosities, which great men haue in their cabinets: all which did nothing profit them which were the authors. There was an intent to make criminall searches by the ordinary Iustice; but it was thought best to proceed ciuilly and by way of excommunication. There were some Curats which so detested this act, as many of the petty theeves brought what they had stolne to the Commissarie of the Quarter, or cast it into a Waggon which was appointed to that end.

Their Maiesties seeing themselves ill assisted by their ordinary Guards, they sent commandement to the Earle of Auvergne, who lay about Peronne, to returne speedily with his troopes to Paris: the which he did. The long and faithfull seruices of braue Cheualiers haue for their reward honors and great military charges. So the King knowing the good and faithfull seruices which the Seigneurs of Themines and Montigny had done vnto the Estate, he made them Marshalls of France. In the meane time they prepared a Chamber, the windowes barred with Iron, about the great Hall in the Louure for the

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The Kings declaration touching his oath at his Coronation.

A Shoemaker beren by the Marshall D'Ancre men.

The Earle of Auvergne set at liberty and referred to his place.

An Ambassador from the great Master of Malta.

The French Church shall be conferred in her rights and liberties. The King shall not suffer anything to be done against his authority concerning the Council of Trent. The Castle of LeCours shall be put into the hands of an Exempt of the guard, until the difference between the Seigneurs of Fontenailles and D'Auquin be judged by the King. *Villemereau* a Councillor of the Parliament, and *Le Maître*, Master of Accompts, shall be readmitted to their Offices. The Ministers of the Religion shall enjoy those exemptions which have been granted unto them. The inhabitants of Millaw shall enjoy the effects of the abolitions heretofore granted. The Lady *D'Audoux*, and the Siegneur of Saint Foy, shall be discharged of that which hath past at Belstat. The Siegneur of Aradon shall be reestablished Gouverneur in Vannes. The charge of great Master of the Artillery confirmed in his authority, notwithstanding the Declaration made in favour of the Siegneur de Bors. *Cugnot* the Provinciall Receiver of Tiches in Burgundy shall be discharged of one and twenty thousand Franckes, which *Mont de Mayen* hath received of him. The Commission for the razing of the Castle of Tigny in Anjou revoked. The Duke of Vendosme and those which have followed him shall have evocation for a year of all the suits which they have in the Parliament at Rennes. Fifteen hundred thousand Francks to be given to the Prince for the charges of the warre.

At the end of the General Estates in the year 1615 there had been a great dispute between the Deputies of the Nobility of both Religions; for that the Catholics had concluded in their Chamber, that petition should be made unto the King, That he would preserue the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, according to the oath which he had taken at his Coronation: which was in these termes: *I will endeavor with my whole power, faithfully to expell out of my jurisdiction, and the lands of my jurisdiction, all such as shall be declared Heretiques by the Church.* They of the Religion made great complaints hereupon, so as the King made a Declaration, of his intent; but they not satisfied therewith, the King was intreated to make a second this year, the twentieth of July, whereby he declared, That his intent was not in the oath which he had taken at his Coronation, to comprehend his subjects of the Religion living in his Realme under the benefit of his Edicts, the which he would have innocently observed.

On the 19 of June, a Shoemaker called *Pierre*, Sergeant of the water, neerer Saint Michaels Bridge, going into Saint Germain suburbs, was to be beaten with cudgels by two Grosmen, set on by the Marshall *D'Ancre* Gentleman of the household, who was in danger of death. This action was so followed, as the parties which committed this insolency were enlarged. Some said that he had been thus intreated in revenge of that which had past at Port Buffy, the day before Palmesunday when he was in guard, and had killed the Marquis *D'Ancre* from going into the suburbs without a Passport from the Countess, according to a such order; whereupon the Marshall was forced to returne to the Duke, others affirmed that this Shoemaker was much distressed to the Princes party, and had been more specifically intreated, so as he was growne so proud, as he spoke scandalously of the Marshall in all places where he came, the which this Gentleman of the Marshalls household hearing, could not endure, but had caused him to be beaten as a seditious Detraitor.

The Earle of Auvergne having bene eleven years and eight months prisoner in the Bastile, the King caused him to be set at liberty, and gave him his sword againe, for which he thanked him with their Maesties. Their pleasures were that the Duke of Nevers should resigne unto him the place of Colonell of the light horse, which had bene given him by the imprisonment of the said Earle. What a strange alteration, so he him was a prisoner, and never thought to be freed at liberty, and within three weeks to overcome and kill Kings prisoners.

About this time *en Louis*, *Monsieur de Flandres* Bayle of Acre, and extraordinary Ambassador for the great Master, and all the Order of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, came from Malta to Paris. Many great personages went to meet him, and the King caused him to be lodged, decayed and served by his Officers. On the day of his audience he came to the Louvre with two and twenty Carouches, where making an honorable relation of the great Master, and of the Kingdoms of the Order, he brought his Maistie to the houses of his predecessors, as well as of their Estates, so he would demonstrate the cause of his house, and not suffer the Duke of Nevers to withdraw the order of the holy Sepulchre from this of Ierusalem, considering their long possession, and the

Donation

A Donation made by *Papa Innocent* the 8, with the general consent of all Christian Kings and Princes, as well of the dignity of great Master, as of all the lands which they held in their countries. He also let him understand, that this order of *S. Iohn* of Ierusalem was a Secretary of State and experienced Captaines, and the refuge of the younger brothers of the best Houses of France, where they purchased honor, if they did surmount the hazards which they must undergoe. Besides the Ports of the Ilands which did import much the shipping which did traffique into the Levant, *Morguer*, he said, that by the erecting of this new Order, the French Knights should have the greatest losse, they holding the most important charges, yea, the great Masters being most commonly Frenchmen. In the end he concluded, that this new institution would be very prejudiciall to the Souveraigne, who should suffer his subject to engage the will & affections of his Nobility, by a particular vow: shewing that *Philip* the 2. K. of Spaine, being moved with a holy zeale to advance the dignity of the great Master of the Order of the holy Sepulchre; hee no sooner heard the sensible complaints which were made unto him by the Order of Ierusalem, but he renounced his pretention, and commanded his Ambassador to move his Holinesse to give them a confirmation of the annexion of the order of the holy Sepulchre. To whom the King answered, *If my Predecessors have heretofore provided the order with their Love, I have no less will to testify my affection, so as being informed of the union which hath bene heretofore made of the Order of the holy Sepulchre, I will give charge unto my Ambassador residing neere his Holinesse, to treat him on my behalfe that there may be nothing innovated.* The which was presently done. In like manner the D. of Nevers wrote unto the great Master, That if he had known his purpose had been so prejudiciall to their Order, he would never have moved it.

Before a Gentleman whom the Prince of Conde affected much, came to Paris, & went to the King, on the Princes behalf; telling them that hee would bee sojourning there but withall he thought the King, that the 33 Article of the Edict of Loudun, touching the inhabitants of Poitiers, who had retired themselves by reason of the tumult might be observed. Hereupon the King sent the Marshall of Brisac thither. By the Article they were to enter into their charges, as well Militarie, as Iudicature. The common Councill of the towne intreated his Maistie that they might not enter into their military charges. Hereupon there were many voyages made to the Prince, so as in the end the Militarie charges were excepted, and the Articles put in execution.

The Prince of Conde arrived at Paris the 20 of July: all the Princes and great men of France came thither in a manner at the same instant, amongst the which the Dukes of Vendosme, Rohan, Sully, and Tremouille, with the Earle of Candale, the Prince of Orange brother in law to the Prince, with Count *Jehan* of Nassau came to visit him. They sent Ambassadors to all the neighbour Kings, Princes and States, to advertise them of the Peace which the King had given unto his subjects. And his Maistie of Great Brittain sent an extraordinary Embassage by the Lord *Rays*, Viscount of Auster, and now Earle of Caileil, to his Maistie to congratulate his marriages; who came with many Noblemen and Knights, and a very honorable traine. He was received almost as farre as Saint Denis by the Prince of Ioinville, and many of the French Nobility. He was conducted to his first audience by the Duke of Guise, accompanied by many great Personages; during his abode in Paris he was much frequented, namely by the Marshall of Bouillon, the D. of Nevers, the Prince of Conde, and others. A tumult which happened at Peronne, and the Prince of Condes detention, made an end of their feasts, and bred a great alteration in Court.

The fury which the inhabitants of Peronne gave unto the Duke of Longueville, and his town, and to put out *Faulx* the Gentleman of Gaucourt, Lieutenant to the Marshall *D'Ancre*, Gouverneur in particular of Peronne, Rob, and Mont Didier, and when *Faulx* was the Equin of the third Quillistre. The Marshall *D'Ancre* being made Governor of these townes in the year 1610, he made *Faulx* his Lieutenant in Peronne, and lodged in the Castle, and the Garrison in the towne, who had for Captaine *Robert de Guiseville*, who had in his company 30 soldiers. In Iuly there was a brute disseminated, that the Marshall with his Lieutenants *Faulx*, would lodge 3000 men in Guiseville, of which some should come out of the Citadel of Amiens; that they would tyrannize over them, kill with their wives and children, and burn their towne. They were amazed, and sent to the Marshall, and he answered them, saying, that he was going to his government, and that he would not they should misse the Duke of Longueville of their protection, and that he would

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favour

Marshall Brisac  
Gentleman of the Chamber

Count  
of Nassau  
brother in law to the Prince

Viscount d'Auster  
comes to Paris

The taking of  
Peronne by  
the Duke of  
Guiseville  
the Duke of  
Guiseville  
the Duke of  
Guiseville

the Duke of  
Guiseville  
the Duke of  
Guiseville



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favour their request vnto the King for the entertainment of that which the deceased King Henry had promised them when they left the league: That they should have no Governor but one of the Country a good Catholique. The Duke sent them word hee would see them shortly, perswading them not to suffer any Garison to enter. The chiefe Magistrates were willing to receive the Duke, whereunto their Governour opposed, protesting that he would maintaine the Marshalls authority with the hazard of his life, and not to suffer the Duke to enter into the towne. Whereupon they resolved to send to Court, to aduertise his Maiestie and the Prince of Conde: but before their Deputies departed, they resolved to summon *Fauols* to shew the commission he had to refuse the entry of the towne vnto the Duke of Longueuille, which summons *Fauols* derided. So the Deputies departed. B Soone after they held an Assembly in the towne, where it was concluded, not to suffer any Gentlemen or Souldiers, friends vnto the Governour *Fauols*, to enter into Peronne, vntill their Deputies were returned from Court. After many things which past that I must omit, the Duke of Longueuille entred into Peronne, with great applause of the chiefe Magistrates.

The Duke of Longueuille enters Peronne  
The Castle is yielded vnto him.

Monseigneur de Montmorency sent to the Duke of Longueuille.

*Fauols* lost his goods at Peronne, and was imprisoned at Rouen.

On the sixteenth of August, Monsieur *Montgoy*, a Secretarie of State, was sent with Letters from the King to the Duke of Longueuille, but hee arrived not before the Duke was Master of the Castle, and had given it in guard to the Baron of Bernieules, the which was done by the souldiers who were perswaded to yield: the Captaine and other Commanders being resolved to defend it, and to attend the Kings troopes which were coming from Paris vnder the leading of the Earle of Auvergne. Monsieur *Montgoy*, having presented his Letters, he said vnto the Duke, That euery man blamed and condemned that which had beene done at Peronne, both by him and the Inhabitants. To whom the Duke answered, That there had not been any thing done against his Maiesties service, but only to suppress the contempt which *Fauols* and *Rames* had made of him and of his quality, as Governour General of the Province, contrary to his Maiesties expresse will and indication, and the Treatie of London. Moreover, he assured himselfe, that the King would not take it ill, his service being no way interessed, nor the generall of the State, it only concerning him, and the Marshall D'Ancre in particular, who would not acknowledge him in his quality of Governour General, and that he hoped his Maiestie would not make him selfe a party in private quarrels, as hee had formerly most humbly besought him by his Letters.

The same day *Fauols* with his wife and family were thrust out of Peronne about fixe of the clocke in the evening, hauing thus lost his goods and fortune: thinking to goe and excuse himselfe to the Marshall D'Ancre, he was committed to prison at Rouen vpon this Murther: That the Captaine which hath the guard of a strong place importing the State, and suffers it to be lost, should lose his life, yet afterwards he was set at liberty.

The Prince being returned to Paris, there was a councill held touching the businesse at Peronne. It was held that they should not aggravate any thing: and that matters might be reconciled, the Marshall of Bouillon was sent to Peronne to that effect: who vpon his returne vnto their Maiesties, reported, that the Duke of Longueuille & those of the town brought the King to giue them league to name three Gentlemen of the Country, one of the which his Maiestie should chooe to be their Governour, or that he would confirm the Baron of Bernieules, whom the Duke had already put into the Castle. This demand did not please their Maiesties, thinking it a blemish to the Souerainety. The Earle of Auvergne approaching with his light-horse, and part of the Regiment of the Kings guard, thought to lodge in Mount Saint Quintin neere vnto Peronne: but hee found that the Duke of Longueuille assisted by many of his friends and souldiers, which had beene sent vnto him had taken vpon the place, and made it with a strong Garison. The inhabitants of Peronne, were then annoyed not only with the Dukes Garison within the towne, but also with the Earles troopes which lay about it.

A resolution to seize vpon the Prince of Conde.

Upon these combustions there was a resolution taken in the Queenes Cabinet to seize vpon the Prince of Conde's person, it being giuen out that hee was the author of these Broiles, that a greater designe would burst forth, and that they meant to seize vpon their Maiesties person. Wherefore they perswaded the Queene Mother, that if she should see her selfe in danger the Kings person, she should lay hold on the Prince, vnder the colour of her authority this contray was plotted. Some write that these resolutions were made with griefe, & detested in heart the pernicious counsells which had caused this

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A this great Prince, and had thrust him headlong into these miserable designs, which forced the King to intreat him lesse worthily then his qualitie required, and that for her particular the desired.

The execution of this resolution was on the first of December, the Prince coming to the Louure to assist in Councill. The day before in the evening, the Queene Mother had sent commandment to the Marshalls of France, the Campe-Master of the Regiment of the guards, to the Collonell of the Swisses, and to the Captaines of light-horse to attend the King the next morning. All came, and the Queene saw the Prince enter into the Councill Chamber. Monsieur de *Themines* had received commandment to haue his two sonnes still by him, and to giue order that a dozen of his people whom he did best trust, should walke in the Court to be employed vpon occasion. D'Elbene, Lieutenant to the Duke of Anious company of light-horse, had the like charge. They draw their people together, and were led into a Chamber where they found the King and Queene alone: the King gaue to euery one of them a Halbard, saying, I doe not giue you these Armes to offend any man, if you doe not see that *Themines* and D'Elbene are forced to draw their swords, and that there is resistance made to the execution of my command. All hauing promised to lue and dye in the fidelitie which they ought him, they were brought into a low Hall, whither the Prince should be brought as soone as hee was arrested. All the Captaines which were in guard about the Louure were commanded to stand at their guard. The Baron of Thianges who walked in the Court, and seeing this stirring, hee coniectured there was some designe: and for that there was none of the Princes in the Louure but the Prince of Conde, he doubted of some enterprize against his Person, which made him goe to the Councill chamber doore, where were many Councillors of State.

The Queene Mother who was ready to execute this great designe, had a watchfull eye to all occurrents: she sent a Gentleman to the Councill chamber doore to see what became of the Prince, The Baron of Thianges seeing him come, said vnto him, you come to call the Prince vnto the Queene. To whom he answered, pardon me, Sir, I haue some businesse with a person who is there within, but I feare me he will not come out so soon. Wherefore I will leave my Lackey here, to tell him that I may haue the honour to speake with him before hee goe from the Louure. Hereupon Thianges became the lesse suspicious; yet he stayed at the Councill chamber doore, vntill the Prince came forth, and drawing neere vnto him told him in his eare the ieaousie which hee had. But the Prince little regarding this aduice, passed along through the Swisses Hall, with the keeper of the Seales, the Marshall of Brisac, and the President *Iannin*, and so entered all foure into the Queenes Chamber, where the King was leaning in the window with many Lords about him. The Queene was in her Cabinet. The King turning vnto him as hee entered, said, Good morrow Monsieur le Prince, I am going a hunting, will you make one? To whom hee answered, Your Maiestie, if you please will excuse me: Hereunto the King replied, I will goe tell the Queene my mother that I goe to hunt the Roobucke. After I haue heard Masse. *Adieu Monsieur le Prince.*

The Kings Speech to the Prince of Conde

The King being entred into the Queenes Cabinet, *Themines* came with his two sonnes out of an entry, who approaching neere vnto the Prince, said: My Lord the King being aduertised that you giue eare to many Counsells, contrary to his service, and that they will make you embrace designs ruinous to the Estate, and to your owne condition, hee hath commanded me to seize vpon your person, to keepe you from falling into these accidents: and at the same time his two sonnes came on either side the Prince, who said to the Seigneure de *Themines* Me? He answered, I am your Lord. Then said the Prince, You know my qualitie? *Themines* I know I respect I owe you, but I know also the obedience I owe vnto the King. Hereupon the Prince desired to speake vnto the King, and to iustifie himselfe before their Maiesties. *Themines* said vnto him, My Lord, let us goe whither the King hath commanded me to conduict you. The Prince offering to retire backe, and turning towards the Noblemen which were present, said, Is there no man heere for mee? but they stood gazing at this contestation, like transformed Statues; they were amazed to see the first Prince of the blood thus arrested, but knew not the cause. Then *Themines* said vnto him, My Lord, heere is no place to make resistance. The Prince seeing himselfe prest to goe out of the Chamber, desired againe to speake with their Maiesties, for hee had no will to goe forth, vntill that *Themines* had

The Prince seized on in the Queenes Chamber.

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assured him, that neither he nor any other had charge to wrong him. In the end suffering A himselfe to be led into a Hall which was prepared for him : and seeing D'Elbene (whom he loved not) with so many men with Halberts, he said, *Alas I am dead*, for he had a great apprehension of death, the which D'Elbene pacified, saying, *That all they whom hee saw there were Gentlemen and no murderers, who had not any other commandement from the King but to guard him.* He spake not any word against their Maiesties, but stood long silent, seeming much grieved for the change of his liberty into captiuitie.

The Princes flee  
from Paris.

At the same instant all the guards were set vpon the approaches of the Louure, and they which were walking in the Court were put forth. The newes hercof was soone brought vnto the Princes his associates. They were sodainly dispersed like a Cove of Partridges before the Hawke; they apprehended the danger, but were ignorant of the cause. B They which were sent to seize vpon the Duke of Vendosme, found that in coming to the Louure he had bene aduertised, and was escaped by Saint Honories suburbs, posting towards La Fere (a towne which belonged vnto him, as the inheritance of the Dukes of Vendosme) so as they could not overtake him. The Marquis of Cœuure, gouverneur of Laon, vnde by the mothers side to the Duke of Vendosme, went to aduertise the D. of Mayen of the Princes arrest. Hereupon there was no other talke but of going to horsebacke, all flee away in small troops. They goe and meet the Marshall of Bouillon neere vnto Charenton, being gone forth that morning to the preaching. At the rising of the Palace, President le Jay remembering Amboise, desired rather to take the fresh aire of the fields by Saint Anthonies gate, then to remaine in Paris. C

The Princesse  
Dowager of  
Condé seeks  
to moue the  
people.

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spoiled.

This aduice was allowed, and presently executed. The Marshalls House was neere vnto the Palace, which the Queene was building, and Conde house was in the same street. Some of the Princes household seruants, hauing encouraged certaine Mafons and other labourers which wrought in the Queenes buildings. They goe and breake open E the gates, with such fury, as the Porter and other seruants were glad to saue themselves by the Garden. They went into the Halls and Chambers; some cast goods out at the windows, others filled their pockets with gold, siluer, and what they found most precious. The first which caried any thing into the Citie, serued as Trumpets to aduertise the multitude that the Marshall D'Ancre's lodging was vpon spoile.

In the afternoone Monsieur de Lioncourt, Gouverneur of Paris, with the Knight of the Watch came thither with their Archers, thinking to stay this Spoile, but they found some of the Princes people armed with their Pistols, and encouraging the multitude, and one of them slew Adonville with a shot : whereupon the Gouverneur retired. The multitude was so great, and so greedy of Spoile, as they hurt one another, yea, some were cruell in pieces with that was throwne from aboue. All good men trembled at this action, and detested their counsell which had taught the people the way to spoile.

The Marshall  
de Bouillon re-  
turned to return  
to Paris.

In the meane time the Duke of Mayen and the Marshall of Bouillons troops encreased, marching towards Picardie. The Duke with some others were of opinion to returne to Paris, and to ioyne with them of their faction, but the Marshall of Bouillon was of another opinion, saying, *Our proceffe cannot be decided but when the doores are open, they that* have

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A have bene accustomed to iudge when the doores are shut let them goe to Paris, if they desire to copped up there, I hold that the way to Soissons is the safest for us.

The Prouost of Merchants hauing bene at the Louure to know the Kings pleasure, he vnderstood that the Prince was onely in custody, the which was presently made knowne to all the quarters where many had shut vp their shops, commanding all the Coronels and Captaines to see the peace maintained, and to forbid them to arme but vpon commandement. The Duke of Guise being at his house, was presently aduertised of this accident : He sent the Prince of Ioinville his brother vnto their Maiesties, to know the cause, and soone after, Monsieur de Pralin came from the King vnto the Duke, who about foure B of the clocke in the afternoone retired out of Paris, with the Prince his brother, following the Duke of Mayen their Cousin towards Soissons.

The Duke of  
Guise, and the  
Prince his bro-  
ther retire from  
Court.

During these actions, Monsieur Themines, his sonnes, and D'Elbene, entertained the Prince : they asked him if he would eate, but he refused it; yet in the end he was content so as his officers might bring it : whereupon it was agreed, that one should come and serue him, and not depart; and that his officers should prepare his diet and bring it to the chamber doore. Monsieur de Luynes came to visit him from the King, and La Motte from the Queene mother. He demanded if the Marshall of Bouillon were taken, and spake many things of him. The Queene mother hearing that Rochefort (a Gentleman whom the Prince affected much, and whom he had made Gouverneur of the Castle of Chynon) was C gone thither, with an intent to hold it by strength, and to draw together the friends of that partie, she caused the Prince to signe Letters and to adresse them to such as hee had put into Chynon and the Tower of Bourges, that they should resigne those places into the hands of those the King should ordaine : which hee promised to doe, and afterwards performed.

The King and  
Queene lend to  
visit the Prince.

Night hauing caused them to stay their spoile in the Marshall D'Ancre's house, ha- D ling left nothing but the rapiers, Iron, and some Lead, they came in troops to make an end, and carie away all, which was a fearfull sight. About nine of the clocke, this rascall rable fell vpon the house of Carbinell the Marshals Secretary, the which within an houre and a halfe they emptied of all the goods, siluer, plate, or whatsoever was portable. They D threatened the neighbour houses, and they were consulting to goe into the City, and to doe as much to the Colledge of Marmoutier, where the Abbot (brother to the Marshall D'Ancre's wife) was lodged : This aduice was caried to the Louure. They of the Suburbs of Saint Germaine were presently commanded to arme : the Lieutenant Criminall with his Sergeants to goe into Saint Iames street, and Monsieur de Creguy to the Marshall D'An- cres house, with the three Companies, which should be relieved from their Guard at the Louure, which he effected accordingly. These spoilers saw themselves presently shut vp betwene the Kings Guards and the inhabitants of the suburbs who were in armes; yet they thought it good to giue them a free passage, with commandement to retire, and not to returne any more, vpon paine of punishment; for they desired to pacifie and not to ex- E asperate things.

The Marshals  
Secretarys house  
spoiled.

Thus from Thursday till Friday at noone, the Marshall D'Ancre's house and his Secre- taries were spoiled and ruined, so as there remained nothing but foure bare walls, without covering. The losse was very great in pictures, guildings, marbles, apparell, linnen, moueables, tapistrie, mettals of gold and siluer, plate, with many goodly curiosities, which great men haue in their cabinets : all which did nothing profit them which were the au- thors. There was an intent to make criminall searches by the ordinary Iustice ; but it was thought best to proceed ciuilly and by way of excommunication. There were some Cu- rars which so detested this act, as many of the petty theeves brought what they had stolne to the Commiffarie of the Quarter, or cast it into a Waggon which was appointed to F that end.

Their Maiesties seeing themselves ill assisted by their ordinary Guards, they sent com- mandement to the Earle of Auvergne, who lay about Peronne, to returne speedily with his troops to Paris : the which he did. The long and faithfull seruices of braue Cheual- liers haue for their reward honors and great military charges. So the King knowing the good and faithfull seruices which the Seigneurs of Themines and Montigny had done vnto the Estate, he made them Marshalls of France. In the meane time they prepared a Chamber, the windows barred with Iron, about the great Hall in the Louure for the

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the Princes lodging, whither hee was conducted the third of September.

The Duke of Guise being at Soissons, wrote vnto the King, and the Duke of Neuers from Charleville, they desiring to be certified of the cause why the Prince had bene stayed. The Duke of Guise wrote in this manner :

The Duke of  
Guise's Letter  
to the King.

Sir : I haue receiued from *Monsieur d'Aumont* the Letter which it pleased your Maie-  
tie to write vnto me, and haue heard the credit which you haue giuen him, testifying  
the continuance of the assurance which it pleaseth your Maieftie to haue of the fidelity  
of my seruice, the which I will continue without any exception. Hearing of the Princes  
" detension, I sent my brother the Prince of Ioinville to know the cause, the which I could  
not, neither by him nor any other that came vnto me: holding this businesse of such con-  
sequence, as if the grounds be not very cleere, and the proofes infallible, they may in-  
uolue in the like proceedings your best seruants, as I am and will alwayes be : and know-  
ing the departure of *Monsieur de Mayen*, he gaue me occasion to come to this place, where  
I most humbly beseech your Maieftie that I may know what the Prince hath committed  
against his dutie and your seruice ; to the end I may haue meanes to enforme your ser-  
uants, and to inuite them to continue their seruice vnto your Maiefty, and to free them  
from the impressions which they may take, being ingaged by bad Counsellors in some pre-  
judiciall action. I will euer rest your most humble and most obedient subiect and ser-  
uant, *Charles of Lorraine Duke of Guise*.

The Duke of  
Neuers Letter  
to the King.

The Duke of Neuers wrote in another style in these tearmes : Sir, When I came vn-  
to this frontier, to take my way directly towards the Emperors Court, according to the  
commandement and commission I had from your Maieftie, I receiued the Letter where-  
with it pleased you to honour mee : by the which I vnderstand of the arrest which hath  
bene made of the Princes person, vpon an aduice which you sent mee word was giuen  
you, that some meaning to attempt against your person, and that of the Queene mother,  
desired also the Prince to ioyne with them in that bad designe : I must confesse these  
newes bred a great amazement in me, considering the good disposition wherein I left the  
affaires, which made me hope to see a peace firmly settled : in the negotiation whereof, ha-  
uing had the honor to be one of those which was employed, to giue the assurance which  
was necessary to such a treaty : I held my selfe more bound then any other, to desire the  
entertainment thereof : so as if since the treaty any one be found culpable to haue attempt-  
ed against your Maieftie, they can neuer haue a greater enemy then my selfe. But in  
like manner I thinke it necessary as well for your Maiefties seruice, as the satisfaction of  
the publicke, and the content of all good men; that this businesse may bee speedily mani-  
fested, and that the truth may be knowne both within and without the Realme. In the  
meane time I will delay my journey for a season, and giue all necessary order for the towns  
of this Prouince, according to the commandement which you haue giuen me, wherein I  
will not faile, but will alwayes remaine your most affectionate and faithfull seruant, *Charles*  
of Gonzague of Cleues.

The Kings re-  
solution to raise  
three armies.

This Letter did not much please, but doubled the ialousies which they had of the  
Dukes cariage. Yet the King was willing that all men should know wherefore he had  
detained the Prince of Conde, not by particular Letters, but by a Declaration verified in  
Parliament, sitting himselfe in his seat of Iustice. And in regard that the Princes and  
Noblemen were retired to Soissons, and that such as the Prince of Conde had put into  
the places in Berry, and in Chynon in Touraine, seemed to haue a will to take armes, it  
was resolved in Councell to leauy three armies, the one to bee led by the Earle of Au-  
uergne towards Soissons ; the other by the Marshall of Montigny for Berry ; and the  
third by the Marshall of Sourre to goe into Touraine : But these armies could not bee  
raised without mony, and the Kings Treasurie had bene exhausted during the second ci-  
uill warres, wherefore they had recourse vnto extraordinary meanes : among the which,  
as lesse burthensome, it was decreed that an Edict should bee made touching the sale of  
many Offices.

The Kings De-  
claration touch-  
ing the Prin-  
ces detension.

The Kings comming to Parliament was appointed on the 7 of September : all things  
were made ready according to the vsuall manner, and the King came vnto the Palace  
about 10 of the clocke, with the like state hee had bene accustomed in such actions ; the  
particularities as well thereof as of the Kings sitting in the seat of Iustice, I must omit, to  
auoid tediousnesse.

After

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A After some short speeches made by the keeper of the Seales by the Kings comman-  
dement, and the first President, he caused a Declaration to be read concerning the seizure  
of the Prince of Conde, and the Princes and Noblemen which were retired : wherein he  
said that he was forced to publish vnto the world the iust complaints which he made, as well  
against his Cousin the Prince of Conde, as the Princes, Noblemen, and others, which  
did adhere vnto the pernicious designes which had bene practised against his person and  
state : That they had lately risen vp in armes, vnder colour to hinder the most honorable  
alliance which he could make in all Christendome, and to reforme his Estate by the ruine  
thereof : That by the treaty of Loudun, he had granted vnto his Cousin whatsoeuer hee  
B demanded ; and had not onely left vnto him the Government of Berry, but did redeeme  
all places of strength which were within the Prouince : That hee had giuen him great  
summes of money, either by way of gratification, or for the dismissing of his troops :  
That the charges of this war and of the treaty amounted to about twenty millions : That two millions  
to content his cousin the Duke of Longueville, he had drawne out of Picardy and the Cit-  
tadell of Amiens such as commanded there, to place one who was pleasing vnto him : that  
he had giuen vnto the Prince what part he desired in the managing of the State, and espe-  
cially the direction of the Treasurie : that notwithstanding the abundance of his graces  
and fauours, they could not restraîne their disordered wils, who found no rest but in the  
trouble of the Estate, and put all their hope in his ruine. Moreover, he complained, that  
C both before and since the Princes arrival there had bene many nightly Assemblies in his  
City of Paris and elsewhere, at the which there assisted diuers Princes and great perfo-  
nages, yea and some of his Officers, whereof some of them were since retired, iustifying  
their crime by their flight.

Complaints for  
the seizure of  
Perthuis.

After which he said that they had practised to debauch his people, and to moue them  
to sedition, and to winne the Colonels, Captaines, and such as had charge of Armes, vpon  
diuers pretences : That they had seized vpon the towne and castle of Perthuis, the resolu-  
tions whereof had bene taken nere his person, and although he had great reason to be  
incensed for this excesse, yet he had accommodated himselfe to all the propositions which  
had bene made to reconcile the businesse quietly : That notwithstanding his bounty  
and indulgence, they had drawne four companies of foot into the towne ; the which did so  
much distaste all such as had any respect vnto his authority, that a Princesse very neerly  
allied to those which were interested in that action, moued with compassion of their for-  
tunes, had giuen advertisement to the Queene his mother, of the designes of the vnder-  
takers, and that they should haue a care of themselves, for that their Counsellors tended  
to seize vpon his person and the Queene mothers, and so to cation themselves throughout  
all the Prouinces : the horror whereof had bene so great in the hearts of some of them,  
that euen his cousin the Prince before his detension had ingenuously confessed to the  
Queene mother, that hee had assisted at the said Councell ; and that in truth they had  
cause to suspect him : adding withall, that they were bound to him as much as to their  
owne fathers : That one of the greatest of the Realme had bene at one of the said Coun-  
cels (as he confessed to the Queene mother) in which they treated of the seizure of his  
person, and the government of the State, with many other advertisements to the like ef-  
fect. That the Ambassadors of foraigne Princes had giuen him advertisement by writing,  
and perswaded him to be careful of his person : That they leauied men in all parts of the  
Realme, without commission or pretext : That for these and many other considerations,  
he had resolved to prevent this imminent danger, and to assure himselfe of the person of  
his said cousin, whom he had lodged nere vnto him in his castle of the Loure, with as  
honorable viage as could be desired in such a case. In the end by his Declaration he con-  
firmed the treaty of Loudun, with a pardon to all those which were culpable and had as-  
sented themselves, if they came within sixtens dayes, and demanded it, but to be sent only  
These are the reasons suggested in the Kings Declaration for the Princes detension. I  
will not presume to examine the truth of them, but will leave it to the iudicious Reader  
but how better, it was verified by the Court of Parliament.

That they  
meant to seize  
vpon the King  
and Queene  
mother.

and what  
would be the  
consequence

The King being desirous to suppress all causes of further alteration, sent his Ambassadors  
of Bouille and Charuilly to Soissons, being aduised that the Duke of Longueville, the Duke  
of Vendosme, and Mayen, the Marshall of Bouillon, and the Marquis of Chastellain, should  
meet with the three brethren of Guise, to confere of the meanes to pacifie these com-  
bustions.

The King sends  
his Ambassadors  
to Soissons.

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buſſions. On the 14 of September, there was a Proclamation made, commanding all Gentlemen and others of what qualitie ſoeuer, belonging vnto the Prince of Conde or the Dukes of Vendome, Mayen and Bouillon, to depart out of the Citie and ſuburbs of Paris within 24. houres: forbidding all the inhabitants to lodge them or aſſiſt them with any victuals, vpon paine of confiscation of all their goods; except ſuch as ſhall make proteſtation to liue and dye in the Kings obedience, and vnder the authority of his commandements, and that had relinquished all intelligence with the ſaid Prince and Dukes. The King prepares for peace on the one ſide, and for warre on the other, in caſe hee bee not obeyed. He ſendeth into Swiſſerland to makeleauies. Foure field-pieces and two culuerins, with their munition, are drawne out of Paris to goe to Meaux: The Earle of Auergne parted the next day, and makes it the rendezuous for the Kings army. They put garriſons into the townes vpon the riuier of Marne: *Vaubecourt* was put into Regiment of Loraines, was lodged about Chaalons; and *D'Elbene* was put into Eſpernay.

The King prepares to armes.

The Duke of Neuers reſuſed carry into Chaalons. The contents of this letter to the King.

During theſe preparations to warre, there was a new cauſe of diſcontent giuen to the Duke of Neuers. Being at Rhems he ſent *Marſhes* vnto the King with Letters dated the fifteenth of September, complaining that they had reſuſed him the gates of Chaalons, one of the chiefe townes of his Government. He complained by his Letters, that hauing receiued commandement from his Maieſtie to take order for the frontiers of that Province, and to viſit the other places of his government: hee vnderſtood that commandement had bene giuen vnto the inhabitants of Chaalons to reſuſe him entrie into their town, if he ſhould preſent himſelfe, the which he ſaid did much amaze him, conſidering the contrariety of two diſpatches; by the one vnto himſelfe, he did aſſure him hee would commit vnto him the conduct of his army; and by the other hee deprived him of the exerciſe of his charge: the which had made him to examine himſelfe whether his actions had giuen any iuſt cauſe of offence to his Maieſtie: then making a long repetition of his ſeruices, he concluded in theſe termes: I find, Sir, with much griefe, that my ſeruices haue bene waiged by thoſe which now giue your Maieſtie counſell, and who are afraid that my good endeuours about the peace might procure me that happineſſe which they deſire to diſprize me of, fearing to encounter their loſſe in peace by the diſcouerie of their violent counſels, and pernicious deſignes. This onely conſideration in my opinion hath made them to doe me this affront, your Maieſtie will pardon me if I call it ſo, being ſo aſſured of mine innocencie: the which I hope God will in time make knowen vnto you, when you ſhall pleaſe to take the paines to enforme your ſelfe more particularly of theſe affaires, and of thoſe which are your true and faithfull ſeruiants, amongst the which I think my ſelfe to hold one of the firſt ranks, as being alwayes your moſt humble and obedient ſubiect and ſeruant, the Duke of Neuers.

The newes in Court were very variable, one day peace, another day warre. The Seigneurs of Boiſſie and Chanvallon deputed from the King, being come to Soiffons, the three brethren of Guiſe vnderſtood by them the intentions of their Maieſties, vnto which they conformed themſelues. Then they began to treat with the Dukes of Vendome and Mayen, the Marſhall of Bouillon, Marquis of Cœuvres, and others, of the meanes to preſerue the peace in France. The ſeaſon of Winter which approached, the intelligences of the Princes out of frame, by the detention of their Head, the ſmall preparations which they then had for warre; and the King on the contrary being in armes and ready to ſet vpon them; were the principall cauſes which made them make choice of peace. Finally, the Princes and thoſe which were whited vnto them in Soiffons, propounded thirteenth Articles, which the duke of Guiſe returning to Paris on the 24. of September, preſented vnto their Maieſties, he being receiued by them with much content. That night the Prince was conueyed to the Baſtile. The duke of Guiſe returned to Soiffons to acquaint the Princes with his Maieſties pleaſure, who came back again on Michaelmas day, & the day after, the King reſolued in Counſell touching the Princes demands, which were as followeth.

The Prince sent to the Baſtile.

The Princes demands.

I. That the treaty of Loudun, with all the private Articles, ſhould be obſerved & ſpeedily put in execution: as wel in that which concerns the Prince of Conde as other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, and all others which were comprehended therein: and if he pleaſed the King, that the ſieges of the towne and caſtle of Chyſnon, and the towne of Bourges might be raiſed, and they which commanded in thoſe places, maintained in their charges.

A. Anſ: His Maieſties intention is, To entertaine the treaty of Loudun, and to cauſe it to be ſaithfully executed: but touching the Prince of Conde, hee reſolueth that to himſelfe, to diſpoſe, as hereafter ſhall be thought fit for the good of his ſervice.

II. That the Declaration which is ſhall pleaſe his Maieſtie to grant vnto the ſaid Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, and others, ſhall be publiſhed in all the Parliaments of the Realme, and other inferior Courts as hath bene accuſtomed, and to that end Letters ſhould be ſent vnto the Parliament.

Anſ: Granted.

III. That the ſumme of 100000 crownes promiſed by the Treaty of Loudun, and ſigned vpon the impositions of the Riuers (which haue not bene eſtabliſhed) ſhall be ſupplied, without ſcalties, ceasing, for that the ſaid Princes haue aduanced the money for the diſmiſſing of their troops.

Anſ: It hath bene ſaſſified by the firſt Article. And if the Aſſignation be not good, it ſhall be otherwiſe provided.

IV. That the garriſons in ſuch places as the Duke of de Mayen holds, ſhall bee encreaſed with 200 foot, and the companies of men armes and light horſe, entertained according to the treaty of Loudun, to be put in garriſon in ſuch places as the Duke de Mayen ſhould thinke fit for the Kings ſervice.

Anſ: His Maieſty grants to the Duke de Mayen the ſumme whereunto the payment of the ſaid 200 foot may amount, for the three months remaining of this year, and for the next year following, as for the companies of men at armes and light horſe, they ſhall be entertained as hath bene concluded by the ſaid Treaty. And the ſaid companies of men at armes ſhall be paid two quarters of the preſent year, and three of the year following, and after that manner ſucceſſively.

V. That the payment of penſions, offices, and appointments, and the entertainment of the garriſons and companies of horſe of the Duke of Mayen, ſhall bee aſſigned vpon the generall receiue of Soiffons, and of the taxes, cuſtomes, and imposts of the ſaid generality, by the accuſtomed order of the Treauſure, and that for this preſent year, and the next following.

Anſ: His Maieſtie cannot particularly aſſeſſe any requite for the payment contained in the ſaid Article: but will ſee that it ſhall be ſo provided for as the Duke of Mayen ſhall haue cauſe of contentment.

D Article: That the ſumme of 100000 crownes, granted heretofore to the ſaid Duke for the fortification of ſuch places as he holds, may be continued for two years.

Anſ: In ſetting downe the eſtate of the fortification, his Maieſtie will haue regard vnto the ſeruiſes hee hath done in this preſent Article.

VI. That the commiſſion to aſſemble the States of Britanie this preſent year, ſhall bee ſent to the Duke of Vendome, according to the promiſe which was made vnto him at Loudun.

Anſ: The expeditions for the ſaid Aſſembly being already ſent, his Maieſtie cannot alter any thing for this year, but as ſoon as the Duke of Vendome ſhall come to receive his Maieſties commandements, hee will ſhew him all cauſes of contentment, and grant him the ſaid ſumme of the ſaid ſeruiſes for the next year.

VII. That the Duke of Vendome may haue an aſſignation of 30000 pounds Sterling, which was promiſed him by the treaty of Loudun, in recompence of his Government of Matines: offering in lieu thereof to giue out the place.

Anſ: The Duke de Vendome being with his Maieſty, it ſhall bee aduiſed vpon what hee ſhall thinke the ſervice of the Aſſembly of States ſhall require.

VIII. That the company of light horſe of the ſaid Duke ſhall ſerue vnder the ſaid Duke of Vendome ſhall appoint them, and hold moſt expedient for the Kings ſervice.

Anſ: The ſaid companies of light horſe were created as all ſubjects, to ſerue vnder ſuch company as ſhall bee directed by the directions and commandements of his Maieſty touching the ſaid company, ſhall all be aduiſed to the ſaid Duke of Conſtant.

X. His Maieſtie, if he pleaſe, ſhall ordaine the entertainment of 100 foot, to be put in garriſon in the towne of La Perre.

Anſ: His Maieſty hath granted vnto the ſaid Duke de Mayen the ſumme whereunto the payment of 200 foot men may amount, for the three months remaining of the year, and for the next year following, to be paid like wiſe by the ſaid Duke of Mayen.

XI. His

**XI.** His Maieſtie ſhall command, if he pleaſe, the razing of the fortiſications at Blau-ner and Donarvenez, in the execution of the treaties of Saint Manchould and Loudon.

*Anſw:* By the ſayd Treaties his Maieſties not bound to take any fortiſications made by his commandement, nor taketh not from him the liberty of making ſuch fortiſications as he ſhall thinke fit for his ſervice.

**XII.** That the garriſons newly put into townes and places, ſhall be caſhiered, and the ſaid places continue as they were before the detention of the Prince of Conde. And the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, moſt humbly beſeech his Maieſty to take into his conſideration, whether it bee fit for his ſervice to hold till his new leaued ſervice on foot.

*Anſw:* His Maieſtie meanes not to entertaine any other garriſons then ſhall be neceſſary for the aſſurance of places. And for his army, his Maieſtie hauing taken the aduiſe of the Princes and Noblemen about him, will ordaine what ſhall be beſt for his ſervice.

**XIII.** That there be giuen vnto the ſaid Princes, Lords, and Officers, a copie of the ſayd Declaration.

*Anſw:* Granted.

Theſe Anſwers were ſent to Soiffons, the which were thus vnder-written: *We haue received the Articles and Anſwers above mentioned, by Monſieur de Boiſſie, by the expreſſe commandement of the King, and to obey his will. Made at Soiffons the 6 of October. 1616.*

After this, they treated at Paris for the pacifying of the alteration which had bene at Peronne, where it was concluded, that he whom the Duke of Longueville had put into the Caſtle, ſhould reſigne it vnto the Viſcount of Blencourt, whom the King had advanced to that government: and that it ſhould be at the Dukes diſpoſition to put whom he thought fit into the Caſtle of Harfleur for his Maieſties ſervice. And thus all things were pacified touching the action of Peronne. After which the King made a Declaration vpon the Articles granted to the Princes: ſhewing that (vpon his proper motion, full power, and royall authority, with the aduiſe of the Queene his mother, and the Princes and Lords of his Council) neither by any generall or particular words contained in his former declaration concerning the Princes detention, he diſtinctly meant to comprehend the ſaid Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, Lords, Officers of ſoueraigne Courts, or other perſons of what quality and condition ſoeuer, which went out of Paris on the day of the arreſt and detention of the Prince, and ſince vpon that occaſion, which had made knowne vnto him their good intentions, and the reſolutions that they haue euer had to remaine in his Maieſties obedience: but would that they ſhould enjoy his graces, fauours, rewards, honors, and governments, and to exerciſe their charges as they did before, notwithstanding any interdiction and Letters patents granted to the contrary: and alſo is pleaſed that his Edict lately made at Loudon ſhould be obſerved, and that his ſubiects comprehend in the general, particular, and ſecret Articles granted in fauour of that Edict, ſhould enjoy the effect of the ſame. After this, there was a declaration made to confirme that which had bene concluded touching the buſineſſe at Peronne.

The ſixt of the Articles which the Princes reſiſt vnto Soiffons preſented vnto the King, importeth, That the ſieges before the towne and caſtle of Chynon, and ſtreets of Bourges, might be ſieged, and ſieges which commanded in theſe places maintained and kept in their charges. But the King vpon this ſixt Article, reſiſted vnto himſelfe to ordaine what hee ſhould afterwards thinke ſuſt for the good of his ſervice. Therefore he ſent the Marſhall of Montigny with Letters vnto Bourges to eſtabliſh him Governor of Berry in the abſence of the Prince, who arriued there on the 6 of September, and on the morrow ſummoned La Lande who cometh ſetled in Tower of Bourges, to deliuer it vnto the King. La Lande reſiſted ſixty dayes ſpace to aduerſe the Marſhall who had placed him there, which was returned him vpon condition that the ſaid Marſhall might inuene himſelfe before the ſaid Tower, which he did, and beſides, ſet up his gabions, and planted his peeces ready for battery. After ten dayes, La Lande reſuſing to yeeld vnto the Tower, the Marſhall of Montigny reſolved to beaſt him out, and to that end the tenth day about ſix of the clock at night, being aſſiſted by many of the Gentlemen of the Countrey, and inhabitants of Bourges, he made an ouerture in a wall, and brake downe the garden gate of the Tower, and from thence at fixe o'clock in the morning, made a breach in the Tower that one man might paſſe, which La Lande ſeeing, he alſo ſhot ſoure volleys of Cannon from the top

The Kings de-  
claration tou-  
ching the  
Princes.

The Marſhall  
of Montigny  
ſent Governor  
into Berry.

The Tower of  
Bourges beſe-  
ged and taken.

A top of this Tower cleare away the ſeigne, and then ſeized to ſurvey, which being exe-  
cuted, the compoſition was, That he ſhould compoſe himſelfe with his ſubiects, with  
their ſtates and baggage, without carrying, withdrawing, or any motion of ſuch things belonging  
to the ſaid Tower. As while after, the inhabitants of Bourges, ſent to preſſch his Maieſty  
that this Tower might be razed: But the King for ſeruaſe, ſent himſelfe to the ſaid  
his Governor to command therein, and to ſee that he ſhould be ſatisfied and ſetled.

So ſoon after the ſiege of Rochefort, which was ſet on foot, Chynon being ſieged, two hun-  
dred horſe, ſoure hundred foot, and ſix hundred of carrel, among other things, were  
dred ſeized: ſeeing himſelfe almoſt beſieged by the Marſhall of Montigny, and that eight  
Cannons were coming from the Tower, he reſolved to obey the Letters which were ſent  
ſeized him from the Prince his maſter. They ſaie, that he would not accept of any re-  
compence for his coming forth, but retired home to his owne houſe, and ſo was  
made Governor of the towne and caſtle of Chynon by the King.

There remained yet to reconcile the difference betweene Monſieur d'Efpernon and the  
Rochellers, which was the detention of the Prince. The Rochellers offered by their  
legates confirmed (as they ſay) by many Kings to haue exemption from governors in the  
Towne and Countrey of Rochel, in which they compile the Countrey. And the Duke of  
Efpernon ſeized in the Countrey being Governor for the King in Xaintonge and Aulins.  
Now vpon the common beute of the Princes detention at Paris, the Rochellers ſent ſome  
G to ſeize vpon a Caſtle called Rochefort, which is in the Countrey of Aulins, and  
vpon the Duke of Cobrente, where they placed ſeaſons, the Duke of Efpernon be-  
ring heretofore ſeized vpon his Government, and reſolved to make the  
Rochellers know that there was no other Governor but himſelfe in the Countrey of Au-  
lins. Hereupon he ſent his troops, and came out of Angoumois into Aulins, where  
he put ſtrong garriſon into the Caſtle of Surgeres, which is but ſoure leagues from Ro-  
chel. In briefe, it ſeemed by the leauies made on both parties, that they would come to  
armies, but they proceeded not, either party publiſhing his preſent ſentences in writing.

Vpon complaint made vnto the King of the Duke of Efpernon, carrying his Maieſty  
for ſpecially one Captaine Bourgeois, with two Archers, to command them of Rochel  
D to deliuer the Caſtle of Rochefort into his hands: who haue deliuered his charge vnto  
the Major and Towne, and ſhewed his Commiſſion and private inſtructions, whereby he  
had charge to goe vnto the Duke of Efpernon, and to command him in the Kings name  
to retire his ſouldiers from Toney, charre, and other places. The Rochellers obeyed  
preſently, but they let him vnderſtand that ſince their firſt complaint, the Duke of Efper-  
non had ſeized vpon the Caſtle of Surgeres, an extraordinary paſſage to bring all com-  
modities to Rochel. That ſeeing the Kings pleaſure was, that the Duke of Efpernon  
ſhould retire all his men of warre, it was reaſon he ſhould withdraw them, which he had  
put into the Caſtle of Surgeres; they entreated Captaine Bourgeois to make the like Re-  
monſtrances to the Duke of Efpernon, and to perſwade him to performe as much as his

E Maieſty had commanded the Rochellers: Which being ſound and reaſonable, hee  
went preſently to Rochefort, which was deliuered into his hands without delay. Where-  
upon he went to the Duke of Efpernon, being at Xaintes, to acquaint him with the Kings  
commandement, from whom hee returned to Rochel on the ninth of October, telling  
that hee would not obey, nor retire his men from Toney, charre, nor Surgeres.  
That he had no commandement vnto withdraw them out of the Champion Countrey,  
and ſo ſent any place where hee lodged them: Moreover that he was Governor of the  
Countrey of Aulins, and that he would take poſſeſſion of his Government: That what  
he had done at Surgeres was as a Governor, and that he would enter into all the Govern-  
ment he had.

F Vpon this report, the Duke of Rochefort to his Maieſty to beſeech him to ſee  
the violence of the Duke of Efpernon, but ſeeing that hee augmented his garriſon at Sur-  
geres, brought in muſition and victuals, and called them to labour daily at the fortiſi-  
cations, they grew jealous that he would not be ſo ſatisfied, but it might be ſee world  
tempt againſt their towne, whereupon they began to aſſure the ſubiects of all their friends  
ſo reſpect the Dukes violence, to haue the King obeyed, and to defend themſelves.  
The Duke of Efpernon challenge was held vniuſt, pretending that during the reign of  
Henry the third (when few things were denied him) he had ioynd to his government of

Difference be-  
tweene the  
Duke of Eſper-  
non and the  
Rochellers.

La Lande was A  
ſent vnto the  
Duke of Eſper-  
non.

The King ſent  
to the Rochel-  
lers to deliuer  
Rochefort.

The Duke of  
Efpernon reſi-  
ſted vnto the  
Kings com-  
mandement.

The Duke of  
Efpernon vniu-  
ſt preſent-  
ment to the go-  
uernment of  
Rochel.



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Xainxonge that of the towne of Rochel, and the Countrey of Aulins: whereof they of A. Rochel had better knowledge, neither did hee ever attempte to take possession of the government of the towne or countrey: against the which his pretention they had priviledges more ancient then his pretended priviledges: the which being confirmed by all predecedent Kings, the said towne of Rochel was freed from all governors and garisons.

The King being aduertised of these alterations by the Deputies of Rochel, he let them understand by his Letters, that he was resolved to send *Monsieur de Sully* Counsellor of State to settle the differences betweene the Duke of Elspenon and them, touching the Castles of Rochefort and Surgeres, and in the meane time hee enjoyned them not to attempt any thing which might aggravate this businesse, giving the like commandment B to the Duke of Elspenon. But after much contestation, the Rochellers retired their men out of the castle of Rochefort which was razed, and the Duke of Elspenon abandoned the Castle of Surgeres.

These matters being past, there was a calme peace throughout all the Prouinces of France: There was no speech but of Adventurers which refused to passe the Alpes to see the warres which grew hot betweene the Sauiyard and Spaniard in Piedmont, and the Duchy of Millaine.

The Princes retired to Soissons, had in their twelfth Article entreated the King to take into consideration whether it were expedient for his service to maintain an army newly raised: but a part was dismissed, and the rest were lodged in diuers garisons of Champagne, vnder the command of *Monsieur de Pralins*. The Duke of Nevers going sometimes C to visit the Marshall of Bouillon at Sedan, made the King to send some troops to that frontier. They sayd that there was some new designe. That the Marshall of Bouillon desired to manage this warre, and that the Duke of Vendosme being in *La Fere*, had drawne certaine armies from Sedan: Finally, there was no speech in Court but of practices within and without the Kingdome.

In November the Duke of Nevers wrote vnto the King, making great complaints against the Marquis of Vicuville Governor of Rheims, for that hee would not suffer the Duchesse his wife to enter into the town, who came thither in her Litter great with child, attended onely by her Gentlewomen and Officers, but was forced to lodge in the Suburbs, and could not haue the use of her bed and baggage, which was entered an house before into the towne: That this action was an affront and a discourtesie done vnto his wife. Some say, the Duke of Nevers had no cause to complaine of the Marquis of Vicuville, in regard of the Kings ialousie, having forbidden them of Chalons to receive the Duke into their towne, and that the Marquis had written vnto the Duchesse of Nevers, that he was very fary he was forced to entreat her to give him time to expect the Kings answer touching her passage or the Dukes through Rheims, the which he attended within two houres: which shewed that he had no priuate interest, but that he obeyed the Kings pleasure.

The same day the Duke of Nevers had sent vnto the King, he dispatched Capitaine F. S. to seize vpon the Castle of Sii in Rethelois, belonging vnto the said Marquis, which he did. The Duke gaue charge to his Proctor generall in the Duchy of Rethel, to make an information of that which had past at the refusal which the Marquis had made vnto his wife at Rheims, and to make a seizure of all his lands in the said Duchy, for that hee had not done his homage, nor paid the duties he ought since his fathers death: which was done accordingly, and a Capitaine put into the Castle of Sii to guard it. On the 21 of November *Bourremon*, an Exempt of the Guards, deliuered the Kings Letters to the D. of Nevers, by the which he let him understand, that what the Marquis of Vicuville had done at Rheims touching *Madame de Nevers* entry into the towne, was by his commandment: That the Duke should deliuer the Castle of Sii into the hands of *Bourremon*, and that if he would not withdraw those which were within it, he had given order to aduance some troops to force obedience. The Duke made answer, that the Souldiers which were in Sii by his command had abandoned it, and that if there were any guard at that present, it was by order of the Iustice at the request of his Proctor generall. *Bourremon* transports himselfe to Sii, he summons Capitaine *Perrache* to depart: who answers, that he was appointed there by the Iustice, which he taking for a refusal, made a verbal proceesse, and so returned: which added, more fiewell to the fire of their ialousies, as you shall heare.

The

A The Marshall *D'Aure* and his wife, to the end they might absolutely dispose of the affaires of the Kingdome, had counselled the Queene mother to change and displace the ancient Officers of the Crowne, and Ministers of State which serued the King, to bring in such as they pleased: continuing still their designs, on the foure and twentieth of November they caused the Seales to be taken from *Monsieur du Vair*, which were given to *Monsieur Mangot*: the Bishop of Luçon was made Secretary of State in the place of the Seigneurs of Villeroi and Pisieux: and *Barbin* had the generall controll of the Treasure, which President *Jannin* had exercised. These changes did astonish many vpon a report that the said Marshall and his wife had a desire not only to change all the Kings Council, B but also many principall Officers of Soueraigne Courts. There were many discourses written touching this dismission, which were full of vturh, wherefore they caused to be printed this following Answer which *Monsieur du Vair* made vnto two Councillors of the Parliament, whom they had deputed vnto him, before they would verifie the Letters of Prouision for *Monsieur Mangot*.

He answered, That he held it a great fauour that the Court would send vnto him before the verification of the Letters of his successor, Keeper of the Seales of France: The which he receiued rather as a testimony of that companies loue, then for any need they had of any further consent from him. For that wherefoeuer they should see this commandment from the King, they might instantly presuppose a ready and absolute obedience on his part. That he thought the whole course of his life should be a sufficient warrant of this belief, both to them and all others which had knowne him. That there were many in that honourable company with whom he had serued the King and State faithfully and courageously, in the most dangerous and miserable times that euer threatened this Monarchy with ruine. That hee had bene sent from them to the extremities of the Realme, to the administration of the most desolate Prouintie in France, gaped after by strangers, full of quarrels, seditions, and diuisions. That after twenty yeares hee had left it so peaceable, so obedient, and so wealthy, as it had no reason to enuy any other. That neither at the death of the deceased King *Henry* his good Master, nor in the two troubles which haue followed and afflicted this Estate, there had bene no alteration, neither had D any man offered to fall from his obedience. That he had had the honour to see strangers from all the extremities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, at the feet of Iustice, who had returned from them, blessing the name of their Kings, and commending the lawes of France. After which he had bene called to the greatest charge of the Realme, beyond his merit and desire, whereof he had thrice excused himselfe, beseeching their Maiesties to cast their eyes vpon some one whose age and strength were more able to beare so great a burthen, and whose spirit might more easily apply it selfe to a courtly life. They refused him this grace, and by an absolute command forced his obedience, to make knowne by experience that he had iudged better of himselfe then any other, for after sixe moneths, his manners and his proceedings in the execution of that charge, had been found so disproportionable E and vnfit for the age, as they could not endure them: whereupon their Maiesties required the Seales of him againe, which he more willingly gaue vp then hee had receiued them. They haue committed them, sayd he, to a personage of much more vertue and desert, by whose administration he hoped France should receive rest and remedy of those calamities which threatened it. In which hee could doe no lesse then greatly praise their goodnesse and wisdom, to haue at once provided for their affaires and eased him. And so his intent was to retire himselfe, to pray vnto God for the prosperitie of their Maiesties, as hauing no other meanes to serue them: yet contented enough if hee may continue in their fauours: Which he said, because he was aduertised that certaine persons (as malicious as cunning and ill affected towards him) had written a Discourse in his name full F of words which they beleued might incense their Maiesties against him. Whereupon he besought the Court to assist him in the discourry of the authors, and to interpose the severity of Iustice for their punishment.

Hauing nothing then remaining after five and thirty yeares seruite and so much paines and labour, but the honour to haue serued well and faithfully, and caused others to obey, no man should imagine that hee would vpon this subiect blemish the glory of his obedience, and not submit himselfe to the wills of his Masters, what preiudice soeuer hee might receive. Wherefore hee entreated them to make report

[p 2]

vnto

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The Marshall *D'Aure* displaced many Officers of State.

*Monsieur du Vair* is answer to the Deputies of the Parliament.

An new discomentment of the Duke of Nevers.

The Duke of Nevers is sent vpon the Marquis of Vicuville lands.

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vnto the Court, who had done him the honour to send them : That he neither hath nor neuer will haue any other will then that of their Maiesties : That hee will be euer content with what it shall please them to ordaine in any thing which did concerne him, and in any condition whatsoever : Hee did wish with all his heart the encrease of their power and establishment of their felicity. And touching their company, seeing he had now no society with it, to thank them personally for the honour they had done him, and to witness the loue he beares them; the memory of his name assures him, that thinking thereof sometimes, they will finde that neuer any man entred into the charge which he now leaues, that hath more desired to preferre the authority which the lawes of State giues it, and the respect which their integrities deserue.

The Baron of Neuetaine by Quemadec Governor of Fougères.

The Baron of Quemadec Governor of Fougères, going to the Estates of Britanie which were held at Rennes, slew the Baron of Neuet, and then left the towne with his traine, and retired to Fougères; the quarrell grew for precedence, which did much trouble these Estates. The Marshall of Brisac, the Kings Lieutenant in Britanie, who had been sent to hold this Assembly, drew his friends and some forces together to besiege him in the Castle of Fougères, drawing Cannon out of Saint Malo : Quemadec on the other side (although he was beloued of the inhabitants of Fougères) hauing some good friends to assist him, had well strengthened the place : But the King hauing heard of this trouble, sent three Exempts of his guard one after another, vnto Fougères; the last with a commandment vnto Quemadec, to yeeld vp the Towne and Castle into his hands. C So Quemadec was counselled to leaue the Castle, and yeeld vnto the time, which he did, and his wife afterwards gaue vp the guard of the place into the Exempts hands, according to his commission.

Vertau Treasurer generall of France, put out of Chaalons.

The last of Nouember, Vertau, Treasurer generall of France in the generality of Chaalons, was put out of the towne by the commandment of Monsieur de Pralin, the Kings Lieutenant in the Gouvernement of Champagne. The occasion hereof was, for that on the six and twentieth of Nouember the said Vertau being come to Chaalons, the Earle of Tresmes, who was Gouverneur, being aduertised thereof, complained vnto Monsieur de Pralin, and vnto the body of the towne, of some words which the said Vertau had vied of him, such bitter words, as hee could doe no lesse, if he met with him, but to endanger D his life. Hereupon Monsieur de Pralin, to hinder all sinister accidents, sent for Vertau, and said vnto him, *I must tell you that the Earle of Tresmes hath bene with me, and hath made great complaints of you, I feare if he encounter you in the streets he will doe you some affront: wherefore I would entreat you to absent your selfe; and if you will not doe it willingly, I will enforce you: for I haue no desire that any new accident should happen in this towne, there being too many in the Prouince.* Vertau hearing him say he would put him out by force, grew obstinate, saying, That he would not commit such an error, being the Kings officer, to goe voluntarily out of Chaalons, without his Maiesties expresse commandement. Hereupon Monsieur de Pralin replied, You shall not goe out of your selfe, but I will write presently vnto the King of what hath past, and you shall carie the Letter: if his pleasure bee E you shall remaine in this towne, you may returne, it imports not me; I onely feare they will doe you some displeasure.

In the meane time the Earle of Tresmes hauing solicited the Townesmen to put Vertau out of Chaalons, the Licutenant of the towne, accompanied with tenne or twelue of the Councell, went to enforce Monsieur de Pralin that Vertau was still in his chamber, after whose departure there past many words betwene him and Vertau, and the Licutenant of the Queene mothers company, who perswaded him to goe out of the Towne: but they could not preuaile, onely he said he would depart the third of Nouember to make his visitations in the Election of Espernay. The next day Monsieur de Pralin meeting Vertau neere vnto the Towne-house, they fell into such contestation, as hee caused F him to be caried by three of his followers out of the gates into the suburbs, where the next day he tooke poste to make his complaints vnto the King.

The Marshall of Bouillon Letter to the King.

Norwithstanding the Kings Declaration vnto the Princes in September last, yet still there remained some ialousies: Marshall of Bouillon seemed discontented, as appeared by his Letters to their Maiesties, which were published to the world, whereunto was annexed the Kings answer. The Marshall in his Letter to the King complained, That hauing bene alwayes an humble seruant vnto his Maiesty, as hee had witnessed by

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A by his Declaration the last of September: he had hoped that he should haue tasted the effects of his fauour by the execution of the Trearie of Loudun, especially for the protection of his souerainety of Sedan: That hitherto he had tasted no fruits, but contrariwise they fought to misconstrue his actions, and to giue bad impressions vnto his Maiesty, for that he provided carefully for the safety of a place of such importance, to the end he might preferre himselfe and his for his Maiesties seruice, and the good of France, in whose protection it had continued aboue sixscore yeares, and to take from his neighbours the desire they had to attempt against it, and by that meanes to encrease their limits (with his ruine) vpon the frontiers of his Realme, whereof they made apparent show, B there being no kind of bad visage but they suffered, which came vnto that place through the Archdukes countries, or by rigorous prohibitions, the passage being stoppt, contrary to the common liberty of commerce: That it seemed his Maiesties Ambassadors did contribute, yea were the chiefe motives, being well informed of the bad offices they did him daily in diuers places: That this gaue him iust cause of distrust, seeing himselfe also enuironed with great Forces, and extraordinary garisons, the which they had lately without any apparent necessity, caused to aduance to his frontiers of Champagne, with an intent to annoy him rather then to assist him if he were in necessity; whereupon hee humbly besought his Maiesty to provide for it by his wisdom and authority, according to his royall protection; and to giue him leaue to vse those lawfull meanes which Nature al- C lows to every man for his owne defence. He also wrote a Letter to the Queene mother to the same effect.

The King made answer vnto this Letter: That there had bene nothing done in his Prouince of Champagne but by his commandment: neither had hee done any thing to the prejudice of the treaty of Loudun, nor of his declaration of the last of September: but that he himselfe and the Duke of Neuers by their departures, haue bene the first which haue broken that treaty: That they had sent into Holland, and diuers places of Germany to discontinue his affaires: To haue bought vp great quantity of armes, and passed them ouer with many souldiers vnto Sedan: That they were his actions, and not the interpretations giuen him, which bred his distrust and discontentments: That if his Am- D bassadors haue not yeelded vnto his desires, but rather haue bene contrary, they had done but their dutie: That they haue not bene matters of commerce, but acts of hostility, which seemed to tend to some other designe then the safeguard of his place, seeing he hath not bene assailed either by any of his or any other to his knowledge: that his ialousie was the more augmented by hearing of the leaues in Champagne, and forces put into many of his places, and that by night; so as many of the inhabitants of the towne of S. Mane should were glad to abandon the same, for that they were affectioned to his seruice: that these reasons had made him resolute to send forces into Champagne to prevent the enterprises which might be made against his authority, and the quiet of his subjects; and to see execution done vpon the commissions which hee had sent to enforce E against the breach of his ordinances: that he was content to giue them respite which had erred, hauing no other end but to reduce every man to his duty, wherein hee had vied greater moderation then was ordinary, so as hee had no cause to complaine nor distrust, nor any pretext to couer his actions, the which hee would haue him to forbear: And whereas he desired to haue leaue to vse the lawfull meanes which Nature did allow him; he wished him to explaine himselfe more intelligibly, and in the meane time he did aduertise him, that the lawfull meanes which he could expect to preferre himselfe, were to ad- dress himselfe vnto his Maiesty, from whom hee must attend the preservation of that which he enioyed by the grace and bounty of the deceased King, in carying himselfe as he ought to doe; whereof he doubted not, &c.

F In December this yeare there was a resolution to change the Prince of Condes Guards, the causes were onely knowne to their Maiesties, but the execution was after this manner: They gaue Fouze (who had the guard of the Bastile ever since the deceased Seigneur of Chasteauvieux had bene made Capitaine and Gouverneur) to vnderstand, that it was resolved to change all the Princes Guard, asking his opinion by what meanes they might bring Du Thier (who commanded the Queene Mothers Light Horse) with twelue of his companie to effect it. Fouze made answer, That it was easie to bee done, if they came one by one without armes

The Kings answer to the Marshall of Bouillons Letter.

The Prince of Condes guard at the Bastile charged.

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armes to aske for him, where they should have entry to speake with him, and hee would bring them into his Cabinet of armes, where they might furnish themselves. As for *du Thier*, he might come to visit him and dine with him. This enterprise was held easie, and they were admitted into the Bastile. *Pouze* shuts them into his Cabinet, and gives each of them a petronell: *du Thier* dines with him: about three a clocke in the afternoon, they told *Conté* (who had the chiefe charge of the Princes guard) that there was one to speake with him from the *Queene* mother: comming downe, one of *Pouze* his people, who attended expressly in the court, told him, that the party which asked for him was in the other court without the draw-bridge; who going thither found not any one; and comming backe, the bridge was drawne vp, so as he was out of the Bastile and knew not whom to speake vnto. In the meane time *du Thier* with his companions came forth well armed: they went to the Princes chamber, assuring themselves of his guards, and of *Conté* his servant. In the beginning the Prince was troubled; *du Thier* told him he had no cause. After many speeches the Prince said vnto him, Their Maiesties haue twice done me the honor in changing my guards, to acquaint me with their pleasure: doe me this fauour as to tell them that I beseech them to doe the like now. Thus the Prince had a new guard, and *Pouze* went vp to the battlements of the Bastile, telling *Conté* (who was without the draw-bridge) that he desired him to goe vnto the Loure, where he should vnderstand their Maiesties pleasure, & that he had done nothing but by their commandement: after which, *Conté* retired, and they put the old guards and his seruants out of the Bastile. There yet remained thirty or forty French souldiers, with their Captaine, in the Bulwark which lookes towards the fields, but *Pouze* commanded him to goe and speake with the *Queene* mother, who returning presently drew forth his souldiers, in whose place they put so many Swisses who were daily changed.

Saint Man-  
chould yielded  
to the King.

Their Maiesties were then discontented with the Duke of Neuers, for that he had put 500 souldiers into Saint Manchould, for by this meanes he covered Mezieres and Sedan; held a great part of the Country in subiection, stopped the passage to Verdun and Loraine, and made shew that he would approach to Chaalons, which is but six leagues from S. Manchould: whereupon *Monsieur de Pralin*, who commanded the Kings forces in Champagne, had commandement to recouer Saint Manchould: and the President *Comartin* D Iudge of the army, was sent to make their process, which should bee found armed in Champagne without the Kings commission.

On the 26 of December, *Bouconville* who commanded in the Castle of Saint Manchould, thinking that *Monsieur de Pralin* had bene gone towards Rethel, he sees him with 1000 men betwene the Castle and the Towne, who presently summons him by trumpet to come and speake with him. On the other side, the commanders of the Duke of Neuers garison which were within the towne, seeing the Kings troops at their gates, would haue perswaded the inhabitants to take armes; but they made answer, they could not doe it, being the Kings subiects. Hereupon they grew amazed, and *Bouconville* entred into treaty, where in the end it was concluded, that he should remaine still Gouernour of the Castle, vpon promise to continue faithfull in his Maiesties seruice. There were 600 Swisses put into the town, and the Duke of Neuers men departed with their baggage, and were conducted to Rethel, and the inhabitants of Saint Manchould were well pleased to see themselves thus freed.

The warre re-  
sued in Sauoy.

The warres beganne againe in Italy betwene the King of Spaine and the Duke of Sauoy: *Don Pedro de Toledo* being made Gouernour of Millane, not onely kept the army still on foot, (saying, that he was not bound to disarme by the treatie of Alte) but leauied great Forces, and made extraordinary preparations. The Venetians grew iealous for that they were then in warre against the Archduke *Ferdinand* of Gertz, a prince of the House of Austria. The Duke of Sauoy stood vpon his guard: He sent his complaints against the King of Spaine, to the Pope, the French King, the King of Great Britaine, and the Venetians, who had signed the treaty of Alte, and promised to assist him, if hee should invade his Estates. He sent the Marshall *D'Aligueres*, to summon him to effect the seventh article of the said Treaty: the Marshall vpon these summons goes to Turin, where the D. of Sauoy gaue him a royal reception: hauing long flayed there to enforme himself of the truth of the Dukes iealousies, & finding that Piedmont had need of a speedy & powerfull reliefe, he returned into France to make a great leauy of horse and foot, and to draw the

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A the Duke of Nemours who was at Nici, to aduance the leauy which hee made for the Duke of Sauoy.

During these preparations to Warre, the Pope sent Cardinall *Ludouici*, and the French King, the Baron of Bèthunes, to mediate a peace betwene them: many propositions were made, but in the meane time the Duke of Sauoy, and the Duke of Nemours (being both of one house) fell at iarre, being both in Armes: the Duke of Nemours having intelligence with the Spaniard, but being weakly assisted by them, and in some extremities, by the mediation of *Monsieur le Grand*, Gouernour of Bourgundy, and some other Councillors of State, who had commandement from the French King, to make a reconciliation B between two kinsmen so nearely allied in blood in the end a peace was concluded betwene them to their great contents; wherby the Duke of Sauoy had no enemy remaining this yeare but the Spaniard.

A peace be-  
tweene the  
Duke of Sauoy,  
and the Duke  
of Nemours.

To conclude this yeare we must make mention of the death of a memorable man: *Charles de Harlay*, who had bene first President of the Parliament at Paris: Much was written of his life and death, to preserve his happy memorie, and to serue for an example to those who may and ought administer iustice religiously. This great permage was borne in the yeare 1536, at the age of two and twenty, he was made Councillor in Parliament, at 36 President: and at 46 K. *Henry* the third made him first President; by the decaile of *Christopher de Thou*, wherein he continued vntill the yeare 1611, that age & sickness took C from him all habilitie to labour for the publike. His fidelitie and affection to the Kings and Crowne, hath bene much commended by the world; vpon the words which hee spake the day of the Baricadoes to the head of the league in the Palace garden: *It is great pity said he, when the servant chaſeth away the Maſter, My soule is for God, my heart for the King, and my body in the hands of violence to dispose of me as they please.* His constancy was admired in the Prison of the Bastile, speaking to such as had him in guard: *My time is not yet come, but when it happens we shall speake together and neere.* And when they told him that he would bee prevented, and that they would take his life from him, hee replied; *I haue neither head nor life, which I preferre before the loss I owe vnto God, theſe vice which I owe vnto the King, and the good which I desire to my Country.* Finally, his man- D ners, his commendable actions; his reuerend grauitie; his briefe and succinct speaking; his hands which neuer feared but to hold the ballance of the soueraigne iustice of France, and to be as a sword, to preserve the good, and to punish the wicked; his eyes which neuer regarded the condition and qualitie of parties; and his teares which could neuer heare flatterie, haue purchased him the Title of the most excellent and worthiest man that euer sat vpon the seat of iustice in his time.

The Marſhalls  
reply to the  
Kings Letter.

The iealousies begonne the last yeere increased dayly. In the beginning of the yeare, the Marshall of Bouillon made a reply vnto the Kings answer. By the which hee excuseth the visits betwixt the Duke of Neuers and him, in regard of the nearnesse of their Houses, hauing seene no declaration against him which might diuert him. That hee did not E thinke in so doing, to haue giuen any iust cause of distrust, nor to contradict the treatie of Loudun, as it seemes his Maiestie would inferre by his Letters, vntill that all ciuill societie were interdicted amongst his subiects, and reputed for a crime. Neither had hee found that hee had attempted any thing against the respect which was due to his Maiesties authoritie within his Gouernment, nor obserued in his words or actions any thing but fidelity and affection to his seruice. That touching the surmises they had of his intelligences in Holland and Germany; he said, that his Maiestie might easily informe himselfe of the truth, by the Princes and Estates of Germanie, and the Low-Countries, who were strictly allied vnto his Crowne, whereby he should finde that the alliance he had with the said Princes, had neuer made him desire any thing from them, but the onely continuance of F their friendship, the which also his enemies would draw into suspition. That whereas hee had bene charged to buy Armes, and draw many souldiers into Sedan: and that it had bene verified by Letters which he had written to some of his Ambassadors; his answer was, that if they were produced they would verifie the truth: which was, that in the beginning of Nouember, he had written to *Monsieur Pericard*, Ambassador for his Maiestie at Brussels, to vnderstand from him, if since the Declaration made the last of September there had bene any commandement from his Maiestie, to hinder the passage through the Archdukes Countries for those which came into his Territories, and to me-

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left them, and ill intreat them, as they did then, and haue since continued : desiring to A know if it were with his Maiesties priuie and command ; if not, he intreated him to employ the authoritie of his charge to hinder it hereafter, seeing it concerned the publique good, and his Maiesties seruice. That if he had informed any other thing to his Maiesty, he would accuse him openly of slander and falshood whereof he could conuince him by his owne Letters. That if for the preferuacion of his place, against the enterprizes of strangers, he had beene forced to doe as his enemies had suggested ; he did not thinke he should incur any blame with his Maiesty, neither could they take it for any act of hostilitie. And yet they should not finde any other Garisons in his places, then those which had been accustomed for the guard thereof, and which his Maiesty had giuen him hope to entertaine. B That whereas they would maliciously perfwade his Maiesty that many Souldiers had gone out of Sedan, and were lodged in diuers places of his Realme ; hee said it was so grosse, as he could not thinke that any man would be so indiscreet, as to maintaine so manifest an imposture, which might be easily verified. Touching the Baron of Peche, he had no knowledge of his businesse in the Towne of Leige when he was murdered ; neither could it be iustified that he had euer employed him in any sort whatsoever. That hee humbly besought his Maiesty to let him vnderstand his pleasure what hee should expect touching the protection of Sedan, seeing that the designes which strangers haue provided against it, continued, and bound him to provide in time for his safety. And touching the explaining of himselfe, for that which hee had formerly written touching the lawfull C meanes to defend himselfe ; he said, that nature teacheth euery man to preserve his owne, and bindes him to leaue it to his posteritie. That if any one seeke to oppresse him by violence ; if he be in subiection, he hath recourse to his Soueraigne, who is to protect him from all oppression : if he be onely in protection, hee addresseth himselfe to him which hath promised it, who comming to abandon him, *hee vsesh such meanes as hee may finde elsewhere*, to oppose a iust defence, to an vnjust violence. That he had the happinesse to be borne his subiect, and in that qualitie could not but attend from his Maiesty alone the preferuacion of that which he held in France by succession from his Ancestors. That hee had also the honour to be vnder the protection of his Crowne, by reason of the Soueraignie of Sedan, and the places depending ; hauing bin alwayes confirmed since *Charles D* the eighth, and religiously entertained by Kings his predecessors, hoping that his Maiesty would not breake it now in fauour of his neighbours, which neither loue France, nor the greatnesse of his Estate, and suffer him to want meanes to preserve it for his seruice, as he was bound. He concludes, that the necessitie of his preferuacion, made him to beseech his Maiesty, *That hee would be pleased he might use the meanes which nature allowes euery man for his owne defense*. If he were assaulted, hee would oppose the assistance of all his subiects and friends, and of those whom the interest of blood bound naturally vnto him, and that he would not omit any thing to defend himselfe, yet without doing any thing which might preiudice the seruice which he ought vnto his Maiesty and France, by the Treatie of his protection, or to the duty of a faithfull subiect vnto his country, &c.

The Duke de Maye writes to the King.

The King answers.

After this, there came a Letter vnto the King from the Duke of Mayenne, sent by the Baron of Linieres, by which he complained of enterprizes made against his life, and the places of his Government. He besought his Maiesty, to cause exemplary iustice to be done vpon one whose name was *Yagere*, who had been corrupted with money to vndertake that wicked designe to kill him. He complains also of the Ministers which were about him. To whom the King made answer: That the preferuacion of his subiects was so deare vnto him, and especially of those which were of his ranke, that if hee did contribute as much for his part, as the King would for the punishment of the crime, hee should without doubt receiue all the contentment he could desire. That hee would easily beleue it when he saw that his Parliament, (which doth iustice to all the world, and hath the interest of the Peeres in singular recommendation) takes knowledge thereof. And that with so much care, as they haue already ordained that the cause shall bee examined and iudged in the place where you are ; to the end that being found culpable, hee may receiue the iust punishment due vnto the enormitie of so detestable an attempt. The which would be undoubtedly executed if he would, there being no meanes to auoid it but his flight, which he might prevent being in his power, causing him to bee safely conducted to Paris, where hee would not onely see him punished as he deserved ; but all others which had been

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A been the instigators of so pernicious a designe. That he would neither suffer any enterprises to be made against the places which his subiects and seruants kept for him ; nor against their liues. And therefore containing himselfe within the bounds of his duty, hee might assure himselfe that nothing should preiudice the townes hee held more safely, then his authoritie. In the end, he conuinceth him to second the protestation of his innocencie with so good effects, as he might not be grieved to haue troubled the profitable designes he had for the Realme.

On the seventeenth of Ianuary following, the King made a Declaration against the Duke of Neuers, the which was verified in Parliament. Where, after a long repetition of all the supposed crimes and disobediences of the said Duke ; in the end it concludes, that for the causes therein mentioned, after view of the informations taken by his Commisaries, and other his Officers in the Prouince of Champagne, with the aduice of the Queene Mother, and his councill of State, he declared the said Duke and all which did assist him in his disobedience, false from all honors, dignities, offices, governments, pensions, priuiledges, and prerogatiues, which they had from him or his predecessors ; all which he did instantly reuoke : declaring the said Duke and all his adherents, disobedient, rebels, troublers of the publique peace, and guilty of Treason ; if within fiftene dayes after publication thereof made in his Court of Parliament, the said Duke did not acknowledge his fault, and come vnto him to performe effectually, and personally, that whereunto hee was bound by duty, and discharge the Garisons which had beene placed by him or his adherents, without order or Commission from his Maiesty : And in regard of Gentlemen, and other his subiects ; if within the said time they did not present themselves vnto the preiudicial Court where they had their residence, to make their Declarations, and did not abstaine from all actions, and enterprises, preiudiciall to his authoritie and seruice, and to his ordinances and Declarations. But in so doing, the said Duke & all that had assisted him, should be free from punishment, and receiued into his good grace and fauour.

In the beginning of this year, newes came to Court that many Souldiers trooped together in the Countie Thymersay, Perche, Mayen, and vpon the frontiers of Normandie, which ioynes vpon those Prouinces, countenanced as well by the Nobility : who had openly caried themselves for the Princes in the second ciuill warre, as by others who had behaued themselves as Newters. But the King to prevent such practices, sent the Earle of Auvergne thither with two Cannons, and foure thousand souldiers, who assured all those Countie by the Garisons which he put into diuers places.

Troopers in Perche, Mayen, and Normandie for the Princes.

The Duchesse of Neuers parting from Rethelois, crost Champagne, and came into Nyuernois, where she began to leaue souldiers for the Kings seruice (as shee said) vnder husbands authoritie. And the Marshall of Bouillons Lady went this winter from Sedan to Tours, and from thence to Turenne, which ministred a great subiect of lealouise.

In the end of the month, the Dukes of Neuers, Vendosme, Mayenne : the Marshall of Bouillon ; the Marquis of Cœuure, President *Le Iay*, and other Noblemen of their party, made a kinde of an Assembly at Soissons, where they resolved to make open warres, to seize vpon the Kings reuenues ; and to fortifie those Towns and Castles which they held in their Governments. They also sent into diuers parts both within and without the Realme. The Duke of Neuers Letter in answer of the Kings declaration made against the said Duke, was drawne in this assembly at Soissons the last of Ianuary : and the Remonstrances of the said Dukes and Marshall, which aymed directly at the Marshall *D'Ancre* and his wife.

An Assembly of the Princes at Soissons.

The D. of Neuers, vpon the Kings declaration, wrote vnto his Maiesty, assuring him, that he would let him see by infallible proofes, the vntruth of all the disobediences mentioned in the said declaration : by the which they pretended to make him guilty, with such spleene, as euén his thoughts and intentions were not freed from crime, in the iudgement of those passionate spirits. But the testimonie of my conscience (said he) shall for this time suffice, vntill it shall please God (who is the soueraigne iudge) to giue you more knowledge of the truth, and my integritie : the which I hope your Maiesty shall know plainly to the confusion of slander, when it shall please you to heare mee ; and that I may iustifie my selfe in your presence, or if you thinke it good in the Court of Peeres, who are my naturall Iudges, in regard of the ranke and dignity, which by birth I haue the honour to hold within your Realme. To this end, Sir, I am come to this place,

The D. of Neuers Letter to the King.

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place, being ready to attend your Maiestie, to yeeld you all obedience, and the humble A  
 service which I owe you, and to discharge the fouldiers which I have put into my houses  
 to defend them, and to prevent the secret enterprizes which are daily practised; whereof  
 the president of those which have bene executed giue me iust cause of distrust. But for  
 that, Sir, the whole power of the government of your Estate, is now in the hands of the  
 Marshall *D'Ancres* and his Partisans, whom he hath drawne neere vnto your Maiestie, and  
 into your Councils, to the end he may doe all things at his pleasure, and be sole Arbitra-  
 tor of the life, goods, honours, and dignities of your subiects, hauing to that end dimitt your  
 ancient Councellers, and taken away the Seales from *Monsieur du Vair* for his integrity.  
 Being also apparent, that he makes your authoritie serue as an instrument to my ruine, a-  
 bulging (with vnderfull contempt, and insupportable audaciousnesse) your Maiesties B  
 name, to exercise the violence of his passions, as well vpon mee, as all others whom hee  
 thinks may be an obstacle to his vnstable couetousnesse, and ambitious desires; vlti-  
 mally, when your Realme an absolute power, to dispose, establish, and change all things  
 at his pleasure; all things being possible vnto him, although vniust, so as he may doe it by  
 corruption or force, treading vnder foot the Lawes and Magistrates. And for that no man  
 can haue any assurance, seeing that the publique faith hath bene violated, by the infracti-  
 on of the treatie of Loudun; I most humbly beseech your Maiestie, to giue me necessarie  
 assurances both for my person and houses, and to prouide by your authoritie, that the  
 Marshall *D'Ancres*, nor his partisans may hereafter take any knowledge of that which C  
 concerns mee, they hauing no other end but my ruine; to the end iustice may be done me  
 by indifferent iudges, and not passionate. That it would please you to call the Princes,  
 Dukes, Peeres, and ancient Officers of your Crowne and Councillors of State, whom  
 your deceased father employed in his greatest affaires, to whose iudgement bee it in your  
 presence, or in the said Court of Peeres, I will alwayes submit my selfe most willingly;  
 according to the lawes and accustomed formes of your Realme, to make my innocencie  
 knowne; and the integrity of my actions, to the confusion of those who through malice  
 and slander haue disguised them to your Maiestie. I presume that out of your bounty you  
 will not deny me the securitie which all your subiects ought to expect from your Maiestie,  
 if it please you to consider, that if the Marshall *D'Ancres* had power to force you against D  
 your owne intention, to violate the publique faith, hauing now by the meanes of his  
 partisans, the hand, the Seale, & the Treasure of your Maiestie, with your forces and Ar-  
 mies at his disposition; he will haue power enough to oppress my innocencie, and make  
 you approoue my ruine, and to signe my condemnation against your will: whereunto I  
 thought it not fit to expose my selfe, remaining your most humble obedient subiect and  
 seruant: *Neuers*.

The King  
 makes a decla-  
 ration against  
 the Princes.

The Remon-  
 strance of the  
 Princes.

In February following, the King made a Declaration against the Dukes of Vendosme  
 and Mayenne, the Marshall of Bouillon, the Marquis of Cœure, President *Le Jay*, and  
 all others which did assist them: conformable to that which he had made against the D.  
 of Neuers, and of the same Tenour, and therefore I doe forbear to make any more men-  
 tion thereof.

After this Declaration, the Princes made a Remonstrance vnto the King: in the which  
 after their humble submission made, and assurances of their fidelities and service to his  
 Maiestie; They said, We know well that the mischief is concealed from you by them  
 which doe it, who labour to make them odious to your Maiestie which complain. And  
 the miserie of France is such; that hauing the whole power of your Estate in their  
 hands, they make you to hold your most faithfull seruants for enemies. But the violence  
 of their tyrannical behaviour is come to that excess, as it can not be suffered. The com-  
 plaint thereof is generall, euery one sees and feels the miserable effects, and their practi-  
 ces can no longer hinder the voice and grievance of the people from sounding in your  
 eares, to moue your compassion for their ease, and your iustice against the Authors of so  
 many calamities, which all men know, and publicly detest. It is the Marshall of *Ancres*,  
 Sir, and his wife, with his adherents, who by their couetousnesse are the sole cause of the  
 miseries which we feele: of the disorders which we see, and of worse which we feare.  
 He hath by his practices since the death of the deceased King, drawne vnto himselfe the  
 whole administration of the Realme: hee hath made himselfe Master of your counsels;  
 of your Armies, & of your Forts. He hath suppress the lawful liberty of the remonstrances  
 of

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A of your Parliaments. Hee hath caused your chiefe Officers to be imprisoned; and is the  
 cause of the violence done to the first Prince of the bloody house, by this audacious ad-  
 uer, violated the publique faith of the Treatie of Loudun: of the obsequium whereof  
 depended the peace and tranquillitie of your State. We humbly beseech your Maiestie to  
 take the Duke of Neuers into your protection; against the extraordinary proceedings  
 which haue bene made vpon false pretences and slanders; he being a Prince of one of the  
 most illustrious Houses of your Realme, who loves his Countrey, hath no other zeale but  
 your service; and doth not acknowledge any other lawfull authoritie but yours. He hath  
 complained of some wrongs done vnto him by a private person his vassall; and that in  
 contempt of the dignitie of his charge, they haue not allowed him the free exercise of  
 his government. He hath prosecuted the execution of some feudall rights in his lands, by  
 the ordinarie course of iustice. And not to suffer that to be lost, which his Predecessors  
 had left him by succession, seeing severall enterprizes ready to be executed vpon his hou-  
 ses, he hath provided as he ought to defend them, vnder your authoritie; and for your  
 service; and these things so necessarie, are imputed vnto him for a crime of Rebellion.  
 To the end, Sir, that we be not reproached to haue bene so little affected vnto your  
 Maiestie, so vngratefull to our Countrey, and so vnfaithfull to our selues and our pos-  
 session, as to hold our peace; seeing the prodigious fauour of this stranger giuing the go-  
 vernments of your places, disappointing the ancient and chiefe Officers of your Com-  
 mons and Parliaments, wresting from them Titles of Honour, which their age, vertue, and  
 merit had purchased; to put into their places his creatures, vnworthy persons without  
 experience for the conduct of an Estate, and men borne to seruilude: We beseech your  
 Maiestie to prouide by conuenient meanes for the disorders of your Estate; to cause the  
 treatie of Loudun to be observed, and to call into your Councils the Princes of your  
 blood; with the other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, ancient Officers of the Crowne, & Coun-  
 cellors of State, whom the deceased King had employed during his reigne. We shall then  
 haue the happinesse to yeeld you with all safety the humble service and obedience which  
 we owe you, as your most humble, most faithfull and obedient subiects and seruants  
*Caspar de Vendosme, Henry de Lorraine, Henry de la Tour.*

D After this, the King made another declaration to satisfy his subiects touching their  
 Contributions. Although (said he) that the Rebellion of the Dukes of Neuers, Vendosme,  
 Mayen and Bouillon, authors of the Letters which had bene brought vnto his Maie-  
 stie from Soissons, the tenth and fourteenth of this month of February, made them  
 vnderstand of any answer, yet for the desire he had to satisfy himselfe in satisfying the  
 publique, he had resolved to continue till such might haue received any bad impression  
 by their practices: and to let the world know, that vnder pretence of their particular pre-  
 servation, and the good of the State, they haue no other end but to seek their greater  
 by his ruine. These two Letters (he said) which contained many points, might be redu-  
 ced to two chiefe heads. The one is to perswade, that there is no safety neere the King,  
 E whereby they would inferre, that they cannot obey the commandments which his Maie-  
 stie makes them to come vnto him. The other is to blamish the Government of his  
 Estate: the which they did, accusing it of violence and iniustice, and threatening this Mo-  
 narchy with an inuincible subversion; thereby (vnder colour to preferre it) to moue  
 the people to fauour the resolutions which they had taken to make warre against their  
 Prince. To these two points there was a long answer made by the Kings commande-  
 ment, and signed by him on the 13. of February. To the first, he said that Kings are assured  
 Sanctuaries for those which acknowledge them, and repent them of their faults: that  
 their word is inuiolable, and their faith the most assured signe of a Royaltie. That to thinke  
 otherwise were a crime. Touching the second, he said he did not wonder if they (whose  
 F disobedience was so great) blamed those to whom he had committed part of his affaires,  
 and whose integrity and sinceritie was so well knowne vnto him, that they taxed any  
 whom his Maiestie employed, and who carried themselves courageously for the maine-  
 tenance of his authority, and the feeling of his affaires. The which (he said) appeared plain-  
 ly in that they now commended and desired those whom they blamed being in Court,  
 and of whose dismission they themselves were the cause.

An accord being made as you haue heard, betweene the Duke of Neuers and the  
 Princes of Piedmont, & of the Duke of Savoy, he repaid the Mountaignes by Val  
 d'Aoste

The Kings de-  
 claration touch-  
 ing the  
 Princes.

The Kings  
 answer to  
 the Princes.

Explication  
 of the  
 Princes  
 Remon-  
 strance.



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Coffe, and entered the Lands of the Prince of the Massin, which is divided from Picardie by a little River called *Eche*. *Don Tedy de Fyde* Gouverneur of Millan sent his Horse which would fall upon the Prince of Massin, offered him more to put into his Townes than the Prince offering that he drew in Spaniards, he should not so easily get them forth; and so he had no need. Finally, Massin being incited by the Prince of Piedmont, was forced to open his gates. Then he went with his Regent which after some resistance was taken by assault and the Castle yielded by the Prince of Massin, who was within it. After this, he wrote and showed the Spaniards lying in their Trenches, which he forced, and *Don Tedy de Fyde* Gouverneur of the Castle of Millan, with many others, which was about Guardella, and Guardabuzon. The Marshall *D'Esquiers* passing into Piedmont with seven or eight thousand horse, and foot, joined with the Duke of Savoy, Arvis, and upon the second of February went to besiege Saint-Damien, which after a short siege, they took. After which he recovered other places. The taking of Townes and Forts from Princes and Noblemen which were under the protection of Spaine, caused many (which feared the like danger) to seek their posteriors from France. Amongst the which, *Anthony de Grimaldi* Baron Bueil obtained Letters of Protection from the French King and Ordre of France for to use his Wife, Family, Successors, Goods, Lands, Seignories and Subjecs.

Townes held  
by the Princes

Garisons put  
into  
Townes for  
the King.

Courtes of  
the Prince

The King  
sith there  
Armed

And he is now returned to France. The King being advertised that there were many Townes in Thymeris, Perche, Mayen and other adjacent Prouinces, which belonged unto the Princes and others which did adhere unto their party, and that there were many Gentlemen in those Countries, who attended but a command from the Princes to go to the frontiers, to go to the frontiers, and to cross the Kings affairs in those parts, where the said Princes might annoy his Maiestie in three places at once. First, in Perche, and those Countries which are between the Rivers of Seine and Loire. Secondly, in Nyuenois towards the head of the River of Loire, where they held two Bridges, Dohert and Neuers. And thirdly, in the countries of Soissons, Laon, and Reims, where between the Rivers of Aisne, Oyle, and Meuze, they held the Townes of Laon, Coufay, Richcourt and other places, upon the River of Aisne, the Townes of Soissons, Chateau, Parisien, and Reims. In the County of Noyon, Chauny and La Fert. Upon Meuze, Meziens, Dauchtry, and Soissons in the country of Vallois, the Castle of Piesfort, and in Tirache, upon the frontiers of Champagne, Chateau, where the Seigneur of Harcourt was Gouverneur. Their Maiesties resolved first to assure those places which might annoy them between the Rivers of Seine and Loire. They sent for the Baron of Melau, Gouverneur of the royaume of Verneuil, he sent his wife, by whom he had commandment to deliver it into the Kings hands, which after some delay he performed. And *Longueval* a follower of the Marshall *D'Ancre* was put in his place, for that the Towne is in the Government of Normandy.

The Earle of Ancre, by the Kings commandment, went into those parts with three thousand horse and foot about the end of January, putting garisons into divers places for the Kings, namely into Senoches in Thymeris, Chateau-neuf, La Rocheau Villand, La Loupe, and Nogent le Rotrou. From thence he came to Mantz, where he was received with great honour, and some Gentlemen came unto him, making protestation to remaine most humble subiects and obedient to their Maiesties commandment. They which were in the Castle of Parisien for the Marquis of Camure, began to runne into the government of the Ile of France, taking the ordinary Coaches which went from Normandy and Picardy to Paris, and carrying away the passengers prisoners. Thus the warre began. A part of the Earle of Candales company who was for the King, was defeated by the Duke of Vendomes horse; and Vaubecourt charged some Carabins of the Duke of Neuers troops in there were many discords published against the Marshall *D'Ancre* upon these alterations, and some were put in prison upon divers subiects. It was affirmed that the Gibbets which had bene set up in the publique places of Paris, were so high such as should speake against the Marshall *D'Ancre*. Others said, that they were by a Decree of the Court, to hang such without any forme of Justice which had bene banished for their thefts, and yet robbed nightly in Paris, whereof there had bene great complaints.

Their Maiesties resolved to raise three Armies: the one under the command of the Marshall

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A Marshall of Montigny to goe into Nyuenois. The other under the Earle of Auvergne, to set upon those Townes which the Princes held in the Ile of France. And the third was to be commanded by the Duke of Guise, assisted by the Marshall of Themines, to goe into Champagne against the Duke of Neuers. Having drawne his forces together, hee incited the Castle of Richcourt on the first of March. The Duke of Neuers had put Captaine *Fesmes* into it with three score souldiers, who the first three dayes defended it gallantly; but the Artillery being planted, and having made two hundred shot, hee demanded composition, the which was granted, and hee and his souldiers departed with their drums beating, and matches light, and then the Castle was dismantled. After this Rozoy was also yeilded.

Richcourt  
yeilded and  
dismantled.

The fire of Civil Warre did not onely flame in diuers Prouinces of France; but the Princes also thundred out their complaints against the Authors of all those miseries, as they said. They published a solemne declaration, and protestation, for the restoring of the Kings authoritie, and preferuation of the Realme, against the conspiracy and tyrannie (as they termed it) of the Marshall *D'Ancre* and his adherents.

Protestation of  
the Princes  
against the  
Marshall  
*D'Ancre*.

They said that by the Treatie of Loudon, they promised vnto themselves a serious reformation of all disorders, by the obseruation of the Lawes. And when as the said Princes were at Court, without requiring any other assurance then the publique faith, and the inuolable word which Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, Ambassador for the King of Great Brittain, the Countesse of Soissons, and the Duke of Neuers had given them, on the behalfe of the King and Queene Mother: the hope and assured peace, made them forget the miseries of warre, every one containing himselfe in his dutie, and the respect due vnto the Lawes. But this good disposition, was interrupted and crost by the pernicious counsell of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, and his adherents; who finding no safety in the setting of Justice, hee resolved to make tryall of his power, by violating the publique faith, thereby to plunge the Realme into new troubles, and combustions, having attempted by the most horrible conspiracie which can be imagined against the person of the first Prince of the blood, and of other Princes, Dukes, Peeres and chiefe Officers of the Crowne, to oppress them all together with the State, who hee thought would be an obstacle to his ambitious designs.

And to give colour to so audacious an enterprize, they vsed false accusations; and vpon pretext of the said Princes absence which were retired from Paris, they published by their instruments, that they had a designe to attempt against the persons of the King and Queene Mother, and that they sought to perswade the Prince to ioyne with them; whereupon his Maiestie had bene aduised to assure himselfe of his person. And to give some satisfaction to the world, they caused the King to goe in person to his Court of Parliament, to publish a declaration, by the which the Prince and the other Princes and Officers of the Crowne were declared guilty of treason.

That being ashamed of such an vnjust course against innocent persons, finding that their frauds beganne to bee discovered, and that the Princes had refused to represent vnto the King the iust causes of their absence, and to let him see the falsehood of the slanders and bad impressions which those conspirators had given of their fidelitie and the sinceritie of their intentions. To prevent the which, they caused a declaration to bee published contrary to that of the last of September, by the which the King better informed, declares that he holds them for his good, faithful, and affectionate subiects and seruants; not consenting nor participating with the facts contained in the former declaration; and that his meaning was the treatie of Loudon should be executed; lying by this meanes (but very vnjustly) all the accusation vpon the Prince, to make him onely culpable: they haue let the world see that it was onely a pretext and a testimony of their passion, but no proove of any crime. That haue failed of the execution which they pretended (the which fell only vpon the Princes person,) they had still continued their bad intents, employing both poison and sword but in vaine, and that the declaration made the last of September, and the Treatie of Loudon had bene but a pretext to deceive them, if they would haue suffered themselves againe to bee surprized by their disloyaltie and treachery. That after the conference at Soissons,

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and

1617 and the Declaration of September, they had continued their enterprises; kept the A field with their troops; leav'd new Regiments; drawne Suiffers into France without any apparant necessity, to oppress the said Princes; and to execute the designs of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, whose intent was to kindle a new warre in France. And for that the season of the year was not fit to make any open attempt, they lodg'd their troops in all places, which might give any jealousy to the Princes; who lay still without any alteration, although they had no power in their Governments; nor were paid that which was due unto them, as well for their pensions, as the entertainment of their Garisons established long before for the safety of the said places.

That knowing how much the mediation of the Duke of Nevers, had prevailed at the conclusion of the Treaty of Loudon; by the assurances which hee gave on the behalfe of the King and Queene mother; and apprehending that a Prince of his qualitie, would have a iust feeling of their disloyaltie, and the breach which they had made of the publique faith; they drew their Maiesties into jealousy of his fidelitie, and by insolent and extraordinary proceedings, fought to draw him to resolutions contrarie to his dutie and intentions; to the end they might have some pretext to make him culpable. Notwithstanding hee had suffered all patiently, untill they had executed some enterprises vpon his houses; attempted against his person, and imprisoned his friends and seruants, whose faith they could not corrupt. Then C necessary bound him to augment his Garisons; to preferue himselfe, Saint Manchould giuing him iust cause of distrust.

This transported them with such fury, as they presently caused a declaration to be published on the seuenteenth of Ianuary: by the which vpon false and slanderous pretexts, hee was declared guilty; if within fiftene dayes hee came not to his Maiestie; whose commandments hee had beene alwayes ready to obey. That coming to Soissons to that end, hee had besought his Maiestie by Letters within the time prescribed, to giue him indifferent iudges; not suspect nor passionate, with necessarie assistances for his person and Houses; seeing there was no free access vnto his Maiestie, for that the Marshall *D'Ancre* and his adherents, had caused the publique faith to be broken; as you may read more at large in his Letter.

That the Dukes of Vendosme, Mayenne, and Bouillon, had by their Remonstrance besought his Maiestie not to suffer the innocencie of the Duke of Nevers to bee oppressed, by the violence and iniurie of the Marshall *D'Ancre*. But the Bishop of Ligon, Secretarie of State, with *Mangot* and *Barbin* (confident Ministers of the Marshall *D'Ancre's* tyrannie) had suppress these Letters and Remonstrances, to the end they might not come to the Kings knowledge, abusing his name and authoritie with wonderful contempt, to oppress his good and faithfull seruants. That on the thirteenth of February they had published a Declaration: by the which the said Dukes and diuers others were declared guilty of Treason; and at the same instant they vsed all acts of hostilitie against them and their seruants; to make them thereby irreconcilable, and to bring matters to the extremitie of warre. That besides all the above-mentioned indignities and causes of mistrust, they had attempted against the life of the Duke of Mayen, which was discovered, being ready to be executed; that the proofes were manifest and verified in the Processe. That the murderer had beene practised with money, and sent to that end to Soissons, by *Dissonis* a creature to the Marshall *D'Ancre*, and the ordinarie executioner of his violencies.

That notwithstanding all these iust causes of distrust, which had forced the said Princes to fortifie their places; to leaue men, and to entertaine them with the Kings money, having no other means; to the end they might preferue them vnder his authoritie, and for his seruice, yet they were persecuted by the rigour of Armes; and they beganne to take, burne, and ruine their Houses; necessitie forcing them to oppose themselves to this oppression. That to the end hee might ferle his tyrannies in the Kings Council and neere his person, hee had caused the Seales to be taken from *Monsieur du Vair*; and dismissed with contempt the Kings ancient Councillors, who forth their integritie, had the testimonie of all good men, because they opposed themselves

A felues to that which they know preiudiciall and pernicious to the State, and had brought in others of his faction, pensioners to strangers, men of bale and infamous qualitie, ignorant and mercinarie; and by a new example, of a Bishop had made a Secretarie of State against the Lawes and Canoniall constitutions: Of a petty-farmer; or undertaker, a Superintendent of the Treasure; to the end he might be sole Arbitrator of all the affaires of the Kingdoms; to dispose of peace and warre, yea, of the lifand goods of priuate men; to refuse what he pleased without contradiction; and to make all things passe vnder the law of his will.

Finally, that hee had usurped vnder the Kings name (like vnto the ancient Maiores B of the Palace) an absolute authoritie within the Realme; and had not left vnto his Maiestie the iust image of the Royall Dignitie, having drawne to himselfe the whole gouerning of the State; the which hee exercised with such tyrannie, as it was not lawfull without crime to oppose their mouths to complaine. That hee findeth the libertie of the generall Estates, and Soueraine Courts; by violence or corruption, the two chief means hee vsed to oppress iudice; and reduce France to miserable seritude. That hee had beene so audacious as to make a chiefe Officer to be continually locked out of the capital Citie in view of the Parliament of Paris; and to cause him to be shut vpon the Cattle of Amboise, without any kinde of process, accusation, or proofe C of crime, imploying therein the Kings name and royall authoritie.

That his designs proceeded yet further, tending to an alteration of the State in fauour of strangers, by the ruine of the Princes of the blood of the house of Bourbon, which onely remained of the Royall race, at that time wholly at his disposall. That the King nor his brother were not safe in his hands; seeing that both hee and his wife, by an impietie and caniditie (punishable by the Lawes) had enquired of the continuance of their lives. That they had consulted with Magicians; vpon the time of their death; the which might be they had limited by their incantments and feceries; being certaint that vpon this end hee encreased *Monsieur de la Physician*, and the Abbot of Saint Mahe, the abominable Monster; the horror of whose D death did shew what his life was. That it was well knowne that in the Assemblie of the generall Estates, hee had sought by his partisans to haue a Law enacted; That the Princes of the blood should be no more admitted to the gouernment of the State; the which was reiecte as contrarie to the Lawes of the Realme, which admit them in this right, and exclide women and strangers. And since, seeing the Prince armed to defend the Kings authoritie, hee made vse of this occasion, to haue him declared guilty of Treason, with a Warrant to his powerfullie: The which the Court of Parliament finding vnjust and against the Lawes, obserued in the like cases; refusing to acquaint the King with the reasons why they could not verifie the Declaration, hee sent such insolent Ministers of his passions, as hee caused a false Decree to be suppressed and published, attempting by an insupportable presumption and fraud, that which neuer had beene heard of in that reuerend Company, whose resolutions had beene alwayes iust and inuolable. And when as the Officers who understood this falsehood would haue discoursed it; hee caused them to be threatened to lose their places, and to be banished from their houses.

And hee sought to make knowne that hee had no other end, but the ruine of the State, having thus divided and weakened it within; hee made in a lawfull excuse to abandon the ancient allies and confederates of the Crowne abroad; denying succours and assistance at need; which by the Treaties solemnly sworne with them, they might expect. To this end hee had caused the protection of the Soueraignie of Sedan to be refused to the Duke of Bouillon, the which had beene alwayes held necessary for Princes; by reason of the situation and strength of the places which depend thereon. That it had beene carefully kept from *Charles* the eighth, vntill that day, with promise of assistance, and protection against all their enemies, and had beene comprehended in the Treaties of Peace betwene France and Spaine. That *Barbin* had beene so audacious, so treacherous and vnfaithfull to the King and France, as to say vnto certaine persons without exception: that they must abandon this protection; and they

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they had done Weafell and other places belonging to the fuccellion of the Duke of A Cleues.

For thefe reafons and others mentioned at large in their Declaration, they laid that they were affembled together, for the reftoring of the Kings authoritie, their foueraigne Prince and Lord, and the preferuation of the State; according to the duty they did owe vnto the Crowne, called therunto by the publique clamours; preffed by the violence and feeling they had of the common miferie, and the neceffitie of their priuate preferuation, againft the confpiracie and pernicious defignes of the Marfhall *D'Ancre* and his adherents: againft whom as troublers of the peace and tranquillitie of the Realme; breakers of the publique faith, and enemies of the State and Houfe of France, B they opposed their iuft Armes, and againft them alone. Inuiting all true-hearted Frenchmen, by the naturall bond which they owe vnto the Kings feruice; the preferuation of their Country, and their common libertie, to ioyne with them, and to affist and fauour them in their neceffarie defence.

After this, the King fent a declaration to the Court of Parliament, enioyning them to proceede againft the Dukes of Neuers, Vendofme, Mayenne, Bouillon; the Marquis of Crauure, and Prefident *Le Ioy*, with all rigour, and againft their memorie and pofteritie, according to the Lawes: commanding them to confiscate and vnite feaparably vnto the Crowne, the Duchies, Earledomes, Seigneuries and Lands which they held within his Realme, and Countreies of his obedience; the which was verified by C the Court.

Wce will now returne to the exploits of Warre. On the one and twentieth of March the Baron of Heurteuau was beheaded in Paris. Hee thought not to die, and could hardly refolute. They faid hee had beene accufed to haue had a defigne to furprize a place in Normandie for the Princes, and that vnderhand hee had leauied Souldiers. The King had made Proclamation throughout all France, not to leaue any Souldiers without commiffion vnder his Great Seale, vpon paine of high Treafon.

The Prouofts Marfhall likewife in many parts of France, hanged vp as many fouldiers as they found in Armes, which were not vnder Capitaines with the Kings Commiffion, which kept many at home that would haue gone to ferue the Princes; who D were alfo reported not be strong enough to keepe the field vnill their Retiers were come vnto Sedan: all which was done to hinder the fuccours of fuch as were willing to ioyne with them.

On the twelfth of March, there went fixe Cannons, and ten Companies of the Regiment of the Guard from Paris vnto the Kings Armie, commanded by the Cont *D'Auuergne*, which he had affembled about Creffie in Valois.

The Duke of Mayenne who was retired to Soiffons where hee prepared for a Siege, iffued out with good numbers of horfe and foote to furprize *Monfieur de Robans* quarter, which was in *Villiers Cofterets*, which to effect, hee left his foot on the foreft neere adioyning, to fauour his retreat, and with his horfe charged and forced their entry, where after they had rifled the Stables, finding the Kings people to haue taken the alarme, and ready on horfebacke to receiue them, hee retired vnder couert of the foreft, and his foot companies vnto Soiffons, with the loffe of fixe of his company, and as many prifoners.

The foure and twentieth of the laid moneth, the Caffe of Pierefont was inuefted by the Earle of Auuergne. It was commanded by Capitaine *Villeneufue* and the two brethren of Malortis, for the Marquis of Crauure. It was thought this Siege would haue continued three moneths: for that during the League this Caffe had endured eleven hundred Cannon fhoot without breach making. At the first, the befieged made fhew of refiftance: but feeing themfelves battered with foure Cannons (with which their defences were beaten downe, their Port broken, and fome little breach made) F they beought themfelves of compofition.

Capitaine *Villeneufue* came forth on the first of Aprill to falute the Earle of Auuergne; and on Sunday the fecond of the moneth, the befieged parlyed and were licensed to retire with their Armes and baggage, which they did at eight of the elocke that night.

The feuen and twentieth of March two great veffels laden with twenty Cannons and great quantitie of all forts of Munition, parted from Paris, to goe vp the Riuier of

Heurteuau beheaded.

Many fouldiers hanged by Marfhall law for being in armes.

The Duke of Mayenne enterprife vpon Villiers Cofterets.

Pierefont be sieged and yielded to the Cont of auvergne.

Preparation to be sieged Soiffons.

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A of Oyle to Compeigne, and from thence to the Siege of Soiffons, whither (it was faid) the King would goe: but vpon the Remonftrances and requests of the chiefe Companies and body of the Towne of Paris, (although the Collonell of his guard was already gone) it was concluded, that his Maieftie fhould ftill remaine at Paris, and not goe to the Siege. About this time newes was brought the King, that the Marfhall of Montigny had taken many places in Niuernois, and Douzibis into the Kings obedience, and that hee had seized on the perfon of the Prince of Portian, fecond Sonne to the Duke of Neuers.

The first of Aprill the King had newes of the rendring of Chateau Portian. The Duke of Guife hauing taken Richecour and Rozoy, hee went on the fifteenth of March to inueft Chateau Portian: hee planted a batterrie of foure Pieces, and diſcharged ſome Volleys of ſhot, which did not much amaze the befieged. The Seigneur of *Ville aux bois* being Gouverneur (feeing himſelfe befieged) gaue aduertifement to the Duke of Neuers, being at Rethel two leagues off, who prefently ſent two hundred Wallons, which entered as the batterrie began, which continued vnill fome of their Ordnance were ſpoiled; fo as the Duke of Guife was forced to ſend to Chalons and Rheims for more Cannon. The befieged were ſtill relieued with men, victuall, and munition from Rethel, by reaſon of the paſſage of the Riuier. The Duke attempting to force the Suburbs by Pettarde, and failing, he continued his batterrie, where hauing made a reaſonable breach, the ſouldiers retired into the Caſtle, and the towne was yielded by the inhabitants; and the next day the Caſtle demanded Parley, and yielded the ſame vpon certaine Articles: to the Duke: and among others, That they ſhould depart with their Armes, Baggage, Drummes beating, Matches light; and Bullets in their mouthes, and their enſignes wrapped vp.

The D. of Guife being aduertifed on the first of Aprill, that there was three hundred horſe and ſome foot of the Princes, lodged in the ſuburbs of Laon, called *Vaufoulan* and thereabouts, he reſolued to charge them, although it were fixe leagues off. Hee parced about fixe of the clock in the evening with foure hundred horſe, an hundred Carabins; and the Company of his guards; Hee came neere to Laon at two of the elocke after mid night; commanding ten of his Guards, twenty Carabins, and an hundred Light horſe to D laue their horſes, he gaue them charge to force the first Barricado of the ſuburbs, where they ſlew the Sentinell, and recovered the place of Armes without any refiſtance. This ſurprize by night amazed the Princes men, who retired into the Towne after ſome loſſe on either ſide.

The King being aduertifed that there were certaine Capitaines of the reformed Religion which leauied men in the country of Seuennes for the Princes, which ſhould croſſe Velay, Viuaraſ, Foreſt, and Bourbonnois, to come into Niuernois, the Seigneur of Saint Chaumont had commiſſion from the King to leaue troopes of horſe and foot in the Country of Lionois and the neighbour Prouinces, to ioyne with the Marſhall of Montignies Armie. But it was thought theſe ſuccours of Seuennes were too farre E from Neuers, and would goe to ſmoake, as they did.

The Prince of Guinille was ſent into his gouernment of Auuergne, to leaue troopes to haue an eye to the praedices which were made in the countries of Marſh, baſis Lymosin; and the neighbour Prouinces by the Duchefſe of Bouillon, who ſolicited a generall aſſembly of them of the Religion, to incite them to take Annes. And in the end of March, the King was aduertifed that many of the Religion ſent as Deputies of fixe Prouinces, had met at Roſchel, and had reſolued to hold a generall Aſſembly of all their Churches; and ſhat they would fend their Deputies to his Maieſtie ſome time. Theſe Deputies had no good answer in Court, yet notwithstanding they continued their reſolution; for the which they publiſhed certaine reaſons which I may not ſet downe in F particular.

The breaches of Chateau Portian being repaired, the Armie advanced on the eighth of Aprill towards Rethel, a great Towne, well peopled, and rich, as the Capitall of the whole Duchie, the which the Duke had manned with a ſtrong Garriſon. They made their approaches, planted their batterries; and had made a ſufficient breach, meaning to give an aſſault the next day. But the Duke of Neuers hearing in what ſtate the Towne ſtood, ſent the Seigneur of Marolles vnto the Duke of Guife, to make certaine propoſitions vnto him, to hinder the ſpoile and

Chateau Portian befieged and yielded.

The Duke of Guife charged the Princes troopes in the ſuburbs of Laon.

Leuies of men in Seuennes for the Princes.

Relief beſieged and yielded.

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ruine of this Towne. The Duke of Guise gave a willing ear vnto it at fixe of the clocke at night; and gave him leave to enter into *Reibel* the next morning, to acquaint the souldiers with what he had charge from the Duke of Nevers; appointing him to returne by noone; and in the meane time there was a truce. At the returne of *Monsieur de Capitu*lation was made, and the towne yielded vpon very honorable conditions.

Troopes coming out of Germany.

The King receiuing aduertisement that the Reiters which came for the Princes, vpon the Marshall of *Bouillons* credit, were entered into Lorraine, being about 1200, with eight hundred Carabins, either of them carying two short Muskets: and that they of the Count *Kingrue*, which the Earle of Saint Chomberg Natleuil had leauied for the King with certaine Lands Kenets, advanced towards the frontiers; the Duke of Guise B retieued commandement to goe and receiue them; and to hinder the entry of the Princes Reiters into France.

Reasons why the King resolues to besiege Soissons.

Their Majesties resolved to besiege Soissons; for the which they pretended some reasons: For that the Duke of Mayenne after the losse of Pierrefont had no place of retreat on this side the Riuier of Aisne but Soissons. As for Noyon, Cousy, and Chauny, which are the threetownes of his Gouvernement, which hee held beyond the Riuier of Aisne, Soissons being taken, they had not beene able to resist the Kings forces; but would come and submit themselves to his obedience. To goe first and besiege one of the other three places, they should giue the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Princes meane to ioyne together in Soissons, from whence they might vpon all occasions attempt vpon the Kings Aunie, and make roades to the gates of Paris.

Soissons besieged.

The Princes being assured, that their resolution in Councell was to besiege Soissons: they fortified it with what horse and foot they could. The Duke of Vendosme sent him his Inginer with two hundred Souldiers. Finally, the Duke of Mayenne resolved to defend it with 1200 foot, and about three hundred horse. The Earle of Auvergne invested the Towne on the twelfth of April. Hee tooke his quarter on the other side of the Riuier of Aisne neere *Saint Val*, which they of Soissons during the League called their Citadell, being diuided from the Towne by the Riuier, and defended with three great Bastions, Trenches and halfe Moones. On the other side of the Riuier where D Soissons stands, he lodged the foot and horse; as well French as Liegeois (which were sent by the Marshall *D'Ancre*).

During the siege the Duke of Mayenne, with some troopes of horse and foot, went forth by night with two pieces of Ordnance, and forced one of their quarters: where they slue fifty men, disarmed the rest, and tooke many prisoners with three ensignes; then hauing burnt the quarter called *Presle*, they returned into the Towne; *Monsieur de Mayenne* carying with him *Bussy Lamet*, his three Ensignes, and about two hundred Souldiers, hauing lost but eight of his owne. This Militarie exploit was much commended euen by his enemies. The continuall raine had much annoyed the besiegers; yet they continued their trenches in such sort, and so restrained the besieged, as they imagined Soissons might bee taken: the Earle of Auvergne hauing planted two and twenty Cannons in diuers places; so as in all mens opinions Soissons could not hold out long.

The clouds were gathered together, and the storme ready to fall vpon the Princes, who had nothing left them but despair, and the integrity of their intentions, which they protested to be innocent. But God who holds the hearts of Kings in his hand, and gouernes the motions of these inferior Orbes at his pleasure, had resolved in his diuine Councell to crosse these great designs, and to quench the fire of these ciuill combustions, when there was least hope of quenching it: but with the ruine of the Princes; whose honors were blenished with the flourish of Edicts; their persons and liues exposed to the rigour of the lawes, and their Lands and Seigneuries confiscated and vntied to the reuenges of the Crowne. But God (I say) meaning to free France from this ciuill warre wherein it was engaged, and could not be ended but with the losse of many great personages, who had resolved (as they said) to dye in their Armes at a breach; rather then to fall vnder the tyrannie of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, changed the face of the affaires of France in the twinkling of an eye, by the death of the said Marshall, which hapned on the 24 of April about ten of the clocke in the morning.

The

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A The Marshall *D'Ancre* being gone into Normandy, as well to finish his fortifications at Quille-boeuf, as to pursue the verification of his gift of a wood of timber trees, fought by all meanes to draw vnto him the Nobility, the Kings officers, and all such as he thought might any way assist him. Some could not loue him, others following the course of the time did adhere vnto him: whereupon the children of Rouen in counterfeiting him, said one to another, *Sir loue me and I will doe you fauour*: But vpon three points, that is to say, 1. The refusal he had of the verification of his gift of Timber trees, against the which *Monsieur de Fleury* great Master of the Waters and Forests of Normandy opposed himselfe. 2. Vpon that he fought to establish a Master of Requests intendant of the Iustice B within Rouen. And 3. Vpon a report that he meant to put one of his creatures into the old Palace at Rouen, and to repaire Saint Katherins Fort; they write that he was aduertised to beware of the Lectany, *Afurore Normannorum*: whereunto hee answered, *I will make them ease their fingers which shall contradict my will*. Whereupon being at Pontcaudemer neere to Quille-boeuf, vpon an aduice which he receiued from Paris, that he should returne speedily to Court, he tooke his journey, and leauing Rouen, past at Pont de Larche. Being arrived at Paris, his people spake openly, that he was come for two reasons; first, to remove from about his Majesty many persons in whom he did not trust, and to place others which should be confident vnto him: and secondly, to haue Letters of commandement to verifie his gift of timber.

The Marshall D'Ancre goes from Quille-boeuf to Paris.

C The King, who for the reasons specified in Letters to the Gouvernors, had made shew to be ignorant of the Marshalls designs, was againe aduertised, that passing at Pont de Larche, he had offered the Gouvernement of some places in Normandy to certaine Captaines; so as they would take an oath to befor him against all men, without this exception, *saufesse I se a commandement cede from the King*. They also shewed him Letters written to the Marshall by his confident, whereby he found that their designe was onely to entertaine warre in France; to continue their authority in the Gouvernement of the State which they vsurped. Kings should not doe any thing without counsell, especially in matters of consequence. The French Histories report, that King Henry the great sayd vnto his Councell, *Do not make me seize on the Marshall of Biran, if you doe not hold him D worthy of death*. So the King said vnto them which shewed him these Letters, *Before I cause this man to be apprehended, take aduice of such, and let me know it*. They deliuered their aduice vnto the King; that for the good of his Estate, he should take knowledge of his affaires. They sayd, that the voyce of the people against the said Marshall, was the best and most faithfull counsell a King could haue, to resolve himselfe in an action of that importance: and that the time and occasion seemed to fauour this artekt. At the end the King resolves, and commands the Seigneur of Vitry Capitaine of the Guards of his bodie; to seize vpon the Marshall *D'Ancre*, and to cause assistance in case of resistance: Finally, that he should take him alive or dead. The difficulty of the execution was, first, for the great traine of Noblemen which did still accompanie the Marshall, besides his E household seruants, with twelue of his Guard, who were souldiers of action of five and thirty or forty yeares of age, attired in his livery, and were alwayes about him, were hee in Caroch or on foot. Secondly, the place where he should be apprehended: and thirdly, to know the hour and time of his comming to the Louure. They resolved that he could not be more conueniently arrested, then betwixt the great gate of the Louure and the Court, wherethe passage is long and narrow, when they haue past the draw-bridge. The Marshall *D'Ancre* was lodged neere vnto the wals of the Louure without the Castle, towards the Riuier side. Some dayes were spent betwene the resolution and the execution. One day he tooke Physicke; another, he came not out of his Cabinet: so as you may easily iudge if they did not feare the enterprise had bene discovered: the dispatche had F during that time with his wife, with the question some asked him, what reception he had of the King, made many thinke that he had some aduertisement of the enterprise, but without they did beleue that it could not be executed.

The King resolves to seize vpon the Marshall D'Ancre.

On Monday the 24 of April, about ten of the clocke in the morning, the Marshall *D'Ancre* leauing his lodging, came on foot to the Louure, being followed after his accustomed manner: the great gate of the Louure was opened for him, and thus againe as soone as he was entered. *Monsieur de Vitry* (who was at the entry of the Court, with his followers and Archers which should assist him) seeing the great gate open, demanded who entered:

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Marshall D'Ancre being slain, going into the Loure.

entred & they came and told him it was the Marshall *D'Ancre*: whereupon he aduanced presently (being assisted by his followers armed with Pistols) to meet him, and coming to the entry of the inner bridge, presenting his staffe, he sayd vnto him, *I arrest you in the Kings name*: whereat the Marshall stepping backe, as if he would resist, sayd, *Me? which they who accompanied Monsieur Vitry seeing, discharged three Pistols vpon him*; the one strucke through his heart, the second into his braines, and the third into his belly, so as he fell downe dead without speaking word. A Nobleman also close by him talking with him, fell downe on the other side, but was not hurt; they which did accompany him slipt away, seeing him dead. This being done, he was carryed halfe dragged into the Porters lodge: his goodly scarfe, and his rich Diamond, with whatsoever he had good about him, were soone laid hold on. The noyse of the three Pistoll shot put the whole Loure into alarme: the gates were presently shut, and they which commanded the companies of the French Guard, seized vpon all the approaches vnto the Loure. According to that which had bene resolved, there was a generall cry of *God saue the King*, through the whole Loure. In the meane time *Monsieur de Vitry* went vnto the King, and his Maiesty receiving him with a good eye, and embracing him, sayd, *God giue order that the mischiefe fall on none but himselfe*: therewith the King was entreated to shew himselfe at the window to the Nobility, and others which were in the Court, who desired to see him: he shewed himselfe with his hat in his hand, the which made them to renew their acclamations; so as the Noblemen which were about him were forced to cry *O the King thanks to you*. And this was all which past at the Marshall *D'Ancre*s death.

By the Kings commandment the Seigneurs of Villeroy, and President Lannin came presently to the Loure. *Monsieur de Liancourt* went to horse to take order for the City gates, and to tell the people that the King was in health, because there had bene a brute which ran through Paris like lightning, that there had bene a tumult at the Loure, in the which the King was hurt. Those which accompanied him, told every man that the Marshall *D'Ancre* was slain, whereat the people seemed to reioyce. *Monsieur D'Ornano* hauing also commandment to take some Archers & to go & aduertise the Court of Parliament, he came soone after they were risen: the Archers coming into the great Hall with their Pistols about their heads, and crying, *God saue the King*, it was strange to see how the multitude was amazed, every one seeking to flye out of the doores, one falling vpon another, so as they stopped the passage. *Monsieur D'Ornano* went to the first President, and told him what had hapned at the Loure, whereupon he went with two other Councillors to Court, where he vnderstood the Kings pleasure. As soone as the newes of the Marshall *D'Ancre*s death was knowne in the Palace Hall, there was such acclamations of ioy, as they which had lost their square caps and hats in falling, rising vp againe cryed, *God be thanked we haue a peace*. *Monsieur Mangot* came to the Loure by the Kings commandment, to deliuer the Seales into his hands. *Barbin* was met vpon the way, and caried backe to his house, and there guarded by certaine Archers, and afterwards committed to the For-l'Euêque. The Bishop of Luçon was commanded to keepe his lodging. The Marshall *D'Ancre*s wife was brought prisoner to the Loure, and put into the same roome where the Prince of Conde was lodged vpon his first arrest. Two of the Councill of State were appointed to take an Inventory of the Marshalls goods, and two other for *Barbins*: and for his papers.

The Kings Letters to the Gouernours of Provinces touching the Marshalls death.

The same day the King sent Letters to the Gouernours of Provinces, to aduertise them of the Marshall *D'Ancre*s death, and of the reasons: For that since his fathers death, the said Marshall and his wife abusing his Nomage, and the power which they had gotten with the Queene his Mother, had proiected to vsurpe all the authority, to dispose absolutely of his Estate, and to deprivate him of the meanes to take knowledge thereof: so as he had nothing remaining but the bare name of King; and that it was a capitall crime for his officers and subiects to see him in priuate, or to entertaine him with any serious discourse. That God letting him see the imminent danger of his person and State by that vnrestrained ambition, if he should haue made any shew to apprehend it; he had bene forced to dissemble his inward resolution by his exterior actions, vntill that God by his bounty should prepare him meanes and opportunity to prevent it. And withall considering that besides the danger of his person, the publicke hatred they bare to the Government of those men, had so altered and incited the minds of his Subiects, as a generall confusion

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A was to be feared, if he deferred it any longer. For which iust considerations, he had commanded *Monsieur de Vitry* to seize vpon the said Marshall, who being wonderfully well followed, and seeking to make resistance, was there shot and slaine. That he had caused his wife and some of his instruments to be committed, and had entreated the Queene his mother to rest contented if he did hereafter hold the Helme of his owne Estate, and seeke to raise it from those extremities wherinto the bad counsell she had followed had plunged it. In the end he entreated them to giue notice of this action throughout their Governments, and of the reasons which had induced him thereunto.

The body of the Marshall being taken out of the Porters Hall, was all that afternoon in the little Tennis-court of the Loure, vntill nine of the clocke at night, that it was commanded to be buried at Saint Germans of l'Auxerois. He was wound vp in a course foule Table-cloth, tyed at both ends with a riband; he was carryed without light or prayers, but very low, there being but a Priest, the Clerke, and Graue-maker present; they laid him vnder the Organs, and his Coffin vpon him, and then plaistred vp his graue, so as there was no shew that any had bene intombed there: the next day about tenne of the clocke, about three hundred Lackayes, with a multitude of people, came to S. Germans Church, where vnderstanding the Marshall had bene interred vnder the Organs, they found meanes (whilest the Chanoins were gone in procession) to open the ground, where they tooke out the coeter of a Coffin of wood, and finding nothing within it, they thought themselves deceived of their hope: but hauing notice giuen them that the body was vnderneath it, they tooke out the Coffin, where they found it groueling; then they began to draw it out, crying, Come out Cullion: hauing vnburied him, they dragged him to the end of the new Bridge, and there hung him by the feet vpon an old gibbet: hanging thus, they cut off his nose, eares, hands, and members; others trucke him with their Swords and Staues: they pulled off hayre and beard, and after he had hung there halfe an houre, they tooke him downe, and dragged him through the streets, striking him with staues, and crying *God saue the King*: and if any as they passed put not off their hats, they compelled them with blowes to cry, *God saue the King*. Some laughed at all this, others blamed this action although they were glad of his death: Thus they dragged him to the Bastille, then drew him backe to the Vniuersity, and from thence to the Suburbs of Saint Germans, where they beganne to burne the body before his owne house with straw, and some few faggots they had snatched vp as they went along; but being angry that it burned not according to their wils, they dragged him againe to the new bridge, forcing the Merchants, which had wood vpon the Wharves, to giue them some to make an end of burning this miserable carcasse. They made all the Princesses, Ladies, and Gentlewomen which passed by to vnmaske themselves and cry, *God saue the King*, forcing them to giue money to buy wood: the like they did to the Princes and Noblemen. In the end seeing the bones were long before they were consumed, they cast them into the Riuer.

On Saint Markes day there was a Proclamation made by sound of Trumpet, whereby all the Marshall *D'Ancre*s seruants were enjoyned to depart out of Paris within foure and twenty houres, vpon paine of death: And the same day her Brother, who by his fauour had bene aduanced to the Archbishopspricke of Towers, the Abbey of Marmoutier, and many other Benefices, fearing the fury of the multitude, escaped by the backe gate of the Colledge where he was lodged, and retired himselfe into a Monastery. His Armes were afterwards taken downe from about the Colledge gate, and those of the Cheuallier of Vendosme set vp as Abbot of Marmoutier.

The new Councillors which had gouerned the State for the space of five moneths, were either guarded in their lodgings, or committed to prison, the King finding for all the ancient Officers of the State, who had bene displaced by the Marshall *D'Ancre*s meanes, to come vnto him, and to execute their places. The first day of Councill being the 27 of April, they which were in the Court of the Loure, seeing the Chancellor of Sillery, the Seigneurs of Villeroy and Lannin, *Monsieur du Pair*, Keeper of the Seales, with *Chasteau-neuf*, and others come forth, they blest the King, hoping that his reigne would be happy, seeing he began by the establishment of his Councill, and that he would not employ any but such as had faithfully serued the Kings and State.

The same day the Earle of Suze came to the Court, and presented vnto the King the keyes of Soissons, which the Duke of Mayen had sent. They vnderstood from him, that

Indignities done to the body of the Marshall D'Ancre by the people.

The ancient Councillors of State reduced.



the Duke having received newes of the Marshalls death, that day in the evening, he gave thanks to God, being upon the Rampiers, and advertised the besiegers thereof, who joyfully received the newes: That the next day he had given entry to all those of the Kings Army that would come into Soissons: That they had generally made Bonfires: That there was now no difference among them, visiting and embracing one another lovingly: That the Duke prepared to come to serve his Majesty, with the Dukes of Nevers and Vendosme, who had entreated him to stay for them: That he was about to dismiss his troops, beseeching the King to command his Army about Soissons to retire. Upon the same day the Duke of Longueville (who in this last warre had not leaved armes, neither had he come to Court in regard of the private quarrell between him and the Marshall *D'Ancre*) came from Picardy to Paris, and went to salute the King. Nine dayes after he married the young Lady of Soissons.

The Queens  
mother retired  
to Blois.

Upon the fourth of May, the Queene Mother parted from the Louvre to goe to Blois, wel attended by her servants and Guard: many Princesses and Ladies conducted her unto Burg la Roine. Some write, that the King came into her Chamber to bid her farewell, to whom he vied this speech, *Madam, I come hither to take my leave of you, and to assure you that I will have a care of you as of my mother: I have desired to ease you of the paines you have taken in my affaires: It is my resolution not to suffer any one but my selfe to command within my Realme. I have given order for that which is necessary for your voyage, and commanded La Curie to accompany you: you shall hear from me at your coming to Blois: Adieu Madam.* The Queene Mother having made a great obeysance unto the King, the said something unto him touching the care which he had taken of his person and affaires during her Regency, desiring him to remember her paines and travail, and that he was his Mother. Whereupon the King kissed her, and with a great reverence tooke his leave, and retired. The same day the King, Queene, and Monsieur, with a great troop of Nobles, went to Bois de Vincennes, where they continued eight dayes. The Dukes of Vendosme, Nevers, and Mayenne, came upon Ascension day thither, and did their duties to his Majesty.

The Princess  
came unto the  
King.

*De Trauvail*, who had beene committed to For-<sup>r</sup> Euesque, was by the Kings commandement sent unto the Congerery of the Palace, where he was confronted with the Seigneurs of Luynes and Breffieux, and upon the tenth of May hee was broken upon the wheele, & his body burnt at the Greue, and this was his sentence: *Alfonse de Trauvail*, born at Grenoble, for having attempted against the life of the Queene the Kings mother, is attainted and convicted of Treason, and condemned by the Court of Parliament, to have his members broken, his body and proceffe burnt, the ashes to be cast into the winde, and his goods to be confiscate to the King. They which had knowne him, sayd, That he was a man of bad life: that having bene of the Reformed Religion, and a Soldier to the age of thirty yeares, he made himselfe a Catholicke, and then a Capuchin; but the Capuchins discovering his lewd life, had chased him away, and taken the habit from him in a Prouincial Chapter: that since, he had bene a spy in Sauoy, and unto his dying day a Bawd, a corrupter and feller of virgins: finally, that the least of his offences were a number of murders, at the which he had assisted. He commonly caried vnder his cassoche a short sword, broad, and well pointed, and had the shew of a bold yndertaker. Going to his death, he had a smiling countenance, and seemed like one that had his spirits transported, for as loone as it was read, he rose vp, and thrusting forth his arme hee said unto them, seele my pulse, and see if there bee any alteration in mee since I heard my sentence of death.

The Kings  
Declaration in  
fauour of the  
Princes.

On the twelfth of May, there was a Declaration made in fauour of the Princes which had absented themselves from the King, during this last ciuill warre: Shewing that the ready obedience which the Princes and others which had assisted them, had yielded to his commandements, gaue a sufficient testimony that the only desire of their preferuation, and to prevent their ruine which was practised by the insolent, violent, and pernicious designs of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, had forced them to retire themselves, and so seek their safety by armes (although vnlawfull) for that the said Marshall (contrary to his intention) had made vse of his Force to oppress them: But being sufficiently informed of their good intentions towards him and his Realme, and of the desire they had to employ their

A their lides for the maintenance of his government and authority, and that they were displeased to have laboured so long, or done any act contrary to their duties: having protested that they would neuer have attempted it, if they had not beene forced to avoid the total ruine of themselves and their Families, out of his Clemency and royall bounty, entreating them favourably in pardoning their faults which they had committed. Hee declared that he held the said Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, and all which had assisted them, for his good and royall Subjects and Retainers: And that he would have the remembrance of what had happened in these last alterations suppressed and abolished: Provided, that they should continue themselves within the bounds of their duty and respect, and that they should presently renounce all leagues and associations both within and without the Realme: in regard whereof he restored them to all their lands, goods, honors, dignities, charges, Estates, offices, and pensions, to enjoy them as they had formerly done.

Thus the third Ciuill warre had an end. The Kings Forces were dismissed. The Earle of Amurgen, who commanded the Army before Soissons, returned to Court the eighteenth of May, and the same day President *Le Jay* went to the Parliament. The Deputies of the Assembly of them of the Reformed Religion at Rochel, coming to Court, the King gaue them this answer by his Chancellor: Follow those courses which all good Subjects ought to hold in that which they desire to obtaine from their King: Prepare your Petitions and Grievances with all speed, and when as you have chosen Deputies to present them to his Majesty, dissolve your Assembly, and let every man returne into his Provinces, and the King promisseth to answer your Grievances favourably in all that shall be conformable to reason and iustice. Upon the two and twentieth of May, the King made *Monſieur* the Viry Marshall of France, and he was received by the Parliament of Paris, being accompanied thither by a goodly troop of Noblemen: and presently after, the Duke of Guise having discharged part of the Army, and put the rest into garrison, returned to Paris.

The Kings For-  
ces dismiss.

The Governors and Captaines which the Marshall *D'Ancre* had put into the Castles and Fortresses of Caen, Quille-bouff, Alencon, Verneuil, Falaise, Pont de Larche, and other Townes of Normandy, having given over their places and charges upon their first summons, into their hands whom the King had sent with commission to that end: All France beganne to enjoy general peace, and Justice and the Lawes to haue force and authority. And the King having resolved to proceed against the memory of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, and against his wife and their adherents, by the ordinary course of Justice, hee gaue commandement to three Councellers of State, being Masters of the Requests, to informe against the Marshalls wife, and to examine their officers and household servants, the which hee beganne in the Louvre on the 26 of April, and on the 2 of May hee was conducted to the Bastile, where they continued their examinations; which being finished, they sent it to the Court of Parliament, who having proceeded in the proceffe, there was brought on the 11 of May to the Congerery, at which change shee was somewhat amazed, and for that they had left her but two Archers to guard her. The chiefe charges in the proceffe were collected into foure heads: The first was treason against God: The second, Treason diuine and humane mixt: The third was Treason against the King: And the fourth was the murder committed upon the person of *Prouille*, Sergeant Maior of Amiens. The Sentence did import, That in regard of the impieties of *Concilio Conchini*, in his life time Marquis *D'Ancre*, Marshall of France, and of *Leonora Galigai* his widow, their enterprises against the Kings authority and his Estate, secret negotiations with strangers, casting of Arillery, changing the Kings Armes, and setting his owne upon the said Peeces, employing the publicke Treasure to their owne private profit, and transporting it out of the Realme without the Kings permission, as also for the murder of *Prouille*, Sergeant Maior of Amiens, they were condemned as guilty of diuine and humane Treason, and for reparation, the memory of the said *Conchini* condemned for euer, and *Galigai* to lose her head, and her body to be burnt, and all their lands to bee incorporated to the Crowne, his house to be razed, and his kids which did not hold of the Crowne, to bee sold, and the money to be put into the Kings Coffers: *Prouilles* widow had 2400 pound sterling, adidged her out of his goods confiscated, one third part for her selfe, the other two parts for her children; and likewise there was to be extracted out of his confiscation 4000 pound sterling for a fine, to be employed in pious vles, the reliefe of prisoners, and other

Places in Nor-  
mandy which  
the Marshall  
held, delivered  
to the King.

The sentence  
of the Parli-  
ment against  
the Marshall  
*D'Ancre* and his  
wife.

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other necessities. His Secretaries *Vincens Ladouici* and *Anthony Mananbert*, were let A at liberty, with charge to prevent themselves when the Court should call for them.

Vpon the eight of Iuly, sentence of death being given against her, it was resolved she should dye the same day: in the afternoon the Porter (according to custome) brought her vp into the Chappell, where the Iudges would question her, and laid vnto her, *Gowve Madam*, this is the last time, you shall goe from hence this day: Shee dreamed not of death, thinking she should be only banished, so as she went reasonably well pleased from her chamber to the Chappell; where entering, and seeing they commanded her to pull off her maske, she beganne to enter into an apprehension, saying, *What a world of people!* for indeed the Chappell was wonderfull full. The Register coming to her, willed her to prepare her selfe to heare her sentence: they caused her to kneele downe, and as soone as she was vnderstood, *And the Lord Galigai to haue her head stricke off vpon a scaffold*, these stood vp and cryed out, *Ay me, I am with child*: so as they could not make her to heare the rest of her sentence.

The execution  
of the Marshall  
of Anvers wile.

The Executioner presently seized vpon her person, and foure Diuines came to comfort her: they also sent for some certaine Midwives and Surgeons to search her, for that she pretended to be with child, which was but counterfeite. After this, shee was conducted to the place of execution, where she spied a faine of a Gentleman belonging to the Commander of Silery, whom she called often by his name, and entreated him to tell the Chancellor and the Commander, that she prayed them to forgive her, for that she had greatly wronged and persecuted them: making him with instance, promise C not to forget her entreaty. Being vpon the Scaffold, she entreated all men to forgive her whom she had offended, telling the Register, that what she had layd against the Chancellor when she enioyed the Queene mothers fauour, was not true: After this preparing her selfe for death, her head was stricke off, and both it and the body cast into the fire and burnt.

Some haue written, That her name was *Leonora Dory*, and that she had taken the surname of *Galigai* but since her coming into France. That her Father was a Ioyner, one of those who after the manner of Florence, went vp and downe to seeke worke with his tools: That she was not foster sister to the Queene mother, as it was supposed: That at the age of tenne yeares she was taken to serue the Marquis of Struiz and the Queene mother, who was then but Princeesse of Florence, seeing her of a quicke spirit and a iouiall humour, would haue her seruice. D

French Pyrates  
in the mouth of  
the Riuer  
of Garonne.

On the eight of Iune, the Seigneur of Bartaulf, Vice Admirall of Guienne, had a great fight at Sea with diuers Pyrates, whose names were *Blanquet, Gaillard, Trechou, and Panteville*, who commonly retired themselves into the Islands, and about Rochel, being resolved to make themselves masters of the mouth of Garonne, and to rob all Ships that went and came to Bourdeaux. Hauing drawne together foure Ships, and foule great Pinaces, with the which they lay in the mouth of the Riuer neere vnto Royan, where they began to molest all passengers. The Parliament of Bourdeaux being informed hereof, they sent to the Marquis of Aubeterre, Gouernor of Blay, and to *Candely* Gouernor of Royan, to summon them to serue the King against these Pyrates: finding them well disposed, they fought to speake with *Blanquet*, but could not. Whereupon they went to Rochel, where the Mayor and Sheriifes protested they were very sory that *Blanquet* Ships had bene rigged in their Haueu; notwithstanding, they were ready to serue the King against him and his adherents: And withall they sent one of their Sheriifes with Letters of credit both from the Towne and the Princeesse Dowager of Conde, (who was then there) to draw him to his duty, hauing in his company *Laumont* an Exempt of the Scottish Guard. Being aboard *Blanquet* Ship, *Laumont* commanded him to cease his exactions, and to retire himselfe speedily, deliuering him also a Letter from the first President of Bourdeaux, full of good admonitions: But *Blanquet* answer and his companions F was full of contempt against the King, his Iustice, and the Mayor and Sheriifes of Rochel, vsing also great threats against the towne of Bourdeaux. *Laumont* hauing made his report at Bourdeaux, the businesse was propounded in Parliament in the presence of the D. of Elperton and the Marshall of Roqueleure, where it was resolved, that they should speedily arme some ships to set vpon these Pyrates, and that the charge should be given to *Bartaulf*, Vice Admirall of Guienne. Whereupon he made choice of nine Ships and Pinaces, which being armed, manned, and victualled, they fell downe before the Towne of Blay.

The Vice Admirall  
of Guienne goes to  
Sea against the  
Pirates.

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A Blay. Hauing receiued directions from their Admirall, as well for the fight as for the conduct of 150 great Merchants Ships which followed them to be defended from those Pyrates, they set saile towards the Port of Royan, right against the which *Blanquet* lay with foure Ships and foure great Pinaces: who perceiving that they made towards them, weighed Anchor and put to Sea; the Vice Admirall still following them, vntill the night approaching, and a tempest, forced him to cast Anchor.

On the eight of Iune, the Vice Admirall hauing conducted the Merchants nine or ten Leagues into the Sea, and hearing that *Blanquet* with his Ships had gotten into the Riuer of Sudre, which was of hard access, and dangerous for great Ships; hee thought they could not now auoid the Combat. Whereupon he called for the Pilots, employing them which had most frequented that Riuer to make the way, when as suddenly the winde and tyde were fauourable vnto them, so as within a short space, the Pyrates discovered the Kings Fleet coming towards them with full sayles, whereupon they cut their Cables, and hoysed vp sayles to get to Sea: But *Blanquet* Ship, which was the first, fell presently aground, not being able to recouer the Current by reason of the violence of the winde. Three others being about a Cannon shot off had the like fortune. These bad beginnings amazed some of their Souldiers and Mariners, so as they sought to saue themselves by swimming, and in their Boats. *Blanquet*, on the other side (thinking that the Vice Admirall would also runne aground, or cast Anchor, for that he could not come neere him by reason of the contrary winde, and shallownesse of the water) prepared himselfe courageously to fight: and hauing giuen order for all things, hee shewed himselfe armed in the fore-castle. The Vice Admirall cast Anchor neere vnto him; there were two other Ships came within Cannon shot to set vpon the other Ships which were runne on ground, and presently the rest of the Fleet followed to charge those they found in front. The Vice Admirall set vpon *Blanquet*, and came within twenty paces of him, but could approach no nearer, lest he should haue runne on ground: The fight was very furious for aboute an houres space: in the end, the Vice Admirall sent a Captaine with some souldiers to board *Blanquet*, the which they performed resolutely, notwithstanding his great resistance; where he was taken, being hurt in the left arme with a splinter, with fixteene of his men, D where were left vnslaine, being all caried to the Vice Admirals Ship, *Gaillard*, one of the Pyrate Capitaines, was taken at Land flying away, and caryed backe to the Vice Admirall: All their Ships and Pinaces were taken, being abandoned by their men, onely two got to sea.

After this, the Vice Admirall returned in triumph to Bourdeaux, with his prisoners, and fix Vessels more then hee caried forth. The Court of Parliament fell presently to worke about their proceffe, and in the end *Blanquet* and *Gaillard* were broken vpon the wheele, and their heads set vpon the Towers next to the Port, and fixteene Mariners were hanged.

About this time, the Clergy of France made their ordinary assembly at the Augustins in Paris, which they vsually doe every two yeares. The Bishop of Malcon, one of the Deputies, made an Oration vnto the King on the second of Iune, in the presence of many Princes, Dukes, Councillors, and Officers of State, which comprehended two complaints. 1. He made relation of the grieuances of the Catholics of Montpellier: and 2. hee insisted vpon the restoring of the Romish religion in the Souerainity of Bearne. Touching the first, hee sayd, That the Bishop of Montpellier desiring to reforme a small Couent of Iacobins, and to bring in good men of that Order, with the approbation of their Generall, and the authority of the Court of Parliament: The inhabitants of the Towne not onely opposed themselves, but also thrust out those which liued before in the Couent. In like manner that about the same time, the Bishop hauing (according to the duty of his charge) F provided famous Preachers for the Catholics in that towne for the time of Lent, they would not suffer them to enter, notwithstanding a Decree of his Councill, and the commandement of the Gouernour of the Province, tending to a manifest disobedience. Secondly, that in Bearne they had deprived the Catholics of the exercise of their religion, & of their Churches: that they had dispossessed the Clergy of all their goods, & had employed them to the entertainment of Ministers, pensioners of Schollers, & profane vses. Whereupon there was a Decree made in the Kings Councill, Iune 15. by the which the free exercise of the Romish Religion was restored in all the Townes, Borowes, and Villages of Bearne, and

He fights with  
them and de-  
feats them.

*Blanquet* and  
*Gaillard* broken  
on the wheele.

The Bishop of  
Malcon his  
complaint vnto  
the King.

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The Kings  
Edict touching  
the affaires of  
Bearne.

and the Clergy-men as well secular as regular, within the sayd Country, had a full release of all their Goods, Lands, Seigneuries, Tythes, Rents, Renennues, and other Rights of what nature soever, being in his Maiesties hands, without refection or exception. And in like manner he did maintaine his subiects of that Country, making profession of the reformed Religion, in the exercise thereof, and of all that depends thereon, as well for the entertainment of Ministers, Colledges, Professors, Regents, Schollers, and Poore, as for their Wages, Pensions, Almes, and Ecclesiasticall Discipline: all which being at this present assigned vpon the Reuennues of the Clergy, his Maiesty doth assigne vpon the clearest Reuennues of his Demaines, as well of the Country of Bearne, as of other Duchies, Earledomes, and Seigneuries formerly re-venited thereunto.

Remonstrance  
made by the  
Clergy to the  
King.

At the dissolving of this Assembly of the Clergy, they being accustomed to take their leave of the King before they separate themselves, and to make their Remonstrances of the disorders which might have crept into the Church; the Bishop of Ayre was deputed among other to make this Speech vnto the King.

1 Complaint.

His first complaint was against that detestable butchery (as he termed it) that infernall law of cursed Duels, which France baptized (in imitation of the Pagans) with the name of honour; but in truth, and according to the iudgement of God and his Angels, it was a rage and madness of men, the shame, contempt, and mockery of Christianity, of the Sauour of Kings, and of Diuinity it selfe. Having discoursed long vpon this subiect, hee entreated his Maiesty to giue him leave to continue his speech with as much liberty as he brought verity, loue, and fidelity. These wretches, (said he) who like enraged Lyons teare one another in pieces in Duels, sinne but once; they are onely guilty of their owne crimes; but your Maiesty (who is bound to hinder all, and to punish all) if you faile in this duty, you sinne alone with all; you make your selfe culpable for all; and will draw vpon you alone (if you doe not prevent it) a burthen of the iustice and vengeance of God, insupportable to an hundred thousand, and whose waight doth crush downe and ruine eternally. That the Church demanded not the law, but the execution of it; not by threats, but by punishment; not by a prescription which doth the sick no good, but by some wholesome letting of blood, which will stanch this flux of blood in your Estate.

1 Complaint.

The second complaint of the Church, was, That whereas his Maiesty was bound to giue D them Fathers, hegaue them Children: That the name of Abbot signified Father, and that a Bishop required more care, wisdom, affection, and fatherly authority: That notwithstanding, France was filled with Bishops and Abbots, which are yet in their Nurses armes, or vnder Regents in Colledges. Nay more, the abuse goes before their being; they are Fathers before they be Children, Abbots before they are borne, they know not yet whether they be males or females, and yet all the world knows they are crowned with Miters: monstrous Hermaphrodites, not onely against the law of Nature, but euen against God, the Author of Nature, which it befores your Maiesty to prevent.

3 Complaint.

That secular and lay Penfions approached neere to this sacrilegious disorder: it is a Tribute which the Church payeth (saith he) to the world which persecuteth it, and is sworne enemy to his Epouise: it is that cursed ranfome which doth evidently denote her captiuitie; and yet, contrary to the nature of a ranfome, doth not deliuer her. And that which most afflicts vs, Sir, is this, That others hauing the profit, your Maiesty is like to pay the interest, at that day when nothing will be remitted, and that the inexorable Iudge will make the mightiest Monarches of the world to tremble with the feare and horror of a punishment a thousand times greater then death it selfe.

4 Complaint.

That the Soueraigne Courts by their Decrees attempted vpon the authority which was committed to the Clergy, in that which concerned Ecclesiasticall Discipline, and the government of the Church.

The Baron of  
Quemadeuc  
beheaded at  
Paris.

We haue formerly made mention, how that the Baron of Quemadeuc, Governor of Fougères in Britany, had slaine the Baron of Neuet at Rennes during the Assembly of the Estates, for the which he was forced to goe to Paris to iustifie himselfe in Court, and to deliuer the Castle of Fougères into the hands of an Exempt of the Kings Guard, who during his absence, should exercise his charge of Governor. Now whether it were that he doubted of this cause, or for some other designe; in the Month of Iune, this *Quemadeuc* parted from Paris, and went into Britanie, and surpris'd the Castle of Fougères, making himselfe again master thereof. As soon as the King heard hereof, he commanded the D.

of

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A of Vendosme and the Marshall of *Vitry*, to repaire with all speed thither before *Quemadeuc* might be aware thereof, which charge they so affectionately performed, as they found him rather dreaming on what he had done, then on what he had to doe. Hee excused himselfe vnto them; and they promised him to employ their credits to restore him to his Maiesties fauour. They brought him through Normandy to Paris, where he was committed to prison, and his proccesse made, by which he was condemned of treason, and of the murders committed vpon the Baron of Neuet, and of the Senechal of Chastillon in Vandelois, with other crimes. He was executed accordingly, notwithstanding all the suit made by his friends and his wife, who cast her selfe at his Maiesties feet to craue his pardon: but the King answered her, It is Iustice which makes Kings to reigne, I owe it to my subiects, and in this case I must preferre Iustice before Mercy: as for his goods which are confiscate vnto me, I giue them you.

The warre continued still betweene the King of Spaine and the Duke of Sauoy, notwithstanding all the Propositions of peace which had bene made in the end of the last ycare, by the Popes Legate and the Ambassador of France. In the beginning of the ycare the Spaniard had but ill successe; for the Prince of Piedmont had taken two Townes from the Prince of Masseran, a partisan to the Spaniard, and had defeated some of their best troops in the Valley of Sczia: and on the other side, towards Monterrat, the Duke of Sauoy, with the assistance of the Marshall *D'Esquigues*, tooke Saint Damian, Garennes, and Albe. Yet the Governour of Millane seemed more inclined to warre then peace. He leauied men in all places, and made great preparations to enter the Duke of Sauoyes Country in the Spring. At that time there was an aduce made by a Spaniard vnto his Catholicke Maiesty, touching the means of making a peace with the D. of Sauoy, wherein he set downe many reasons for the continuance of the warre; and in the end concludes, That if the D. of Sauoy doth not deliuer for caution and assurance of the peace, the Forts of his Country, by the which he may attempt vpon the Duchy of Millane, and doth not put them into the hands of his Catholicke Maiesty, a peace could not be made: That no assurance could be giuen but those Forts, notwithstanding all that the Popes Nuncios did propound: But they should continue the warre, and not attend vntill the French King came of age, or that the Duke of Sauoy had provided for the defence of his Countries: That about all things he should consider, what an opportunity was now offered him to make his way to the Imperiall Monarchy, and how fitly God had diuerted the Councils of King *Henry* the fourth: That France was now governed by a woman, Italy wisly out good Commanders; Germany full of dissensions; the Turke so weakened by his wars in the East; finally, all things were so impaired and confused, as there was not any one able to resist the power of the Catholicke King.

Continuation  
of the warre  
in Sauoy.An aduice  
giuen to the  
Catholicke King  
touching the  
peace with  
Sauoy.

It seemed this ycare in the Spring, that things would succed fauourably according to the desire of *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Governour of Millane, against the Duke of Sauoy, the Marshall *D'Esquigues* being returned into D'Auphiné, and the Ciuill wars so kindled in France, as his Highnesse of Sauoy could expect little helpe from thence: so as *Don Pedro* hoped to take two of the goodliest places belonging to the Duke, *Verfel* vp6 Seiza, which is a frontier to Millane; and Aste towards Monterrat. *Verfel* was speedily besieged with 16000 foot, and 4000 horse, and 32 Peeeces of Battery; and on the 25 of Iuly, they yielded vpon honorable conditions. The Duke of Sauoy seeing so powerfull an enemy in his Estate, who sought to take from him his best places, he sent to all the Kings, Princes, and Common-weales his allies, to be assisted with men: but he found not any one in case to doe it but the French King. After the death of the Marshall *D'Auere*, his Maiesty during the Month of May, was busie in discharging of the troops, as well French and Liegeois, as Germanes, which had bene leauied by either party; retaining onely one Regiment of F Lancoknets, which the Queene Mother had caused to be leauied by the Duke of Schomberg, his Maiesty resoluing to send them into Sauoy, and therefore he commanded the Marshall *D'Esquigues* to ioyne his Forces with them, and to passe the mountains speedily. In August the Marshall with the Duke of Rohan, the Earles of Candale and Schomberg, *Marquis de Termes*, and many of the French Nobility, with their troops came into Piedmont, who being ioynd with the D. of Sauoyes Forces, they set vpon Felizan, in the which were 2000 Germans of the Spaniards army lodged, which they forced and slew, or took all that were in it that bare armes. After which the Sauoyards took *Nones* and *Barceus* which

Verfel beseged  
by the Spaniards.Felizan taken  
by the Duke of  
Sauoyes forces.

1617 which was abandoned by the Spaniards, Lombards, Neopolitanes and Suisses: which A being perceived by some of the Scouts of the Army, they were pursued by the French Carabins, who ouertooke them: where after some small resistance, they yielded. After these exploits, the Duke with the Marshall returned to Asse, from whence they sent these newes to Paris:

Wee haue defeated in sixe dayes five thousand of the best men the Spaniard had in his army, some of which were slaine, others taken prisoners, and the rest sent home to their houses: in this short space we haue also gotten fiftene Ensignes, and one Cornet, hauing forced five places, conquered many Borowghes, with a large extent of the Country, and by this meanes deliuered the Towne of Asse from a siege which threatened the totall ruine B thereof, and many Citadels and places of strength, which did greatly annoy it.

The King hauing taken vpon him the government of his Estate, desiring to bee assured of him that should haue the keeping of the Prince of Conde, this yeare in May hee committed him to the guard of the Baron of Perlan, brother in law to the Marshall of Virry, with the command of the Bastille. The Princeesse of Conde besought the King she might see her husband, and liue with him, the which his Maiesty granted: which act of hers was much commended, and God so blest her, as soone after her coming thither, shee grew with child; the which did much ease the Princes griefe for his detention.

On the 15 of September, they were both conducted vnto Bois de Vincennes, still vnder the guard of the Baron of Perlan, who commanded in the dungeon where they were lodged, a farre better ayre then the Bastille. This change of lodging did much please them, the Lady hoping that she should be more conveniently lodged at her lying in: but she was deliuered before her time of a sonne still borne, which did much afflict them.

In October the King sent forth his Letters for the assembling of the most famous Personages of France, as well of the Clergy as of the Nobility, and the Officers of his Parliaments, by their aduice to prouide for the Remonstrances and Grievances exhibited by the generall Estates assembled in the yeare 1615, which had not bene yet done, by reason of his voyage into Guienne, and the alterations which followed: To settle an order in his Councils; and the managing of his Treasure: The reformation of the abuses which were crept into all the orders of the Realme: and generally touching all which should D be found necessary and expedient for the good and ease of his subiects, the safety of his Estate, the honour and dignitie of his Crowne, and the sealing of a firme peace within his Kingdomes.

And to the end this holy worke might bee more famous and commendable, he commanded all the Princes, Cardinals, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of his Crowne, to be there present, to heare their aduice touching that which should be presented by the Assembly, protesting before God, that he had no other end but his honour, and the good and ease of his subiects: coniuuring those hee should call, and commanding them expressely, that without any other respect, feare, or desire, to please or displease any man, they should with all freedom and sincerity, giue those Counsels which they held in their consciences to be most wholesome and contentient for the good of the Commonwealth.

About the end of Nouember, the King came from the Castle of Gaillon (where he had spent some time in hunting) to Rouen, the Assembly beginning the fourth of December in the Archbishops Palace: This Assembly was very flatly, where there assisted all the prime men of the Kingdom of all degrees. At the beginning there were two speeches made; his Maiesties was short; but in royall termes, vpon the content hee had, hoping that this Assembly would giue him Counsels profitable both for himselfe and his Estate: commanding the Chancellor to deliuer his pleasure more at large, the which he performed with so fluent a discourse, as the whole Assembly (wherein were the greatest Personages and the best speakers of France) gaue him this commendations, that hee could F both doe well and speake well.

The Assembly beganne five dayes after, during the which his Maiesties caused this Act to be made: First, The nomination of those which hee would haue to preside the said Assembly. Secondly, His pleasure vpon the strife arising betwene the chiefe of the Parliaments and the Nobility, about their places. Thirdly, By whom the Propositions should be exhibited to the Assembly. And fourthly, The forme which should be observed in deliuering their opinions.

His

A His Maiesty for many good considerations importing the good of his seruice, established the Duke of Aniou, his onely Brother, President in this Assembly, the more to honor it, ioyning with him the Cardinals of Perron, and Roch-Foucault, the Duke of Montbazon, and the Earle of Briffac Marshall of France. That the Propositions which should be made in the Assembly, should be presented in writing vnto Monsieur, or his Adjuncts, by the Proctor generall of the Parliament of Paris. That in matters which should bee propounded touching the Clergy, the Presidents should cause them of the Clergy to deliuer their opinions first, and such as they should thinke fit for the opening of that business. That in that which concerned the Nobility, the Nobles should first speake. And B in matters of Iustice, the Officers and others of that ranke should first giue their aduice. As for the Treasure, the Chambers of Accompt, and Court of Ayds should be first heard. There was some question about their sitting: the Nobility saying, that they were the second Member of the State: That their seats ought to be right against the Clergy, and that the Presidents of Parliaments were but to represent the third Estate. Whereunto they answered, That it was no Assembly of the Generall Estates: That they were sent for by his Maiesty to giue their aduice touching the Propositions hee desired to make: That they were no Deputies of the Prouinces to the Estates; neither were they euer deputed to the generall Estates; and whensoever they assisted at the beginning or ending thereof, it was in quality of Councillors of State: That there was no reason the Nobility should precede, they hauing iurisdiction ouer them.

The Nobility not satisfied with this Act, procured Letters Patents from the King, by which hee declared, That moued with the good affection which hee had alwayes borne vnto his Nobility (whom hee knew to be his right arme) his intention was not in this Conuocation to hold an Assembly of the Estates: That hee had appointed them their seat about his person, and of those whom hee had appointed to preside in the said Assembly, as most honourable and fit for the action: as well at the beginning of the said Assembly, as the continuation, without any prejudice to that which had alwayes belonged vnto them in the generall Estates, that is, the second place next to the Clergy, the which hee would haue maintained.

D On either side of the Presidents of the Assembly sat the Nobles, being thirteene Gentlemen of speciall note, chosen for their wisdomes. There were eleuen of the Clergie in their places, whereof foure were Archbishops, the other Bishops: and lastly, sat the Heads of Parliaments, there being two Presidents of Paris, with the first Presidents of Tholouse, Grenoble, Disjon, Rouen, Aix, and Rennes, with the Proctors generall of the said Parliaments: beneath them on the right hand, were the Presidents of the Chambers of Accompts of Paris and Rouen, with their Proctors generall: and on the left hand, the Lieutenant Ciuill of the Viscountie of Paris: Behind the Presidents of Parliaments, were the Presidents of the Courts of Ayds of Paris and Rouen, with their Proctors; with the Prouost of Merchants of Paris. He that was chosen by the King to be Register E of the Assembly, had his place in the middell. President Jannin Super-Intendant of the Treasure, with the foure Intendants, coming twice into this Assembly, tooke their places directly before the Register. Monsieur de Rhodes, Great Master of the Ceremonies, stood behinde the Presidents. Behind Monsieur Chair, and a little more retired then the seat of the Nobility, stood his Gouverneur, the Captaine of his Guard, his under Gouuerneur and Secretary. This was the order obserued in this Assembly touching their sitting.

The Assembly hauing giuen his Maiesty thanks for their election, and for his religious intentions, they proceeded to their Propositions. The first was touching the managing of the secret affaires of State, which could not bee divulged without great prejudice to the crowne. Although the King in his Maternity may, like vnto his Predecessors, commit the managing to whom hee pleareth; yet his desire had bene to giue the greatest part to the Princes and great Personages of his Realme: whereby many difficulties had risen.

First, the great number of those of that quality, whereof no one thought to be excluded; and yet in this great number, secrecy (so necessary in affaires) could not be kept; and the multitude of opinions would cause delays and confusion. Secondly, that the difficulties which were growne among the great men of the Realme

Touching the government of the secret affaires of State.

1617 The Duke of Aniou graue President of the Assembly with four Adjuncts.

Debate touching their sitting in the Assembly.

The manner of their sitting in the Assembly.

[13] were

The Prince of Conde and his Lady conducted to Bois de Vincennes.

The King calls an Assembly of the chiefe of his Realme.

The Assembly held at Rouen.

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were such, as there had been no means for them to sit in Councell together.

Thirdly, that it did seldom happen but the aduertisements which came from within or without the Realme, concerned the interest of some one of this great number.

Fourthly, That so many Princes and great Personages which could not giue their necessary attendance, by reason of their Governments, Charges, and particular Affaires, the managing of the State would bee interrupted. That for these reasons his Maiesty had bene forced to leaue the managing of affaires to those Ministers whom his deceased Father had employed. Notwithstanding, causing all dispatches, aduertisements, instructions, and resolutions, to be daily read in his presence, and of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne: they haue free liberty to assist in his Councils, and to B participate in the affaires which were there treated.

And for that his Maiesty desired to giue vnto the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, all the honour and respect which might bee in the Government of the State, and managing of his affaires; His pleasure was, the Assembly should aduise if they could find out any better or more convenient means then that which hee had observed for the conduct of secret affaires: whereby without interest of the State, and prejudice to his Maiesties seruice, he might satisfie the desire of private men.

The Assembly humbly thanked the King, that it had pleased his Maiesty to demand their aduice vpon so important a businesse, which wholly depended vpon his pleasure. Notwithstanding, to obey his commandement, the Assembly was of opinion, that they C could not giue him better aduice, then to continue (if it were his pleasure) the same order hee now held in the managing of his secret affaires, and by the aduice and counsell of the same persons which were employed. There were in all twenty Propositions deliuered vnto them: but because they are very long, and would take vp too much roome in this briefe Continuation, I must entreat the Reader to rest satisfied with the Heads of them.

The second was for an order and reformation of the Council, concerning causes which were litigious, and of the Council of affaires. 3. What persons should haue place and voyce in his Councils. Of the Decrees of the Council. That Decrees in Soueraigne Courts should not be reuoked. 4. Of the Council of State and Treasure; wherein D they should treat of breaches of the Edicts: Petitions concerning the affaires of the Clergy: Differences which should happen for Offices: A Iudication of Farmes, Bridges, and publicke Workes: Abatements and Diminutions: Orders for the refreshing of Munitions in Frontier places: Petitions for the leauying of Money, Taxes, and Rents of Farmes. 5. What should be treated of in his Pruiue Council, as Petitions, Reuocations: and for the ordering of Iudges in matres of question, concerning their Iurisdiction Requests against the Decrees of the Council, and opposition to the expedition of Letters of Prouision for Offices. That Differences for Benefices in the Kings Nomination, should be sent to the Grand Council. Of the charge of Masters of Requests. Of the Council of Warre: and the preheminence of the Marshals of France in the sayd E Council. 6. Reduction of the Expences of the Kings House, and of the entertainment of men of Warre. 7. Cutting off of Pensions, and the suppression of Treasurers of Pensions. 8. Of the exemption of Taxes, and of Letters of ennobling. That the King should forbear to giue any great gifts in present money, but reward seruices done, with Offices and other Charges which were in his disposition. 9. That it should be prohibited to sell any Offices or Places in the Kings House, in the Warre, or Governments. 10. Of the Reuerfions of Charges, Offices, and Benefices, and of the reuoking of the said Reuerfions. 11. Of the meanes to settle Monasteries and Abbies, and that they may be hereafter supplied with Religious men, and no Commendatories. 12. Of simple and rural Priories, which haue no charge of Soules, depending on Abbies and other Monasteries, and held by men most commonly, vnprofitable for the seruice of GOD, who by Resignations, made them benedictary to their Houses. 13. That the Pope should bee entreated not to receive the Resignation of any of the said Priories, and to ordaine, that when any fell voyd, they should bee re-vnted vnto the Monasteries whereon they depended. 14. To haue the Ordinances observed, touching Artillery, Armes, and Munition; but, That none should arme either by Sea or Land; without Letters signed by a Secretary of State; and in that which concerned

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A concerned any Land-seruice by the Gouvernours of Prouinces; for the Sea, by the Admirals of France. 16. Not to communicate with foraine Ambassadors without the Kings permission. 17. Of the disorders in Commitments, the which are Letters of priuledge, which the Kings seruants and others of the Infants of France obtaine, to call any one from the remotest places of the Kingdome, to come and plead before the Masters of the Requests. 18. Of the alliances and kindreds which are crept, contrarie to the Ordinances, into Parliaments and Soueraigne Courts. 19. Of the meanes to prevent the oppressions which are committed by some, as well in Soueraigne as Presidiall Courts. 20. To reuoke the Paulette or Annuall right, and to take away the sale of Offices. The aduice of the B assembly to these Propositions, was given on the 26 of December 1617.

During this assembly at Rouen, *Monsieur de Villery* died, being 74. yeares old; a great Personage said, all the griefe we haue for his death is, that we finde not written in our bookes what he know. He was made Secretarie of State by King *Charles* the ninth, in the year 1566. And it may be said, that during the space of fifty and three yeares, there were not any affaires in France, no treaties of Peace, Alliances, Mariages, or Reunions, wherein he employed not himselfe with such dexterity, as the foure Kings which he had serued, had giuen him great commendations. And King *Henry* the Great was wont to say of him, that the affaires of France, were the affaires of *Monsieur de Villery*. That hee laboured continually, and was neuer weary of well-doing. I know not, said this great King C (when as in the year 1605, they brought him word that *Monsieur de Villery* was sicke) which of the two liues were more necessarie for my Estate, either mine or *Monsieur de Villerys*.

The last yeare the King had bene aduised to vnite the Soueraigntie of Bearne to the Crowne of France. Whereupon they of the reformed Religion in the said Countrie, vnder the name of the generall Estates of Bearne, called extraordinarily together in the Towne of Pau, on the second of February 1617, caused a Decree to bee published, by the which they pretended, That the Countrie of Bearne was a Soueraigne Seigneurie, distinct from any other Soueraigntie or Realme, and that the Inhabitants thereof, who in the beginning gouerned themselves by their Lawes and Customes, did make choice of their Lords to bee continued in the same, they hauing no power to change, correct, or reforme them, but with the consent of the States of the said countrie. And that therefore his said Maiesty cannot (vnder correction) vnite the said Countrie vnto the Kingdome of France, without the consent of the said States, without infringing the principall marke and ground of the said Lawes and Liberties, which are dearer vnto them then their owne liues. That the said Estates may not transcribe vnto posteritie so fundamentall a change of State; as that which should happen by the said vnion, which was reprobued by the deceased King *Henry* the Great of famous memory, when he made the vnion of the ancient Demesnes vnto the Kingdome of France. Therefore the said Estates doe giue expresse charge vnto their Sindics to oppose themselves to all dispatches and Letters Patents which should bee sent, E and all Acts made in the Countrie for the establishment of the said vnion. That there should be deputed certaine of both Estates to aduise of some remedies, and to vphold these oppositions, and if need were to demand a generall assembly of the States to provide for the same. And that the said Estates taking leaue of *Monsieur de la Forie* the Kings Lieutenant generall, should report vnto him the aforesaid busines, beseeching him to giue aduice thereof vnto his Maiesty, as of a matter much importing his seruice. This Decree was signed as well by the Nobilitie, as the second Estate, in their assembly, the second of February 1617. Some write that this Decree was an enterprise vpon the Kings Soueraigntie in Bearne, vnder the name of States, which neither had nor could haue any Iurisdiction or power to make a Decree; and that it showed the bad intentions F of such (as being faile from the Court) endeavored to stirre vp troubles vnder pretence of Religion. And *Monsieur de Villery* before made mention of the Kings Decree, for the establishment of the Romane Catholique Religion in Bearne, and touching the restitution of Ecclesiasticall goods: And how the King before he made the said Edict, had written vnto the Ministers of the reformed Churches of Bearne, to send their Deputies to the Court to see the proceedings for the restoring of the Ecclesiasticall relienues, whereof his Maiesty had made graunt. The Apologie of the said Churches faith, That vpon the receipt of this Letter, they

Death of Monsieur de Villery.

A Decree of the Estates of Bearne against their vnion vnto the Crowne of France.



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An assembly of  
the reformed  
Churches of  
Bearn at  
Orthez.

they had a very great assembly at Orthes, in July, where it was resolved, *That it was better to dye then to receive the said Graunt, and make restitution of the Ecclesiasticall goods, which would ruine the Religion & State of Bearn.* That in this assembly it was decreed to send vnto the King the Seigneur de L'Escun, to beseech him in the name of the Churches, to permit, that the Deputies (required by his Maiestie, to see the proceeding of the reestablishment) might be chosen by an Assembly of the three Estates of Bearn, and the Deputies of the reformed Churches of the Prouinces of high Languedoc, & low Guienne. That being come to Court, and hauing taken by the way at Rochel, the Maior & Sherifes Letters to present vnto his Maiestie, He had audience at Saint Germanes in Lay, the seuenteenth of September. The said Apologie, faith also, that *Monsieur de la Force*, as Gouernour of Bearn brought him in, and that the general Deputies of the reformed Churches of France, which accompanied him in this audience, said vnto the King: That if the other Prouinces might haue assembled without offence to his Maiestie, as those of Rochel, they would haue presented Letters from all of them, beseeching his Maiestie to giue audience to *Monsieur de L'Escun*; who hauing done his obeisance, spake thus vnto his Maiestie.

Monsieur de  
L'Escun speech  
to the King.

Sir, the Lawes and customes of men differ one from another. But it hath bin alwayes honorable for every country to obserue their owne: whereof your subiects of Bearn haue bene more carefull then any other. And they haue had this particular fauour from heauen; That for these three hundred yeares and more, that they haue been subiect vnto your Maiestie, and your Predecessors, their fundamentall lawes haue been religiously obserued, as no one of their Soueraigne Lords hath euer made any alteration in the State, without the aduice and request of all the orders of the State. To which end, your Maiestie hauing commanded by Letters to the Ministers and Ancients of the reformed Churches, of your soueraignie, to send Deputies to see the proceedings for the restitution of the goods of the Clergie, being desirous to yeeld the humble obedience which they owe vnto your commandements, without breach of the fundamentall lawes of the Estate, vnder which they are borne and bred; they haue giuen mee charge to cast my selfe at your Maiesties feet, humbly to beseech you, that it would please you, that the deputation may be made by an Assembly of the Deputies of all the Orders of the Estate, together with them of the reformed Churches of high Languedoc, and base Guienne; seeing that by your Maiesties permission they treat their affaires ioyntly with them. And for that there were certaine Petitions, presented vnto your Maiestie and Councell the last yeare which are vnanswered, they humbly beseech you, that you would bee pleased to vouchsafe them your accustomed iustice; and especially, touching a Petition, whereby your Maiestie was intreated to command, that information might be made against the Authors of a slanderous Libell, called the Monke, very prejudiciall to the safety of your Sacred Person, and the rights of your Soueraignie, the which they seeke to make subiect to the Realme of Arragon; whereby your Petitioners apprehend, that they will in time make them subiect to the rigour of the inquisition of Spaine, and draw them from the mildnes of your naturall subiection and obedience, to captiuate them vnder the yoke of a foraine command, then the which they had rather endure a thousand deaths. For the preuening of which danger, they humbly beseech your Maiestie to allow of their supplication, and they will continue their vowes and prayers to God, for your health, prosperitie and long life. To whom the King made answer, I haue understood you well; I will conferre with my Councell, and you shall haue my answer.

The Kings  
Edict for the  
restoring of  
the Clergie of  
Bearn.

Soone after in September, the King made an Edict, for the settling of the Romish religion in Bearn, and the restitution of the Church-livings, the which they shall freely enjoy; from the Feast of the Purification in the yeare 1618, from which time his Maiestie should bee freed and discharged of the summe of 2400 pound sterling yearly, and other summes, graces, and benefits, wherewith he had gratified them by way of annuall pension, commanding *Arthus de Farns*, his Gouernour and Lieutenant general in his Realme of Nauarre and Soueraignie of Bearn, to see the execution of his will effected: yet not meaning in any sort to alter or diminish the graces and fauours which his deceased Lord and Father, and himselfe had conferred vpon his subiects inhabiting the said Soueraignie, of what quality of condition soeuer, which were paid their wages, appointments, pensions, or gratifications, out of the reuenues of the said Clergie.

The

A The Seigneur de L'Escun and his fellow Deputies, hearing that this Edict was concluded and adrawing, they presently advertised the reformed Churches of Bearn, who in the name of the Estates made a Decree on the tenth of Nouember, by the which they concluded, that the Graunt of the restitution of the Clergies Lands, caused many grieuances against the liberties of the Country. Wherefore in case the prouisions for the said restitution should be presented, or any Commislarie, or other sent to proceed to the execution, they should aduise of the remedies, whereby they might make their opposition, and obtaine reparation of the wrong done by the Graunt thereof against their Lawes and Liberties. Notwithstanding, the Edict of restitution was verified in the Parliaments of B Thoulouse and Bourdeaux in December following.

But for that the Ministers complained, that his Maiestie had assigned their pensions out of the Countrie of Bearn, although that by the Decree of restitution, the Demefnes of Bearn were expressly mentioned: vpon a Proposition made in the Councell of Nauarre, by the Seigneur of *Plessis Moray*, the King being present, it was decreed, that for as much as in the Edict of restitution, there was no mention made of the Demefnes and Reuenues of Bearn, which were more then sufficient to free the said charges, which amounted yearly to the summe of seuen thousand and eight hundred pound sterling: And to the end that they who had the interest, should not doubt of his Maiesties goodwill and meaning, that they should bee duly paid their wages, pensions, appointments, and entertainments, which were formerly assigned vpon the Church-lands, should bee hereafter payed, out of all the Reuenues ordinarie, and extraordinarie, as well of the Demefnes of Bearn, as of those which his Maiestie had already affected by his Edict of restitution, the which should not be diuerted by himselfe or his successors to their prejudice, vpon any colour or pretext whatsoever.

The Kings  
Edict touching  
the Protestants  
of Bearn.

In the famous Assembly at Rouen, the two last Propositions were, touching the reuocation of the Annual right or Paulet, and the suppression of the Sale of Offices, which troubled the mindes of many Officers.

Proposition for  
the continuance  
of the Annual  
right, and  
sale of Offices.

There were many propositions made to the Kings Councell for the one and the other: To prove that this Annual right was profitable; they said, that the deceased King *Henry D* the Great had established it; & it had bin approved by all the orders of the State. That this right brought vnto his Maiestie 100000 pound sterling yearly. They pretended that it was necessarie, and that it had giuen the King affectionate Officers in these last alterations, and made them depend vpon him alone. That it supplied the place of other impositions, and was paid onely by the rich. That there was no inconuenience to exclude the poore from publique charges; neither was it necessarie that every vertuous man should be an Officer. That it was profitable for the King to haue rich Officers, whose wealth was a warrant of their wisdomes; and that they were alwayes enemies to Factions. That the sale of Offices had been forbidden: but all their Lawes had proued vnpromisable. That it had bin alwayes vsed in France. That the King could not know all vertuous men in his Kingdom, and that the expedient propounded, of a roll wherein all well deserving men should be written, was ridiculous, and an inuention of Courtiers. That the Annual right had made Officers grow old in their places, and gotten much experience. That to take away this Annual right, was to chase away the ancient Officers. That the children succeeding in their Fathers Offices, were also bound to succeed to their vertues. Many other reasons were produced touching this subiect. But all their propositions were rejected; and his Maiestie made a Decree, by the which he did reuoke for euer the dispensation of forty dayes, granted to many of his Officers; In paying the Annual right, wherunto they were taxed. Referring notwithstanding to acknowledge the vertue and merit of his Officers, who had discharged their places, with the reputation of integrity and sufficiency: If be it in their life time, by aduancing them to higher places; or after their deaths; In gratifying their Widowes and children, out of the price of their offices, in case they die before the forty dayes be expired. And touching the interdiction of the Sale of Offices, although his Maiestie had an intent to provide for it, holding it necessary for the publique good: notwithstanding, to gratifie his Officers, and to giue them some time to accommodate their affaires, and also to haue meanes to finde some grounds for his Maiestie to make good his casual reuenues: Hee was pleased to deferre the effect of the interdiction.

A Decree of  
the Councell  
touching the  
reueking of the  
Annual right.

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The Kings Decree for restoring the Iesuits to their publique Lectures.

We haue formerly made mention of the contestations between the Vniuersitie of Paris and the Iesuits; who required to be admitted to teach in their Colledge at Paris. For the which the generall Estates had bene suitors vnto the King. Whereupon, the matter being called in question before the Councell of State, there was a Decree past the fifteenth of February this year, in fauour of the Iesuits; by the which his Maiestie did call vnto himselfe and his Councell the instance depending in the Court of Parliament of Paris, betwixt the Iesuits on the one part, and the Rector, Deane, and Proctors of the Vniuersitie on the other, in regard of the said opposition. And hauing respect vnto the Petition of the States, and the publique interest; He ordained that the Iesuits should hereafter, make their publique Lectures in all sorts of sciences; and all other exercises of their profession in their Colledge of Clermont, as they had formerly done, and on such dayes and houres as shall be most convenient for their schollers; which Lectures his Maiesties meaning was, should be presently reestablished, without any opposition; with this Proviso, That they should obserue the rules of the Edict, and submit themselves to the Lawes and Orders of the Vniuersitie, as his Maiestie should ordaine. And his pleasure was, that the said Iesuits should be put in full possession of the said Lectures, by two Councillors and masters of Requests, or other Councillors of the Soueraigne Court, being first required by vertue of this Decree, and Letters of Commisision, who shall transport themselves vnto the places, notwithstanding any opposition, or appellation whatsoever; and if any hapned, his Maiestie reserved the knowledge thereof to himselfe and his Councell, forbidding all Courts to take notice thereof. This Decree was executed accordingly, and the Iesuits put in full possession of their Lectures.

The burning of the great Hall of the Palace at Paris.

On the tenth of March hapned that fearful fire of the great Hall of the Palace at Paris. About two of the clocke or more after midnight, the Sentinell at the Louure, next vnto the Riuer, saw as it were a circle of fire ouer the cowering of the Palace Hall. Soone after, the singing men of the holy Chappell, and some neighbours, by reason of a cry of fire which was made, saw this circle, which increased by little and little, and of the bignesse of a Hogsheed. The watchmen who ordinarily keepe the gate of the Palace Court was vp at midnight; they knocked at one of the Hall doores; they cryed our fire; but the House-keeper and his seruants being in their first sleepe heard nothing of all this.

About halfe an houre after, some singing men and Merchants, who came running at the cry, forced open a little doore neere vnto the holy Chappell, by which they entered into the little Hall, and from thence they got into the great, where they saw the fire onely in the top of the rooffe, and beneath in foure of the Merchants shops. By this time the Keeper and his seruants were awake, who came to open the gates. The winde being Southerly, the great rooffe which was of dry wood and varnished, fell suddenly on fire, and the girders and rafters began to fall vpon the shops; the Proctors seates, and the Chappell which was made of wood, and newly varnished; in the which there was aboue a hundred and fifty pound waight of Waxe-lights and Torches, which did so fire all the lower part of the Hall, as the Keeper had no leisure with his seruants to enter into his Houfe to saue his goods. The Merchants who came running to preferue what they had, were glad to retire for feare of the burning Timber which fell from the rooffe; about foure of the clocke the rooffe towards the Consultations fell, and soone after that of the midst, and about five of the clocke the rest towards the Prison.

Poliss the Register came running at this cry, and entered into his Office, by the Kings garden, and saued his bookes of Records, and what else was there, as likewise the Registers of the Treasure, and what belonged to the Kings Councell. In the meane time the first President, and Monsieur Seruin Aduocate generall, being lodged within the walls of the Palace, ordained what they thought fit to hinder the course of this fire. The Colonnell of that quarter put the Burgesses in Armes for feare of some disorder. The Fire continuing and caried by a fourtherly winde, fell vpon the lodging of the Requests of the Household, of the Register of the Treasure, of the first Chamber of the Inquests, and the others Court, all neere vnto the golden Chamber, which were burnt and consumed in lesse then halfe an houre. It rained still on, and got the passage towards the Mercers gallerie and Court of Aydes. Then began there a great and fearfull cry, as well of the Prisoners who would haue saved themselves by force, (but the Proctor generall caused the chiefe of them to be conducted to other Prisons by the Prouost) as by the Merchants who

caried

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A caried away their goods, and cast their shops and stalles downe the staires, to take away all combustible matter. The Fire grew so violent, as it blew Slates ouer the Riuer of Seine, and the Tower of the great clocke was set on fire with a burning brand, the which was speedily recovered to saue the rest. Hauing vncouered those rooffes which were in danger of fire, they fell to quenching it; after which they caried away all the Timber & rubbish which lay in the Hall, lest it should endanger the vaults underneath.

The next day the Court assembling, they made a Decree concerning their Papers, Procefes, and Registers which were wanting, inioyning all men of what condition so euer, that had taken and caried any away, or found them by accident, or otherwise, to deliuer them presently vnto *Iohn du Tillier*, Register of the said Court, or to his Deputie, without any fraud or deceit. And withall, they did forbid all Merchants, Apothecaries, or others, to buy directly or indirectly, any Parchments or written Papers: but if any be brought them, to retaine them, and acquaint the Iustice therewith: They spake diuersly of the cause of this accident.

Some would haue it to proceede from some pan of coales shut vp in some of the Mercers shops. Others, say that it was the House-keepers fault, who negligently in fluting of the doores, had left the end of a Torch vpon a Mercers shop, whereby the rest were set on fire.

There had bene a Peace concluded in Italy, betwene the Archduke *Ferdinand*, and the Venecians; there rested nothing to settle a full peace in those parts; but the execution of the Treaties of Alte and Pavia, with the Sauoyard.

The Most Christian King who had undertaken the performance of these Treaties, sent *Monsieur de Madene*, to assist the Baron of Bethunes, to the end that all Townes and places taken on either side might be restored. But *Don Pedro du Toledo* made so many difficulties, and delays, as some write his Maiestie was forced to say vnto the Duke of Monteleon, Ambassador in France for the King of Spaine, *The opinion which they haue giuen the King of Spaine your Master, that I cannot goe out of my Realme, but I shall leave it full of troubles and diuisions, is the cause of the delays of Don Pedro your brother in law, to content my cousin the Duke of Sauoy: but I will haue him know, that although my estate should bee abandoned to fire and sword in my absence; yet nothing shall hinder my resolution to passe the mountaines in person, to force Don Pedro to hold his word with me, and to performe the promise which I haue made to the Duke of Sauoy.*

After many journeys, according to the Treatie of Pavia, the Duke of Sauoy, beganne first to restore the places which he held from the Duke of Mantua, and the Prince of Masseran. And then *Don Pedro* deliuered to him, Saint German and Onegle. These restitutiones and others were made by degrees. And on the fifteenth of Iune, Verceil, the most important of all was restored to the Duke of Sauoy.

After this, his Highnes began first to send backe his Prisoners with Passports, and an honorable conuoy; some to Felizan, and others neere vnto Millan; as *Don Pedro's* Nephew, and the sonne of *Don Iohn de Viues*, Ambassador for his Catholique Maiestie in Italy: And then *Don Pedro* did the like. So as there remained nothing for a full execution of the Peace, but a publication for the restitution of priuate mens goods, which had serued either party: the which the Duke of Sauoy performed accordingly on the eighth of Iuly. After which, the like was performed in the Duchy of Millane, and in Monterrat: So as the Peace was fully settled in Italy.

It is written, that on the fourteenth of February this year: The Lord Chancellor dismissed the Seigneur of L'Escun, Councillor in the Court of Parliament of Pau, and Deputie for the reformed Churches of Bearne, in the presence of the generall Deputies of the reformed Churches of France, and the particular Deputies of base Languedoc. Telling him in the Kings name, that his Maiesties pleasure was they should not make any assemblies within his country of Bearne, to those ends which were mentioned in their Petition of the seuenteenth of September; That is to say, *That the Deputies desired by his Maiestie to see the proceeding in the restitution of the Church-lands, should bee chosen by an Assembly of three Estates of Bearne, and the Deputies of the reformed Churches of high Languedoc, and base Guenne.*

The reformed Churches of Bearne being assembled at Pau, received Letters from L'Escun of his dismissal. Whereupon the States being at that time assembled in the same

The Kings Speech to the Ambassador of Spaine.

A Peace concluded between the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Sauoy.

They of Bearne call an assembly at Caille-louise.

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same towne, resolved to call the Deputies of the Councils of three Prouinces of France A  
next adioyning to Bearne, that is to say, high and bafe Languedoc, and bafe Guienne, to  
meet at Castil. Laloux on the first of May.

Forbidden by  
the King.

The King aduertised of this Conuocation, sent Letters to the Parliament of Bour-  
deaux, and the Chamber of the Edict at Nerac to proceed against the Authors thereof,  
and against all such as should assit them, as breakers of the Edict, and troublers of the  
publike peace. So as the Gouvernour and Consuls of Castil-laloux, and such as had the  
command of other Townes in Guienne for them of the Religion, refused the holding of  
the same assembly.

The Kings  
Declaration  
against the  
Assembly at  
Orthes.

The Deputies of Bearne & they of bafe Guienne, and high Languedoc, being come to B  
the place appointed on the first of May, and seeing the refusal was made to hold the As-  
sembly, they went to Tonnus, where they had the like dismissal. Hereupon they con-  
sulted together, and resolved to goe to Orthes in Bearne, on the five and twentieth of May,  
and there to hold their Assembly with all libertie, taking an oath amongst them, not to  
speake any thing vntill the day. His Maiestie being aduertised that they had assigned their  
assembly out of the Iurisdiction of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, hee made another De-  
claration, verified in the Court of Parliament at Paris, on the five and twentieth of May,  
and in the Chamber of Cistres, commanding all Iudges to proceed against them, which  
should be found the Authors, and which should assit at the said assembly in Bearne, and  
in all other assemblies forbidden by the Edicts, as breakers thereof, and troublers of the C  
publike peace.

Notwithstanding all these prohibitions, the assembly held at Orthes; and they sent  
Letters to the generall Deputies of France, residing in Court, charging them to present  
the Assemblies Letter vnto the King, and to beseech him to answer them fauourably in  
their Petition made by the Seigneur of L'Escun; and in case of refusal to desire a generall  
Assembly. Hereunto they made answer: That they would not receive their Letter com-  
ming from an vnlawfull Assembly. As for them, they would heare them alwayes as ge-  
nerall Deputies, and not as having commision from the said Assembly.

About the same time, *Monsi Renard*, Councillor of State, & Master of Requests, deputed  
Commissarie by the King, for the execution of the Edict of restitution, parted from Court, D  
& arrived at Pau, the 9 of Iune; where having delivered vnto the Proctor generall the Edict  
of restitution with the Decrees of the Courts of Parliament of Thoulouse, and Bourde-  
aux, to be enrolled in the said Parliament of Pau, and executed: they write that during his  
abode there, they stirred vp the schollers, and others, to commit many insolencies, and to  
speake many opprobrious words vnto him at his lodging doore; the which *Monsieur de  
la Force* the Gouvernour, nor the Court of Parliament, did in no sort punish, but only re-  
strained them. It is also written that the Deputies of the Estates, and the reformed Churches  
of Bearne, presented their requests vnto the Parliament, to be admitted opponents  
vnto the Edict, and verifications presented by the Proctor generall, and that the Bishops  
of Oleron, and L'Esca should giue their request of Recusation against the Seigneur of E  
L'Escun, Councillor in the Parliament, Deputie for the said Churches, as being party.

Decree of this  
Parliament of  
Pau, against  
the Edict of  
restitution.

The matter being heard, there was a Decree made by the Parliament, by the which it  
was said: That in regard of the Edicts, Letters Patents, and Declarations enrolled in that  
Court, granted as well by his Maiestie now reigning, as by other Kings his Predecessors,  
in fauour of their subjects of the reformed Religion dwelling in that Country: there was  
no meanes to proceed to the verification of the Edict concerning the restitution. But  
his Maiestie should bee humbly intreated to leaue matters as they were, for the good  
of his seruice; the settling of his estate; and the goods of his subjects: enioyning not-  
withstanding all the inhabitants of that Country, of what Religion so euer, to retire to  
their houses, and to liue in peace, vnicie and concord.

The Kings  
Intention to the  
Parliament of  
Pau.

The King being informed of all these proceedings: it was resolved in Councell to send  
an other Iulusion to the Soueraigne Court of Pau, wherein making repetition of the Errors  
had been committed, he enioynes them expressly, (notwithstanding their Decree of  
the one and twentieth of Iune) to proceed without delay to the publication and inrolling  
of the said Letters Patents, and Edicts of restitution: and the full execution thereof, for  
as much as should depend of them; and notwithstanding that he had by his Edicts more  
then plainly satisfied all those which might either directly or indirectly be interested  
in

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A in the said restitution; yea, with such losse and disadvantage to himselfe, as hee was not  
only dispossest of all the reuenues which he had in Bearne, but also of a good part of  
his neighbour-Countries. Yet he declared, that if after the verifying of the said Decrees  
and Edict, there should be any one found which pretended any losse or prejudice thereby,  
which deserved consideration and recompence, he would receive their complaints, and  
giue them full satisfaction. Withall he gaue commandement, they should make their  
processe which had come in armes to attempt against his Commisary; and likewise to  
proceed against those which had assembled at Orthes contrary to his Edicts and De-  
crees, and to punish them according to the rigor of the lawes.

B This yeaere *Monsi D'Ornano* Gouvernour of Castil. Trompet in Bourdeaux was made  
Lieutenant Gouvernour in the Prouince of Normandie, and the particular government of  
*Pont de Larche*, the which *Monsi de Luynes* enioyed after the death of the Marshall *D'An-  
cre*: And the said *Monsi D'Ornano* yielded vp Castil. Trompet into the Kings hands.  
*Monsi de Luynes* was made Gouvernour of the Ile of France, and had likewise the particu-  
lar government of Soissons, Noyon, Chauny and Couilly, by the resignation which the  
Duke of *Mayenne* made thereof into the Kings hands: whereupon he was made Gouver-  
nour and Lieutenant Generall in Guienne, for which he tooke his oath before his Maie-  
stie. Thus the Duke of *Mayenne* left Soissons to goe to Bourdeaux to be at the Regi-  
sting of his Letters of Prouision in Parliament. Where hee arrived in the beginning of  
C Iuly, at the reading whereof there was much spoken in honour of the said Duke, and of  
the many good seruices which he and the House of Lorraine had done to the House of  
France.

Exchange of  
Gouvernements.

*Barnouille*, who commanded in the Bistile, being accused to haue had his eyes blinded  
with a diamond to suffer *Barbin*, a prisoner thence, to receive letters and write answers, lost  
his place, & was the cause that the Baron of *Perlan* his brother, who had the custodie of the  
Prince of Conde, being come from Bois de Vincennes to Paris, vpon certaine haughty  
words which he spake, was committed to prison: the King giuing the guard of the  
Prince, to the Seigneur of Vernet, brother in law to Monsieur de Luynes.

Of all the accused, one was condemned to dye; others banished, some to retire to their  
D houses, and the Prisons were opened to others. The King being intreated by the kinsmen  
of some great men condemned, to shew his clemency towards them, would that it should  
not only extend vnto them for whom they were suitors but vnto all, *Barbin*, onely ex-  
cepted, who had beene banished France, but his punishment was changed to a perpetuall  
imprisonment.

About the beginning of September, France lost the Cardinall of Perron. King *Henry* Death of this  
the third knowing the sharpnesse of his wit, tooke him into his seruice, and gaue him  
1200 crownes a yeaere to be his Reader. He followed his Master to Tours. After whole  
decease, the Cardinall of Vendosme making great account of his learning, brought him  
to the Court after the siege of Chartres. The King seeing his sufficiency and learning,

Cardinall Du  
Perron.

E beganne to affect him much, and made him Bishop of Euroux. After the Kings conuer-  
sion, as some write by his perswasion, hee was sent to Rome to represent his filiall obedi-  
ence, and to reconcile him to the holy Sea, the which he obtained from Pope *Clement* 8.  
Being returned from Rome, he purchased a great deale of honour and reputation with  
the King and Court, vpon a conference which he had at Fontaine Bleau with *Monsieur de  
Plessis Moray*. Soone after, his Holinesse sent him a Cardinalls Hat, the which was very  
pleasing vnto the King, who gaue him the Archbishopricke of Sens being void, and made  
him his chiefe Almoner. The Reconciliation of the Pope with the Venetians, was partly  
made by his aduice, with many other goodly actions. And without doubt it may bee said  
of him, that he had bene one of the learnedst and greatest Prelates of the Romish Church.  
F in his time.

On the last of September *Monsi de Luynes* came to Soissons, to take possession of the  
gouernment of the Ile of France. The next day the King came thither, where he was re-  
ceiued with all demonstrations of publike ioy; the which the inhabitants did shew  
by the brute of their Cannon, which they had planted vpon their Bulwarkes. The Kings  
voyage should haue been longer, but all the Country thereabouts being ruined by the Ar-  
mies, for the space of foure yeaeres, it drew the King backe againe with his Court to Paris.  
The King being aduertised, that the Duke of Sauoy sent the Prince Cardinall his  
sonne

The Kings  
voyage to  
Soissons, &c.  
The Cardinall  
of Sauoy comes  
to Paris.

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sonne vnto him, as well to giue him thanks for the assistance which he had receiued from his Maiestie in the protection and pacifying of his Estates and Countreys, as to finish the alliance propounded for the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont, the Dukes eldest son, and Madame *Christienne*, the Kings second sister. He gaue commandement to the Governours of Prouinces and Townes where hee should passe, to receiue him with all honour, and to d. fray him as was fit for a personage of his qualite and dignitie; wherein there was nothing wanting during his whole journey.

In the beginning of Nouember, hee arriued at Paris, where he receiued as honorable entertainment, as he could desire or imagine, no lesse furable to his blood and ranke, then to the greatnesse and magnificence of the House of France. Hee was lodged in Pi- quigny place, and was serued by the Kings Officers. He had audience, and in the end obtained a Graunt of the Marriage for which hee came: the accomplishment whereof will belong to the next yeare.

Proposition of  
the French  
Ambassador to  
the vniued  
Estates.

The beginning of this yeare was troublesome in the vniued Prouinces, by reason of the Arminian faction, and their criminall proceeding against *Barnuel*, Advocate generall of the Estates of Holland and West-Friesland, who was held to bee the head and chiefe of the Arminians. Hee was a man of great credit and authoritie in those Prouinces, hauing past all the Offices a man could desire in a Soueraigne Common-wealth; but alwayes opposit to the Prince of Orange. Being committed to Prison the last yeare, they were now vpon the point to proceed against him. Whereupon the French King sent an extraordinarie Ambassadour to the generall Estates, who being assisted by the Leiger; they made their proposition vnto the said Estates, exhorting them, to continue firme in the vnion of their Prouinces; as the chiefe foundation of an Estate, and to be carefull lest the changes of Magistrates and Consuls, which they had made in their Townes, did not increate the hatred and dissenion among the Citizens in stead of curing it. That the Synode which they had called should be free and safe, for all which should assit there. That free Common-wealths, had alwayes spared the blood of their Citizens. That the Seigneur of *Barnuel* was recommendable for the good seruices which he had done vnto his Countrey. That they should giue to him and others accused, Iudges which were not suspect, nor passionate, who may iudge according to the lawes of your Countrey, by plaine and vndoubtfull proofes, and not by coniectures and presumptions. That the King aduised them to vse Clemencie, and mildnes towards these prisoners, and not rigor, as most pleasing to God, and fit to winne the loues of the people, and make them obedient, which his Maiestie desired for the interest hee hath in the preservation of their State, and the knowledge he had of the great seruices this prisoner had done them; and the affection he had alwayes borne to entertaine the Alliance betwene France and that Estate; such remarkable testimonies of his loyalty and fidelitie, that they seemed to exclude all treason and treacherie.

The answer of  
the generall  
Estates.

The generall Estates made answer to the Ambassadors proposition; wherein they complained, for that the most Christian King would not suffer any of the Ministers of France to assit at their Nationall Synod, which began at Dordrecht the last yeare. And touching the Prisoners, there was no losse of time, but they laboured therein duly and diligently, wherein they had proceeded so farre, as they doubted not but they would soone come to iudgement, which should be such as at the publication thereof, all the Allies which did affect the prosperity of that Estate, and especially his Maiestie, who was a Prince of Iustice and Equitie, would commend their iust proceedings. But touching the Ministers of France, assisting at any foraine Synode, *K. Henry* the 4. at the Pacification of Nantes, inserted an Article, whereby all strange Ministers were forbidden to come to the Synods of the reformed Churches in France; and in like manner the Ministers of France restrained from any foraine Synods.

An Italian A-  
mbassador burnt at  
Thoulouse.

The last yeare in Nouember, there was an Italian in the towne of Thoulouse committed Prisoner, who was a Philosopher, and a very learned man, and went from house to house to teach such youth, as desired to learne Philosophie. Hee maintained and taught, that our bodies were without soules, & that dying all dies with vs like vnto brut beasts. That the blessed Virgin *Mary* (oh execrable blasphemie) had had carnall knowledge like vnto other women; with other words more scandalous, and vnworthy to be written, or spoken.

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A By his eloquence he did so insinuate his pernicious doctrine into the vnderstandings of his priuate auditors, as they began to wauer in their Faith: which coming to the knowledge of the Parliament, they sent out Warrants to apprehend him; who being examined, hee maintained his instructions to bee true: whereupon his proceesse was made, and sentence giuen, by which hee was condemned to doe penance in his shirt, with a Torch in his hand, and to be drawne vpon a Hurdle, his tongue to be cut out, and to be burnt alive, the which was executed in the beginning of Februarie. He died with as much constancie, patience and resolution, as euery man did. For coming out of the prison with a cheerefull countenance; He spake these words in Italian: *Gom gente, let us die cheerefully like a Philosopher*. Being aduised to aske God forgiveness, he said in the presence of many; There is neither God nor deuill: for if there were a God, I would intreat him to shooe a Thunderbolt vpon the Parliament, as being altogether vniust. And if there were a Deuill, I would also pray him to swallow them vp into the infernall gulfes: but because there is neither the one or the other, I will not say any thing.

Hauiug made mention of the punishment of Atheists, wee will continue the discourse, with the relation of a Iewish woman, which was burnt by the people of Saint *Iohn de Luz* on the twentieth of March. *Philip* the second of Spaine, hauiug vniued Portugall to the Crowne of Castile, many Families of Iewes retired themselves into Holland, and other places of Christendome, for feare of a strid Inquisition: and many were fled into the Villages, vpon the Frontiers of Biscay, where they did liue Christian-like in shew, and yet in secret they made their Conuenticles and Synagogues in Caves, contrarie to the Kings ordinances.

A Iewish woman burnt by the people of Saint Iohn de Luz.

The Vicar generall of Bayonne, hauiug giuen charge to a Priest of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, to obserue the behauiour of these Portugals, he did it so carefully, as on the 19 of March, certaine Portugall women presenting themselves to Confession, and afterwards to the Communion, which was administered vnto them, by one *Don Anthony* a Portugall Priest, but held for a Iew: he discouered that all these women as soone as they had receiued the sacred Host, they presently put their right hand to their mouths, which made him coniecture that they tooke it forth. Being verie nere vnto the last, whose name was *Katherine Fernandes*, hee plainly perceiued, that as soone as she had receiued it, she drew it out with her Handkerchiefe, and hid it in her sleeue. Whereupon the Priest went vnto her, saying, wicked woman, what hast thou done? who seeing her selfe surprized, answered that she was mad. Hereupon the Priest called some to assit him: which the Portugall Priest, & the other women perceiuing, they fled presently away. *Fernandes* being taken, and caused to draw out her handkerchiefe, they found the Host in it somewhat moist, the which they put vp againe with great reuerence into the holy Pixe. The woman being examined by the Vicar generall of Bayonne, she excused her selfe, saying, that the Deuill had made her commit this sinne; that coughing, it had slipped out of her mouth, and that she had kept it to take at leisure in her lodging. The people being impatient of any long delay in her examination; and hearing that the Iewes had made a purse to saue her life, they resolved to doe iustice themselves. So going into the Vestry, they brought her forth in the view of many Iudges, putting her presently into an empty barril, and an empty Pitch-barrel vpon her head and shoulders. Then filling the barril wherein she was with Pitch and Rosin, Straw, drie Wood, and other combustible materials, all the people came running and set fire to it, burning her alive, which the Officers of Iustice could not hinder. Being burnt, they found in the Ashes Jewels of great price, for she was verie rich.

After this, the people gaue present commandement to all the Portugals and Iewes to depart from thence forthwith, if not, to be all burnt: whereunto they were forced to obay flying to Biarintell, a league distant from Bayonne, where they were now remaine.

The King Proctor generall of Bourdeaux caused information to be made for this burning, and Warrants to be sent out, to apprehend as well the Bailiffe and Iurats, as against the rest of the Inhabitants of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, being an enterprize of dangerous consequence, and against the authoritie of the Kings iustice: but it was a popular mutinie, zealous in their Religion.

The Duke of Sauoy, hauiug receiued newes in the beginning of the yeare by a Post, sent from the Cardinal of Sauoy; That the Treatie of marriage of the Prince of

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Pied-

Triumphat  
Thurin for the  
conclusion of  
the Princes  
marriage.

1619 Piedmont with the Ladie *Christienne* second daughter of France was concluded, A they were verie acceptable, being accompanied with a fauor wherewith the King honored the Prince, sending him the Ladies colours, which were presented vnto him by *Monsieur Marin*, Councillor to his Maiestie, and his Agent in Italie. For three daies space there was nothing but publike processions throughout all Sauoy, and Piedmont, shooting off of Cannons, Bonfires; and other exterior signes of ioy.

After which there was a solemne triumph proclaimed, in which the Prince was Challenger, being assisted by eleven other Knights, and Prince *Thomas* his brother defendant with as many more, all which was performed with great state. The Court of France was in like manner full of ioy. The Duke of Elbæuf married the yong Ladie of Vendome. B The Duke of Guise went from Paris to Marceilles, to draw a Fleet together to free the Seas from the Pyrats of Argier; and the Duke of Tremouille went to Sedan, to marrie the Duke of Bouillons Daughter, where there was great triumphs and ioy.

The Prince of Piedmont and his brother Prince *Thomas*, came to Lions on the first of Februaire, where *Monsieur D'Alincourt*, Gouverneur of the Towne, entertained them verie sumptuously. From thence they tooke Poste and came to Rouan where they imbar- cated vpon the Loire: but their boat making no such speed as the Prince desired, he landed at Bonne with his brother and some Noblemen, leaving their traine to come after: there they tooke Posts and came to Paris on the tenth of February, where they were entertained with all shewes of honour. On the 10 of February the Prince of Piedmont was married to the Ladie *Christienne* the Kings sister: And it was observed that on the 10 of February, in the year 1606 she was borne. There were manie discourses vpon this marriage, to shew how religiously the will of the deceased King *Henry* the Great, had beene performed in the accomplishment of this marriage: That it was necessary to renew the ancient alliances of the Kings of France and Dukes of Sauoy thereby. To honour this Marriage the King presented the most itatclift maske which hath beene read of.

During these Magnificences in signe of publike ioy for the Ladies marriage, and of an assured peace in France, They might discouer a thicke cloud rising about Metz. The King had lent for the Duke of Espemon to come to him to Rouen during the Assembly, who leaving his government of Angoulême attended vpon his Maiestie. The Court returning to Paris, in the beginning of the year 1618, whether he had taken some discontent, or they had given him any: In Aprill following, hee tooke occasion to goe visit his faire house of Fontenay in Brie, and some dayes after retired to Metz, being discontented with those whom the King fauoured, so as meeting them once going downe the great faiores at the Louure, and they comming vp, he said vnto them, *My masters you mount, and we descend*. The which the Courtiers observed well. That being at Metz, vpon certaine differences which had happened, the President and some of the discreetest Inhabitants, were gone out of the Towne. The King desiring to be informed of the true cause thereof, had sent *Monsieur Fauier* a Councillor and Master of Requests to Metz, with commission to restore all things to their first estate. The which he had done for the President, but not for the rest: whereof he brought Letters from the Duke vnto the King, and that it seemed he had a desire to part from Metz, to goe to Angoulême. Whereupon the King wrote vnto him.

That in regard the warres were newly kindled in Germanie, and that it seemed they would not bee so easily quenched, but might extend further: He held his presence more necessarie now then euer in the town of Metz, commanding him expressly not to depart without order from him, the which hee should haue, as soone as the affaires of the Frontiers would suffer it: assuring himselfe, that hee would yeeld him the seruice hee desired, and whereunto he was bound by his place. Paris the eleuenth of January 1619.

The Duke made answer vnto the Kings Letter, the which I amforced to insert, being matter of State, and the forerunner of a great alteration.

Sir, (saith he) I haue nothing to answer to your Maiestie: But that hauing depended absolutely vpon your commandments; and hauing neuer propounded in my actions any other ends then the good of your Estate, the least interest which shal concern my charge, is not only sufficient to stay me here, but shall bind me to expose my life in all places for your seruice: but now, Sir, France enjoying a generall Peace, your affaires

fo

A so strongly continued; and the honour of your friendship so depe vnto your neighbors, that as there is nothing within the Realme, but bowes vnder your authoritie: so abroad there is no Prince but doth respect your power, or is perswaded by your iustice. And touching the troubles of Bohemia. The danger which they imagin (who make matters greater then they are) is so farre from this Frontier, as the apprehension were would take, can haue no ground, seeing that no man Armes on this side the Rhine. Those considerations, Sir, doe not binde mee to stay in this Countrey where all things are in so good an Estate, and where the stay of my Sonne, *La Pallete* shall be sufficient in my absence, to give order for any thing which may concerne the good of your affaires. I assure my selfe your Maie- B ste is so iust, as you will regard the necessitie of my particular, and be pleased that I may returne vnto my house from whence I haue bene absent about fiftene moneths. I take that libertie which you allow vnto the least, which haue the honour to be vnder your obedience. I doubt not but you will be well pleased with the desire I haue to make this Voyage, and assure my selfe you will consider that since your comming to the Crown, being bene engaged in 100000 crownes for your seruice; for which I pay the interest at Paris, and not having received any gift from your Maiestie these two yeares, but the simple pay of a Colonnell, at the rate of ten moneths a yeare, it is not possible for mee to defray the great and necessarie charges that I am bound to bee at here, to maintaine the dignitie of my charge, and doe your Maiestie seruice with more lustre. Finally, Sir, seeing C mine enemies daily seek to raise doubts in your Maiesties minde of my pure intentions, & that I am so unfortunate as being growne old in the seruice of three great Kings, I must be troubled to defend my loyalty against a slander. I am inforced to say with much griefe, that I haue contained my selfe in my dutie, when as they propounded vnto me recom- pence for disobedience: and that I haue defended your authoritie, when as some abused it, and others contemned it. They doe mee wrong to thinke, that I would begin to faile at this age, and that my particular interells are more deare vnto me then your seruice. Where- in, Sir, I will freely confesse, that I haue no cause to complaine but of my bad fortune, being assured that vertue is not suspected vnder your raygne, nor reputation odious; and that your Maiestie is too iust, not to distinguish the innocent wronged from the Nocent. For D in effect, Sir, seeing that when you were not yet at libertie, the mildnesse of your disposition was so great, as you did alwayes oppose against violent Councells, and could endure that your authoritie should be employed to the ruine of your subiects: There is no apparance, that now when you depend wholly of your selfe, and that no man doth force the bounty of your inclination: you would toyle the age of one of your best seruants, and the most ancient Officer of your Crowne, nor deny him that rest which Nature demands. I thinke, Sir, I may hope for this, at the least as a recompence of my long & faith- full seruices, seeing your Maiestie may giue me, (as I most humbly beseech you) without any discommoditie of your affaires: hauing neuer expected any other fruit of my actions, then the contentment to haue done them. I shall hold my selfe happie enough to receiue the Testimonie of my conscience; to haue been truly, and so will continue, your most humble, faithful, and affectionate subiect and seruant, *J. Lewis de La Pallete*. From Metz the sequenteenth of January 1619.

Thus the King would haue the Duke of Espemon continue at Metz, and he desired to goe to Angoulême. The subiect of his desire will bee knowne hereafter by that which happened.

Ypon this resolution he made preparation for all which he held necessarie for his voy- ages, that is to say, of Men, Armes, and Horles, hauing drawne together 200 Cheual- liers and Carabins. All being ready, he caused the gates of Metz to be shut some daies to- gether before his departure, and certaine daies after, so as they could haue no aduantage E against Cour before he had crost Lorraine and Bourgundie, past the Riuier of Loire be- tweene Delfe and Rouane, and Lallec at Pont de Vichy. From whence hee wrote thus vnto the King.

Sir, hauing formerly represented vnto your Maiestie the long patience wherein I haue stood in my governments of Metz all occasions to doe your seruice, and promising vnto my selfe, that hauing taken into consideration, the necessitie of my affaires: you would bee fully perswaded of my resolution, to law fully grounded. I did beleuee that I should not be disappointed by your Maiestie, or any other; if at this age (hauing given the best

[ 3 ]

part

The wedding of  
the Prince of  
Piedmont with  
the Ladie  
*Christienne*.

The Duke of  
Espemon re-  
directs to Metz.

The Writing of  
the Duke of  
Espemon.

The Duke of  
Espemon an-  
swers to the  
Kings Letter.

The Duke of  
Espemon  
leaves Metz  
contrary to the  
Kings will.

Another  
Letter of  
the Duke of  
Espemon.



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part of my life vnto the publike) I desired to goe and end it in peace, and to enioy part of that rest which you haue purchased for your estate. Notwithstanding Sir, the least of your desires are so deare vnto me, and I am so religious in all the circumstances of my dutie, as I had not vnderaken my journey, if the subiect of my stay had not ceased, and the difficulties of the warre of Bohemia quite taken away. But hearing that the Duke of Lorraine had bene aduertised from those Countie, that the affaires were vpon point of reconciliation; and that the ouerture began by a suspension of Armes, I did not thinke that the good of your seruice bound mee to stay any longer in a place, which is in no danger in the time of Peace, and which will reape benefit by the weaknesse of the Empire, if the warre continue. If there be any part in this Estate which is lesse found then others, and wherethe publike tranquillitie hath need to bee more carefully preferred: I assure my selfe that your Maiestie will iudge, it is the Prouince whither I goe: And therefore it is vnder my charge, I am bound to watch for all which may concerne the quiet thereof, and not to suffer any thing to passe, which may preiudice your authoritie. As Sir, if now I embrace the occasions, your Maiestie (if you please) will doe mee the honour to consider that herein I disobay not your commandements, but doe expound them according to their true sense, and giue them their best interpretation, being most profitable for your seruice. For in effect, Sir, no man is ignorant, that as the maintenance of your authoritie is the first law of your Estate; so the good of your affaires, is the most important of your commandements: which being absolutely true, what apparance should there be (if hauing meanes to preferre a Prouince diuided in wall for your Maiestie; and by my preference to stay them which might bee subiect to alterations, if they were not fortified in their duties) to breake off a necessarie voyage. I should propound to my selfe so weak and remote considerations as those of the warre of Bohemia. I am not, Sir, of that rage that I should feede my selfe with vanities; neither doe I thinke that your Maiestie doth regard me so slightly, as you will make no other vse of my seruice, then to see your packets safely conueyed from Germany. Nor doe I hold my selfe so vnprofitable as I must be forced to doe you and your Estate serices of so small consequence. I humbly beseech your Maiestie to iudge fauourably, and to doe me the honour to beleaue that wherofocuer I am, (notwithstanding the bad vsage I haue receiued for these twenty moneths) there is not any man liuing, that can corrupt me; nor any powerfull necessitie alter me, but will alwayes be your most humble, most obedient, faithfull, and affectionate seruant. *To: Lewis de la Palette. From Pont de Vichy the 7 of February 1619.*

The Duke of  
Epemnon  
words going  
out of Metz.

The Duke continued on his journey to recouer Angoulême, by the Countie of Lymosin. It was written to Court, that going from Metz, hee would see all his troupe that should accompanie him in this voyage, goe out of the gates before him: that hee came last, and that the gates were shut vpon him. That hauing viewed his companie, and finding them all to be well mounted and armed, he said, *I goe to vndertake the boldest enterprise that euer I made.* They thought in Court that his meaning was concerning his going from Metz, contrary to the Kings expresse commandement (which indeed was verie bold: but afterwards they found, that his meaning was, by the assistance which hee gaue vnto the Queene to conduct her from Blois to Angoulême.

The Duke of  
Epemnon  
tutors the  
Queene de-  
parture from  
Blois.

The King and the whole Court was gone in the beginning of Lent to Saint Germain in Lay, but he stayed not long; for on the three and twentieth of Februarie, a Nobleman brought him Newes that the Queene his Mother was gone from the Castle of Blois, vpon the one and twentieth, at night: That she had past by Mont Richard, wherethe Archbishop of Thoulouse met her with twenty horse; and a little beyond, the Duke of Epemnon attended her with a great troupe, and conducted her to Loches. These newes were the subiect of the Kings speedie returne to Paris, where hee received this Letter from the Queene his Mother.

The Queens  
Letter to  
the King.

My Lord, my sonne, I haue suffered my honour and libertie to bee long oppressed, and haue endured strong apprehensions of my life; and that which was most sensible vnto me, was the priuation of your sight. All which hath bene done, being in some sort countenanced by your name: with the like patience would I haue attended the future, without search for mine owne particular, whether your will were well or ill aduised, but being informed to my great griefe, of the apparant danger of your affaires, I was not soone

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A soone made knowne vnto you, I resolved to put my selfe into some sure place, where being free, I might let you vnderstand that which was impossible for me, being in the power of those which hide it from you, as some of the greatest of your Kingdome and abroad, haue with a thousand protestations counselled mee to doe. To this end I haue hazarded a perillous departure, and haue entreated my Cousin the Duke of Epemnon, to reuise me to Angoulême, whither I goe in regard of the certaine knowledge I haue of his fidelity and affection to your seruice; and by that which your father of happy memory my Lord and Husband gaue me, commanding me to rely wholly vpon his integrity and wisdom, in your most important affaires; and for mine owne particular, if they could be diuided from yours, which hauing done for your good; and to moue you to prevent the inconveniences which might trouble you, I assure my selfe that you will allow of my resolution, and be well pleased that I inuite you thereunto, by the most tender affections of a good mother, and by the truest duties a faithfull seruant can doe you; assuring you that you shall doe much for your selfe, and shall greatly binde me, if you giue the meanes and man, wherewith it shall please you I shall hold to acquint you therewith, without hatred or ambition: to the end I may see your reigne happy, and your Realme in peace; and that it may be knowne, that I neither haue had, haue, or will haue hereafter any other end but your seruice: for the which I will not onely forget all my discontents, but will willingly sacrifice my liberty and life, when the good counsell you should haue, or your selfe shall C hold it profitable. Delay will breed impossibility in the remedies, the which are now asie, safe, and honorable, as I will let you vnderstand with all sincerity and respect, and with protestation neuer to affect any authoritie in the conduct of your affaires: for as I deale therein with much paine and danger during your tender age, being therunto bound; so now I pretend no other part but the glorie to see them managed by your selfe, with the dignity and authority which is due vnto you, and to reioyce (as I would I now could) hearing euery man content with your reigne, proclaime your vertues and your prayes, in what place is pleased you I should end the remainder of my dayes: Praying God as I doe continually, with the most passionate feeling of my soule for your prosperity, and of your whole Realme, being your most humble and affectionate mother and seruant, *Mary.* D From Loches the 23 of Februarie.

The Duke of Epemnon in like manner the same day, and from the sayd place wrote this following Letter to the King.

The D. of  
Epemnon  
answers  
Lewis.

Sir, presently after my coming to this Towne, I receiued commandement from the Queene your Maiesties Mother, to receiue her here, and then to conduct her to Angoulême, wherewith I thinke she hath acquainted your Maiesty by her Letters, and with the subiect of her resolution: the which I thought I could not refuse, without failing much in my duty to your Maiesty and her; humbly beseeching you to beleaue, that as I haue neuer failed (nor withstanding any bad vsage) in my seruice to the King your Predecessor, and your Maiesty, so I would not beginne at this age to make a breach in my duty, desiring rather to die a thousand deaths, then to doe any thing contrary to the fidelity of my long seruices, and which might giue your Maiesty iust cause to doubt mee, as I hope to witnesse by good effects, in all occasions which shall be offered, to be your most humble and obedient subiect and affectionate seruant. *To: Lewis de la Palette.*

There was no answer made to this Letter: but to the Queene Mothers the King wrote this Letter with his owne hand.

The King  
answers  
the Q<sup>ue</sup>  
Mother.

Madam, I was at Saint Germaines with a resolution to see you within few dayes, when as three Postes brought the newes, that the Duke of Epemnon had caried you from Blois, hauing first perswaded you to leaue that place, vpon pretext that you could not continue there in safety. This action seemed so extraordinary and strange vnto me, as I could hardly beleeue it: For whether that I consider the quality of your person, or the condition of the time, you will confesse that there is no kind of discontent for the which I should be lesse prepared, nor thinking that there should be any man whatsoever, who in a full peace should presume, I will not say to execute, but to congeine a resolution to attempt vpon the liberty of this Kings Mother, but God who is the iust protector of Kings, and doth assist me visibly in all my designs, will giue me the grace to punish this injury to powerfully; the mischiefes shall fall vpon those which conder themselves with your name, and seeke their aduantages in the ruine of my subiects, and the blenish of my authority. The

marks

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marks of power which the Duke of Epernon doth practise vpon your spirits, are so vi A  
 fible in the Letter which he hath made you to write, as it is ealie to iudge, you haue writ-  
 ten it with griefe: For who can imagine, that hauing giuen me so many bad impressions,  
 you should now seek to perfwade me, that the deceased King my Lord and Father, had  
 commanded you a litle before his death, to make use of his counsell both in my affaires  
 and your owne. You know, Madam, in your conscience, that his opinion and apprehen-  
 sion were quite contrary, as you haue often declared vnto me, and haue your selfe made  
 triall by experience. Moreover, being well informed, as you are, of the good govern-  
 ment of my Estate, and hauing so often reioyced with me by your Letters, when your  
 will was not transported by the motions and passions of another: who would be so void  
 of iudgement, to beleuee that you haue not beene forced to complaine, that you haue  
 not receiued that viage from me you deserue? If that were, I deserued first to be blamed,  
 for that all resolutions which concerne you, haue not onlie beene countenanced by my  
 name, but haue proceeded from mine own motion, and the aduice of my Councell, which  
 is the Councell of the deceased King my Father.

Madam, my conscience, yours, and all France can witnesse, that I haue forgotten no  
 kind of dutie towards you, which is a great satisfaction vnto me: The loue and feare of  
 God being engrauen in my soule, as I hold my selfe more glorious in that fauour, then  
 in the possession of my Estate. I desire not that my Crowne should dispence me of the  
 respect which Children owe vnto their Parents. If you haue at any time thought, that  
 the tender feelings of a sonne were not visible, it was to take the true interest of a King and  
 Father of my People, and that the condition of times and affaires would not suffer me to  
 doe otherwise: You your selfe haue often witnessed by your Letters, that this conduct  
 was so iust, as you could not be offended, and that you willingly preferred the safetie of  
 the publicke peace before your priuate content. As for the government of my affaires,  
 whereof you are pressed to complaine with subiects, I will make them know (which haue  
 vnderaken it) that it is I that governe my Realme, and preside in all my Councells. And  
 when you shall be better informed of the truth, you will praise God with me for this  
 blessing. And to free you from the trouble wherein you are, I haue resolved to take armes  
 to restore you to the full possession of your libertie which your enemies haue taken from D  
 you, and the respect and honor which is due vnto you, promising in the faith of a Sonne  
 and King, to preserve them for you as carefully as mine owne life.

If vpon any occasion your abode at Blois be not pleasing, you may chuse anie of your  
 houses or mine to lue in with all libertie, and to change at your pleasure, where I will  
 presentlie come to visit you. At this interview, you may deliuer vnto mee by word of  
 mouth, what you thinke imports the good and quiet of my Realme. All other aduertise-  
 ments touching my affaires comming from you, would make the world thinke that they  
 rather sought shewes then profit. I coniure you to giue me the meanes speedilie to trust  
 me and loue me, as I loue and honor you. The Seigneur of Bethunes, whom I haue cho-  
 sen as one of my faithfull seruants and yours, will acquaint you with my particular inten-  
 tions: I pray you beleuee him as my selfe, who am your most humble and obedient son,  
 Lewis. Paris the 12 of March, 1619.

This alteration vpon the Queenes departure from Blois, produced nothing but Let-  
 ters and Answers, which being a high point of State, I am forced to insert. Hee that  
 brought the Kings Letter to the Queene, presented this following, to the Prince of  
 Piedmont.

Son, I take it for a beginning of good hope, that you are now present with the King my  
 sonne, and haue the honor of his alliance, to ioine your prayers vnto mine, and to dispo-  
 se him to redresse the miseries which are ready to trouble the dignity of his authority, and  
 the quiet of his Estate. I haue retired my selfe late and without any circumstance, which  
 may be suspected for the discouery thereof: and to satisfie my duty, and the requests  
 which the greatest and wisest of the Realme make daily vnto me, whereunto the extrem  
 misery wherein they haue made me lue long, could neuer draw me in regard of my pri-  
 uate interest. If there were no question but concerning my selfe, the name of a gene-  
 rous integrity which you haue purchased, and the respect and obedience you yield vnto  
 my Cousin the Duke of Sauoy, your Father, would make mee haue a very good conceit  
 of your good offices. But seeing it concerns the interest of the King my Sonne, from  
 the

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A the which mine cannot be separated, and whereby you should expect great aduantages, if  
 he gouerned him selfe with vertue and reputation, and according to the ancient orders of  
 the Realme which God hath giuen him. I will summon you boldly to moue him, that he  
 would speedily heare what I am bound to tell him for the prosperitie of his affaires, and  
 the speedy redresse of disorders, which I with with passion, praying vnto God for his fe-  
 licity, and to giue you all happinesse and satisfaction, &c.

Whereunto the Prince made this Answer.

Madam, it was a great content to prepare my selfe, to accompany the King my Lord,  
 in his resolved voyage to Blois to visit your Maiesty; hoping to doe my duty vnto you,  
 and promising to my selfe that the interview of your Maiesties, setting a perfect vnion (as  
 he hath obserued all signes of good disposition) I should haue better meanes to testifie my  
 submission and obedience, and how much I esteeme the honour to bee allied vnto you.  
 But the more I ioyed in the expectation of this happinesse, the more I was grieved to be  
 frustrated thereof by your Maiesties sudden departure, the which was the more sensible,  
 for that I saw by your Letters you tooke an occasion to retire, thinking you were not safe,  
 and that you could not freely acquaint the King with the disorders which you conceived  
 were in his Estate: The which I esteemed proceeded not from your Maiesties meere  
 will, whose iudgement and disposition is too good; but from the practices of some, who  
 seeing your Maiesties readie to be strictly vniued, haue giuen you these impressions, hoping  
 C to profit by your diuision, and the troubles which they thought to bring vnto the State.  
 For it is most certaine, and I can iustifie it, that there is no kind of libertie but your Ma-  
 iesty might haue enioyed at Blois. And that nothing could bee added to the tender fee-  
 lings and true affection which the King beares you, nor to the conduct of his publicke and  
 priuate actions, all which are answerable to the great reputation which he hath gotten, and  
 the general esteeme is made of his vertue and generositie. Whereof (besides the effects  
 which all Christendome haue felt) I obserue daily manifest proofes, seeing him present  
 in his Councell, with so solid a iudgement, exact iustice, and so firme and constant a reso-  
 lution, as no man (considering thereof without passion) but will admire him, and thinke  
 that God hath not ended him with such excellent parts, but he will blesse his reigne, and  
 D aduance his glorie about his Ancestors. The profession I haue alwayes made to loue truth,  
 and the bond I haue to publish that which is so well knowne vnto me, and my great griefe to  
 see the Labyrinth wherein those (which disguise it) seek to plunge your Maiesty, must  
 free me for this libertie of speech, beseeching you with all humilitie, to banish from your  
 thoughts whatsoever you haue conceived in preiudice of the sinceritie of the Kings in-  
 tentions, and his wise government: assuring my selfe, that when it shall please you to sa-  
 tisfie your selfe by meanes which are not suspect, you shall finde all good content, seeing  
 that as a good & wise mother, you can haue no greater ioy then to see your sonnes affaires  
 flourish, and to lue in perfect friendship with him. I find him to bee greatly incensed  
 against those whom he thinks to bee disposed vnder your name to breed any alteration,  
 E and readie to set powerfully vpon them. It appertaines, Madam, vnto your prudence to  
 preuent the infinite hurt which may come thereof, and not to permit that (for your occa-  
 sion and vnder colour of procuring an order in the State) confusion and disorder reigne,  
 which doth ordinarilie follow ciuill warres. God, Nature, your owne good, and all con-  
 siderations bind you: and I assure my selfe so much of your good disposition, as your Ma-  
 iesty will be whollie enclined thereunto. The House of Sauoy, and my selfe especially, are  
 so bound vnto the King, as if to preferre his authority, to reduce the enemies of the pub-  
 like peace, and of the greatnesse of this Crowne, to reason, and to restore your Maiesty  
 to that libertie which they haue taken from you in going from Blois, he be forced to war,  
 we will willingly employ our liues and goods, and whatsoever depends of vs, to witnesse  
 F vnto the world, that we are not vnthankfull for those vnspokeable fauors he hath imparted  
 vnto vs, praying God that he will long preferre your Maiesty in health, and giue mee  
 meanes to merit by my dutie and seruite, the qualitie of your most humble and obedi-  
 ent seruant, Amadee. Paris the 12 of March.

His Maiesty being aduertised of the Queene Mothers departure from Blois, and that  
 she was arrived at Angouleme with great troops of horse, hee presentlie sent to all the  
 Gouernors and Lieutenants general of Prouinces, commanding them to provide for the  
 safetie of the Townes and places vnder their obedience, and to suppress all leuities of  
 Soldiers

The P of Pied-  
 monts answer  
 to the Queens  
 Letter.

Amadee  
 seruant  
 sent to  
 the Prince  
 of Piedmont.

The Cis-  
 sent to  
 the Prince  
 of Piedmont.

The King sends  
 to the Gouer-  
 nors of Prouin-  
 ces.

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Souldiers without his commission, and to fet vpon all those which should attempt the A contrarie; conceining that those which had giuen this counsell for her departure, had bad designs, and would not faile to make vse of this occasion, and of her name, to seeke their owne auantages, and to trouble the publicke peace.

At the same time the King wrote particulare to the Marshall of Bouillon being at Sedan, and sent vnto him the Seigneur of La Chesnaye to haue his aduice touching the Queenes departure: to whom he made this Answer.

The D. of Bouillon aduice to the King.

Your Maiestie commands me to giue my aduice touching these occurrents of the Queenes departure. In obeying I cannot be taxed with presumption, but well ignorance, for the small iudgement I haue in affaires. My affection to your seruice, and the fidelitie B I owe you, shall, if it please your Maiestie supplie the rest. The Queene your mothers departure hath giuen much discontent to all good Frenchmen, to see an alteration in the common and naturall intelligence which should be perpetuall betwixt your Maiesties. But as this displeasure is very sensible, so is it somewhat mollified by the assurance they haue that both by the law of God and Nature, your Maiesties cannot continue diuided in affection: You, Sir, of a good King and a good Sonne; she not onely of a Mother, but of a most humble Subject. Your Maiestie might see by the Letters which she wrote from Loches, that two passions, as the faith, made her goe from Blois with danger. First, the knowledge the hath of many things which concerne your Maiestie; and secondly, the feare of her life, submitting to your choice and will, the meanes she shall hold to acquit you thereof: with: Herobey your Maiestie shall be without constraint, iudge of her actions. That C king those counsels which shall be profitable for your affaires, you may reject the rest. Sir, France more then any other Realme hath bene tossed with the like sudden accidents, and much more violent: but they haue bene suddenly repaired without armes, which are alwaies hurtfull to an Estate. Thus, Sir, by a royall hand, powerful, iust, and milde, your Maiestie shall reape profit hereby, and consider what is defective to an assured tranquillitie, in which your authority may be preferred, the lawes of the Realme maintained, your Edicts of pacification entertained, the breaches repaired, the ialousies of your subjects taken away, and your fauours and honors imparted to the qualitie and merit of such as your Maiestie shall make choice of. Thus, Sir, you shall enioy an immortal glorie, and D as your Realme an assured felicitie. I cannot thinke that any man will aduise your Maiestie to take armes, but such as aime at a dissipation, and to equall their obedience to the equality which they shall finde in the sword, which is a detestable intention; they shall haue Heauen for their Iudge, and shall receive their punishment on Earth. In like manner, they which offer their seruice to haue wherewithall to deserue, whereof there are manie. Sir, heare the Queene your mother, by faithfull and sufficient men; heare the common desires of your Estate, and giue that which shall bee fitting: in doing so, if there bee any which vnder goodly shewes haue bad intentions, they will discouer themselves, and serue to shew your power and iustice in punishing them. Wherein, Sir, you shall bee serued by your good subjects as they are bound. For my part, who haue little remaining of life, and lesse of health, I will bring all that is in me or mine, without excuse, to serue and settle your authority with an assured peace, and to runne with all my Forces and a perfect obedience to your commandements, vpon those which shall presume to make any opposition: The number of which will be small, if there bee any, seeing nothing in the intentions of the chiefe bodies of the Realme both of the one and the other Religion, but a desire to enioy peace: thinking (as it is true) that warre would ruine both soules and bodies, and peace giue them a pious and religious vse. I haue dilated of these things more amply with Monsieur de la Chesnaye, whom I humbly beseech your Maiestie to heare, and to hold me your most humble subject and seruant, Henry de la Tour. Sedan, the 4 of March, 1619.

The words in this aduice, That many would offer their seruice to haue wherewithall to deserue, were found very true; for some imagining that a war would be kindled in the four corners of the Realme, came to offer themselves without sending for, but they were dismissed with thanks, for that their inclinations were well knowne. But the wisest and most iudicious spake their mindes plainly, saying, That they that should giue aduice to entertaine these diuisions, were pernicious: that it belonged onely to the King and Queen mother betwixt themselves to pacifie this alteration; and they which should make themselves all gold by the fauour of Kings, should seeke meanes which might not bee prejudiciall

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A ciall to the publicke. Within few daies after, the King caused a Declaration to be published, forbidding all leaues of souldiers, without Letters of commission signed by one of the Secretaries of State; and vnder the great Seale, with a Warrant annexed thereunto from the Gouernors of Provinces where they should be raised, or in their absence by his Lieutenants generall, commanding all which were already leauied to disperse themselves and retire vnto their houses: and if any should attempt the contrarie, he gaue charge to all Gouernors, Seneschals, Prouosts, and others, to charge them and cut them in pieces, which was strictly obserued in all France, but in some places of base Guienne and Poictou.

B In the beginning of Februarie, there happened a difference in the Gouernment of Guienne, betwixt the Duke of Mayen Gouernor, and the Marshall of Roquelaure the Kings Lieutenant in the said Gouernment, vpon diuers subjects; amongst other, for the Cattle of Reole, and the Cannon which was therein. This controuersie grew so bitter, as they drew souldiers to them on either side: and the Garison of the Cattle of Reole, which was usually but of nine men, was increased to the number of 400, which in the beginning bred some amazement in Guienne, especially in the neighbour Townes and Bourghes: for the Nobilitie of high Guienne did rather affect the Marshalls partie then the Dukes. The King hauing sent to the Parliament of Bourdeaux to pacifie this quarrel for the good of his seruice and affaires: Two Councillors of the Court were deputed, who went to the Marshall of Roquelaure, who was at Agen, and to the D. of Mayen to Nerac on the 21 of Februarie; and labored so in this businesse, as they reconciled it. The great Garison of Reole was discharged, and onely the nine morte payes remained. They restored the Artillerie which the D. of Mayen demanded: and the assemble of the Estates of the Province was concluded at Agen; where the Duke and the Marshall met, and entertained one another with all shewes and demonstrations of good intelligence for the Kings seruice: whereof his Maiestie being aduertised, was very well satisfied, for that they spake diuersly touching these alterations in Guienne: and at the same instant the D. sent vnto the King a copie of the Letter which the Queene Mother had sent vnto him: which was as followeth.

D Cousin, I had alwaies resolved to haue more patience then I could haue affliction, as long as there was no question but of mine own interst and troubles: for that I would giue no suspition vnto the King my Lord and Son, that I meant to separate my selfe from his will, although they held him ill aduised: but hauing bene solicited by complaints and generall entreaties, both within and without the Realme, to acquit the King my Son with the euident danger of his authoritie, and the quiet of his Realme: I made no difficulty to hazard my life by a most perillous issue, that I might let him vnderstand in all surety the passion of a good and faithfull mother; and haue aheadie written vnto him, most humbly beseeching him to prescribe me the forme I should obserue to giue him knowledge thereof. I thought good to impart the same speedily vnto you, for not onely the account which both my selfe and all France haue of you, makes me desire to haue your opinion: but also knowing that the King my Sonne doth much esteeme your counsels, I wish that you would ioine your prayers vnto mine to inuite him to the remedies which I know you vnderstand better then any other, to bee wonderfull necessarie: Coniuring you as much as possibly I may, to be careful that no alteration may happen; and that every man may attend from his good disposition that which hee owes vnto his subjects and his Estate. If I had need of witnesses to proue that the desire of the Kings seruice had moued me to these resolutions, wherein I had no consideration of that which concernes my selfe, I would name you the first. And now I sweare vnto you by the confidence which I desire to haue of your magnanimity for so important a businesse, & for the inclination which you know I haue alwaies had to you, that I haue not in my most inward thoughts other feelings then those which the prosperitie of the King my Lord and Son doe suggest. Let vs then labor therein, and you shall finde me for your particular, your good and affectionate Cousin Marie. From Roche Polay the 6 of March.

To the which he made this answer.

Madam, I cannot conceale the great griefe I conceiue to see the estate, wherinto it seemes your departure from Blois may bring the affaires of the Kingdome: the which I should apprehend the more, without the assurance which it pleaseth you to giue mee of it your

A controuersie betweene the D. of Mayen & the Marshall of Roquelaure.

The Queenes Letter to the D. of Mayen.

The Duke of Mayens answer.

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" your good intentions for the Kings contentment. Madam, I beseech God with all my A  
 " heart to assist you with his holy inspirations, being vnable herein to contribute any other  
 " thing then that which belongs to the duty of an honest man and most faithfull seruant to  
 " the King, and who hath resolved without any other considerations to oblige himselfe only  
 " to the Kings will. Doe mee the honor, Madam, in the meane time to beleuee that I am  
 " your most humble and obedient seruant, *de Mayenne*. From Bourdeaux the twelfth of  
 " March, 1619.

It was obserued, that the three answers from the King, Prince of Piedmont, and Duke  
 de Mayenne, were all dated on the 12 of March, and that there were 17 dayes past from  
 the writing of the Queens Letter at Loches and the said 12 of March: the which gaue B  
 the Queene occasion (seeing such preparations of warre) to write foure Letters on the  
 10 of March, that is to say, to the King, the Chancellor, the Keeper of the Seales, and  
 President *Jannin*. Whereunto the King made no answer, for that hee expected to vnder-  
 stand the Queens intention in answer of that which he had written vnto her: the rest made  
 their severall answers, the which because they are conformable to the Letter which shee  
 sent to the D. of Mayen, I will not trouble the Reader with any repetition.

In this month of March, the common talke in Court was variable, one day peace,  
 and another day warre: one day they held it a good signe of peace, that *Monsieur de Be-*  
*thunes*, sent by the King to the Queene mother, had also commission to goe see the D. of  
 Espemon: and the next day they sayd there would be warre, in regard of the many com- C  
 missions which were sent to the D. of Mayen in Guienne; to the Earle of Rochefoucault,  
 in Poitou; and to the Earle of Schaumburg, in Lymosin: one day they shewed the names  
 of Noblemen, which had assisted at the Queenes entry into Angoulesme, who knowing  
 that the King was not well pleased therewith, had retired to their houses, and since had taken  
 armes for his Maiestie: and the next day they saw a lyst of such as had offered their  
 seruice to the Queene; yea and some after they had leauied their Companies with the  
 Kings Commission. Vpon these preparations made by the King to warre, the D. of Espemon  
 tooke occasion to extend himselfe to Towne Charente, where hee put a Garison, to  
 the end he might make himselfe Master of the Riuer of Charente vnto the Sea, and he sent  
 his son the Archbishop of Thoulouse to Loches with diuers troops of horse. This trou- D  
 bled the inhabitants of Loches with the feare of a siege, as most of them retired to the  
 neighbour Townes. At this day they had need of strong Citadels and Garisons, to force  
 the Townes of France to obey their Gouvernors, whom they see disobedient to the Kings  
 will. In the beginning of April, the inhabitants of Vzerche in Lymosin, and of Bullen  
 vpon the Sea in Picardy (whereof the D. of Espemon is Gouvernor) shewed the effects to  
 his Lieutenants.

The inhabi-  
 tants of Vze-  
 che are rich  
 themselves  
 against the  
 Abbey.

Vzerche is a reasonable good Towne betwene high and base Lymosin, vpon the  
 high way to Paris from Thoulouze. It belongs to the Church, the Abbot being Lord of  
 the Towne. The Abbey is vpon a little hill enuironed with a Ruer, where is onely a nar-  
 row passage which may be easily cut off; so as it is a naturall Citadell, and commands the  
 Towne, and hee that holds this Abbey, is Gouvernor. It were impertinent to repeat  
 how this Abbey fell into the D. of Espemons hands during the last alterations, through  
 the diuision which grew betwene the last Abbot deceased, and the inhabitants: but the  
 Duke being now in quiet possession, he put Captain *Breuil* into the Abbey, with a garison  
 of 24.ouldiers. The inhabitants who had *Breuil* for that he had beene a great partizan to  
 their deceased Abbot, finding that he had an intent to fortifie the Abbey with 100 men &  
 munition, they refused to hinder it, to take armes and recouer their liberty vpon this oc-  
 casion: whereupon they entrenched themselves against the Abbey, and sent to the Earle  
 of Schaumburg, the Kings Lieutenant in Lymosin, entreating him to succour them, who  
 presently marched thither with what friends and troops he could draw together. The D. F  
 of Espemon on the other side being aduertised that the inhabitants of Vzerche were en-  
 treached against the Abbey, he presently raised a flying Campe of 2000 foot 300 horse,  
 and two peeces of ordnance to relieue the besieged, but they were forced before he came,  
 as you shall heare: and in the meane time the Queene wrote a third Letter vnto the King  
 in these termes.

The Queens  
 third Letter  
 to the King.

My Lord and Sonne, I will neuer cease humbly to beseech you to receiue the sincerity  
 of my intentions, and to know that there is no person liuing that can haue more passion  
 or

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A or interest then my selfe in the prosperitie of your reigne, hauing propounded to my selfe  
 to acquaint you with the inconueniences which may alter the power thereof, onely in con-  
 sideration of your good and of your Estate, and for the great content I shall receiue to see  
 the inuolable power of your Scepter continue firme. Consider then if you please, whe-  
 ther it be iust, that in stead of receiuing my durie and affection, they make you leaue armes  
 particularly round about me, either to suppress the voice of my faithfull remonstrances,  
 or to ouerthrow my condition and libertie, which breathes nothing else then your au-  
 thority and content. If I be so vnfortunate as to haue giuen you such bad impressions of  
 me, as my petitions and libertie are in no esteeme, yet at the least turne your eyes vpon  
 the quiet of your people, and the discommodities which the firmeest and most absolute  
 Monarchies doe oftentimes receiue from warre: And consider that in this occurrent you  
 shall haue no occasion to vse force, being most certaine, then when you shall haue heard  
 what I shall deliuer vnto you, it shall depend of your selfe to apply those remedies which  
 you shall hold most conuenient, and I neither can nor will vse any other means then sup-  
 plications and humble remonstrances. Wherefore I coniure you vpon my knees, to free  
 me from the apprehension of present armes, and to take from the malecontents the pre-  
 text of making vse of this occasion, and be pleased that I may seeke to preserue Vzerche,  
 seeing that the Earle of Schomburg is the assailant, as I vnderstand, contrarie to your in-  
 tention, which is not to alter the quiet estate of your affaires: to the end that hearing that  
 C which I am bound to acquaint you withall, euery man may receiue as he ought, (and I  
 first of all) a law from you, and the order which you shall hold necessary for the good con-  
 duct of your affaires, &c. Your most humble and affectionate mother and subiect, *Marie*.  
 Angoulesme the 4 of April, 1619.

Whilest that the D. of Espemon marched to relieue Vzerche, the Queene mother  
 receiued Letters that the inhabitants of the towne of Bullen had done like vnto those of  
 Vzerche, and that the Duke of Espemons Lieutenant had put the higher towne into the  
 Kings hands. This reduction was the subiect of the fourth Letter which the Queen mother  
 wrote vnto the King as followeth.

My Lord and Son, It grieues me extremely to be constrained to beleuee, that my Let-  
 ters are troublesome vnto you, because I plainly see they preiuaile nothing. For hauing be-  
 sought you many times to giue mee the meanes to let you know (without feare or appre-  
 hension) that which I am bound vnto for the good of your seruice and State: I doe not  
 onely see an increase of the appearances of euill, contrarie to that which your goodnesse  
 made me hope; but by the counsels they giue you, I beginne to feele the most pernicious  
 effects in the enterprise which vnder your name hath bene made vpon Vzerche,  
 as I haue already aduertised your Maiestie, and in the other vpon Bullen, which I now  
 heare of with great griefe, it hauing added vnto my affliction so much the more, for be-  
 ing done at such a time as the faire speeches which *Monsieur de Bethunes* reported vnto  
 me from you, and his presence here, had almost giuen assurance vnto my sinceritie,  
 E and all men hope that I should bee shortly heare in the iust demand of making you to  
 vnderstand (without perill) that which you are in no case to neglect for the enioying the  
 powerfull continuation of your authoritie, and to giue to all your good subiects that  
 peaceable tranquillity which they desire. On the contrarie, I plainly perceiue, that they  
 raise warre, and trouble the dignitie of your power, and the publicke peace, onely to op-  
 presse me; seeing they assaile the places which should serue for my suretie and preserua-  
 tion, during the time that my mishap and other mens passions constrain me to be out of  
 the protection and assurance of your fauour, finding it very strange, that in stead of giuing  
 me occasion to moderate my feares and distrusts, into which the bad visage which I  
 receiued at Blois hath made me fall, they haue now mightily augmented the subiect.  
 F I appeale vnto your good nature and your iustice; and if that suffice not, vnto Gods,  
 against those which are the cause hereof: And in all humilitie coniure you, to hinder  
 this beginning of mischiefe which they procure, from which I might the better  
 shield my selfe, if the respect I beare you did not make mee vse all considerations  
 of not exceeding the termes of the necessitie of a iust defence: In which I  
 will attend to know, if I may haue hope to make you peaceably to vnderstand  
 what I hold is my dutie to performe: And doe pray you to beleuee that I will  
 continue (in seruing you as I should) to make true proofs that I am, my Lord  
 [t]

The Queens  
 Letter to the  
 King.

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my Sonne, your most humble and most affectionate Mother and subiect, *Mary*. From A Angoulême this 11 of April, 1619.

The morrow after the King had received this Letter from the *Queene* his Mother, a Post brought him this following from the Earle of Schomberg.

"Sir, seeing *Monsieur D'Espemon* within two leagues of *Vzerche* with his flying army, I resolved to assaile the Abbey, and that did so happily succed, that giuing the assault in five or six places, we forced the same the twelfth of this month. At this exploit there were some of the defendants slaine, and composition giuen to therest which had shut themselves vp in a Tower. I thinke *Monsieur D'Espemon* was neuer more grieved, for being so neere and not able to helpe it; if he come to assaile it, he shall finde whom to take B vnto. I keepe the field with my friends, which are in all five hundred horse, and will see what the enemy will doe, continuing to yeeld vnto your Maiesty the best seruices which I may, &c. *Schomberg*.

The Cardinal of Rochefoucault sent to the Queene.

On the seuenth of April, the *Seigneur de Bernille*, Restor of the Fathers of the Oratory, who was employed in the reconciliation of the King with the *Queene* his mother, arrived at Paris; and having made report vnto his Maiesty what *Monsieur de Bethunes* had aduanced in the businesse: the Cardinal of Rochefoucault receiued commandement to transport himselfe to Angoulême, and to treat in general of this reconciliation: whereupon he parted presently from Paris with *Berules* on the ninth of April.

Vpon the receipt of the *Queenes* last Letter, dated the 11 of April, the King sent her C this answer.

The Kings Letter to the Queene mother.

Madam, louing and honoring you as I doe, I cannot be but much grieved to see that all the care I haue employed for your satisfaction proues fruitlesse. You haue both by my Letters and by diuers personages worthy of credit whom I haue sent vnto you, receiued all manner of assurances of the sincerity of my intentions. I haue caused you to be satisfied touching all ieaousies and distrusts which they would giue you. Finally, I haue omitted nothing which I thought might content you; and yet, Madam, I finde by your two last Letters, and by aduertisements which I haue from diuers parts, that you witnesse, or rather that they make you to witnesse, to bee lesse satisfied now then at first. The cause hereof I would gladly find out, to the end that if it proceeded from any thing which depended on me, I might suddenly redresse it: But finding nothing about my person which D breathes not as much your good as mine owne, I am easily perswaded, that the mischief proceeds from the cunning of such as are about you, who hauing drawne you to the state wherein you are, disguise all things and diuert you from accepting that which is offered you on my behalfe: labouring to engage you more and more into disorders, hoping to raise their fortunes by our losse. If it please you, Madam, to waigh their proceedings, you shall easily iudge of their designs: they counsell you to write and publish, *I hat you haue no stronger passion, then to see my reigne to prosper; nor greater desire, then my peoples rest: That you will not attempt any thing to the preiudice of my authority; but will be the first to receive and obey my will.* These are your very words, and as I beleue, your intention. But E contrariwise, to trouble the publicke peace, and to ruine my Crowne, they haue vnder your name begunne long before your departure from Blois, and since continued, to trouble, corrupt, and stirre vp all they could against me, both within and without my Realme: They haue not onely leauied Souldiers, but seized vpon my Reuenues, imposed vpon my subiects, made enterprises vpon my places; and to omit nothing which might make a breach in my royall authority, they haue brought troops into the field with Cannon to set vpon the *Seigneur of Schomberg* my Lieutenant generall in Lymosin, who they knew had commandement from me to goe to *Vzerche*, which depends vpon his charge, to persecue the Religious, and other inhabitants whom they would oppress. Iudge, Madam, I pray you, if the effects be answerable to the words which they make you giue; and whether there be any reason I should allow of them, being not allowable either before God or Men: You haue often condemned farre lesser faults, & I rely so much vpon your judgement, that if you were at liberty you would blame these, and would be the first which would giue me counsell to suppress them.

As for that which they make you write touching the order I haue giuen for the preferuation of *Vzerche* and *Bellen*, I know not vpon what ground you should haue any cause to take exception. Every man knowes that *Vzerche* was viarped by the D. of Espemon vpon

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A vpon the Church and the inhabitants. That he had put a *Garison* into it of his owne priuate authority, and against my will: the which hee would haue augmented to molest my subiects, and to hinder the free passage betweene Paris and Thoulouse. As for *Bullen*, the inhabitants seeing, that to make them altogether subiect, he had drawne in many strange souldiers, they opposed themselves, and haue had recourse to me to protect them from this danger: whereupon I haue provided for the safety and preferuation of these two places. Who can iustly say that I should haue done otherwise, or that you haue reason to say it concerns your safety? they were appointed to another end, neither euer haue you had or shal haue need within my Realm: You shall be alwayes safe & free, where B soeuer my power doth extend: And I pray you, Madam, doe not imagine that you shall find in this world a more certaine safety, or more perfect content then in my affection; you cannot finde it elsewhere. I did wonder much, seeing you complaine by your last Letters, that they seeke by my Armes to stop your mouth, that I may not heare the aduice you haue to giue mee for the good of my affaires: You know that about three weekes since, I haue (according to your desire) commanded the *Seigneur de Bethunes* to heare them, and to represent them speedily vnto me, whereof you haue not yet made any mention, notwithstanding all his diligence; which makes me thinke, that what they persuade you to write, is but to giue some colour to the enterprises they make against my seruice. When it shall please you to make declaration, the Cardinal of Rochefoucault and C the *Seigneur de Bethunes*, haue commandement to entreat you thereunto on my behalf, and to assure you, that I will take such consideration as is fitting, coming from you. I vnderstand that the chiefe practice they vse to hold vs diuided, is to entertaine you daily in ieaousies and distrusts, and to that end they disguise all the actions which passe here, yea those which are most to your aduantage. But I call God to witnesse, that there passeth not any thing which can be preiudiciall vnto you, nor contradict the honor, respect, and affection which is due vnto you, and which I will haue every man yeeld vnto you, as my most deare mother.

It is by this name, Madam, and by the cordiall affections of a good Sonne that I conioyure you to settle your spirits; stop your eares hereafter to so many bad reports, and such D pernicious counsels as they giue you, and suffer not your name to be a couering to actions like those which they make you practise, being quite contrary to our common good, and that which you say you desire for the greatnesse of this Estate, and the maintenance of my authority. The best will be, Madam, if you please, and I entreat you with all my heart, to embrace the offers which haue bene made you in my name, seeing they containe whatsoever you can desire with reason, and tend particularly to confirme betwixt vs a perfect loue, vniuty, and confidence, which is the end whereunto wee should aime, and the fault shall be yours if we doe not attaine vnto it: for my part, I will neuer stray from it by any of my actions, but will alwayes witnesse that I am your most humble and most obedient sonne, *Lewis*. Paris the 23 of April, 1619.

E This year in the Spring, the Prince of Conde fell dangerously sicke of an impostume in his bowels, which breaking he voyded the putrid matter by the sege. There was commandement giuen vnto all the Churches to pray for his health, which was performed with great affection, and God restored him: the King sent daily to visit him, and was glad of his recovery. On the eight of April he sent him the skarfe and sword which had bene taken from him when he was first committed, and wishall assured him of his loue. His Maiesty commanded they should prepare a Hall for him, whither he might repaire when he went to heare Masse, and that they should suffer him to take the pleasure of hunting. Some haue spoken maliciously of this sickness, were ashamed when as the Princes recovery gaue them the lye, for the false reports they had dispersed amongst the F people.

The Prince of Conde dangerously sicke.

His Maiesty hauing giuen the rendezuousto his Army of Champagne, on the 27 of April, at Vitry, the troopes beganne to march, when as suddenly the King was aduertised, that there was some diuision in Metz, betweene the inhabitants of the towne, and the *Mirquis* of La Vallette, whereupon hee caused his horse to aduance towards Metz, but it brought no ease to the inhabitants: for that the *Marquis* hauing drawne in those souldiers which the Duke his father had engaged vpon the Frontiers of Germany, hee made himselfe absolute master of Metz, and disarmed the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Metz disarmed.

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During



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During this retreat of the Queene, there were diuers small Discourses published touching the present estate of France: among the rest there were two, the one was called *The Torment of the Courtiers Envy*, made in fauour of the Seigneurs of *Lynes*, by the Kings Proctor at Ville Neufue by Auignon; and the other was styled *The Lymosin*: who spake thus in his Discourse.

A Discourse  
touching the  
estate of  
France.

The Queene Mother hath governed the State of France seven yeares during the Kings Minority; the necessity of affaires hath brought in this kind of government, although it agree not with the humour of the French: All things have past with reasonable good order during her Regency; and this Monarchy is much bound to her wisdom and bounty. It is true, they are parts which are necessary at some season, but not always: for there are some defects whereof her felicity may be accused. All that can bee said if the King hath not beene well served, is, that there wanted a man. A womans spirit is subtil and inuentive, but not so fit to gouerne and conduſt. If the happineſſe of France had produced a man worthy of this charge, it had beene hard to find him without interest. To chuse one which were not advanced aboue the rest, no man would haue obeyed him: To take it by authority, and not capable, were the ruine of the Estate. It was then necessary to auoid these inconueniences, that the Queene should haue the government, not for the profit they might expect from her administration, but for the danger which might happen, if it had bene put into any others hands. The person of a sonne, and the quality of a King, could not be in any danger of life or of State, being in the hands of a Mother and Queene.

The King hath already found, and if he may attaine vnto the perfect experience of the government of his Estate, we shall fee him iudge of all that hath past for the good of his seruice: amend that which shall be found imperfect, and take away that which the abuse and necessity of the time hath brought in. Such exercises will more fortifie his iudgement, then if he had found all things according to his desire. He will reioyce to see that France had wanted a man, and that hee was the man, which makes himselfe necessary for his affaires, which had need of his preference. The greatest of all the defects which had beene in the Queene mothers government, the King hath repaired of his owne disposition: which were the great aduancements of that oblerant and looting *Galiga*. It is true, shee had giuen her too great power, and too good a share in her secrets and counsell: for as for her husband, he was an image cast in metall, his life and motion wrought not but by the springs of his wifes wit: the Queene Mothers credulity could not thinke that this mans fortune should grow suspect, or that any great conceit should enter into his thoughts: She imagined to vndoe him as easily as shee had raised him, but hee was deceiued." So was it one of the greatest maruels which was euer seene in France, that a stranger, a man vnknowne, without merit, without authority or friends, destitute of courage, of iudgement, and of government, had done all for money: hee had made himselfe great, purchased honours, and had drawne many braue men to his partie; had made warre, assured his affaires, and setled his fortune in such sort, as none but the King could stay his violent course.

The Prince of Conde and the greatest of France joyned their interest to the common apprehension of this insolent fortune, but they could not oppress it. He had powerful Commanders, Townes and People, which caried the Kings authority vpon the front of their Armes onely to preferre him. The Armes were ready to ioyne; and France had beene vndone by France, if the wisdom of the Commanders had not prevented it: God, who neuer fauours the designe of Armes without a iust occasion of warre, vnder-tooke the vengeance of his Anointed, whose innocency was ill serued by either party: both Armes ~~fasted~~ under the Wine-press of his wrath, and Death caried away more men by sicknesse, then the sword had done in the bloodiest Batcels which we haue scene. The Duke of Mayen endured a sieg, and gaue goodly reftimonies of his valour and courage, but in the end he had the worst, without the fall of this Huge Colosse, which had couered France with his shadow from East to West. The shadows retire at the rising of the Sunne: so this Spirit of darkness vanished at the Kings anger: his life, his fortune, and his memory perished in an instant, and there remains nothing but the name of what hee was at the first.

As

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The Kings af-  
fection to Mes-  
sieur de Lutzel.

A- As Nature suffers nothing void, for a royal breed cannot live without friendship. The King rook *Monsieur de Luyne* into his affection from his infancy, and so preferred it, as, whilst he lived he had the goodliest fortune of any man living; such great favours cannot be enjoyed without enmity, which made every one difficult; some in regard of their private interest, others by opinion; so as all the world ~~was~~ drew unto him two of his Brethren, which fortified him greatly, for they were three in one. And to make them more invincible, he contracted alliance with ~~the~~ *Princes* of Rohan, Duke of Montbazou.

*Romany* in his *Torments of Courtiers Envy*, continues this discourse, laying; That the condition of all men is subiect to censure, for the Tongue is without respect, it pardons none. That the envious would renew the fable of *Gerion* with three bodies, publishing that vnder the three *Luyne*s the whole Estate of France was governed, and that the vsurped the absolute authority vnder the Kings name. That they would make the world beleue, that they were strangers and fables to the Pope, for that they were borne in his County of Auignon; putting in the same tank the Seigneur of Modena their Vncle, a Gentleman of many good parts, and much esteemed. But admitt it were so, I said he, for besides that they of Auignon and of the County of Venissin are reputed for true and natural Frenchmen; the truth is, that the House of *Luyne*s comes out of Prouence, and that they are issued by the fathers side from the Illustrious Family of *Albret*, and by the mothers side from the noble House of Saint Paul. *Monsieur de Luyne* Father had beene Knight of the Kings Order, Governour of the Townes and Castles of Beaucaire, Pont St. Esprit, and Bagnols, and had a Regiment entertained. The honor which he got during the reigne of King *Charles* the ninth, in that furious combat at Vincennes in the face of the whole Court, is memorable, where he tooke away the sword, and slue Captain *Paine*, who had bene 36 times in the field. This act wonne him much reputation with the House of *Bourbon*, to whose family they haue bene alwayes affected. *Henry* the great did loue the father, as hee would be God-father to *Monsieur de Luyne*s his eldest son; And for that he was of the Reformed Religion, he made *Charles*, Cardinall of Bourbon, his Deputy, and *Monsieur de Bellay* Master of his Horse: This Chriftning was in the Abbey of Saint Denis, in the yeare 1562, and the Cardinall named him *Charles*.

This great King finding his God-sonnes good disposition and loyaltie, hee gaue him to be King his Son, being then Dauphine: That if this young Prince began then to affect him it was first in obeying his Fathers will: But being advanced to age, he hath loved him by election, inuited by his commendable qualities.

The Author of this booke called *Lymon*, faith, that looke in what credit *Monsieur de Luyne* is with the King, the Duke of Epiron is with the Queene mother. The Sword and force of armes, saith he, must be in the Kings right hand, and good Captaynes must be called to Councells both of warre and peace, a warre cannot be made without them. In peace should not be concluded without their presence, seeing they are the true Judges of times and occasions to take or lay downe armes, and may discerne whether a warre be just or peace dishonorable. There are martiall men of good capacity, which induce naturally vpon a true and solid reason: "A found and vpright man hath no better Booke then his understanding nor furth. A sinner then the experience of the affaires of his profession: after the model whereof, he better judgements approaching to Prophecies.

I will not give my censure upon the confidence and merit of the Duke of Epemum, whether he have taken any cause of discontent, or that they have given it him; in regard of the time many times might be taken: But few few observations which I have made thereupon, shall suffice, the which may well be spoken (although they be not common) seeing they are true.

[illegible]

oblige them doth not engage their hearts: He is hangry and wary in the distribution of A his fauours: more seeke him then doe enjoy him: They which seeke are without hope, and they which enjoy him, without content: He that engageth himselfe vnto him, enters into seruitude: whosoever is his, doth sooner lose his liberty then winne his friendship: If he doth good to any, he makes him feele it in such sort, as it distastes him: if he hate, hee is irreconcilable: he neither knows humillity nor pardon. These are the conditions of a man who makes account to liue without the helpe of any: Norwithstanding, he is so followed, as if there be any faction, where the King is not interested, you shall hardly find in France so powerfull a friend as he. He hath of all sorts, great and small: but such as hee calls to his friendship, are commonly active men, and fit for something. He makes a difference of their condition by discretion, to the end there might be no enuy amongst them. Without losing any thing of his grauity, he takes wonderfull paines to keepe them, and yet it appeares not. He visits his friends often by Letters of his owne hand: his Secretaries know not all his affaires. He imparts his secrets with so much retention, as he knows there is capacity or hope of seruice in him that vnderstands them: for he alwayes keeps the best, and neuer deliueis the bottome of his thoughts, two being made partakers of the secrets of one thing will neuer iudge alike of his intention: for that hee propounds is diuersly, yet all his diuersities answer to one sense: plurality of aduertisements neuer hinder a resolution, whereas his thoughts haue past to the determination of his will. His friends are so charmed, as they desire rather to be blamed by him, then commended by another, C thesse esteeme they make of his iudgement. He doth all things without any noyse. If hee hath a quarrel, or be forced to fortifie himselfe against some dangerous enemy, whether it be to surpris him, or to prevent a surpris, his preparations are made in his cabinet. Commonly great men quarrels carry a great brute, they threaten afaire off; they take time to fortifie themselves with friends, and to winne those which will serue the first commet: But he hath the lyst of his friends in hand, a sheet of paper shewes him his strength when there is occasion to employ them: He doth aduertise them in time, then they are ready and know whither to goe: So as in any good action when as they shall thinke him ill accompanied, he will be sooner able to draw together the body of an army, then another shall make a consulted assembly of his friends, and all this costs him little, not doth not incommode him. D

The Duke of Elspem hath many good parts, we haue seene him practise the vse of them in good and bad fortune. In the time of the deceased King, he had found his Master, and therefore he liued retired, and medled not much with affaires, labouring onely for his owne preservation. Since, he hath made himselfe necessary to the State: yet domesticke discontents did much trouble him, and were the cause of his misfortune. The King being master, the Marshall D'Anne suppressed, and all things changed, he loyned his interest with that of the Queene mother, it may be he had some spleene against the Kings Paiores, and to maintaine himselfe, and to preserve his childrens fortunes. To attaine therunto, he hath fortified himselfe with friends and intelligences, according to his custome, in all the foure corners of France, where hee hath particular Governments.

His greatest Government is that of his particular Governments in Kaintonge, Angoulmois, and Lymosin, which he hath viued as one Government, and made thereof a Barre from the Mountains of Auergne vnto the mouth of Charente on the Sea betwene the Governments of Poitou and Berry, and that of Guienne. But Lymoges and Lymosin remaining in these alterations in the Kings obedience, hee possesseth now but Kaintonge and Angoulmois.

As for his second Government, which is the Countie and Towne of Bullen, vpon the Frontiers of Picardy, and along the Sea side: the affection and love of the people towards the King, hath deuised him thereof, as hath bene said. And touching his third Government, which is Metz and the Countie about it, which hath for frontier Germany and Lorraine, although the people bee as ill affected vnto him as else where, yet the strong Citadell of Metz keeps them in awe, notwithstanding the Kings Army bee nere them, vnder the command of the Duke of Lorraine. The tower of Loches, which makes his fourth government is a strong place, but in the midst of the kingdom on the Frontiers of Touraine being vpon his important passage of a river.

A river. This is the estate of his foure governments. As for his forces they are for the present force of five thousand foot, and a thousand, or a thousand and two hundred French horse, besides the strangers which he hath hired, and are in Metz: and this is all, and little against thirte thousand men which the King can leauy in eight dayes. On the other side, there needs no more then one siege to ruine a mighty Armie: and as an ancient Countellor of State, said: It is sometime necessitie to appeale Fooles & Malecontents which one might easily chastise, lest the wise become fooles, as in a ciuill warre. Thus farre the discourse called the Lymosin.

At length the Cardinal of Rochefoucault, and the Seigneur of Bethunes, being at Angoulmois, on the last of Aprill, agreed vpon these Articles following, in the name of the King and Queene Mother.

1. His Maiestie accordeth that the Queene his Mother may dispose of her house, as she shall please, making choice and retaining of what seruants she will.

2. That she may goe and come, and make her abode in what place of the Kingdome she please, and neere the Kings person if she like.

3. That during her life, she shall enjoy all that she hath held by assignation, gift, pension, and gratification, granted vnto her by the deceased King, and by his Maiestie, and that she should be paid the arrearages.

4. That she should freely dispose of all the Charges, Offices, and Benefices, depending C as well of the Demesnes which her Maiestie now enioyeth, as those which shall be giuen her, conformable to the expeditions which she hath.

5. His Maiestie promitteth to entreat louingly (like vnto his other subiects) all those which haue serued and assisted the said Queene, in her retreat from Blois; namely, the Duke of Elspem, and his children.

6. That his Maiestie will suffer them to enjoy all their Charges, Dignities, Offices, and Benefices, and restore them to the Townes, Places, and Castles, without any exception, whereof they haue bene dispossessed since the Queenes retreat. And moreover, that they shall be paid their Pensions, Estates and appointments.

7. That all such as had bene dismist by iudgements, or otherwise, from Court of D out of the Realme, should be recalled, and all prisoners set at libertie.

8. That all which hath past by reason of the Queenes retreat from Blois, whether it were leauying of men, imposition of money, or any other thing whatsoever, it should bee forgotten by his Maiestie without any question.

9. That within two months the Queene Mother should be discharged of the money which she was forced to borrow since her retreat.

10. That within sixe weekes, the Kings Declaration should be verified in all the Courts of Parliament, according vnto forme, without any restriction.

The King receiued these Articles on the second of May. Five dayes after he went into Touraine, to be the nearer to Angoulmois, for the execution of the Articles, and to treat of particular business. But especially for that hee had long before let the Queene vnderstand, of a desire hee had like vnto Kings his Predecessors for the government of Normandie, and principally King Lewis the eleventh; who for the nearnesse of this Province to the Capital Citty of his Realme, would not suffer his owne brother to hold it, although it had been promised him by the Peace concluded in the warre of the Common-wealth. The Queene had bene preferred to this government after the death of the Earle of Soissons, during his Maiesties minority: wherefore the King desired, that she should resigne this Government, and content her selfe with some thing else: the which was anably compounded by an accord, to giue her the Governments of the Counties of Angiers and Chynon, with some other places.

After this they began to disarme on either side, and the King wrote his Letter vnto the Court of Parliament of Paris, concerning this reconciliation betwene him and his Mother, and the conclusion of the peace. On the seventh of Iune, the Duke of Elspem wrote this following Letter vnto the King.

Sir, I haue bene so vnfortunate, that your Maiestie hath conceived any bad opinion of my intentions before that you were truly informed; I thinke that I haue done so by stifling them by my proceedings, as there cannot remaine any sinister impression. The Queene your Mother hauing done me the honour to employ me in an occasion which the

Articles concluded betweene the King and Queene Mother.

The Queene resigns the government of Normandie vnto the King.

The D. of Elspem comes to the King.

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held important for the good of your Estate, I dare boldly say, that the conduct I have used hath been such, as without any remembrance of mine owne feelings, or any resolutions which might have apparently succeeded, I have contented my selfe to let all France know, that I respect your authoritie euen among mine enemies. By this means, Sir, I thinke I have so cleared my actions to your Maiestie, as you should rest satisfied, and have giuen you cause to know that as a naturall defence, neuer wants a lawfull excuse: so ciuill warre could haue no iust cause. Now that it hath pleased your Maiestie by a Christian-like action, to adde that which seemed to want in the felicitie of your reign to settle a peace in your estate: All your good subiects are bound to haue the more confidence in your word; for that it is at this day the foundation, whereon all Christen-B dome relies; and that being giuen to the Queene your Maiesties mother; besides that God, Nature, your Conscience, and reputation doth warrant it vpon this holy and inuincible assistance, having giuen my interest to the good of your seruice, and taken all good Frenchmen to witnesse, that I have maintained my fidelitie without reproach in all the troubles of your Estate; I assure my selfe that your Maiestie is so iust, as you will suffer me to passe the remainder of my age with some content; and that you will hold my long seruices worthy of your remembrance. I have little to liue, and I should thinke I had liued too long, if I should feele my selfe culpable of a thought contrarie to the obedience which I owe your Maiestie. I humbly beseech you to consider, that desiring nothing in this world but a little rest for the end of my labours, and an honorable death, for your seruice; I thinke to deferre that which I desire, which is to die in the end content, so as your Maiestie will doe me the honour to beleue that I haue neuer benee other then your Maiesties most humble and obedient subiect and seruant, *De la Paletie*.

After this, the King caused a Declaration of his will to be verified in Parliament on the twentieth of Iune, concerning the Queenes departure from the Castle of Blois, and the execution of the Articles of the Treatie concluded at Angoulesme.

The reduction  
of Conquer-  
neau.

The King being at Tours in the beginning of Iuly, having receiued many aduertisements touching the carriage of the Seigneur of Lezonner, Gouverneur of Conquerneau, tending to disobedience and bad designs. He resolved to take from him this place, lying vpon the Sea, importing much, by reason of the strength of the situation. To this end he sent to the Duke of Vendosme, being in his gouernment of Britanie, and made him General of an Armie, the which consisted of three hundred of his men at Armes, three hundred Swisses, and some Cannon, which went downe the River of Loire, and were conducted by Sea. Sixscore Souldiers drawne out of the guards; which were sent to conduct *La Besne*, one of the Captaines of his Maiesties guards, and some companies of the Regiments of Picardie, Nauarre, and Beaumont.

This Capitaine made such speed, as in nine dayes hee came to Quimperle, within five leagues of the place, having marched seuen and fifty leagues in Britanie.

The Duke hearing of his diligence, commanded him to attend him there, and in the meane time to take vp all the Shouels and Pickaxes he could finde in the Towne. The Duke being ariued, he commanded *La Besne* to march away the next day, who came to Conquerneau, and lodged himselfe nere vnto the end of the bridge.

At the same instant the Duke of Vendosme, and the Marshall of Brisac ariued, sending to summon them of the Towne to yeeld it vnto the King. They demanded fiftene dayes respite, to aduertise their Gouernour, (who was gone forth two dayes before to seeke for succours.) They made answer vnto them, they should not haue one dayes respite. Whereupon the truce was broken, and they all retired.

The Duke of Vendosme, gaue charge to *La Besne* to desire to speake with *L'Hospital*, Sergeant Maior in the towne, and to perswade him to seize vpon *Querchesne*, who commanded in the Gouernors absence, and deliuer him with the towne the next morning, else they should all die. This being done, the Souldiers made answer that if *Querchesne* were comprehended in the Capitulation, they would defend themselves so well, as they would ruine the Kings Armie. To whom *La Besne* replied, Souldiers, you that speake so boldly, there is but one meane to saue you, in seizing vpon them which play the mutines with the hazard of your liues, the which you will lose ignominiously, for you will be all hang'd.

Hereupon they retired on either side: yet early in the morning the Souldiers desired

1619

A to speake with *La Courbe Hiré* Capitaine of the Duke of Vendosmes Guard: the which *La Besne* refused; he being there present and a Capitaine of the Kings Guard. Then they sent vnto him to excuse them, and to tell him that they had a great desire to parley, touching their capitulation. A truce being made, hee went to the end of the bridge, where the Sergeant Maior, and *Querchesne* intreated him to be a meane that he might be comprehended in the Capitulation. *La Besne* answered them, that when *La Courbe* came, they would both intreat the Duke, but he feared it would not be granted: and therefore their best expedient was to yeeld the place presently. The Souldiers told them that they were the Kings seruants, and that they would willingly yeeld: which *Querchesne* vnderstanding, he said, he would stabbe them all, and himselfe afterwards, if they had not a good composition.

*La Besne* aduertised the Duke of the parley, and Capitaine *La Courbe* came vnto him; who hearing how matters had past, went presently to the Bridge, perswading the Souldiers to seize vpon *Querchesne*, which they did presently, and disarmed him, saying, wee will binde him; and bring him to you. The which *La Besne* vnderstanding, he ranne to the trenches, and brought forth his company in good order towards the Draw-bridge, where he met with *La Courbe*, to whom the souldiers had deliuered *Querchesne*, of whom *La Besne* seized, saying, that the Prisoner belonged to him, as commanding the Kings guard, and having besieged the place.

*Querchesne*  
delivered to  
*La Courbe*.

C Presently after this, they deliuered the Keyes of Conquerneau vnto *La Courbe*, which *La Besne* in like manner challenged: but in the end they agreed that *La Courbe* should present them vnto the Duke in both their names. But in the meane time, *La Besne* got into the towne, and disarmed his souldiers, keeping his men in battell two houres, attending the Dukes pleasure: who being ariued with the Marshall *Brisac*, their meaning was to capitulate with them. But *La Besne* assured them that he had surprized the Towne & Fort two houres before, and disarmed the Souldiers. The Marshall hearing him, told the Duke that *La Besne* had done his duty in seizing of the place after that manner. Whereupon *Querchesne* was presently condemned and hanged before the Bridge. The Souldiers were sent away naked without their Cloakes, and white Rickes in their hands: yet they were conducted three leagues, lest the Country people should haue false vpon them.

In Iuly and August the King had sent many men of quality to the Queene mother, to summon her for an enteruiew, and to tell her that her presence was necessary at Court, for the quiet of the State. The Prince of Piedmont, hauing a great desire to see the Queene before his returne into Sauoy being her sonne in law by his mariage with the Lady *Christine*, the King was very well pleased he should go to Angoulesme, with Prince *Thomas* his brother, the which they did with a goodly traine of Noblemen. The Duke of Espernon receiued them with a state befitting their greatnesse: and the Queene held the mariage of her daughter with this Prince, for a special fauour from heauen. The Queen Mother (although they represented vnto her some difficulties, to diuert her from going to the King) told the Prince of Piedmont, that he might assure his Maiefty, that her desire was to approach neere vnto his person, to yeeld him and the State all manner of seruice: whereof she assured the King at his returne. But whether it were by reason of some indisposition, or for some distrust (as some supposed) the King feeling her stay, and desiring to haue the content to see her, he sent this letter by the duke of Montbazon.

The King sends  
to the Queene  
to come to  
Court, and the  
Prince of Pied-  
mont goes to  
see her.

Madam, the perfect vnion which I desire to confirme betwixt vs (being one of the worthiest and most commendable effects which a good inclination can produce) I will by all the meanes I can let you see how much I affect it. Madam, you know the persons whom I haue imploied to this end. I now send vnto you my cousin the Duke of Montbazon, whom I loue as much as any other, and the esteeme which you haue alwaies had of him makes me thinke, that you will giue more credit vnto that which hee shall deliuer vnto you on my behalfe, then to any other. Hee will assure you, that I desire not only a good correspondency with you, but that you should come and take your place in my Court with full confidence as you haue in my heart: you may stay as long as you please, and not depart vnlesse you like: it is the meane to liue together in amity. Seeing then Madam, that you know my intentions, and that you see them intirely disposed vnto all which you desired, I beseech you to repaire hither so soone as you may, to giue mee the contentment, that we may returne together to Paris: for I would not willingly leave this Country

The Kings  
Letter to the  
Queene Mother.

1619 "Country, (where I have so long stayed vpon your occasion) without you. I will attend A  
"your resolution, and will remaine your most humble and obedient sonne Lewis, From  
"Amboise the 17 of Iuly, 1619.

The Queene Mother hauing receiued this Letter, gaue the Duke such assurance of her resolution, as he told his Maieftie that without any further delay shee disposed her selfe to come to Tours. Whereupon *Monsieur de Brenz*, brother to *Monsieur de Luynes* was sent with some troopes of light-horse to attend the Queene in her voyage; who hauing conducted her to Poitiers, came to assure the King, that she would be at Tours by the 5 of September.

At this newes the whole Court prepared for her reception, as for a great feast long B desired. Some great Personages which had accompanied the Queene from Angoulesme to Poitiers, tooke their leaues, and returned to their houses, which made many thinke that all ieaalousies were suppressed.

The Queene  
Mother comes  
to Court.

The King sent *Monsieur le Grand* with many Noblemen to meet the Queene at Chastelleraut, and himselfe with his Queene and the whole Nobilitie and Ladies, went two leagues out of Tours to receiue her. At their first meeting, there were vnspokeable demonstrations of ioy, and content on either side. They write that the Queene Mother approaching neere the King, said, *My Lord, my Sonne, you are grown tall since I saw you.* To whom the King answered, *Madame, I am grown to doe you seruice.* The Court stayed some dayes at Tours, when as the Queene desired to goe to Angiers to see her new go- C uernment, where they made preparation to receiue her with great state, and in the meane time she retired to Chynon: And the King taking leaue of his Mother, went to Paris, where he entred not for feare of the Plague, but went directly to Compeigne, where they began to speake of the Prince of Conde's deliuerie.

An Assembly  
of them of the  
Religion at  
Loudun.

On the three and twentieth of May past: The King had granted a Briefe to them of the reformed Religion, to hold a generall assembly in the towne of Loudun: where being met, the Viscount of Turenne, second sonne to the Marshall of Bouillon, passing that way with his Mother, told them that his father would be alwayes enclined to the good of the Churches, and would willingly embrace their resolutions. Within few dayes after they were assembled, they sent the Marquis of Mouffay, with some other Deputies with D seuen Articles vnto the King.

1, Touching the reuocation of the Edict for the Church-lands in Bearne. 2, Concerning the continuation of their places of safety. 3, To haue the Gouverneur of Lestoure changed being become a Catholique. 4, To haue two Councillors of the Religion receiued into the Parliament of Paris. 5, To haue a substitute among the Kings learned Councill in the said Parliament. 6, To haue satisfaction touching the businesse of Tartas. 7, And for the burning of the Temple of Bourg. The Deputies had this answer given them, That it did ill befit the subjects (who termed themselves so zealous of the Royall authoritie) to treat with their King by speciall Articles; and that they should present all their demands together. Whereupon the Assembly laboured in such sort as their generall propositions E were concluded in the beginning of December: with a resolution not to dissolve the assembly, vntill they had a full satisfaction of their demands, and the execution of the same. They were caried to the Court by the Seigneurs of Courelles, of Bouteroue, and Allain, who presented them into the King the 20 of December, and in giuing them, the Seigneur of Courelles said vnto his Maieftie:

Speech of the  
Deputies of the  
Religion to the  
King.

Sir, we acknowledge it to be an ineffimable honour vnto vs, that it pleaseth your Maieftie to giue vs so free access vnto you, to present our requests, and most humble supplications. For although, Sir, it seemes to some that the humble petitions which wee presented vnto your Maieftie, for the maintaining of your Edicts, concerne vs alone, yet we may sincerely protest before God, that it is not our owne interest, that so much moues F vs, as the desire of the quiet of your estate, and to preferre our selues for the good of your seruice, which will be an excellent meanes to maintaine all your subjects in peace, so much desired of all good men.

An order made  
by the Assembly  
touching  
Catholique  
Preachers.

About the end of December, the said assembly made an order, touching Catholique Preachers, which should goe to preach in their Townes of safetie; forbidding all Gouvernours, Maiors, and Sheriffs, to suffer any Iesuits, or of any other order, to preach being sent by the Bishops of the Diocese.

The

A The Kings Proctor generall presented a request to the Parliament of Paris; against the said order. Whereupon there was a Decree made; commanding all Gouvernours and other Officers of the reformed Religion, to receiue all Preachers, were they Iesuits or of any other Order, that should be sent from their Bishops; for the comfort and instruction of Catholikes: forbidding them & all other the Kings subiects, to hinder them in their Sermons, or other spirituall functions, vpon paine to be declared troublers of the publique peace, and guiltie of treason.

Vpon the fourteenth of October, the Queene Mother went from Chynon, to Saumur; and came to lodge at Pont de Cé, and on the sixteenth she made her ioyfull entry B into Angiers. The Marshall of Boisdauphin, the Commander of La Porte, Gouverneur of the Towne and Castle of Angiers, the Marquis of Bellay, the Earle of Montfoucault, and the Marquis of Breszé being followed by fiftene hundred Gentlemen well appointed, went to meet her: coming neere the towne, there were 6000 Inhabitants in armes to attend her, where she was receiued with Orations, triumphant Arches, and stately shewes and inuentions: all which I must leaue to the original.

But leauing the Queenes entry into Angiers, wee will obserue the Prince of Conde's C coming out of the Castle of Bois de Vincennes. The King being come to Compeigne, he resolved to set him at libertie; hauing bene a Prisoner euer since the first of September 1616, whereof he aduertised him by his Letters of the 17 of October. On the nineteenth the King being accompanied by his brother and all the chiefe men in Court, came to Chantilly, from whence he sent *Monsieur de Luynes* to the Prince, to whom he deliuered this Letter from the King. Cousin, I will not tell you how much I loue you, you see it, I send vnto you my cousin the Duke of Luynes, who knows the secrets of my heart, and will acquaint you therewith at large; come to mee as speedily as you can, for I attend you with impatience: And in the meane time I will pray vnto God to haue you in his keeping.

At the same instant his guards retired, and he with the Princeesse his wife went to walk into the Parke, where *Monsieur de Luynes* acquainted him with his Maiefties pleasure: which done, he returned to the Castle. Hee lodged that night at Paris, and returned the D next day to Vincennes, from whence he parted with *Monsieur de Luynes*, *Monsieur Cadines* his brother, and many others to goe vnto the King, who had commanded the Duke of Mayenne as great Chamberlaine, to goe and meet him, and to bring him into his Maiefties Cabinet.

At his entrance, the Prince saluting the King, and bending his knee to the ground, King raised him vp, saying; Cousin you are welcome: then retiring themselves apart, they had some conference together: which done, the King commanded him to goe and refresh himselfe; and the next day the King and the Prince, with the whole Court returned to Compeigne; and on the fixe and twentieth of Nouember, there was a Declaration E to be made, touching the Prince of Conde's deliuerie. By which he declared the Prince to be innocent; of all those things which had bene imposed vpon him, and wherewith they had charged his honour and reputation; and had made it a pretext to haue him committed: reuoking all Letters, Declarations, Edicts, Decrees, Sentences, and Iudgements, made against his said Cousin, which might any wayes preiudice him; commanding them to be taken out of all the Registers of his Courts of Parliaments, and other places, and that the memory thereof might bee suppressed. His pleasure also was, That the Prince should enjoy all his charges, and governments, rights, prerogatives and preheminences appertaining to his qualitie, as hee did before his detention and arrest.

A Declaration  
touching the  
Princes deli-  
uerie.

The King hauing a desire, to take away all the ieaalousies which of late yeares had bin F between the Gouverneur of Picardy, and the Gouvernours and Capitaines of the Cittadell of Amiens; and to assure the peace and quiet of that Prouince, he made these changes following.

The Duke of Longueuille, who was Gouverneur of Picardie, and Capitaine of the Castle of Han: Leauing those places, was made Gouverneur of Normandie, and of the towne of Depee.

And the Duke of Montbazon, who was Lieutenant generall for the King in Picardie, and Gouverneur of the Towne and Cittadell of Amiens, hauing resigned those charges, He

Change of go-  
uernments in  
Normandie and  
Picardie.

1619

He gaue him the government of the Ile of France, and of the Townes and Castles of A Spillons and Noyon, whereof *Monsieur de Luyne* had bene Gouvernor: to whom hee gaue the government of Picquard, and of the towne and Citadell of Amiens; and his brother *Monsieur de Cadiner*, was made Lieutenant Generall of that Province: who at the same instant married the only heire of the deceased *Vidame* of Amiens, and Lord of Picquemy. The Plague ceasing at Paris, the King returned; and on the fourteenth of November, *Monsieur de Luyne* Earle of Maille, obtained his Majesties Letters to change his name of *Maille* to *Luyne*, and was received Duke and Peere of France.

In December the Earle of Fustemberg, Ambassador from the Emperor, came to Paris, where he was entertained and stayed with great state by the Kings Officers. B The subiect of his Embassie was, to demand aide from the King, against the Elector *Palatine*, who, as he said, had invaded his Realme of Bohemia. Soone after, there came a discourse entitled, An aduice vpon the causes of the Alterations in Europe, sent to all Kings and Princes, for the preservation of their Realmes, and Estates, made by the Baron of Frydemburg, and presented to his Majestie by this Ambassador.

This seemed to giue some touch to the Marshall of Bouillon, in regard of his alliances with the Count *Palatine*, and the Prince of *Orange*, generall of the Forces in Holland. They did suggest in their discourses: That the Electors accepting of the Crowne of Bohemia, had bene by his aduice and counsell. Whereupon there was a Letter published in the Marshalls name; by way of aduice vnto the King, touching the Embassie from C his Imperiall Majestie, as followeth.

Sir, hauing vnderstood that your Majestie will not be displeased, that I should giue you my aduice, touching the present Estate of the affaires of Germany; and feeling my selfe besides bound therunto, by my Oath vnto the Crowne, I will make bold to represent vnto your Majestie, with that most humble respect which is due vnto you, that which in

» this occurrent, I suppose to concerne the good of your seruice and State.

» I will not speake of the right, which the Estates of the Kingdom of Bohemia pretend to haue, in the Election which they haue made of King *Frederic*, because the causes & reasons are apparant, by the writings which they haue caused to be published. I will insit only vpon that which concerne the interest and that party which it seemes your Majestie D

» should take in this affaie in the estate it is in at this present.

» It is well knowne, Sir, that the Emperor *Ferdinand*, seeing the authoritie of his house almost lost in Germany, and hopelesse to be recovered by their owne forces, or them of Spaine, endeouoreth by all meanes to conuert his common interest into the publike cause of Religion, to engage all the Catholique Princes in a common defence for the recovery of what he hath lost; and to this end it seemes he hath of late sent an Ambassador to your Majestie to demand aide. But you may by your wisdom easily distinguish the cause and the pretext, when you shall know that the Catholique Religion, is publickly maintained in Bohemia, and the incorporated Provinces, as the said King hath protested by his Letters to your Majestie, and by the Declaration which hee hath published of the causes which had moued him to accept that Crowne. So as this businesse nothing concerning Religion, but the State, your Majestie would not bandy in fauour of the house of Austria, against a Prince of the Elector *Palatine* House, alwayes allyed to your House and Crowne. From whom the Kings your Predecessors, haue bene alwayes assisted, and especially the deceased King your Father, in the defence of his House, Person, and lawfull succession: who being by reason of his marriage so strictly allied to the King of Great Britaine; besides his generall alliance with the Townes and Protestant Princes of Germanie, should without doubt be much assisted by that prudent and iust Prince, who hath alwayes affected the good of your Realme, and would take it ill if he saw, that vnder a false pretext, and by a common Councell, they fought the ruine of his soune-in-law, F and of his hereditarie estates. Wherefore if your Majestie were to resolute to assit the one or the other, I thinke it were fittest for your seruice, to preterre the alliances of your Crowne, and to assit them if they had need, to prevent the enterprizes, which the House of Austria and Spaine might make to the preiudice of his estate, if they found it weake, as hath bene alwayes practised by the Kings your predecessors, who haue alwayes fauoured those whom this house would haue oppressed. For this reason, K Henry the second tooke vpon him the protection of the Protestant Princes of Germany, against the

Marshall of Bouillon's Letter of aduice to the King touching Bohemia.

1620

A the Emperor *Charles* the 5. and the deceased King your father, hath also fauoured the Estates of the vniued Provinces; notwithstanding that they are of the reformed Religion; and your Majestie after his example, and following his Maxims, hath openly assisted the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Neubourg in their pretensions to Cleues and Iuliers, to crosse the Emperors and King of Spaines designs, who vpon diuers pretences would haue seized vpon that succession. And since vpon the like consideration; the Duke of Suboy hath felt the effects of your Majesties succours, whom they would perswade, that they arme against the Catholique Religion: That they are in danger in Germany; for that the Estates of Bohemia haue chosen a new King; who, on the other side say, that B it is to maintain their liberties, rights and priuiledges, vnder which they are borne, and the lawes of that kingdom, as well for Religion; as Government; the which (say they) they haue broken and violated, with a designe to make it hereditarie; notwithstanding that it hath alwayes depended vpon the free Election of the Estates of the Country. But howsoever, Sir, it is worthy of your Majesties zeale and pietie, to haue a care of the Religion; whereof you make profession, yea, to defend it, if any seek to oppress it; and it seemes that vpon the apprehension and distrust, which the Ecclesiasticall Princes, and other Catholiques of Germanie haue, they haue reason to arme in their territories; to hinder all attempts against their Religion and Estates; so as they hold there: the which I thinke, is in a manner impossible, considering the practices they vse to draw them only C without your Majesties mediation or authoritie, the which alone might retaine either party, letting them know that you will be a stickler to maintain the peace and quiet of Germany, whereby they may enioy the priuiledges & common liberties of the country; as well in that which concerne the politike government as Religion, against those which would violate and infringe them. And to attaine vnto so good an end; if your Majestie haue any such resolution, it is necessary you should procure an Assembly, where the Kings and neighbour Estates which were not interferred, might be invited to mediate by their Ambassadors, and search out by a common consent, the most fit and conuenient meanes to take away the cause and pretext of Armes: to assure Religion; to free the Catholiques from feare and distrust: assure the Emperors authoritie, which is D now weak and much shaken; and so to quench the fire, which threatneth not only to burne all Germany, but all Christendome, which is in danger (if it be not quickly prouided for) to be ouer-runne by the Turke, through their diuisions. And it may be, that the difficulties which some few months may shew, both vnto the one and the other party of comming to the end of their pretensions by Armes, there might be some ouerture made for a good accord and agreement; the glory whereof would redound vnto your Majestie: who by this meanes, as the Kings your predecessors, shall make your selfe common Arbitrator of the Empire, and all Europe. Behold, Sir, what I haue thought good to represent vnto your Majestie vpon this subiect, whom I beseech most humbly to take it in good part, as proceeding from a true Frenchman, & most faithful vnto your Crown: who E foresees the inconueniences which may arise from all parts, and the issue of Armes to be doubtfull and vncertaine, which by the iust iudgement of God, might in the end turne to the ruine of those, who by warre endeouore to force mens consciences to the danger of religion it self, which they take for a pretext of their Armes. Thus praying to God to poure forth his blessings vpon your Majestie, I remaine, &c. From Sedan the 4. of Decemb. 1619.

Now the King desiring to shew the Emperour and other Princes of Germanie, that if he meddled with their differences, it should bee but as his Predecessors had done: namely, to send a great and honorable extraordinary Embassie, which in visiting the Emperour and the Princes & Estates of the Empire of both vnions, should mediate the pacifying of the troubles of Bohemia, and the alterations which were growing in Germanie betweene the Princes of the one and the other Religion. According to which Deliberation, he made choise of the Duke of Angoulême, and Earle of Auvergne; with the Seigneurs of Berthoules, Baron of Selles, and of Aubospine, Abbot of Preaux, to be his extraordinary Ambassadors in Germanie: but they went not out of France vntill the yeare following, as we shall see hereafter.

We will begin this yeare with the Ceremonies of the Order of the Holy Ghost, which were performed in the Church of the Augustins at Paris, where the King made and created certaine Knights, according to the nomination made in the Chapter of the

Ceremonies performed at the creation of the Knights of the Holy Ghost.

[ 7 ]

said



1620

said Order, held on the 5 of December last past at S. Germaine in Lay. On New-yeares A  
Eve, after dinner, the King & the ancient Knights of the order, with the Knights which  
were to be created, came to the President *Seguier* house, neere the Augulins, from  
whence about three of the clocke, they went to the Augulins Church to Euen-song.

First, the Archers of the great Prouost, led by his Lieutenants, the hundred Swiflers  
of the Guard, the Kings Trumpets, Fifes, and Drumes, clothed in his Maiesties Linc-  
rie of blue Velvet, marched before those Knights which were to be received, who went  
two, and two together; the hindmost of which was the Kings brother, and before him the  
young Earle of Soissons. There were five Prelates named to be associates to the Order,  
which were the Cardinall of Retz; the Archbishop of Tours; the Bishop of Carcaffone, B  
the Bishop of Orleans; and the Bishop of Marseilles. There were 59 Knights received  
at this creation, being the fiftenth after the first institution.

The Deputies of the Assembly of the reformed Religion at Loudun, had presented  
the Articles of their grievances in the end of the last year, and had demanded the  
execution thereof, before they should dissolve their assembly: the which was contrary  
to the Kings permission; according to the which, having drawne their complaints,  
they should name fixe Deputies, whereof the King should choose two, to reside in  
Court to sollicite an answer to their grievances, and to haue a care to the execution of  
that which should be decreed in his Maiesties Councell.

The King seeing that they continued in their resolution, and would not name their  
Agents, he sent *Monsieur du Mayen* a Councillor of State, and *Maresfort*, who comming  
into the Assembly on the tenth of Ianuary, *Du Mayen* said vnto them: My Masters you  
haue sent by the Kings Letters, the Commission here giuen vs, to acquaint you with  
his good intentions, and to deliuer you his commandements, vpon the occurrents of  
this assembly. I will deliuer these two points briefly; and I assure my selfe, that you will  
giue so fauourable a hearing to the one, as the other shall be followed with a speedy o-  
bedience: seeing it is a father which speaks vnto his children; the Master to his good  
seruants, and the King to his natural subiects; who protest that they breathe nothing  
but the reformation of the Church and Religion. I will first tell you my masters, that the  
King hath commanded vs to assure you that his intention is, to make you enioy fully, D  
and peaceably, whatsoever hath beene granted by the Edicts of Kings his Predecess-  
sors, and his Maiestie. To this end he hath beene pleased you should set downe your  
grievances in generall, hath received them fauourably (notwithstanding that you haue  
presented them before your separation, contrarie to the accustomed forme) and promi-  
sed you to make them labour seriously about the answer, and within one moneth, to let  
you haue the execution.

Touching the second point, he said, The King had commanded them to let the assem-  
bly vnderstand; that seeing he had their demands and grievances, and they his promises  
to receiue all fauour and iustice; the long subsistence of the Assembly, could not bee  
pleasing vnto him, being not onely vnprofitable, but also preiudicial to his authoritie, E  
and might rather cause scandall, then edifie his subiects. That hee could not allow of the  
reason they gaue, saying, that they would onely attend the answers and executions of  
their demands: nor yet the reiterated supplications they might make: for that it seemes  
they would extort that which they must attend from his meere grace and bounty; or  
participate with him in the bond which his subiects of the reformed Religion owe him,  
for the graces, fauour, and iustice which they shall receiue. Wherefore his Maiestie hath  
giuen vs in charge to command you expressly from him, to proceed forthwith to the  
nomination of fixe Deputies, of which (according to the custome) we will make choice  
of two to remaine in Court: And to separate your selues within fiftene dayes at the far-  
thest, beginning at this present tenth of Ianuary, and every man to returne into the Pro-  
uince from whence he was deputed, to carry his promises to all his good subiects of the  
reformed Religion, with assurance they should be speedily followed: with all the desired  
and iust effects they can hope from their good King.

The Assembly gaue them no other answer, but that they must reiterate their  
most humble supplications vnto the King, to whom they sent their Deputies:  
whereof they presently aduertised all their Churches of what had past touching this  
subiect: complaining that the execution of promises made to them of the reformed Re-  
ligion

The Kings in-  
tention deli-  
uered to the  
Assembly at  
Loudun.

The assembly  
at Loudun,  
writes vnto the  
Chambers.

1620

A lition, was the cause of the subsistence of their assembly. That King *Henry* the Great had  
allowed the continuance of their assembly at Saumur, in the year 1599. That the  
question was to repaire the Edict of Nantes. That there was no touch of the Kings  
authoritie: the question being onely to iuge iustice to his subiects troubled. And that the  
resolution of the assembly was, not to separate themselves before that all which concerne  
d the iustice of their complaints were executed.

The Deputies came vnto his Maiestie with Letters, protesting their humble submission  
and seruice; and shewing how necessarie it was, for the reformed Religion to haue  
strong Townes for their safety. But they had no other answer, but that they must obey  
his Maiesties will, whereof he had acquainted them by *du Mayen* and *Maresfort*.

Soone after, there was a Declaration verified in Parliament against those of the As-  
sembly at Loudun. By the which he declared their guiltie of treason, if they did not se-  
parate themselves within the prefixed time, which was three weekes, during which they  
should name their Deputies to reside in Court.

After which (they not obeying) he declared the assembly vniuersally, and contrarie to  
his authoritie and seruice. This Declaration made many of both religions apprehend  
some new alterations. They saw that the ialousies of such as had taken Armes the yere  
before, increased. Some great men of the reformed Religion (as is mentioned in the De-  
claration) ill affected to the State, made visits for the continuance of the said distress, in  
those places whither they could not goe without giuing the King cause to suspect  
that they had some bad intent; as it appeared afterwards by the effects.

At this time, the Marshall *de Saligny* came to Paris, and was receiued Duke and  
Peere of France in Parliament, *Monsieur de Chastillon* was also there. These two be-  
ing of the Religion, began to deale in this businesse. The King was well pleased there-  
with; and gaue charge to the Prince of Conde and Duke of Luynes to treat with  
them.

Having heard the Deputies of the Assembly, and seene their complaints, they found  
that they consisted vpon three chiefe points. First, in the reception of two Councillors  
in the Parliament of Paris. Secondly, to put a Governor of the Religion into L'Escluse:  
D and thirdly, to haue a Briefe for the continuance of places of safety. Of which  
three points the Prince of Conde and Duke of Luynes promised verbally, that they of  
the Religion should haue all satisfaction and content within fixe moneths.

And touching the restitution of the Clergie goods in Beare, That within one moneth  
after the expiration of the said fixe moneths, his Maiestie would heare the remonstrances  
of the reformed Churches of Beare.

The Prince and *Luynes*, gaue their words in the Kings name, for the execution of  
these promises: conditionally that the assembly should proceed speedily to the nomi-  
nation of fixe persons, whereof his Maiestie should choose two to bee general Deputies  
for the reformed Churches in Court: after which choice the said Assembly should se-  
parate themselves. The Duke of D'Elidignieres, and Earle of Chastillon, hauing aduer-  
tised the assembly of the conditions of this Treatie, they returned them answer that they  
were well satisfied therewith.

The Assembly named fixe persons, whereof the King made choice of two. There  
remained nothing now, but for the Assembly to dissolve it selfe. They desired to haue  
in writing that the three Articles promised, should be effected within fixe moneths; and  
for want thereof, it should be lawfull for them by the same writing to assemble themselves  
again, without any new permission; touching the inexecution of the said promises.  
Monsieur de *Plessis Morisy*, had commandement from the King by the Duke of Chastillon  
to assure the Assembly at Loudun, that what had beene promised them; should be kept  
and effected. Vpon their reiterated demand to haue the permission in writing to assem-  
ble againe within fixe moneths, if the three Articles were not executed, Monsieur de *Luynes*  
told them that they should not haue any thing in writing; but he promised to doe all his  
endeavour with his Maiestie for the permission, in case those things promised were not  
executed. Hereupon Monsieur de *Plessis* sent vnto the Assembly, representing vnto them  
of what weight the Kings word should be. Whereupon the assembly dissolved, and they  
returned into their Provinces.

The King being intreated in the end of the last year, by the Earle of *Strasbourg*  
[22] Am.

The Kings De-  
claration a-  
gainst the as-  
sembly at  
Loudun.

The Prince of  
Conde, and the  
Duke of Luynes  
treat with  
the Duke  
of Elidignieres  
and Chastillon.

The Assembly  
at Loudun  
dissolved.

1620 Ambassador for the Emperour, to assist him in his warres; He resolved rather to procure a Peace, and to reconcile the troubles of Germanie, then to adde matter which might maintaine the warre. Whereupon he made choice of the Duke of Angoulême, and others as we have formerly said, to goe both to the Protestant Princes and States, which were ancient Allies to the Crowne of France, and to the Emperour. To exhort both the one and the other party, not to enter into warre one against another, as it seemed they were inclined; and that they should only give succours to the Emperour, or the Bohemians, according to their affections, and that within the Realme of Bohemia and Austria, where the warre was, and nowhere else. And secondly, to mediate some accord betwene the Emperour, and the Estates of Bohemia, who had chosen the Elector Palatine for their King.

The King sends  
Ambassadors  
into Germany.

Dispute about  
holding the  
Towell to the  
King.

About this time there were promises of humble marriages betwene the young Lady of Bourbon, daughter to the Prince of Conde, and the Prince of Giville, eldest sonne to the Duke of Guise: and the Duke of Joyeuse, second sonne to the Duke of Guise, with the Duke of Luynes Daughter. There also hapned a dispute about giving the Towell to the King, betwix the Prince of Conde, first Prince of the Blood, and the Count Soissons, a Prince also of the Blood, and Lord Steward of the Kings House, which to appeale, the King sent presently for his brother, who held the same to his Maiestie.

The Prince of Conde, as first Prince of the Blood, maintained that none in France ought to present the Towell to the King before him, except his Maiesties brother. And the Earle of Soissons, as high Steward and Prince of the blood, maintained that his office joynd with his qualitie of Prince of the Blood, could not give place to any person but a sonne of France. The friends of both these Princes repaired to their Houses to offer them their services.

The Duke of Guise, joynd himselfe vnto the Prince of Conde. And the Duke of Mayenne (who was already in some difference with the Prince) drew to the Earle of Soissons: so all those which were not in good termes with the said Prince, or the Dukes of Guise or Luynes, cast themselves on this side. On the other side, all such as were discontented with the creation of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, or for that they were not of the number, or who (having been named) would not accept thereof, because of the pretensions of their precedencies; and some about the placing of the Ladies (about the Queene) at their Ceremonie: So that (as we shall see hereafter) the said Earle of Soissons, with many other Princes and Noblemen, retired themselves one after another from the Court, to ioyne their discontents with the jealousies and distrusts which they possessed the Queene Mother withall.

The King sends  
for his Mother  
to come to  
Court.

In the meane time the King (being at Fontaine-Blau) sent the Duke of Montbazon to Angiers, to sollicite the Queene Mother, to draw neere vnto him, and come vnto the Court. And vpon the assurance they gaue him shee would come, his Maiesty went to Orleans to meet her, where he received aduice that she could not as yet come, for the reasons which the Controller of her house (whom he would send vnto his Maiesty) should deliuer.

She excuseth  
her selfe.

The King being come backe againe to Fontaine-Blau, was aduertised that the Duke of Mayen (whom hee left at Paris) had taken Post and was gone into his Government without any other leaue then what hee tooke by this Letter which he wrote from Precigny.

Monseigneur  
Mayenne  
Letter to the King.

Sir, I neuer did any thing with more discontent, and vnwillingnesse, then to part from Paris, before I had the honour to receiue your Maiesties commandement. But having too long neglected an aduice given mee of some designe against my person, it hath beene confirmed by so many, and with so strong assurances, as I was constrained that I might otherwise mischance which threatened mee) to depart thus sodainly. I craie your Maiesties pardon for the same with all sorts of submission, appertaining to a most humble seruant and subiect; beseeching you not to make mee so vnhappie, as to deprive mee of the honour of your gracious fauour in this regard. For in all the rest of my actions I finde my selfe so cleare, as I haue more reason to impute your iustice against such as would slander them; then any need to haue recourse vnto your clemencie. I hope, Sir, that God will giue mee the grace to performe the like hereafter, or better. And I am going into my Government with this firme resolution

to

A to render vnto your Maiesty all faithfull endeauours, to preferre the reputation (which I hold dearer then my life) to be your Maiesties most humble obedient and faithful subiect and seruant, *H. de Lorraine*. From Precigny the thirtieth of March, 1620.

1620

Vpon the retreat of the Duke of Mayenne from Court, they assured the King there was a faction framed, and that the Dukes of Vendosme and Longueville were intaged: who iudging themselves not to be safe in Court, the one of them tooke his way towards his government of Normandie; and the other to Anet, from thence to Vendosme, and afterwards to the Queene Mother at Angiers.

Two moneths time was spent, in diuers voyages to and fro, which the Seigneur of Blainville and other persons on the Kings party, made vnto the Queene Mother at Angiers, to treat with her of the contentment which she desired; that she might come to the King, and by this means disperse the clouds, which began to appeare in many of the Prouinces, vnder this faire pretext of reformation of the State. But they preuailed little with her at this time by meanes of her distrusts.

In Iune, many Princes and Noblemen retired from Court one after another, which they performed by night. Of the Princes, the Duke of Nemours was the first which beganne, and was followed on the next day by his wife, who went straight towards Angiers. Three daies after, the Earle of Soissons and the Countesse his Mother, withdrew themselves by night, and went to Dreux, and from thence to the Queene mother. Two daies after, they were followed by the Cheualier of Vendosme, Grand Prior of France. The King had giuen vnto this Prince, (after the Marshall *D'Ancre* death) the best of his Benefices and Offices, namely, the Abbey of Marmoutier in Touraine, and the Government of the Towne and Castle of Caen, the best place of Normandy; and of all those which should come to bee on the Queenes party: Wherefore he sent thither with all speed, the Seigneur *Prudent* his Lieutenant, who came vnto the Castle on the first of Iuly to strengthen the place with all which he should hold fit to defend a siege.

All these Princes thus retired from Paris and their associates, they gaue out, that the motiue of their leaving the Court, was, because they could not endure (but with greife) the disorder of the State. That they could not impure it vnto the King, but vnto his Favourites, who being raised from a meane condition, vnto a great and mighty fortune, did wholly enioy his Maiesties cares and his bounty. That the Queene Mothers partie (as being the most iust) would prouoe the strongest; that it was vpheld by the greatest number of the Princes & chiefe Officers of the Crowne: that their designe ought not to be termed rebellion, because all the malecontents were the Kings good seruants, but capitall enemies vnto his fauorites; that they would onely settle the State which was almost ruined: That the Queene notwithstanding would not be the first which should arme, but in case they oppressed any of those of her partie, or her allies, that then her defence should be iust, and haue some appearance.

According to the common course in all combustions, many Discourses were dispersed abroad, touching the deformations which they sayd to bee in the State. Some of them were Sarrycall: others more milde, which they entituled, *Christian verities vnto the most Christian King*, words a little more sacred, but to the life effect.

The Queene  
Mothers  
parties.

The King was aduertised from many places, that they leauied Souldiers openly in the Queene mothers name: That in Normandy the Duke of Longueville had a partie, who held Diepe on this side the Riuer of Seine, with purpose to make himselfe sole master of Rouen: That beyond the Riuer of Seine, the great Prior of France held the Castle of Caen: and that the Earle of Torigny, the Duke of Longuevilles alie, was Lieutenant generall in Basle Normandy: That the Earle of Soissons holding Dreux and La Fyrté Bernard, would be master of the Country of Perche, and a part of Mayen: That the Governor of Alençon was of their party: That the Marshall of Bois-Dauphin had the passages of the Riuers of Sarre and Mayenne, holding in his possession the Townes of Sablé and Chasteaugontier: and the Duke of Vendosme those of the Riuer of Loire. The Queene mother had Angiers and Pont de Cé, a passage vpon Loire, with all the Nobility of the Countie in a manner, which were of her faction. On the other side of Loire, shee had Chynon vpon the Riuer of Vienne, to walke into Touraine, where Loches held for the Duke of Epernon. *Monseigneur de la Tremouille* Duke of Tours, and the Duke of Retz were Masters in Poitou, which ioynes vpon Loire, and in Britany opposite on the other side.

[v3]

The

1620

The Duke of Roannois had his lands lying in the midst of Poitou, for the leauing of A souldiers. The Duke of Rohan Gouverneur of Saint Iohn D'Angely, was Master in bafe Poitou neere the Sea. The Duke of Elpernon commanded throughout all Angoulmois, and Xaintonge, and vpon all the Riuer of Charente: and the Duke of Mayenne in his Government of Guienne and Bourdeaux. The Viscount of Aubeterre, held Blaye, and the mouth of the Riuer of Gironde. *Barbin* leauied souldiers in Liege, to passe ouer at Metz, which was held by *Monf. de la Valette*, the Duke of Elpernon's sonne. And the Duke of Nemours had sent *Falquier* his Secretarie, to leauy souldiers in the Country about Genéua.

This was the estate of the Queene Mothers party, which held many Prouinces, from B Diepe in Normandy, vnto the other side of the Riuer of Garonne, being almost two hundred leagues. A party wherein we see great perfonages of either Religion, hauing many good Captaines with strong places vpon all the Riuers. A faction which without troubling themselves to besiege Townes, should haue marched directly to Paris with a great Armie, to reforme the abuses which they said were in the State: thinking it so easie, as they held it in a manner done. Many were not of his opinion, who held this enterprise to be like the warre of the Common-weale, vnder the raigne of *Lewis* the eleuenth, for that there were too many Princes and Generals of Armies, to continue long together without ialousies; or to performe any exploit of worth; and that in stead of a reformation, they would breed a deformation in France: yea although the successe should C be answerable to their designs: for that they were thus vnited, only for their owne priuate interest.

The King foreseeing that whatsoever hapned, the discommoditie of the warre must fall vpon his estate and subiects, resolved to send an honorable deputation by *Du Peron* Archbishop of Sens; the Duke Montbazon, Monsieur *Belgarde* Master of the Horse, and President *Jannin* to treat with the Queene Mother of the meanes to pacifie these alterations in the breeding; and on the other side to arme strongly, to reduce those by force, which should not yeeld to reason: And to the end there shall bee no stirring in Britanie, he sent the Marshall of Brisac thither. But before their departures, both *Monf. de Belgarde* and the Marshall, were receiued Dukes and Peeres of France in Parliament.

The Popes Nuncio, desiring to imploy his seruice, and his Holinesse authoritie to reconcile the Queene Mother with the King, he wrote a Letter vnto her, and recommended it vnto the Archbishop of Sens: by the which hee gaue her to vnderstand, how much his Holinesse was grieved, to see their old ialousies reuiued, the which were growne to discontentments. That he had receiued commandement to doe all good Offices with the King, bestirring a businesse of that importance. That the King had protested, that he had been alwayes carefull to giue her Maiestie all satisfaction, and that he did not thinke to haue euer failed to yeeld her all due honour and respect. That hee had often inuited her to come vnto him, and to that end had sent diuers times vnto her. In the end hee exhorted the Queene in his Holinesse name, that she would likewise contribute for her part, whatsoever might serue to reconcile her to the King her sonne, and to vnite their wils: coniuering her by all meanes, to auoid the occasions which might bring matters to extremitie and draw them to Armes.

Some write, that the King hauing prayed earnestly to God to inspire him what hee should doe for his glory, and the safety of his Estate, he called a Councell, where he assisted in person; and where many aduertisements were represented from all the Prouinces of a neere rebellion. They first considered of the factions which were in Paris, and the restraint of some of their minds who had places in Soueraigne Courts.

After this, they treated of those of Normandie, and particularly of Rouen, where the first President and almost all the Officers of Soueraigne Courts, were for the Kings service; and yet there were many of place and qualitie which did fauour the Duke of Longueuille Gouverneur of Normandie, who was of the Queene Mothers faction. They were also aduertised of many practices made by them of the reformed Religion, whereof there were many in that towne; so as the fire began to kindle, the which they must seeke speedily to quench, & to giue order in like manner for the Castle of Caen, whither the Grand Prior of France had sent *Prudent*, to fortifie it, and make himselfe Master of the towne.

Some

Deputies sent  
from the King  
to the Queene  
Mother.

The Popes  
Nuncio writes  
vnto the Queene  
Mother.

Two factions  
in Rouen.

1620

A Some said that they should not suffer that Prouince to bee lost, which was the bafe Court to the Loure: but others considering the estate of affaires, were of opinion, that he should first looke to the preservation of Paris, before that of Rouen and Caen. That the Kings presence in Paris, would disperse all factions, if there were any: wherefore his stay there was most necessarie; and that there was nothing so dangerous, as to draw his Maiestie out of that great Citie. And that if Normandie were oppressed by the factions, they might recouer it at another time. That leauing Paris, it would fauour the designe of those mutines: and that all factions which had been made in France, did commonly come and demand Peace, or make warre about Paris. And that those forces which were leauied B in Liege, and which might come from Metz, might suffice to oppresse it. They did also represent, that if the King did not enter into Rouen, but would passe on to assure Caen, vndoubtedly all the other Townes would grow amazed, and the Kings reputation would be blemished, both within and without the Realme. They also spake of the danger wherein the King should be if hee found the forces of Normandie in front, those of Angiers on his side, those of Champagne at his backe marching towards Paris; and those of Gaienne and Aulgoumois vpon the banks of Loire.

His Maiestie having heard all these difficulties with attention, he said generously: *That amidst so many dangers which presented themselves, they must enter into the greatest and needfullest, which was in Normandie: and that his opinion was to goe thither directly, and not to stay in Paris to see his Realme in prey, and his faithfull seruants oppressed. That hee had a great hope in the innocence of his Armes, and that his conscience could not reproach him to haue failed of his duty to the Queene his Mother; of iustice to his people; and of bounty to all the great Perfonages of his Realme.*

The Prince of Conde, and the Duke of Luynes, were the first which did second his Maiesties opinion, saying, that it was more honorable and safer: for that if it pleased God to suffer his first Armes to triumph in this voyage, he should thereby assure the Prouinces and great Townes which had not bene distracted: and strike a terrour into those which were reuolted. The rest of his Councell were of the same opinion. It is said the Prince added moreover, Sir, you must goe vnto them before they assure themselves: it is a point D of victorie, and the most expedient and easie. I haue found it by experience: for if at the alteration of Mezières, they had come directly vnto vs, before we had considered of our forces, as some had aduised *Monf. de Villerey*, without doubt they had easily separated vs.

Hauing in this Councell resolved to warre, they sent out diuers Commissions; to the Marshall of Themines, to oppose himselfe to the Duke of Mayen. The Earle of Rochefoucault, Gouverneur of Poitiers, to make head against the Duke of Rohan. The Marquis of Courténaur was sent vnto Touraine: And *Monfieur de Bosompierre* to fetch the troopes which were vpon the Frontiers of Champagne, and to conduct them speedily towards Chartres.

All Gouvernors of Prouinces were commanded to returne to their governments. So E the Duke of Guise prepared to goe into Prouence, and the Duke of Neuers into Champagne, with Commission to leauy troopes to oppose against the Liegeiois, which were coming for the Queene Mother.

Coming from Councell, the Seigneur of Roulet, great Prouost of Normandie, presenting himselfe vnto his Maiestie, said, That it was not fit hee should goe thither, where he should finde nothing but reuolts, and discontents: To whom the King answered, you are not of my Councell, I haue taken a more generous resolution. Vnderstand that if the way were all pauced with armes, I would passe vpon mine enemies bellies: seeing they haue no cause to declare themselves against mee, who haue not offended any man. You shall haue the content to see it: and I know you will reioyce at it, hauing serued the F ceased King my father so faithfully.

Before his going from Paris, hee sent for all the Soueraigne Courts and Magistrates, and recommended vnto them the preservation of his good Citie, where hee left the Queene his wife for Gouvernesse, and with her the Chancellor, and some of the Councell for the dispatch of all affaires; leading with him onely the Keeper of the Seales: and some Counsellors of State, and Masters of Requests, hoping to bee backe againe within three weekes.

The 7 of Iuly, the King accompanied with his brother, the Prince of Conde and many Noble

The King resolves to goe into Normandie.

The Kings Speech to the great Prouost of Normandie.

1620

Deputies come  
to the King  
from Caen.

Noblemen, left Paris, and lodged at Pontoise, whither the Deputies of Caen came vnto him with Letters, to assure him of the inhabitants fidelitie, who according to his commandement were become Masters of the Towne, whereof they would giue him a good account: They let him vnderstand that his presence was very necessarie to preferre the Towne from the oppressions which threatened it; and that in the meane time they would defend themselves with their owne forces. The King had sent the Seigneur of Bellefons with Letters vnto them, giuing them to vnderstand, that the Grand Prior was retired discontented from Court, and that he desired the inhabitants would haue a care of his Towne of Caen vnder his obedience, and not suffer any one to enter the fronger. *Bellefons* (who had sometime bene Gouvernor there) made offer, that if the inhabitants would defend themselves against the Castle, hee would serue them: to whom they answered, That matters were not yet reduced to those extremities: That they were in good intelligence with those of the Castle, the which they would husband: That this discreet temporizing would more auail the Kings affaires, then his designe which was very hardy, and the successe doubtfull: That it was to no purpose to incense them of the Castle, and expose the Towne to the mercy of the Cannon: That dissembling was more profitable both for the aduancement of the Kings affaires, and of the Towne, on whose preservation depended the safety of the Prouince.

Pr' sent an-  
swer to the De-  
puties of Caen.

His Maiesties Letters were imparted to *Seigneur Prudent*, and hee was inuited to come into the towne to assist at their deliberations, who thanked the Deputies for this complement, entreating them to assure the bodie of the towne: That he desired nothing more then to serue them, and that they needed not feare any thing from the Castle: That the Grand Prior was not retired from Court to doe the King any bad seruice, but to defend himselfe from the oppression of his enemies, who had conspired to haue him arrested: That in taking leaue of the Grand Prior, he had commanded him expressely to haue a care to the preservation of his place and the towne, that if the inhabitants would lye in good intelligence with the castle, they should without danger see the miseries of other townes. Finally, he said, he had not so little experience in his profession, as he knew not how much it did import a Gouvernor to abandon his place in a doubtfull and suspicious time, the which he was resolu'd to preferre for the King vnder his Masters seruice, and that he would endure all extremities by an obdinate siege: Finally, that hee would suffer himselfe to be buried in the ruines thereof.

The Kings an-  
swer to the in-  
habitants of  
Caen.

The townsmen erected a Councell of the chiefe Magistrates, for the gouernment and guard of the Towne, wherewith they acquainted *Prudent*, entreating him to referre the order and the keyes to the disposition of the towne; for that the King desired they should remaine Masters: whereunto he yielded willingly. And this was the state of the towne when the Deputies came vnto the King, who sent them away with Letters of assurance of his great content for their obedience, and that within few dayes he would be with them, and in the meane time the Marshall of Prassin should come vnto them with two thousand foot and five hundred Swisses: and at the same time his Maiestie sent away the Marquis of Mauny, who came to Caen on the eight of Iuly, and after him the Seigneur of Arnauld. The King lodged within one daies iourney of Rouen, his Harbingers going thither before to make their lodgings: whereof the Duke of Longueville being aduertised, he sent for one of them, demanding where he had left the King? At Pontoise, my Lord, answered the Marshall, but this night hee lyes at Magny. Where make you account to lodge him, said the Duke? Here, my Lord, replied the Harbinger. It is reason, said the Duke, that I should quit him the place. The Duke had bene the same morning with the Parliament, and made protestation of his fidelity to the Kings seruice, but with some complaints for his owne private against those which were nere vnto his Maiesty, with whom they had put him in disgrace without cause: saying, that to auoyd the detention of his person, which they had long proiected, he was resolu'd to retire to Diepe: which hee did, and tooke horse about five of the clocke in the euening. At the same time also some officers and persons of quality left Rouen, whereof the King was aduertised the next day at his departure from Magny. Within an houre after the Dukes going from Rouen, Colonell *Othano* came thither by the Kings commandement, who presently visited the chiefe of the Parliament, and of the body of the City, assuring them that the King came with speed to settle an order for the combustions which they intended to make in Normandy. Hee had

The D. of Lon-  
gueville retires  
from Rouen to  
Diepe.

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Rouen offered  
for the King.The King goes  
to the Parlia-  
ment at Rouen

A had also some conference with the Gouternor of the old Palace, telling him that his Maiesty held him for his seruice: and the gouernour gaue him his faith to serue the King: but being afterward aduertised not to stay the Kings coming, left hee were made an example, he retired and abandoned the place into which he had put 700 souldiers, besides the ordinary garrison. At the same time the Prince of Conde (whom his Maiesty had caused to aduance) arrived at Rouen, who commanded the Colonell to assure himselfe of the old Palace. The King was assured vpon the way that Rouen was wholly at his deuotion, all the riuers of Seine free, and the Duke of Longueville in the Country of Caux, so as he could by no means succour Caen but by Sea; whereupon he commanded the Marshall of Prassin, and *Monf. de Greguy* to aduance with all speed to Caen; with ten companies of his Guard, and one of Swisses. The King entred into Rouen on the tenth of Iuly, where the people attended him with generall acclamations of ioy and blessings. The Parliament went presently to tender their seruices vnto him: the first President moued his heart with a short Speech, as he gaue God thanks to haue preferred them from the rebellion which was so neere, confessing that his onely presence had prevented the desolation of the Prouince; and of the City. The next day his Maiesty went to the Parliament, where the Keeper of the Seales represented what had past since the alterations of Angoulême: The gratifications the Queene his mother had received, and the care he had to visit her: The offers which had bene lately made vnto her, and his tender affection. He then spake of the Letters which the King had sent vnto *Monf. de Longueville* to come vnto him, and to accompany him at his entry into the Prouince; and the refusal he had made. After which they presented Letters of suspension of the Dukes authoritie in the Gouernment of Normandie, vntill he had iustified himselfe in his Maiesties presence. The first President gaue the King most humble thanks, that he had vouchsafed to communicate his affaires to his Parliament, who had no part but obedience, & did not breathe but from his commandements, protesting an inuoluble fidelitie to his seruice, beseeching him, that as he had preferred them from danger by his coming, whereinto they had vndoubtedly fallen, so he would not depart the Prouince, vntill hee had settled their peace. His Maiesty stayed three dayes in Rouen, where he gaue order for the safety of this capital Citie: And at the request of the Parliament hee made new Capitaines, chosen out of the Soueraigne Courtes, who tooke their oath of fidelitie vnto his Maiesty.

The diuers pretexts which had embarked many, were suppressed by the Kings presence: for they write, that in all Normandy not about eight daies before, no man durst speake of the Kings name, but in blemishing his name and reputation; so powerful their practices were: That their designe was to assure themselves of Rouen on the ninth of the Moneth, by a great faction of the Nobility which followed the Duke of Longueville, and by 1200 Souldiers which should come thither, and make the execution easie: That it was a wonder, at the very brute of the Kings coming, there being three or foure hundred Gentlemen within the City, of all these there were but five & twentie remaining with the Duke, & all the rest protesting that they would serue the King: That the fidelitie of the Parliament and generally of other officers, was to be honored for ever; for that there was no kind of temptation but had bene tried to withdraw them from their obedience.

What passed at  
Caen.

But let vs observe what hath past at Caen: the inhabitants were wholly royall, and breathed nothing but the Kings seruice, yet they apprehended a Garrison, and that a Gouvernor for the King: attempting against the Castle, they should grow to those termes, as their towne should be ruined on the one side with the Cannon from the Castle, and on the other by the Kings troops which they would lodge in their houses. A considerable feare in a great towne. This Councell of the Towne then was forced discreetly to entertaine a correspondence with the Seigneur *Prudent*: but they had diuers intentions. He expected the Grand Prior with forces to constrain them of Caen to embrace the Queen mother's partie: And the Councell of the Towne drew on the time vntill the Kings coming to succour them, and that by his presence hee might reduce the Castle to his obedience.

You haue formerly heard what *Bellefons* offered vnto the Towne, and their answer: *Prudent* grew jealous of his stay there, sending word to the Councell of the towne that he could not endure it: That if they would entertaine their common intelligence, they must cause him retire: That he knew him to be a capital enemy to the Grand Prior: That if

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The Governor  
of the Castle  
threateneth the  
Towne, if they  
put not out  
the English.

if they would preferre themselves, they must not use this consequence: And that if the Towne did bandy against the Castle, he would come down with two thousand men with fire and sword, entreating them to resolve thereupon, and send him their answer. The Councell being assembled upon this occasion, they found it hard to entreat the Seigneur of Bellefont to retire, being sent from the King, and having offered his service to the Towne: notwithstanding, it was concluded, that he should be invited thitherunto. The Message was delivered, but he could not relish it: they returned his Answer, which was, That he would rather die then retire without a special commandment from the King, or at the least, a Decree made by the body of the Towne, for his justification to his Majesty: yet loone after, doubting a mutiny of the people, he left the towne; the like he did the Seigneur of Bleville, and *Villain* the Bayliffe of Caen.

The Earle of  
Thorigny  
comes to Caen  
to riding to  
command  
there.

The same day, the Earle of Thorigny, the Kings Lieutenant, came to Caen, being allied to the Duke of Longueville, and as they sayd, held his partie. The Councell of the Towne went to entreat him, that hee would allow of the order they had set downe for their preferation: That their Deputies had charge to know the Kings pleasure whom they should obey: That they were bound by his Majesties Letters and commandement, never to put his power to compromise. The Earle of Thorigny observed, that he must of necessity yeeld to that which they held: whereupon he returned the next day, seeing all the officers and chiefe Burgeses girt to their swords, and witnessing by their resolute countenances, that they had courage enough to preferre themselves in their ancient fidelitie, and to maintain their libertie. The Towne doubled their guards, and fortified their Suburbs with Barricadoes, and they of the Castle stood vpon their guard, drawing in all kind of victual and munition, to endure a siege.

The answer of  
the Councell  
at Caen to the  
Marquis of  
Mauny.

The Marquis of Mauny and Arnault being arrived, went to the Town-house, to whom they spake somewhat obscurely, as if they would sound their disposition for the receiving of a garison: wherewith they were discontented, saying, That the Towne was not resolved to endure the insolency of Souldiers: That the King should not enter into distrust of their fidelities, their forepassed adions prefiging of the future: and that in stead of confirming the people in the Kings obedience, the word of Garison would thrust them into extremities: That having hitherto entertained a good correspondency with them of the Castle, they would make use of it until the Kings arrival: That they of the town would not commit the first acts of hostility; but if *Prudent* falsifying his oath and promiks, should seeke to force them, they would take aduice what was necessary for their defence.

*Prudent* being aduertised of these communications, he desired them to entreat the said Marquis and Arnault to retire: wherunto the Councell made answer, That being sent from the King they could not doe it without crime: but that hee should assure himselfe they should haue no command in the Towne, nor entry within their Councell. Yet to resist their obedience to his Majesty, they doubled their guards, drew their chains, to hinder the descent of them of the garison, and set Corps de guard vpon all the approaches to the Castle.

Vpon the tenth of Iuly, a Gentleman came from the Grand Prior, to aduertise the Towne that he dined at Falaise, and came to preferre the place, and to maintaine the liberty of the inhabitants, whom they sought to oppress with garisons, entreating them to suffer him to passe through the Towne to the Castle: to whom they made answer, That they were sorry the Grand Prior was in bad tearmes with the King, who came directly to Caen: That he should doe well for himselfe and them to submit himselfe, and not to lose a towne which had alwayes much honored and esteemed him: That for the passage he desired, they could not grant it through the Towne, and that hee might take some other way.

The Kings troops advanced towards Caen, and *Monseur de Crequy* entered the Town, affuring the Councell that the King burnt with impatience to deliuer them from the oppression of the Castle: That for their parts, they came not to ill treat the inhabitants, but rather to be ruled by them: That they would willingly expose their liues for their safety: and that they should give them the most dangerous places to guard: That it was their profession to hazard their liues for the Kings service, and that they had gotten their honors and charges by such generous acts. The Lieutenant General answered; That they held themselves very happy to be able to discharge the promise they had made to keepe

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The Castle  
of Caen summo-  
ned by the Mar-  
shall of Prallin.

A keepe the towne for the King: That for the present, they which had taken the charge referred this care to them, and would hereafter rely vpon their vigilancy: yet the Towne should willingly furnish whatsoever should be necessary to their defence, and the inhabitants would be bound to ease their troops, and guard such Ports of the Towne as they pleased.

Soone after, the Marshall of Prallin arrived, who sent a Gentleman with a Trumpet to summon *Prudent* in the Marshalls name (who commanded the Kings army) to yeeld the place; perswading him to incline rather to obedience then rebellion. *Prudent* answered; That the place had become committed vnto him by the Grand Prior, and that hee would expect his commandement before he would resolve to leave it. This made *Prudent* look for a siege, and for that he had no Priests, he sent to demand two from the towne; but the Marshall would not suffer it, saying, That it was iust, seeing they were Rebels against the King, and guilty of treason; that they should all dye like beasts. To omit euery particular circumstance of this siege, the King gave commandment to the Marshall, to assault the Castle.

Vpon the twelfth, the King parted from Rouen, where hee learned by the Prince of Ioinville, that the Cardinall of Guise his brother had failed of his promise to his Majesty: And that it was reported hee was gone to ioyne with the Liegeois which should come for the Queenes party; for the which the Prince seemed to be much grieved: He continued his journey towards Caen, and came to Dues, which is within fuge Leagues vpon the Sea. There the Earle of Sardiny coming from Angiers, presented himselfe suddenly to his Majesty, to deliuer him a Letter: but he said vnto him, that hee knew well what it contained: That it had beene drawne at Paris: and that he would not receive it: That there were men of quality about the Queene his mother, whom she might acquaint with what he desired for her content. Whereupon he presently sent one to Angiers to aduertise his Deputies of the reasons which had moued him to refuse the Queenes Letters by the hands of *Sardiny*, commanding them to assure her, that he would never faile of his affection towards her, notwithstanding the pretexs which the suffered turbulent spirits to take for the troubling of his Realme.

D Some of the chiefe inhabitants of Caen came thither vnto his Majesty, to know the order of the ceremony he desired they should obserue at his entry. The King received them graciously, and spake much vnto them in few words, *I will haue no ceremony, continue in seruing me well, and I will be a good King vnto you.* Before the King would enter into the towne, he went to visit the Trenches which were brought vnto the Castle Ditch. Within an hour after his entry, hee sent *Les Clusiaux* with a Trumpet to summon *Prudent* to yeeld the place vnto the King, who was then in the Towne. At this summons hee made shew that he would maintaine the siege generously, and seemed ignorant of the Kings being in Caen, *Les Clusiaux* going out of the Castle, and passing by the Corps de guard, said aloud, that there was 10000 Crownes to bee gotten for him that should bring *Prudent* E head vnto the King. This liberty of speech did much discontent *Prudent*, yet hee knew well that Heralds were sacred persons, and that to wrong him were to violate the law of Nations: He therefore heard him without anwer.

Whilest the Kings men laboured in the Trenches, there grew some alteration in the castle. It began by the Souldiers which were in guard vpon the Bulwarke towards the towne, who were discontented for that they were too often visited. This murmure was soone dispersed to the Corps de guard, so as all the souldiers of the garison protested that they would not grow obstinate to maintaine a siege against the King. In the morning, they of the castle made a call, and *Parfay* Lieutenant to *Prudent*, desired to parlee with *Monseur de Crequy*. The King was aduertised hereof, and commanded him to goe. *Parfay* he sought him to tell him if the King were in person within the towne: whereof being assured, he made answer, that they were ready to open the gates to his Majesty without any capitulation. The King hearing of their intention, he sent the Seigneur of Crequy to grant them a pardon for their rebellion, in his Majesties name; and drew in two companies of the French Guards; and one of Swisses.

A little before this Treary, *Prudent* had retired into the dungeon with the Souldiers of the garison. Within halfe an hour after, *Parfay* went out of the Castle to crave pardon of his Majesty, the which he obtained; and receiued 1000 Crownes in recompence of his goods.

The Cardinall  
of Guise retires  
from Paris, and  
goes into  
Champaigne.

The King refu-  
seth to receive  
Letters from  
the Queene.

The King cau-  
seth *Prudent*  
to be summoned  
to yeeld the  
Castle.

*Clusiaux* is  
Lieutenant to  
*Parfay* holding  
the Castle of  
Caen without  
capitulation.



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*Prudent craves  
pardon of the  
King.*

goods. On the eighteenth, the Garison came forth without any order. After dinner, the King went to see the Castle, being assisted by his brother, the Prince of Conde, the Duke of Luynes, and many other Noblemen. *Prudent* presented himselfe to the King, and craved pardon. His Majesty full of clemency, who forgets nothing but injuries, granted it.

Having well viewed and observed the place, finding it much stronger then they imagined, they beganne to smile at the weaknesse of *Prudent*, and the basenesse of such as had bene with him, who had yielded at discretion, without any capitulation or marke of honour: That if they had but lye upon their bellies, they might have stayed the Kings armie a month, and wonne themselves great reputation. This was their opinion of the Castle, saying in it, *Thats hereafter to keepe places well, they must choose Foibles, for the Prudent were nothing worth.*

In the evening *Prudent* left the Castle and Towne to goe make his excuse to the Grand Prior of France. Presently after this reduction, many Noblemen of that Country came vnto the King, and all the Townes of base Normandy brought their keys. It was thought that the iudicious carriage of the Councell of the towne, had much advanced his Majesties happy successe: for the destiny of France did in a manner depend of the fidelity or disobedience of this towne.

It was propounded in Councell, whether they should raze the Castle towards the Towne, to leaue this marke of libertie to the ancient fidelity of the inhabitants, and to give courage to other townes to follow their example in the like occasion. But it was not held necessary being so neere the Sea, and the passage from England to France, considering the danger the towne should be exposed vnto, if it were destitute of this reliefe, vpon the sudden descent of strangers; whereupon it was left untouched, and the Governour was given to the Marquis of Mauny. The inhabitants were gratified with diuers priuiledges, and some particular men were ennobled, leauing for cuer in the said Towne an honorable marke of their fidelities, and a glorious reputation to the King to haue preferred them from the danger wherein they were.

The King sent presently to Angiers to aduertise his Deputies of the reduction of the Castle of Caen. These newes troubled the Princes which were with the Queene, thinking they should soone haue the King with them to reduce them to obedience. Vpon the losse of this Castle, the Earle of Rochfort, the onely sonne of the Duke of Montbazon, was stayed in Angiers. The Duke himselfe retired to the King, and then to Paris, where he continued during this alteration as Governour of the Ile de France. They also caused the Duke of Nemours sonne to be seized on in Paris, and two of the Duke of Vendomes children by way of reprisall; but within few dayes after, they were all freed of their detentions. The King doubting the Castle of Alencon, sent *Monsieur de Crequy* with certaine troops to assure it: after which hee marched speedily to Mans, being called by the Marquis of Marigny their Gouvernor, who feared an enterprize, the which hee preferred happily for the Kings seruice and the whole Prouince.

The King desiring to goe directly to Angiers, to free all that was held by the discontented Princes and Noblemen, had sent *Monsieur de Crequy* before by the Duchy of Alencon, and County of Mayen: he himselfe parted from Caen on the 21 of Iuly, and tooke the left hand, to cleane the Country of Perche, where Dreux and diuers other Castles were held for the Earle of Soissons; and the Castle of Verneuil, with diuers other thereabout, for the Duke of Vendosme: as also to ioyne with those troops which *Monsieur de Bassompierre* had brought out of Champagne. Soone after, the Castles of Dreux, Verneuil, and La Ferté Bernard, yielded to the Kings obedience. The King being at Bellesme on the 28 of Iuly, he made a Declaration to the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, which were retired vnto the Queene mother, to lay downe armes, and to come vnto him vpon paine of high treason: After repetition of many breaches made by them, he concludes, That in regard of the Queene his mother he could not beleue nor perswade himselfe that she had forgotten the loue whereunto Nature bound her, and the memory of his deceased Lord and Father required of her, and which hee himselfe had sought to deserve: And although he should carie her selfe otherwise towards him then she ought, yet would he haue no other feeling then a religious patience, and that approaching with his forces neere vnto them which borrowed her name, hee meant not to employ

*The Marquis  
of Mauny  
made Gouver-  
nor of Caen.*

*Alencon and  
Mans assured  
for the King.*

*The King's De-  
claration  
against the  
Princes.*

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A ploy them, but to free her from those which (to his prejudice and his Realmes) did captiuate her mind and will, and to hinder the designs they had to the ruine of his Estate. As for his Cousins, the Earle of Soissons, and the Countesse his mother, the Duke of Vendosme, and the great Prior of France, the Dukes of Longueville, Nemours, Mayen, Espérnon, Retz, Tremouille, Rohan, and Rohannois, the Marshall *Bou-Dauphin*, the Earle of Candale, the Marquis of La Vallette, the Archbishop of Thoulouse, and other Officers of this Crowne, he commanded them expressly to lay downe armes, and to forbear all acts of hostility against his subjects, to relinquish all leagues and associations both within and without the Realme; and within one month to come vnto him, and to giue him more ample assurance in person: promising (in so doing) to remit all crimes and offences committed against him in this last alteration, and to receive them into grace and fauour. And likewise to pardon all such as had followed them in armes, if within the time prefixed they retired to their houses, and made declaration thereof to the next Iudge. For not performance hereof, he declared them all guilty of treason, and troublers of the publique peace: To bee degraded of all their Honours, Governments, Dignities, Offices and Benefices, and their lands and Seigneuries to be vntied to his Crowne.

In the end of the month, the Castle of Vendosme was abandoned by him that kept it for the Duke, and the Grand Prior had a repulse with some losse, going to charge the Carabins quarter neere Mans; whereupon their army retired somewhat hastily towards Angiers and Pont Cé, which was some blemish to the Princes reputation, being done as it were in feare of the Kings army, which encreased daily both in horse, and new Regiments of Foot.

The King being come to Mans, the Archbishop of Sens (one of the Deputies which he had sent to the Queene his mother) came vnto him with father *Bernier*, and told his Majesty, that the Queene his mother desired peace: but she would treat in general, and haue some respite to make them resolute, which had declared themselves in her fauour. To whom his Majesty said, Doe my commendations to the Queene my mother, and assure her that I will alwayes haue my heart and hands open to receive her, and will not cease to entreat her to come vnto me, nor to honor her in my Court, and throughout my whole Realme. As for those turbulent spirits which oppress my subjects, and will share my authority by their faction, there is no danger which I will not vndergoe to driue them out of France, or reduce them to my obedience. God will assist me: pray for me. The Prince said also vnto the Deputies, That he had no other desire in his heart, but to see the Kings authority so respected, as it might prescribe a law to all the world. Hee coniuired them to assure the Queene mother of his serpeice; and that he would thinke it a great happinesse to see her in Court, and to receive all sorts of gratifications from his Majesty. As for *Monsieur de Luynes*, he entreated them to represent vnto her what his great desire had bene to seeue her since her departure from Court, and the care hee had taken to draw her from Angoulême to Tours, to the end she might not bee farre from his Majesties presence: protesting that he had no other ambition, then to see their Majesties vntied in one desire, and that the Queene might assure the peace of her mind for euer. This shew could not hope for being retired from the King; considering the priuate interests of such as entertained her ialousies. Hee coniuired them not to regard any thing which concerned himselfe, but to labour that a peace might bee concluded, with the Kings dignity, and the safety of the Estate: and after this, not to spare any thing which might giue the Queene content.

On the fourth of August, the King vntied all his Forces into one body, and mustered his army neere vnto La Fleche, consisting of 12000 horse, and 1200 foot, and then went to lodge there. They write that there was some diuersity of opinions: It was propounded, that (after her retreat from La Fleche to Angiers) shee should goe with a part of the armie to ioyne with the troops of the Dukes of Mayen, Espérnon, Thouars, Rohan, and Rohannois, on the other side of Loire, and should leaue the other part on this side, for the guard of Angiers and Pont de Cé: That one of the greatest of the Country of Anjou, had promised the Queene to preserve Angiers in her absence, and to defend it in case of a siege to the last gaspe: That this Nobleman, hauing afterwards considered of the proposition which he had made vnto the Queene, and hauing conferred thereof, they let him vnderstand, that he should engage himself in an action wherein both he & his children

[x]

*The Queene  
mothers army  
retires to  
Angiers.*

*the signifies  
her intent com-  
ing to the King.*

*The Kings  
answer.*

*Propositions  
vnto the  
Queene most  
desirous to please  
the Loire.*

1620 should expose themselves to an inevitable ruine, and purchase the Kings hatred, which A would be irreconcilable, in seeking to oppose himselfe to the first exploits of his armes, and to stay the course of his victories. In like manner, neither the Souldiers which hee should draw into Angiers, nor all the rigorous hee should vse vpon the inhabitants, should euer be able to change the loue and affection which that people (who said already they were afflicted) beare vnto the King. That all the officers of Iustice, the Magistrats, and all men of quality within the towne, sayd plainly, That they were resolu'd to maintain their allegiance vnto the King. If they spake in this manner the Queene being present, what would they not say or doe if she were past the Loire? Wherefore there was no assurance to engage himselfe in a Towne, hauing the inhabitants for enemies, transported with loue and affection towards their King. Moreouer, victuals beganne to grow deare, the which they could not recouer but by Pont Cé, and from Poictou, the nurse of Angiers. Finally, to attempt to defend Angiers against the King (if the Queene mother retired) was to imbarke himselfe in a ship to make a long voyage, without munition and bisket. That vpon this consideration the Nobleman did afterwards tell the Queene, that he was most affectionate to her party, and would serue in her army whithersoouer shee went, but to command in Angiers during her absence, he entreated her to giue him leaue to recall his word.

Hereupon the Queene hauing demanded aduice from one of her Councell, what was fittest to be done, he said vnto her, That as a Clergy-man he had alwayes besought her to vnit her selfe in will vnto the King, for that all those great Personages (as well as he who had promised to keepe Angiers) had left the Court and vnited themselves to her party, for their priuate interests, the which they alwayes preferred before hers, or that of the State. You are now, Madam (said he) free to treat with the King: If you passe the Loire, you shall not be so. Peace or warre shall be at the disposition of great men, who shall be armed vnder your name, and will not be so easie to content as you imagine. So many examples in the like case happened in France within these threescore years, should serue you as faithfull Councellers.

Besides, Madam, when you haue past the Loire, thinke not that the Duke of Mayen can come so soone vnto you: he is yet vpon the banks of Garonne, and is doubtfull to leaue it, seeing the Marshall of Thennas leaue troops in Quercy, to enter into Guenne; and the Parliament of Bourdeaux, who attended onely his departure to resume their authority: the which you may coniecture by the Packet you sent vnto them, the which they conuained vn-opened vnto the King.

The Queene hauing considered of all these things, she opened her intention vnto the Kings Deputies, whereupon the Duke of Belgard, the Archbishop of Sens, and father Berale, went to his Maiesty at La Fleche, and told him that the intention of the Queene his mother was to liue hereafter in Court: and that she desired to separate her selfe with honour from the party wherein she was engaged, and to passe the remainder of her dayes in safety, and in his Maiesties good fauour.

The King said vnto them, That it was his greatest desire to see her liue after that manner, and that he had nothing to doe to contest with that which concerned her pleasures, and would yeeld to any thing that might serue for the assurance of her peace and happiness. But he should consider, that the dignity of the Crowne could not endure so pernicious a faction as that which attempted against his authority: That if shee would leaue it for euer, shee should find whatsoeuer she could lawfully desire in his Court and heart. After which, the Deputies returned to the Queene mother with certaine propositions of an Accord, and hope of peace.

On the fifth of August, his Maiesty held a Councell of Warre, and disposed of the quarters of his army within three leagues of Angiers, resolu'd to draw neere vnto it: But they laid before him, That the Towne was very great, and that whatsoeuer good men were on this side the Loire for the Queenes party, were within it: that if he did assault it, and faile to take it, the great reputation which he had gotten in the taking of Caen and others where he had past, would be blemished.

They shewed him the inconuenience which had hapned vnto the Duke of Anjou at the siege of Saint John D'Angely, and to the Prince of Conde at Poictiers, where hee ruined his army, which might haue kept the field against the Duke of Anjou, who commanded

An aduice  
giuen to the  
Queene.

The Kings De-  
puties deliuer  
the Queenes  
intentions vnto  
him.

The Kings an-  
swer.

Difficulties re-  
presented for  
the siege of  
Angiers.

A ded vnder Charles the ninth. Many other strong reasons were deliuered to dissuade him from this enterprize.

The King interrupted this conflict of opinions, saying, I desire not you should resolute presently whether we should assault or leaue Angiers: we must first know whether the Queene my mother will stay there, or goe her way. If she leaues Angiers, and goes into Poictou, we must cast the scabbers of our swords on this side Loire, and follow her. If she remaine, we shall haue a peace speedily. In this incertitude, I am of opinion to aduance as neere as I can to Pont Cé. The place is of great importance for the preservation of Angiers, and without doubt the bruest of all their army will cast themselves into it to defend it. It is not fit for me to haue enemies in field, and to see, without making them to leaue their Armes, or their Trenches. Let vs embrace this resolution presently, and after we haue seene what God will giue vs at Pont Cé, we will aduise of the rest: In the meane time we must send to Saumur, to haue foure Cannon from *Monsieur de Plessis*, and to Orleans to accompany the Cannon and Munition which shall bee embarked there. And that the Marshall of Praslin passe the Loire speedily at Saumur with foure thousand Foot, and foure hundred Horse, to lodge himselfe at the end of Pont Cé, and to hinder the succours which might come from Poictou. All which was concluded as his Maiesty had propounded.

The Queene mother hauing foreseene that they would attempt Pont Cé, she lodged therein three thousand foot, and foure hundred horse, with three pieces of Ordnance to defend it. As for the other part of her armie, she caused them to barricado themselves in the Suburbs of Angiers: and they of Pont Cé had laboured six dayes together to make a great Trench at the end of the Bridge towards Angiers.

Pont Cé is a long street in an Island vpon the Riuer of Loire, with two great Bridges which containe halfe a mile in length; that toward Brillac is a third part longer then that towards Angiers; vpon the which there are draw-bridges, which being drawne vp, there is no entering but by boat: It hath a good Castle to defend it, the which commands all the approaches of the Bridge: the houses within the Island haue no wals.

The Kings army approached, and gaue an assault to the barricadoes of the suburbs without the bridge, and recouered their Trench, and in the end beat them from the bridge, and entered the Town with them, there remaining nothing vntaken but the Castle, who seeing themselves without hope of succours, and ill furnished with things necessary for a siege, they resolu'd to parley: whereupon the next day morning they entered into treaty with *Monsieur de Cregny*: which being concluded, the King sent the Prince of Conde to signe the Capitulation, which was to depart with their armes and baggage, their marches out, and their Ensignes remaining to the King, the which he sent to Paris to the Queene Regnant, reseruing those which had the Queene mothers colours and chiflers, the which he sent backe vnto her with all the prisoners (which had beene taken vpon the bridge) that were of her household, hauing a special care of those that were wounded. He commended such as had fought valiantly, and shewed their valour, hoping they would one day doe him good seruice, and blamed such as had fled basely.

The Duke of Belgarde, and the Archbishop of Sens, being come from Angiers to the King, he sent them backe to the Queene mother, to tell her, That he respected the place too much where she did reside, to discharge his Cannon against it: but he coniu'd her in the name of God and all France, to cast her selfe into his armes, where she should find an assured rest; offering her for her particular, all that she could iustly desire of his Maiesty.

On Sunday the ninth of August, the Cardinall of Sourdis and the Bishop of Luson came vnto his Maiesty from the Queene Mother, with the Kings Deputies, to let him vnderstand, That shee was resolu'd to retire her selfe for euer out of these combustions, and that the onely doubt to bee oppress had drawne her to take armes. To whom answer was made, That the King had neuer given her occasion, his iustice and bountie being so apparant, as no man within his Realme had any cause to complaine of oppression. The Queene also desired, that for her sake he would pardon all those which had assisted her.

The King represented the interest of such as had assisted her, who aynded at other ends then the Queene his Mother: Notwithstanding, at her entreaty hee pardoned them:

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Pont de Cé  
yielded to the  
King.

Deputies sent  
from the  
Queene to  
treat a peace.

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Vpon what conditions the King would grant a peace.

them: So as within eight dayes after signification of the Peace, they did disarme and A  
yeld unto his Maiesties obedience: also that the Kings intent was not to restore the Go-  
vernments and charges of those which had left them, and whereof he had already disposed, as that  
of Caen, the old Palace of Rouen, and the twelve Companies which had cast themselves into  
Metz with their Colours, and had abandoned his army in Champagne. But in regard of the  
Queene his Mother, he yielded to the delivery of all the prisoners (which were many, and of  
quality) promising to pay their ransomes, for that hee would not deprive them of their due,  
which had taken them with great hazard.

The next day the Articles being drawne and signed by the King, Monsieur le Creguy carried  
them to the Queene mother, with his Maiesties Letter full of loue and respect. The A B  
Articles were:

Articles granted by the King.

I. That there should be a Declaration of the Queenes innocency, and a discharge (in  
favour of her) for those which had assisted her party.

II. That the Treatie of Angoulesme should be executed in all points.

III. That all charges and governments should be restored, but such as hee had dispos-  
ed of, and whereof he had made mention, yet notwithstanding it should be lawful for  
the Queene to be a sutor in that regard.

IV. That all Fees and Entertainments should be paid to the Governors and others  
which were restored by vertue of this Treaty, like unto those which had serued the  
Kings.

V. That there should be a discharge for all the Kings Reuenues which had bene ta-  
ken or leauied.

VI. That it should be lawful for all persons of what quality soeuer, which had  
followed the Queenes party, to exercise the function of their charges freely: to goe and  
come to Court, or to stay in their houses and governments, with as much liberty as those  
which had followed the King.

VII. That all Prisoners should be set free on either side without ranfome.

VIII. That the Castle of Pont de Cé should bee deliuered to any one whom the  
Queene should name.

IX. That Dreux should be deliuered to the Earle of Soissons, Vendosme to the Duke, D  
who should ruine the fortifications which had bene made since his absence from Court,  
together with the Towne of Verneuil, Sablé to the Marshall of Bois-Dauphin, and La  
Ferté Bernard to the Duke of Mayen.

X. That all Officers on either side should be restored to their charges and functions, by  
vertue of the Queenes Declaration.

XI. That all their Companies of Light Horfe which had followed the Queene Mo-  
thers party, should bee restored and entertained like unto others which had serued the  
King: and that all pursuits of condemnation should bee disanulled, in regard of those  
which had not defended themselves.

XII. That the Queene Mother should haue thirty thousand pound sterling E  
presently, and as much more in the beginning of the next year, to helpe to pay her debts.

XIII. That by vertue of this Accord, made by the Queene mother and the Princes  
which assisted her, all places and officers should be restored to the same estate they were in  
before the first of January last past.

XIV. That they which had followed the Queene mother should be paid their pen-  
sions and entertainments like unto those which had serued the King.

These Articles being brought backe vnto his Maiestie on the 11 of August, and signed  
by the Queene, all prisoners were set at liberty.

It was supposed in the beginning of this warre, that the ieaiousies which should grow F  
betwene so many Princes and Generals of Armies, as were on the Queene mothers  
party, would be the cause they should neuer performe any exploit of importance;  
the effect hereof was seene at Pont de Cé, where the Dukes of Vendosme and Retz  
were, and the Earle of Saint Aignan, by reason of their ieaiousies who should haue  
the point: so as the Duke of Retz retired with a thousand and five hundred men be-  
fore the Combat, the Duke of Vendosme during the fight and the Earle of Saint  
Aignan was taken fighting. They to whom their places and charges were not

restored

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A restored by this treaty of peace, were much deceived of their expectations. Monsieur de  
Modene was sent vnto the Queene with a Letter of credit from the King, to let her vnder-  
stand that his Maiesty desired to see her, and would to that end attend her at Brissac. To  
whom he made answer, Assure the King that I will see him to morrow, and that I am  
very well satisfied with him, and desire nothing more then to please him, praying to God  
for his person, and the prosperity of his Realme.

The King sent the Marshall of Praslin as farre as Pont Cé to meet the Queene, who  
drew out the Kings garison, to deliuer it into her hands. Monsieur de Brissac, brother to  
the Duke of Luynes, and now Duke of Luxembourg (hauing married the only heire of  
that House) had commandement to receive her, betwene Pont Cé and Brissac: And the  
King himselfe, impatient to see her, went forth to meet her about 3 quarters of a league. The King and  
with Monsieur his brother, the Prince of Conde, the Duke of Luynes, and 200 Gentle-  
men. The Queene had in her company many Princesses and great Ladies, with about  
300 horse. The King seeing the Queenes Litter, left his horfe, which the Queene hearing  
the likewise came forth, and advanced to receive him. At their first meeting the King said  
vnto her, That hee neuer had more impatience to see her, nor more affection to honour  
her. The Queene answered, That shee had made her daily vovues and prayers for  
him, and that shee desired nothing more then his fauour. The King presented his  
brother vnto her and the Prince: the first he embraced tenderly, and vied the other  
C very kindly.

Their Maiesties stayed three dayes at Brissac, during the which the King made a De- The King De-  
claration of the Queene mothers innocency, and of his pleasure concerning the Earle of  
Soissons, the Countesse his mother, with the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the  
Crown, and all others which had assisted his said Lady and mother, during those last al-  
terations, receiuing them into fauour, as his good and faithful subjects and seruants, and  
suppressing the memory of all which had past in regard thereof. The chiefe points of the  
peace, was the disarming according to the Declaration: And notwithstanding that all the  
Princes and Noblemen which had taken armes, assured his Maiesty that they would dis-  
misse their troops according to his pleasure; yet the King was aduised to keepe his army  
D together, and to make a voyage to Bourdeaux, and to the bankes of Garonne, to shew  
himselfe vnto those people, and to sende an order in Guienne, where it seemed that some,  
which held places of strength (as well of those which had continued in their obedience,  
as of others who had taken armes in fauour of the Queene) carried themselves so insolently,  
as his royall authority, and that of his Parliament at Bourdeaux was growne in contempt;  
Finally, that he must assure the whole Prouince vnder his authority, and withall to force  
them of Bearne to obey his Edict and Decree, for the restitution of the Lands of the  
Clergy: That all things seemed to inuite him hereunto; first, the season of the yeare;  
and secondly, his army was faire and desired employment.

The young Queene was carefull at Paris for the government of the City, and for the  
E dispatch of all matters which concerned the warre; but the King freed her of that care,  
sending her the Articles of peace: whereupon she parted the next day to goe to Tours,  
according to the Kings desire, where she should meet with the Queene mother.

The King desiring to hasten his journey to Guienne, left the Queene mother at Brissac, The King goes  
and came on the twentieth to Poitiers, where staying but one day, hee went to Tours to Poitiers.  
to meet with the young Queene. On the thirtieth, hee returned to Poitiers with his  
Queene, and the Queene Mother came thither. The King left her his owne lodging. The  
young Queene went forth to meet her, and the King came to visit her vpon her arri-  
ual: after some complements shee demanded newes of the Duke of Luynes, who was  
then sicke, and went to visit him, assuring him of her loue in the Kings presence.

The Queene  
mother comes  
thither.

F The Duke de Mayen, arrived two daies after, and presented himselfe vnto his Maiesty,  
who said vnto him, I will forget what is past if you serue me faithfully hereafter: after  
which he led him to the Queene his Mother. The King still hastening his voyage, took  
his leaue of the two Queenes, who likewise left Poitiers: The Queene Mother went to  
Fountain-bleau, and the young Queene returned to Paris. The King past by S. Iohn  
D'Angely, where the Inhabitants came to intreat him vpon their knees, nor to restore  
the Duke of Rohans Lieutenant into their Towne: whereupon his Maiesty left an Ex-  
empt of his Guard vntill he had otherwise provided. The Duke of Espernon came vnto

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him

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him, whom the King reitell'd graciously, willing him not to withdraw himself hereafter from his obedience.

On the 16 of September, he arriv'd at Blay, whither the Cardinall of Sourdis, the Duke of Mayenne, the Marshall of Roqueleure, and many other Noblemen came vnto his Maestie: where embarking he came to Bourdeaux. The Count of Saint Paul, Duke of Fronzac, passing by Fronzac to goe to Bourdeaux to the King, the Seigneure of Arlesmont (whom he had plac'd Governor in the Castles of Fronzac and Caumont) would needs accompany him to goe and salute the King: his friends dissuaded him, telling him that the Court of Parliament might embrace this occasion to doe iustice for the wrong he had done to one of the Presidents of the Court at Caumont, and had caused one of the Vilers thereof to carie a basket at the fortifications of Fronzac, coming with a Deeree to forbid him the continuing of the sayd workes: That there were but too many complaints of burnings, violences, and concussions, committed vpon Merchants, trafficking vpon the River of Dordone, to make him lose his head. Nothing could dissuade him, but he would needs goe doe his duty to his Maestie. He was no sooner arriv'd, but the Court of Parliament complain'd of him to the King, who promised to cause him to be apprehended and deliver'd into their hands, which was done accordingly. The Earle of Saint Paul and the Duke of Mayenne sued for his pardon, and the Merchants whom he had wronged demanded iustice. The King refused the first, and told the others, hee had given them good Iudges, who within two dayes condemn'd him to lose his head.

Assistants  
Governor of  
Fronzac be-  
liev'd at Bour-  
deaux.

Being vpon the scaffold ready to receive the blow which should separate his soule from the body, he demand'd pardon of God, the King, and all those he had wronged. It is written, that being perswaded by the Bishop of Aire, and a Jesuit, to suffer his eyes to be band'd, he said vnto the Bishop, *Sir, put your selfe in my place, and then you may see what you please.*

Hee was a resolute Gentleman, who saw death come without amazement, and offer'd his necke freely to the Executioner, to make an end of his life. It was reported that he had a hundred thousand Crownes in the Castle of Fronzac: but it is a wretched prosperity feeling it was followed with so fatal and tragical an end. This execution of iustice, contain'd many in their duties, and the people sayd of his Maestie, that he was another *Heracles*, which purged his Realme from Monsters.

During the Kings stay at Bourdeaux, he changed certaine particular Gouvernors, but to every mans content, for that such as were remou'd were advanced to offices of the Crowne, so as his Maestie assured this Province from combustions which he had apprehended. As for L'Estoure, which they of the Reformed Religion said was a place of safetie, his Maestie (having promised at the Assembly at Loudun, to take out *Fontrailles*, who was become a Catholicke, and to give them a Gouvernor of the Religion) caus'd *Fontrailles* to be treated withall, who left the place, and *Blainville*, a Gentleman of the Religion, was made Gouvernor.

The King goes  
towards Beame.

All the Kings enterprises having succeeded happily, there remained nothing for his last worke, but the affaires of Beame. The long resistance which had beene made by them of the Country, against his will, and the Decrees of the Council, for the restoring of the Bishops and other Clergy-men to their honors and temporall estates, had much wounded his patience. Being at Bourdeaux he was prest daily to verifie this restitution. *Monsieur de la Force* Gouvernor of Beame, and the first President of the Council at Pau, being come to Bourdeaux to that end, assured his Maestie, that without doubt they would cause it to be verified: But the King was aduertised daily of contrary effects, and that some Gentlemen of the Country assembl'd in armes, and threatned those which should undertake the execution of his Maesties will. The King in this expedience stayed some dayes at Pregnac, a Village beyond Bourdeaux, where he endured all the discomforts which might be in a bad lodging, yet he surmounted all these discomforts: vntill the ninth of October, when as there came vnto him two Councillors of Pau, to aduertise him that they had not beene free in their consultations, but had beene forced by the Soldiers which the Baron of Benac had brought into the Towne. And for that they had oppos'd the power of *Monsieur de la Force*, whom it concern'd in regard of his charge, and his promise to the King, to make all things easie, and to suppress the popular mutinies of factious men vnknown: knowing also that he was strong and armed for the Kings seruice:

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A The said two Councillors protest'd to his Maestie that *Monsieur de la Force*, being solicited by their company to ioyne with them in 'Council to give his aduice, and to maintaine obedience by his example: he not onely refused to appeare, but excus'd himselfe vpon his weaknesse, saying, that he was not able to hinder multitudes of strangers from coming into the Province vpon the brute of the Verification, as they had done at other times.

Hereupon the King commanded them to retire, telling them that his presence should assure the Clergie men for euer, for the enioying of that which did belong vnto them. The King resolv'd instantly, to part the next day towards Pau: And although there were a thousand discomforts of bad way, represented vnto him by the said Councillors, yet he neither apprehended feare of vicissitudes, or anything else which might hinder him, in his resolution for this voyage, as iudging that enterprise worthy of his undertaking, if there were no difficulty and hazard in it. He parted the tenth of October, and crossing the desert Country, he came on the thirteenth to Grenade, where the Advocate General of Pau, came and presented the King with a Decree of the said Council, importing the restitution which had been so often refused, thinking thereby to stay the Kings journey. *Monsieur de la Force*, came thither also with the like designe, presenting vnto him the troublefomnesse of the Voyage. But nothing could diuert the King, having a desire to make his power knowne, and to assure the Catholique religion for euer, in a Country, which seem'd to neglect his royall authoritie.

The King  
enters into Pau.

His Maestie commanded them both to retire, assuring them that within two dayes he would be at Pau: *For it behooves you (said hee) I should goe to assure your weaknesse.* Coming to lodge within five Leagues of Pau, the chiefe inhabitants came vnto him, to know his Maesties pleasure, touching the Ceremonie of his entry. To whom the King answer'd: That he would enter into Pau, as Soueraigne of Beame, if there were a Church to goe vnto: But if there were none, hee would no Ceremonies, for that he would be visiting to receive honors in a place where he had neuer beene, before hee had given thanks vnto God, from whom he held his inheritance. On the fifteenth hee enter'd into Pau, without ceremonie. Few observ'd that his Maestie was not receiv'd with those acclamations, which subjects customarily make at the sight of their Prince: and some write that they had drawne away the vicissitudes to force him to dislodge speedily: and that they had given out, they would crosse the orders which should be set.

The King to prevent all inconveniences was forced to change some Gouvernors: and having stay'd two dayes at Pau, he went to Naurreux a place of importance, seven great Leagues from Pau.

Having visited the place, Cannon, Munition, and Armes: He commanded *Monsieur de Meiden* to acquire *de Salles* Gouvernor of the Towne with his pleasure: which was, That the King (vnderstanding what had past in the Province, and the many enterprises E had beene made to surprize that place) was resolv'd to free him of so painful a guard in his old age, being now almost fourscore: yet his intent was not to deprive him of the reward of his seruices, but to recompence him worthily, and give him rest. Whereunto *de Salles* oppos'd not, but seem'd ready to obey his Maesties will, who made him Marshall of the field in his Armies, and gave him a good reward.

He changed  
the Governour  
of Naurreux

In Naurreux, which is a little town but very well fortified, there were found by Cannons all mounted, and forty Culverins and smaller pieces, with great store of bullets, powder and victuals: besides the sluier place, which belonged to the Houses of Naurre and Albeze, and was kept there: the which in former times had beene very great, but it was wasted in the year 1587, and much taken away to supply the necessities of his Maesties Father.

The King made the Seigneure of Poyenne Gouvernor of Naurreux, and greatly commended this election, for the reputation hee had gotten both in Beame and Beame by his courage and fidelitie. And the King before his departure caus'd Mary to be lured in the Towne, which had been discontinued for the space of fifty years: The King returning to Pau, he resolv'd four things in 'Council: two for the restoring of the Catholique Religion, and other two belonging to the State, and the preservation of the publique peace in base Naurre, and the Souverainie of Beame.

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The King's  
fellowes four  
things at Pau.

The first was to restore the Bishops and Abbots of Bearne to their places in the Council of Pau, as their Predecessors had formerly held them: and to cause the said Council to verifie 47 Articles, containing an order for the free exercise of the Catholike Religion: the enioying of Clergy-lands, and in regard of their rights and prerogatives.

The second was, to restore the Catholikes to the possession of the great Church in Pau, where he would assist at diuine seruice and Proceffion.

The third, to make an Edict for the vniing of base Nauarre and the Souerignty of Bearne, to the Crowne of France, with an vniion of both Councils, and to make one Parliament.

The fourth was, for the suppressing of the Persians or Capitaines of horse in Bearne.

The first, concerning the admission of the Bishops and Abbots to Council, with the 47 Articles, were verified by the said Council on the 19 of October. The next day the King put the Catholiques into possession of their great Church, whereof they had bene dispossessed almost 60 yeares: the King assisted at Masse, after which there was a solemne proceffion. There was an Edict past, for the incorporating of these Prouinces to the Crowne, and the vniing of the Soueraine Courts of Pau in Bearne, and Saint Pallas in Nauarre into one body of a Parliament, which should be established at Pau, consisting of three Presidents, and 22 Councillors, to iudge souerainly, and with like power and authority to his other Courts of Parliament. Touching the suppression of the Persians, the Edict was verified by the Council, the Chambers being assembled on the 20 of October.

Garisons left  
in Bearne.The King re-  
turne to Paris.

Thus the King in five daies stay at Pau, having sealed the Catholique Religion throughout all Bearne; taken away all meanes from the factious to mutine; sealed an order, that none should leaue souldiers but by his commission; put good garisons into Nauarreux, Orthes, Saueterre, and Oleron; and vniited those Countreies to the Crowne of France, he returned to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Xaintes, where taking post, he came to Paris on the 7 of Nouember, where he was receiued by both the Queenes and all the world, with a thousand blessings and applauses. His army was lodged in diuers parts of Guienne and Poitou to winter in.

In the end of October, there was no speech in France, but of a generall Assembly, which they of the reformed Religion, should hold at Rochel on the fixe and twentieth of Nouember, by reason of the Kings voyage into Bearne. There were also many priuate Assemblies, where (as some write) they treated of meanes to leaue money, and to begin warre, but all was referred to the generall assembly at Rochel, where they should shew their grieuances touching the inexecution of that they said had bene promised them, at the dissolving of the Assembly at Loudun.

The Kings De-  
claration a-  
gainst the as-  
sembly at Ro-  
chel.

The King vpon his returne from Bearne, having bene aduertised of the propositions which were made in diuers parts of France, for the holding of a generall assembly at Rochel by them of the reformed Religion, he caused a Declaration to be made and verified in Parliament, by the which he declared, the assembly which his subiects of the Religion had called in his Towne of Rochel, to be vnlawfull, forbidden by his Edicts, and contrarie to his will and pleasure: enioying the Maior, Sherifffes, Peeres, and Burgessees of Rochel, not to receiue them into their Towne, forbidding also all Gouernors, Lieutenants, Maiors, Consuls and Magistrates of other Townes, to receiue or admit the said Assembly, or any other which should bee called, contrary to the tenor of his Edicts, and without his expresse leaue: & to all his subiects of what qualitie soeuer to goe vnto it, vpon any pretence whatsoever: declaring them which should contradict this his will, breakers of his said Edicts, disobedient, troublers of the publike peace, and guilty of treason, &c. The subiect of this assembly will be the leauen of much misery, and shall fill France with ciuill combussions. We shall see townes forced and razed; Forts and Castles ruined, Houses and Families dispeopled and left desolate; the country wasted; and the poore people oppressd by the insolent Souldier. Wee shall see intestine diuisions. Sonne against father, and brother against brother, kinsman against kinsman, and neighbour against neighbour, and the poore reformed Churches in danger of ruine, and at the brinke of despayre. We shall see an angry King exclaiming against the disobedience of his subiects of the Religion; and we shall see those subiects complaining of the inexecution of his Edicts. We shall see an incensed Prince, who (zealous of his honour) vovves that hee will haue his owne, and force obedience. And we shall see those subiects, who (like a ti-

merous

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A merous man apprehending a Feuer, lets blood and takes Physicke, there being no alteration in his pulse, nor symptome nor signe of disemperature, yet zealous of their safeties, and fearing designs tending to their ruine; arme, fortifie themselves, and stand vpon their guard: when as voluntary obedience, and a diffinition of their Assembly at Rochel, had happily diuerted the storme, and they had not bene disarmed and lost their Townes of safety. The King should haue had no colour nor pretext to take armes against them who had obeyed his will: Foraine Princes, who had an interest in their preferuacion (seeing their dutifull obedience) should haue had iust cause to haue blamed the breach of his Edicts but newly confirmed. I will not presume to censure of the motives of these troubles; I leave it to the iudicious Reader: onely giue me leaue to set down what I haue receiued from a iudicious Gentleman of the same Nation and Religion: one that hath been much employed in those State-affaires: That the fiery zeale of some who had the guiding of their consciences, had thrust them into these desperate courses. But let vs now returne to our History.

The King having left many Garisons in Bearne and base Nauarre, there were foure strong Companies put into Nauarreux, the which is commonly called in France Nauarrins; being the only place of importance within the Prouince, and considerable for many reasons. Some Bearnois of the reformed Religion, much discontented for the change of the Gouernor of this place, especially the *Benfins* (nephewes to *La Salle* the last Gouernour) beganne to make many practices to surpise it; not so much for any particular zeale to their Religion, but for hope to make themselves masters of the place whereof their vncl had bene so long time Gouernor. To this end, hauing a house within a league and a halfe of Nauarreux, whither they came often, they made great shewes of loue to the three Capitaines which were there in garison, and commanded in the absence of the Seigneure of Poyenne; so as these Capitaines would rather haue suspected their owne Souldiers then these *Benfins*, with whom they liked like brethren, eating and drinking daily together. During this familiaritie the Capitaines had diuers aduertisements, that there would be an enterprife vpon Nauarreux; whereupon they doubled their guards, and searched diuers houses. Vpon the eight of December at night, one of the inhabitants

An enterprife  
to surpise  
Nauarreux.

which was of the Conspiracie, discovered it to a Souldier which lay in his house, (whether moued with loue to the King, or his fidelitie to the King, or vpon hope of recompence) and said vnto him, That for the execution thereof one of the *Benfins* was hidden within the Towne. This Souldier discovered it presently to the three Capitaines, who put their men in armes, and searched the houses of such as were accused, but found no man: they seized vpon the chiefe inhabitants, who denied all confidently: comming to the house of one *Merous*, whereas *Benfin* was, with many others, which hee had drawne into the Towne for the execution of the Enterprife; they slipped out at a backe-doore, hoping to saue themselves the next day. Notwithstanding in the search of this house, they found two in the hay; who being examined denied all. In the end they found some in the streets:

they take one to whom they promise his life so he will confesse; the which he did, telling them that there should haue bene two troops made within the Towne, the one of Inhabitants, who about midnight should haue killed the three Capitaines, and charged the *Corps de gard* in the market-place, whilst that *Benfin* and such as came with him, should haue fallen vpon the *Corps de gard* at the Port, and force it open to giue entry vnto fise hundred men which should be there ready. Whereupon they made such diligent search, as they found diuers; yet *Benfin* and most of his company got away ouer the walls, by cords and other meanes. The next day there were ten of them condemned and hanged in the market-place.

This Execution, and the feare of the like for many others, which were imprisoned, caused them of the reformed Religion to make many enterprises in Languedoc & the Countie of Foix; and among others in the Towne of Montauban, whereas all the religious men were imprisoned, as you may conceiue by this Letter of aduice which was sent vnto the King:

Sir, I cannot but grieve to see my selfe still forced to importune your Maiesties patience by my Letters, vpon the continual errors of your subiects of the reformed Religion, but the more I haue to enforme your Maiesty duly of the present estate of this Country, and the oppressions which your subiects receiue; and the contempt of your authority, blinde

A Letter  
sent vnto  
the King  
concerning  
the  
imprisoned  
religious  
men.



1621 " me thereunto. Notwithstanding your Declaration against the Assemblée of Rochel, their " Deputations have beene made: and notwithstanding the Resolution of the Parliament of " Thoulouze, their Consultation about the same is held at Montauban; their Fortifications " are continued in an extraordinary fashion: for they goe voluntarily thereunto, both men " and women, and of all qualities; and are taxed in particular to performe at their owne " charges, certaine fathomes, by a certaine time, and of such a depth. This they doe in all " their Townes, and at Castles more then the rest. At Montauban they have committed a " new excesse on the 17 of this month of December, vpon aduice that at Nauarreux they " had executed tenne of the traitors which had intelligence to surprize it: They presently " imprisoned all the Clergy-men, and all the Catholiques they found within their towne; B " and sent to aduertise all those of their Towne, which were at Thoulouze for their private " affaires, to retire. They searched for all the Clergy-men in their houses, and caried them " prisoners to the Bishops palace, guarded by two Companies of Souldiers, where they " continued till the next day at five a clocke in the evening, and then were dismissed, with " charge not to depart vpon paine of death: the which was done by a resolution of their " Towne-house, and the abridgement of the generall Assembly.

" The first President of Thoulouze blamed this fact much by his Letters; That to the " preiudice of the publique and private safety, they had treacherously abused the Catho- " liques, nothing apprehending the danger of them of their Religion, dispersed throughout " the Realme, who might runne the like fortune, if the faith of the Edicts were not religio- C " usly obserued by the Catholiques, who conform themselves to your Maiesties com- " mandements. At the same instant the first President forbid all reprisals, whereby hee assured " them which were of the Religion in Thoulouze. After this, the Clergy-men were freed " from the present danger, vntill that the factious of the said Religion finde some new oc- " casion. It is true, that some of the Magistrates, Consuls, and Burgeises, disliked of this " proceeding, but they are subiect to the law of the factious. Your Parliament hath here- " upon interposed their authority, and often forbidden them to continue their Assembly, " but they desist not. This disorder of Montauban hath been followed with the like insol- " encies in the County of Foix, where they shut the gates of Saierdun, Cazeres, and Pamiers, " taking the Catholiques, & seizing vpon some farms, into which they haue put souldiers, D " who haue robbed passengers, and haue failed to surprize a strong place, belonging to the " Bishop of Pamiers, putting the whole country into combustion. Wee hope your Maiesty " will prescribe them their duties; and provide that your subiects may be freed from the in- " conueniences which may follow in their weak and turbulent resolutions. Their fury for " the fact of Nauarreux is great, proceeding from the resolutions of the Assembly of Milhau, " and it is doubted that they of Montauban will be drawne to the like enterprizes. In the " meane time it is a great toyle to your Catholique subiects, to be alwayes vpon the defens- " sue, fearing the attempts of men which are in perpetual councell and armies. Wee will " attend your commandements, and remaine, &c. From Thoulouze, Decemb 22. 1620.

The King vi-  
sits his Promi-  
ters of Picardy.

About the end of this year, the King went to visit his frontiers of Picardy, as Abbe- " ville, Montreuil, Bullen, Calais, and Ardres, putting two Companies of his Guards into " that Towne, wherewith some were not well satisfied. This voyage continued from the " 14 of December to the 13 of January, in a very hard and vnseasonable time for his traine. " The Archduke Albert, hearing that he was vpon the frontiers, sent to visit him by an Earle " of the House of Granvelle. The King sent the Marshall of Cadenet, brother to the Duke " of Luynes, in Embassie to his Maiesty of great Britaine: hee parted from Calais on the " first of January, being followed by a gallant troop of Noblemen, and had a very honou- " rable reception from the King at his coming to Court. Within few dayes after his re- " turne to Paris, hee was receiued in Parliament Duke of Chaune and Peere of France.

In the beginning of this year, the Deputies of the reformed Religion assembled at F " Rochel, came to Court, where they published their Remonstrances vnto the King, touch- " ing the causes of their assembly: the which although it be long yet I am enforced to in- " sert it, being the subiect of all the following miseries, whereby the Reader may bee the " better satisfied.

The Remon-  
strances of the  
Deputies of  
the Assembly  
at Rochel vnto  
the King.

S I A, wee doe not thinke that the outrages of our ill-willers, who it may be will seeke to " stop your Maiesties cares to our most humble petitions, should also stop our mouths: " neyther were it iust, that during the liberty of our enemies, to slander our actions, and " make

A make them odious, they should impose vs silence: or that hauing hindered the effects of " your sacred word and royall bounty, they should blame vs, if wee insitt at your Maiesties " feet to demand the accomplishment of that which it hath pleased you to promise. Where- " fore Sir, in confidence of our iustice and your bounty, we present vnto your Maiesty our " most humble requests by writing, which is now all the meanes we haue, since our access " into your royall presence is forbidden vs, by a Declaration published against vs, for " our being here assembled vpon the only subiect of our complaints. But for that this action " of ours is repured a crime, and our proceeding defamed ascending vnto some rebellion, " wee should iudge our selues vnworthy of the fruit of your gracious regard vnto our peti- " tions; or that we should make any, if our consciences accused vs to be culpable of any " crime; or if wee had not both before God and your Maiesty our iustifications ready to " exhibit.

We haue assembled Sir, heretofore vnder the permission and authoritie of your Mai- " esty, in your Towne of Loudun, about the same subiect of our complaints, and to procure " from you the reparation of so many grieuances, by which our liberty and assurance " are continually impaired, and the authority of your Edicts from day to day weakened. " The long suffering of our euils, the apprehension of their increase, the knowledge of our " enemies audacious pride, which swells with our disgrace, the expresse charge of those " which haue sent vs, and the general consent of all men, that your Edicts (the fundamen- " tall Lawes of your Estate,) cannot bee undermined, but it will fall, caused vs to attend C " six whole monthes, with perseverance proportionable to our necessity, to obtaine of " your Maiesty some effects of your good will towards vs. In the end, after this long in- " stance, your Maiesty was pleased to command vs to name our Deputies, and to separate " our selues, and that the Prince and the Duke of Luynes, should giue their words to the " Duke of Lesdiguiers and Monsieur de Chastillon, and by them to assure vs, that separating " our selues according to your commandement, your Maiesty would within six monthes, " cause some principall points of our demands to be faithfully executed, and faithfully " answer our grieuances: and that within seauen monthes the Deputies of Beame should " be heard, a month after the execution of the said points. And that if the said promises D " should not be fulfilled, the same persons might assemble againe, or others delegated; " whereof the Prince gaue his word, to procure vs this permission with effect; and Monsieur " de Luynes assured that his word should be as good as a Brieffe, and it might be better. They " added on your Maiesties behalfe, that this was the first word you had giuen to your sub- " iects of the Religion since that you held the helme of your Estate, and therefore wee " should giue credit vnto it, hauing beene neuer violated. This onely consideration stirred " then all the rest, found no resistance in our consent, and shewed our speedy obedience.

After the nomination of our Deputies, your Maiesty confirmed to those which brought " the names, that you would effect the promise which the Prince and Duke of Luynes had " giuen vs. Thus separating our selues, we drew an Act of our obedience, containing all the " E fore said conditions and promises, according to the which, the Deputies of Provinces in " their particular Assemblies, according to the order allowed by your Maiesty, hauing giuen " an account of their employment, haue confirmed or subrogated all those which are here " at this present, after the six monthes, in case the points accorded were not executed. This " hath not beene done in secret, your Maiesty might easily know it, and the Lords of your " Councell were notignorant of it.

All these things promised being vnexecuted after the six monthes, they haue notwithstanding " standing pressed your Maiesty to goe into Beame, before the thauenth, contrary to your " Letters written to the Parliament of Pau, the 21 of September. So as contrary to those " expresse promises, they haue anticipated the execution of the destitution of the Clergy- " F lands, which hath been followed with a great alteration in the Country, and the total ru- " ine of the safety and liberty of those which make profession of the same religion with vs.

For these causes Sir, according to the order taken amongst vs, vpon the assurance " giuen vs on your Maiesties behalfe, the case so hapning; wee haue beene called to this " place, whither we are come with charge from all your subiects of the Religion, with desire " to obtaine by our humble petitions vnto your Maiesty, the accomplishment of what " was promised; reparation for the important grieuances which haue since happened; and an " effectuall assurance of your good inclination to our protection against the threats and " alarms

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alarms, which are generally praftised with a defigne of our totall ruine. Wherefore Sir, A we lay out of a good confcience, that we are in no fort culpable of the contempt of your authoritie; but contrariwife that the caufes of our reunion in this place are lawfull, and our proceeding without crime, being authorifed and fupported by your fared word. If our enemies haue prezailed fo much, as by a Declaration published againft vs, they call in queftion the word which hath bene given vs in your Maiefties name, and make vs guilty; it is a new fubiect of bitter griefe, and of iuft complaint. We are not culpable, but in beleeuing the word of the firft Prince of the blood, and of a Nobleman whom your Maiefty doth cherifh dearly. We are not guilty but for renewing the purfuit of our humble petitions, authorifed by the firft inuolable word which it hath pleaſed your Maiefty to giue B vs, the which we haue taken for pledge and caution after fo many delays, and by the iuſtice which the appearance of fo many grieuances hath made fo publique. May it now pleaſe your Maiefty to haue conſideration of our innocency, and not to fuffer our enemies thus to oppreſſe vs before you. They taxe vs to haue violated your authoritie: but it is caſie to iudge whole adions tend moſt to the preferuation of your authority, and the ſetling of your Crowne. When as we purſue, by the formes of reſpect and reuerence due to your Maieſty, the execution of your Edicts, the reparation of fo many breaches, and the meanes of our preferuation; they command vs to be ſilent, and then oppoſe the name of your authoritie to our perſeuerance, as if we fought to croſſe it. But where your authoritie is truly and really engaged, as in the maintenance of your Edicts, and the affurance of C your word: what care haue they to preferue it? nay what doe they not to ruine it?

Is there any thing which doth more wound your Maieſties authoritie and reputation, then that after ſuch ſolemne promiſes, we could not obtaine deliuerance of the eſtate of the places of ſafety in Dauphine, the deniall whereof tends to make vs loſe the chiefe Towneſſe? In the meane time they haue given vs your word, the which they might free in falſe, and ſhame. They haue promiſed vs faithfully vpon your word the reception of two Counſellors in your Parliament of Paris, ſo long delayed contrary to your Edicts, the which is not yet accompliſhed but in port. But which is worſe, this faith promiſed is fruſtrated in this point, in the moſt important, and which we vrge moſt; by a Decree which the Court hath made, that the *Seigneur Le Cuy* ſhould not reſigne but to a Romane Ca- D tholique: whereby our liberty is oppreſſed, being granted to them of our Religion by your Edicts, leaue to enter indifferently into charges. They aſſured vs in your Maieſties name, that the reſtitution of the Clergy goods in Beame ſhould not be put in execution before ſeaſon moneths; and that within one moneth after the execution of the points accorded, they ſhould be heard in their Remonſtrances: but contrariwife they haue anticipated the time, and drawne your Maieſty into Beame before that any of the promiſes tooke effect. And without hearing their grieuances, the reſtitution hath not onely bene executed, but to ſay truly, hath ſerued as a pretext for the entire deſolation of thoſe of the Religion, and the liberty of the Country; although their obedience and chearfull reception of your Maieſty did merit a more favourable viſage. But what greater violence to your authoritie, E Sir, then after our laſt ſeparation made vpon ſuch ſolemne promiſes, with liberty to requite our ſelues in caſe of failing, to preſent our petitions and grieuances to your Maieſty, being now in theſe termes, in ſtead of hearing vs, they cauſe vs to be declared guilty: they deny that we had eyther promiſe or permiſſion to aſſemble, and the words which ſhould be as good as Briefes, are made fruſtrate. They indite vs becauſe wee haue beleued: and which is worſe, they threaten the towne wherein we are aſſembled with ſiege and ruine, that is to ſay, your whole Eſtate with a dangerous accident, whereof your Maieſty, and your wiſe Councell may fore-ſee the conſequence.

What ſhall we ſay touching ſo many points of your Edicts infringed, yea, ſince your Maieſty ſate at the helme of your Eſtate? with what inſtance haue we purſued the reſto- F ring of our Religion in Clermont of Lodoue, a place of ſafety, whereas our enemies (to the outrage they haue done vs) haue added a contempt of your authority, hindring by armes the execution of the Decrees of your Councell, and expelling the Commiſſaries which your Maieſty had ſent to that effect. They made ſhew to preuent our complaints with reſtitution. They called it your Maieſties buſineſſe. They acknowledged that your reſpect and authority was ſenſibly wounded: yet they had rather haue it ſuppreſſed; then in railing it, they ſhould repara the breaches which are done vnto our liberty. Thus by a violence

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A violence vnreſtrained and not puniſhed, the exerciſe of our Religion is baniſhed from a place which hath bene conſigned vnto vs for the maintenance thereof. They haue taken from vs the guards of Priuats in Viaretz, one of the places where nothing ſhould be altered according to your Edicts and Briefes. And to the end all the reſt ſhould bee made vnpoſſible and without any ſafety, the moneyes appointed for the Garriſons and Mi- niſters, haue not bene paid theſe eightene moneths. Finally, Sir, contrary to your will and authority, and to the preiudice of the peace and publique tranquillity, they preach ſeditiouſly againſt vs: they publiſh bookes to the ſame end: whence comes it, that of late in diuers places they vnbury our dead; they burne our Temples; they chaſe away our B Paſtors, and they will not ſuffer thoſe places which are given vnto vs neere vnto Townes for the exerciſe of our Religion, to be deliuered vnto vs. The which we haue and doe ſtill ſuffer in diuers parts of your Realme, and namely, at Moulins, Bourges, Baux in Pronence, at Lyons, and at Dijon, and yet we can obtaine no iuſtice.

We will adde no other particular grieuances, wherewith the Articles of our complaints are charged, ſome without answer, and ſome answered contrary to the intention of your Edicts: and for reparation whereof, they make no accompt after all our purſuit to ſend Commiſſaries into the Prouinces, notwithstanding any promiſe which hath bene made; and ſuch as haue bene ſent, reſuſe to doe their charge when they are ſummoned. By theſe contrauentions, Sir, your ſacred authority and the reputation of your iuſtice are C highly intereſſed.

But all this is little in regard of the pernicious accidents which they endeavor to produce: for theſe men, Sir, whom all your good ſubiects Romane Catholiques well affected to your Crowne, doe hold for enemies; and all thoſe whom they haue corrupted in your Eſtate, to ſerue a foraigne command, whoſe Miniſters they are, ſtrive now more then euer to raiſe vp that Engine in your Realme, by the which they haue ouerthrowne (as wee ſee) ſo many Eſtates in Chriſtendome; and by the ſame practices ſeek to draw yours into the like conſuſion. Euery man knows how by their ſeditious Sermons and the ſecret drifts of their Congregations, they daily more and more ſtirre vp the peoples hatred againſt vs, with deſigne to ruine vs. They are ſo inſolent as to vaunt to haue an abſolute Empire ouer your conſcience, to be able to poſſeſſe your eares and mind D with what they pleaſe, and to haue already induced your Maieſty to hate vs: ſo as aſſuring themſelves of our diſgrace with your Maieſty, they haue plotted (what wrongs ſouer are done vs) to hinder ſtill the reparation. Whereby in the end hauing made the vigour of your Edicts fruitleſſe, they take occaſion to make our complaints to be held a crime, as they doe at this preſent, and thereby to ſtirre vp a generall perſecution. And would to God their deſigne were not ſo farre advanced, they ſhould not then proceed againſt vs as offenders: they ſhould not heare throughout your Realme (as they doe) war pronounced againſt vs, ſaying that the *Dice are caſt*; that preparations are made in all parts, and your countries of Poictou and Guienne full of troops, which already in hope diuide E the ſpoile of this Towne.

Theſe alarms, Sir, theſe fatal accidents wherewith your Eſtate is threatened, are the chiefe moſtues which make vs humbly to beſeech your Maieſty to diſcerne our iuſtice from the ſlanders and hatred of our enemies. And that it would pleaſe your Maieſty to cauſe the Declaration published againſt vs to be diſannulled, and to giue vs free acceſſe vnto you to preſent our complaints and humble petitions: to the end that returning with an aduall teſtimony of your good inclination towards vs, wee may inſiſte into the hearts of all men, ſome ſeeds of better hope; that as your Maieſty doth acknowledge vs for your faithful ſubiects, you will protect vs againſt all the deſignes and enterpriſes of ſuch as hate vs: and that our liberty, goods, and liues, being thereby aſſured, wee may employ them F for your Maieſties ſeruiſe: Proteſting religiously before God and men, for our ſelues and all thoſe whom we repreſent, that we deſire not the liberty of our conſciences, and to ſerue God, with any other intent, then to remaine inſeparably tied to your obedience, and to the good and aduancement of your Eſtate and Crowne, and your Maieſties long and happy reigne, whoſe proſperity recommending with all our vovs to God, we beſeech him, that he will make vs find fauour with your Maieſty, and inſpire your mind with the knowledge that we are your Maieſties moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt faithful ſubiects and ſeruants, The Deputies of the Aſſembly at Rochel. The 2 of Ianuary, 1621.

[Y]

Theſe

This complaint  
is interpreted  
againſt the  
Breſtians.

These were the reasons whereby they pretended to iustifie the calling of their Assembly, the continuing whereof proued the subiect of all the ensuing miseries: for what can complaints and iustificacions preuaile with an incensed Prince, who is possessed with other counsels? They giue him to vnderstand, That the calling of this Assembly is an affront done to his authority: that it was a breach of his Edicts: that it was a president of dangerous consequence for his state: and that it was an act tending to rebellion: That if he suffered it, it would blemish his reputation, and make him contemptible both to his subiects and strangers. These were strong motives to thrust a young Prince into choller: but you shall heere an answer which was published in the name of the Duke of Ledsiguers touching the said complaints, and sent vnto the Assembly.

The Duke of Ledsiguers answered to the Assembly at Roan.

My Masters, the Letter you wrote vnto me on the 28 of the last Moneth, inuited mee to make this answer: I pray you take it in good part, comming from the heart and hand of one who alwayes will wish honoer and prosperitie to your iust designs. You are assembled according to the resolution you tooke at your parting from Loudun: but you cannot shew that you haue leaued. It is true, you required a Brieffe for it, but could not obtaine it. Wherefore our generall Deputies should first haue made instance to the King to allow of it, and their humble petition should haue bene grounded vpon the necessity there was to assemble. This hath not bene done, wherefore my opinion is, That hauing not obserued this forme, his Maiesty hath iust cause to be incensed against you, and against those which haue receiued you. As for the occasions of your Assembly, they are so small, as they scarce make any shew. The King had promised you, that within fixe Moneths he would cause L'Esfoure to bee restored: that two Councillors of the Religion should be admitted into the Parliament at Paris: That a Brieffe should bee giuen for the guard of places of safety, the which was deliuered soone after to our Deputies: And touching the affaires of Bearne, that within fouen moneths the Deputies of the Countrie of Bearne should be heard by his Maiesty. There was a moneth more of time giuen, not so much in consideration of that businesse, as for that they imagined the action of L'Esfoure would proue difficult, and that they would not meddle with Bearne before they had ended the other: and of this intention *Monsieur de Blainville* is a true witnesse, being the inventor of this delay granted by his Maiesty, to the end hee might haue time to make L'Esfoure obey, before he required obedience from them of Bearne. You know that L'Esfoure hath bene deliuered to a Gentleman of the Religion: that the Councillors haue bene receiued: and a Brieffe for the places of safety deliuered: There remains nothing to giue you but an Estate of the places in Dauphine: This was not so hasty a businesse as you must needs assemble to demand them: for we hold them, and no man contests them.

I know that the clamour of them of Bearne, hath bene a powerfull motive for your Assembly: but I thinke before you should haue done it in regard of these points about mentioned, you should haue made petition by our Deputies, or haue required *Monsieur Chastillon* and me, to beseech the King to remember what we had promised you in his Maiesties name, confirmed by his royall mouth at Fontaine-bleau, to the Deputies of the Assembly at Loudun, when as they aduertised him of their separation.

I haue briefly touched these points, in answer to that you haue written vnto me; that I am not ignorant of the inexecution of most of the important things which had bene promised you: and I represent vnto you what I know, the which you should call to mind, to the end that you your selves might iudge that your Assembly hath bene somewhat too hasty: and I say with griefe, that it may be held vnlawfull: This is the reason his Maiesty hath so declared it: but his indignation may be mitigated and turned into grace. I know no means to attaine vnto it but by your separation: for although your pretended grievances were apparant and full of reason, yet could you not present them to the King to doe you iustice: but by the lawfull means which admit the Subiect to his Soueraigne Prince; otherwise it is a blemish to authority, a sharing of the Royalty, and the making of a good cause bad. Moreover, it doth incite by a bad example his Maiesties Subiects, to shake off the gracious yoke of his obedience. This fault must not proceed from vs; I fly from vs, who haue alwayes obeyed our Kings in all things, and haue onely retained that which belongs to GOD, to yeeld it vnto him

A him by their Maiesties permission. He that reignes ouer vs at this day will nor deny it: He will obserue his Edicts, and heare our Complaints and Remonstrances, when we shall addresse our selues vnto him with those submissions which are beseeching vs; and due from vs to him. I beseech you and exhort you as much as I can and ought, to put your selues into this posture after your separation; and I will ioyne with our Deputies, humbly to beseech his Maiesty to grant vs that which we may lawfully demand, be it for our selues or our bretheren of the Countrie of Bearne, who haue drawne their miserie vpon them by their owne fault. I had diuerted it, if they had giuen me credit when I was in Court. I presse your separation, for without it, I see my selfe (to my great griefe) deprived of all means, to ayd and serue you with the King: But if you will beleuee my aduice, and separate your selues, I dare promise that his Maiesty at my humble sute, will forget the fault which he conceiues you haue committed against his authority; will take regard of our complaints and humble petitions by our generall Deputies: will call his troops out of Poictou, Guienne, and other places which hold our Churches in continuall alarme: will remoue the crime of the Deputies of the Assembly, to the end they may returne with all safety: will make a new Declaration in our fauour, according to the graces which haue bene granted vs, to quench all ieaiousies: and finally, will giue all reasonable content, seeing a firme and assured peace in his Estate, to maintaine his reputation with his neighbours and allies, and to make himselfe a necessary Arbitrator of all their differences: the which we should desire about all things, and not to hinder him as wee doe, by any ciuill combustion, whereof the cause might be imputed vnto vs. If I may be beleueed, there will be no need for me to send any body vnto you, nor may I doe it, because you are assembled without the Kings permission; nor that I will leaue to be of your vnion, for I will remain firme in the seruice of the Churches of God, and of the profession of our Religion vnto the last gaspe; continuing still in the obedience due to his Maiesty, as a thing conuenient.

In this affection I will rest, by the helpe of God, whom I beseech to cause you to receive my aduice, and the assurance of my promises, grounded vpon the hope I haue of his Maiesties goodnesse, that we may continue in his fauour with all surety, and his Realme in peace. And so I will remaine your humble and affectionate seruant, *Ledsiguers*. Grenoble the first of February, 1621.

This yeare there fell out an accident at Priuas in Viualetz, which disquieted the peace of the Countrey. After the death of the Seigneur of Chambault, Lord of Priuas, being of the Reformed Religion; his onely daughter and heyre, widow to a Gentleman also of the Religion, married with the Viscount of Cheylane, a Catholique, sonne to the Seigneur of L'Esfoure, who hauing taken possession of the Castle of Priuas, and the Tower of the Lake, put Catholique Captaines and Souldiers into them; the which had the last yeare put all the inhabitants of the Religion in Priuas, Viualetz, and Seuenmes into alarme, which caused great combustions on either side: they of the Religion pretending that it was a Towne of guard, although none of the hostages of surety, and that the Castle and the Towne appertained vnto them. On the contrary, the Viscount of Cheylane maintained that being Lord thereof, and that his vassals, the guard belonged to him. This trouble was for a time appeased by an ordinary course, That things should remaine in the estate that they were, vntill that by an Assembly vnder the Kings authority the businesse were agreed. Notwithstanding the inhabitants of Priuas, impatient to see Catholique Souldiers put into the Castle and Tower of the Lake, made many instances and complaints, as well to the generall Synode of the Ministers which was held in October last at Alez, as to *Monsieur de Chastillon* at Montpellier. The Duke of Vantadour, Lieutenant generall for the King in Languedoc, sent his Prouost to take information thereof.

F In Ianuary this yeare, they fell to armes, the Towne against the Castle. Whereupon the Duke of Vantadour sent two Gentlemen with his Letters for the pacifying of this combustion, offering them his succour and assistance, either by his authority as the Kings Lieutenant Generall, or by the mediation of the Chamber of the Edict of Castres, and the Presidiall Court of Nismes their naturall Iudges, from whence hee would draw Commissaries to doe them iustice, and punish the delinquents: But this preuailed nothing: for the seditious continued their attempts. Whereupon the Duke of Vantadour was forced to goe to Armes to maintaine the Kings authoritie, for

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that the Castle of Prius was besieged by the Seigneurs of *Buison* and them of the religion, A who had seized upon diuers other Castles. Thus they take armes in Viuzaretz on all sides: The Duke of Montmorency, Gouvernor of the Country, hearing that *Buison* with the Consuls and Inhabitants of Prius, had besieged *Saint Palais* in the Castle, seeing the Kings authority contemned by this action, and his honor engaged, hee resolved to goe to Prius. Passing by Montpellier, the Earle of Chastillon with the Consuls of Montpellier, Nismes, and Vzes, and the Deputies of the Assembly of that Circle being then at Lunel, came vnto him, entreating him not to proceed to extremities: that they disauowed *Buison*'s action, and would labour to draw him to obedience: That he should cary himselfe as prudently in this, as hee had done powerfully the year before. To whom hee answered, That he could neither stay nor retire, and that the affront was such, as hee must maintaine the Kings authority and his owne honour, in punishing *Buison* and the inhabitants of Prius in such sort, as they might serue for a president to posterity, hauing rebelled against their King, and broken their word with their Gouvernor; but at the entreaty of *Monseigneur de Chastillon*, he would goe thither with a spirit of peace, and should be glad that they themselves would reduce *Buison* to his duty.

The D. Montmorency words to *Monseigneur de Chastillon*.

*La Banne* sent to the King.

Vpon the way he was aduertised that the Castle of Prius was deliuered vp by *Saint Palais*, vpon an honorable composition to depart with their full armes: the which did much trouble the Duke, who sent presently *La Banne* to aduertise the King thereof, and to attend his pleasure; who presently returned him with Letters whereby he did much commend his fidelity and care, recommending vnto him especially the publique peace, but yet he desired to be obeyed.

The Duke, finding that he could not satisfie the Kings expectation without force, he employed all his meanes, credit, and friends, and in five dayes drew together eight thousand foot, and foure hundred horse. The Assembly at Lunel commaunded *Monseigneur de Chastillon* to arme, who with the like speed leauied three or foure thousand horse and foot. *Buison* fortifies himselfe, and is assisted with men from the Assembly. The Duke marching towards Prius, the Duke of Lefdiguiers going towards the Court, desired to conferre with him about this business; whereupon he went to Valence with the Duke of Vantadour, but they could not find the meanes to settle the Kings authority in Prius; D whereupon they retired, yet with this resolution, not to attempt any thing against Prius untill they had receiued his Maiesties intention.

Villeneuve de Berg taken by the Duke.

The Duke, in his Councell of warre, resolved to besiege Villeneuve de Berg, into the which the Assembly had put some Companies of Souldiers, being a very conuenient place to receiue the succours which the Seuennes should send to Prius, if it were besieged. This Towne was inuested on the fifth of March: *Buison* seeing the Kings army had left him, and was turned thither, hee presently sent an hundred Musketeers to relieue them; but they found the Towne so besieged as it was not possible to enter.

The next day the Duke summons the Consuls to open their gates: who seeing themselves too weak to maintaine a siege, and without hope of succours, they caryed him their keyes, beseeching him to let them enioy the liberty of the Edicts. It is the Kings will and intent, (said he) that his subiects should enioy the free exercise of the one and the other Religion; you shall not be troubled in yours, and I will keepe you from molesting the Catholiques. Hereupon hee sent certaine Companies to seize vpon the gates, and went himselfe to lodge in the Towne; where the next day hee caused Masse to be restored, whereof they had bene deprived 62. years. The same day the *Seigneur de Reaux* Lieutenant of the Guard, arrived at Viuzaretz, sent by his Maiesty, to cause as well *Monseigneur de Montmorency* as *Monseigneur de Chastillon*, and the Assembly at Lunel to disarme; which they did in shew: yet afterwards *M. Montmorency* went and besieged Vualz; and the reason was, for that they had refused to lodge *Montmajor* brother to Collonel *D'Ornans*, F who led the Regiment of his brother *Macargues*, to whom the towne belonged, with an intent to vse his subiects more kindly then another would: vpon this repulse (thinking his honor to be interested) he intreated the Duke to make good the quarter which he had giuen him. Vualz is strong by situation, being among the mountaines, and hath a Castle of aduantage: the inhabitants are all of the reformed Religion, and there were likewise 400 Souldiers sent them from the Seuennes, so as they refused to defend the towne, and not to lodge any Catholique troops. They fortified a Mill with an hundred of their best Souldiers,

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A Souldiers, whereby they might hinder the passage of the river of Ardeche. The Marquis of Portes charged them, and in the end forced them to retire to the Towne, which was presently inuested, so as after some volleys of Cannon, they desired to parley with *De Reaux*, to whom they said, they desired to obey his Maiesties commandements, and to be maintained according to the Edicts, beseeching him to be mediator for them vnto the Duke: who considering the strong situation of the Castle, was content to receiue them to grace, vpon condition that they should haue three hundred men of *Macargues* regiment in garrison: that the Castle should be deliuered into the hands of an Exempt of the Guard: that the Souldiers should be conducted to a place of safety: and that the Consuls should vpon their knees for the inhabitants, demand pardon of the King in the person of the Duke, who should maintaine them in the liberty of their religion.

Vualz yielded to the D. of Montmorency.

The Seigneurs of *Autiege* had bene sent by the Assembly of that Circle, with twelue hundred men, to defend Vualz; but hearing vpon the way that it was lost, he put himselfe into Valons, and expelled the Exempt of the Guard whom *de Reaux* had placed there. This action caused the Councell of warre to resolve to besiege it, to repair this affront done to the Kings authority. The Duke caused the army to march, and the towne was inuested and battered: a reasonable breach was made, & the Marquis of Portes lodged with his men vpon the walls. Whereupon *Autiege* finding that hee should be forced the same day, he demanded a safe conduct to parley with the Marquis, who conducted him to the Duke; by which this Composition was made: That within one houre after, hee and all his Souldiers should depart out of Valons, with their armes onely, without Drumme or Match light, like vanquished men: That they should not cary armes for six moneths in the Prouince: and that if there were any Inhabitants of Valons amongst them, the Captain in whose troope they were found, should be stayed and punished. The Souldiers retired presently through the Army to *Monseigneur de Chastillon*, and the towne was abandoned for one whole day to the spoyle of the Souldiers.

Valons yielded to the Duke.

In January there was a Letter presented vnto the King touching the Assembly at Rochel, in the name of the Marshall of Bouillon, as followeth.

Sir, I was refused to remaine in silence, seeking to ease my ordinary indisposition in the quiet rest of my family: but now I thought that I ought not to concele from your Maiesty, That of late the Deputies of high Languedoc and high-Guienne assembled at Millaut, haue sent a Gentleman vnto mee, to aduertise mee of the feares and distrusts wherein your subiects of the Religion are in those parts, as well as in other Prouinces, by reason of the threats they vse daily in all the parts of your Kingdome: That they will breake the Edicts, take from them the liberty of their consciences, the safety of their liues, and the quiet enioying of their dignities: moued hereunto (they say) by that which hath passed in Beame, for that they had anticipated the execution, contrary to the order, whereof they had giuen assurance in your Maiesties name, at the last assembly of your subiects at Loudun; they hauing committed no act contrary to their duties. Whereunto they added the inexecution of those things which had bene promised: the iaculosity which the Garsions giue them which haue bene left in diuers places without necessity: the rigorous Inimities made against the Assembly at Rochel, which they hold to be grounded vpon the word, which (they beleue) had been giuen in your Maiesties name to the said Assembly at Loudun, as the Deputies thereof haue reported to their Prouinces: and diuers other occasions arising daily, which makes them doubt there is a generall designe to ruiue the Religion, and all those which make profession thereof within your Realme. And hereupon, Sir, protesting that they will neuer depart from the duty and obedience whereunto their subiection and conscience doth binde them to your Maiesty: I cannot but suffer in their miseries, being bound thereunto, by the profession of that Religion which I haue in common with them. They inuite mee to giue my aduice, and to send some one to the Assembly at Rochel, to ioyn in their humble complaints they desire to make vnto your Maiesty: I thought it my duty first to aduertise you before I made any answer, and to beseech you to giue me your commandements thereupon. Sir, I will presume to tell you with that humble respect which I owe, and the liberty which my age, and former experience hath giuen mee, That Remonstrances being the onely and lawfull meanes by the which your Subiects of the Religion should adresse themselves vnto your Maiesty, who by your equity may iudge of the iustice or iniustice thereof, and haue

The Marshall of Bouillon presents to the King.

have more contentment and profit for your service by receiving them, then in rejecting, especially how when they are so full of distrust, as they think their ruine is resolved, and that they will thrust them into despair to vendoe them. The remedy cannot be applied but by your Maieſtie, who alone after God may diuert this mischiefe, and prevent it by your wisdom and authority, in continuing your royall protection to your subjects of the Religion, and not suffer that to aduance the ruine of so many innocent persons, who breathe nothing but the prosperity of your reigne, and their faithfull obedience to your service, they should offer violence to the Edicts of Kings your Predecessors, the which your Maieſtie hath oft confirmed. I cannot beleue, Sir, they giue you such hurtfull counsels, and so preiudiciall to your Estate, and much lesse, that your Maieſtie will put them in practice, to kindle a fire of civill warre in the midst of your kingdom, which the decaied King your father quenched with so much pains and wisdom, knowing well that the conscience cannot be forced by the power of sword or fire, nor the spirit constrained to beleue that which it beleueeth not: It might be rather feared that by a doubtfull and vncertaine hope (which the passion of some ill-willers vnto your subjects of the Religion may giue vnto your Maieſty to re-vnite by armes all your subjects) beleueing your authority would be engaged in most dangerous inconueniences. And I pray God to remove from about your sacred Maieſtie all those which would enduce you to this violence, and together with them the dreadfull prodages which may come of such counsels. That if in these present occurrents, which have given mee occasion to write vnto you, touched with a liuely feeling which I haue of the mischiefe these distrusts may breed, and wherein I attend the honor of your commandements, I may be so happy to be able to contribute any thing to helpe to maintain the publick peace, and tranquillity, all which your Maieſty may expect of me, and of my deuotion and fidelity to your service. I most humbly beseech you to excuse me, if by reason of my infirmities of the gout, I haue beene enforced to borrow my sonnes hand to signe, rather then to faile of my duty, beseeching God to poure all his blessings vpon your Maieſtie, and to giue you a long and happy life. From Sedan the second of January, 1621.

The D. of Lefdiguiers from the Letters to the Assembly at Rochel.

The Answer of the Assembly.

*Monsieur de la Force* Gouverneur of Beame, wrote a Letter about the same time to his Maieſtie, and to the same effect. The Duke of Lefdiguiers wrote a second Letter vnto the Assembly at Rochel on the 22 of February, giuing them to vnderstand, that he went to Court according to the Kings commandement, where hee would see the Churches with all his power, to the end they might be maintained in peace according to the Edicts; but hee could not comprehend the subject of their Conuocation, nor of their stay at Rochel, seeing that what had beene granted at their separation from Loudun, had beene fully executed.

To these two Letters of *Monsieur Lefdiguiers* the Assembly at Rochel published an Answer in Print, whereby they did insinuate that their Assembly was lawfull, and with the Kings permission; they being promised at the time of their separation from Loudun, that if the Articles granted, were not accomplished within the time prefixed, they might sit againe: whereof he himselfe (they sayd) had giuen them assurance in his Maieſties name, and that the King himselfe had confirmed the same at Fontaine-beau, to the Deputies of the Assembly, when they did aduertise him of their separation: so as they thought they had no need to craue a permission of more force, or a more firme assurance then his Maieſties most sacred word: and to confirme the reasons of their Assembly they said that nothing had beene executed within the terme of six moneths prefixed, but only the delivery of the Briefe for the places of safety; and in the mean time the King had gone into Beame, during the delay granted for their Remonstrances, which had not beene heard; where the restitution was not onely executed, but their Churches had lost their safety and liberty which for many years they had enjoyed in those parts, and in an instant had followed the euent of all those dangerous consequences which they had doubted from the beginning.

Hereunto they added many other Grievances, humbly beseeching him to assist them with his fauour to his Maieſty, that he would be pleased to heare their complaints so necessary for their preservation and peace.

*Monsieur de la Force* continued in his Government of Beame, and Nauarreux was committed to the fidelity of *Monsieur de Poynne*, betweene whom there grew jealousies.

They

Certaine Letters to the Assembly at Rochel.

A That the Religion held an Assembly at Pau: from whence *Captaine Benſins* with some others, went and put himselfe into the Towers of Montgiscard, neere vnto the bridge of Berence, about the end of February, hauing before secretly sent thither store of munition and victuals. The Gouvernor of Nauarreux found presently that *Benſins* had not put him selfe into Montgiscard, but by the commandement of *Monsieur de la Force*, and of the said Assembly, to the end that this place might quer-looke Nauarreux; it being held impregnable; being seated vpon an high steepe Mountain, whereunto there is no passage but for one man going bias wise. On the top there are two Towers in the middelt of a round platforme, being sixscore paces in diameter, enuironed with great ditches, which *Benſins* had suddenly fortified within the platforme, with a high Pallisade filled with earth. To haue a pretext of a quarrell, *Benſins* caused the Abbot of Caignone and one of *Poyannes* horsemen to be stayd vpon the bridge of Berence, whereupon he presently sent *Latanlade* his Lieutenant to *Monſi. de la Force*, to acquaint him with *Benſins* actions in Montgiscard, and to tell him plainly, that if hee would not contribute, for his part hee was resolved, to doe his dutie for the Kings service. *Latanlade* returned without any other answer, but that *Monsieur de la Force* knew not what it meant, but would refer himselfe to that which *Monsieur Poyanne* should doe.

Hereupon he drawes what Forces he can about Orres, where he found a Gentleman belonging to *Monsieur de la Force*, who told him, that if he went to Montgiscard, it would alter the Kings service in Beame; to whom *Monsieur Poyanne* answered, that hee went not to Montgiscard but to see the King, to whom hee must giue an account of his actions, assuring himselfe that he would rest satisfied therewith as of his fidelity: and seeing that *Monsieur de la Force* had referred the action to his discretion, he was resolved to see the end, and oppose himselfe to the rebellion of factious *Benſins*.

Before his coming thither, he sent to summon him to leave the place; whose answer was, That he had beene put into the Towers of Montgiscard by the Assembly of Pau, and that he would not abandon it but by their commandement: whereupon they were instructed, and notwithstanding the difficulty of the hill, they made their approaches neere vnto the Towers. During this siege, *Monsieur de la Force* takes occasion to draw together what forces he could, and the Marquis his sonne was coming out of Perigord with some troops of horse, and Regiments of foot. *Monsieur de la Force* told a Gentleman, sent vnto him from *Monsieur de Poynne*, that he would be Master in his Government, and that he would come to Montgiscard to play his part, seeing that *Monsieur de Poynne* took vpon him his place. Thus the Nobility and Gentry of the Country were diuided into two factions, according to their affections in Religion. *Monsieur de Poynne* had drawne together 2000 foot, 500 Masters, and as many Harquebussiers on horsebacke. In the meane time they presse the siege, and winne the first ditch, so as *Benſins* (seeing the danger that it could not be long before he were forced) desired a Parley, at the which he made no difficulty to offer the place, so as he might depart with a little honour. This being reported

B To *Monsieur de Poynne*, he made answer, That he had neuer fought for vanity nor spoile. The composition was made, that yielding vpon Montgiscard, he and his Souldiers should depart with their liues and baggage, and be conducted to a place of safety; so as on the 11 of March he went forth of the place with about threecore Souldiers, which *Monsieur de Poynne* caused to be presently ruined.

The King being aduertised of these alterations in Beame, he sent the Seigneur of Salady to *Monsieur de la Force*, with commandement to disarme: and if hee found him not well inclined thereunto, he should deliuer a Commission vnto the Duke of Epemron, to goe into Beame with 2000 foot and 500 horse, to make them all disarme which had not speciall warrant. His Maieſty also sent Letters of commandement to the Seigneurs of Montepan, Gondrin, Vignolles, Miossens, and Grammont, to assist him with their troops and friends. *Saladie* deliuered his charge to *Monsieur de la Force*, commanding him to disarme his troops to whom he answered, That he must first accommodate the enterprise which *Monsieur de Poynne* had made, in taking armes in his Government without his leave. *Saladie* replied, The King hath aduowed him, considering the importance of the action. Now the question is, said he, that you tell me whether you will obey his Maieſties commandement or no: whereupon *Monſi. de la Force* said vnto him, The Kings meaning is, that no man shall attempt vpon my Government: I desire to know his Maieſties pleasure.

returne

Montgiscard yielded.

The D. of Epemron sent into Beame with an army.



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returne vnto him and hauing brought me word, you shall finde that I haue alwayes beene and will be most obedient to his commandements. This delay makes *Saladie* deliuer his Commission to the Duke of Epemnon and the rest, so as in an instant Guicenne was in armes, and on the 21 day of April entred into Bearne, with whom *Monsieur de Peyran* ioyned with 300 horse and good troopes of foot. This storme approaching, *Monsieur de la Force* and all those of his partie retired speedily out of the Countrey, some hiding themselves in the mountaines, and hee himselfe with others retired into Guicenne towards Nerac.

A peace sealed  
in Bearne.

*Monsieur de la  
Force* and his  
Sommes dis-  
missed from  
their places.

The D of Epemnon comming to Pau, he acquainted the Parliament that his commission was onely to haue the King obeyed: He assured himselfe of diuers Castles in the coun-  
trie, and caused such to be pursued as were fled into the mountaines, where many were  
slaine in diuers encounters, and others taken prisoners: so as in fiftene dayes hee sealed  
a peace vnder the obedience of the Kings Edicts, causing euery man to enioy the libertie  
of his religion. As for *Monsieur de la Force*, he lost the gouernment of Bearne, which  
was conferred vpon the *Marshall de Themines*: His eldest sonne the Marquis, who was  
captaine of the Guard, was dismissed from his place, and it was giuen to the Marquis of  
Maunoy. He had a yonger sonne, whose name was *Montpaulhan*, whom the King had  
alwaies affected, but now he was commanded to retire from Court.

The continuance of the assemblie at Rochel, had much incensed the King against them  
of the religion: the late Combusions in Viuretz and Bearne, had increased his dislike. He  
thinks his authoritie blemished and troden vnder foot: He therefore resolues to arme,  
and to force them to obedience; but there wanted the sinewes of warre: An Army can-  
not subsist long without money; it supplies the wants both of backe and belly, which are  
of more force then any command. It must be found out, before he goes to this warre:  
but by what meanes? To draw it from the people, were to adde affliction to affliction:  
They haue smarted too much in the late ciuill combusions: so as in the end hee resolues  
to make vse of his owne, and to alienate some of his Reuenues: and to that end his Ma-  
iestie went on the third of April to the Parliament, to verifie an Edict, by the which he  
declared that for the entertainment of his armies, and the reliefe of his poore subjects,  
(much oppressed by the calamities of former wars) he was resolved to alienate part of his  
imposts by way of a rent-charge to the value of 40000 pound sterling yearly; the which  
should be sold to the Prouost of Merchants and the Sheriffes of Paris, for the summe of  
600000 pound sterling; which rent should be taken out of the Imposts of Salt, which  
should be bound and pawned for the payment and continuance of the said Rents. And  
his pleasure was, that sales and priuate assignations should be made by the said Prouost  
and Sheriffes, to the particular inhabitants of Paris, and other his subjects, which were wil-  
ling to buy, paying three parts in ready money, and the other fourth part, in discharge  
of those debts which were lawfully due by him, the which they should freely and peace-  
ably enioy without any restraint vntill they were actually satisfied at one entire payment  
of the whole summe, for the which they had made their purchases, notwithstanding that  
a fourth part had beene paid in debts. There were also other Edicts verifed for the mak-  
ing of money, the which was thought would bring in a Million of pounds sterling euery  
yeare for the maintenance of the warre against them of the Reformed Religion, and  
against the towne of Rochel, which contrary to his Maiesties will had suffered a general  
Assembly to be held there.

The Office of  
Constable ad-  
dressed to Lesli-  
giers.

The King fore-seeing in the beginning of this yeare, that hee was to enter into a great  
warre, resolved to settle the place of Constable, and according to his first intention, he had  
sent a Briefe to the Duke of Lefdiguiers, who was at Grenoble for the same, vpon con-  
dition that he should become a Catholique: This was one of the two reasons which drew  
him to Court: the first was to thanke the King for the honour he had done him in offering  
him the first office of the Crowne: and the second was, to employ himselfe to accom-  
odate the disobedience of the assembly which was held at Rochel without his Maiesties  
leave. The Dukes Catholique friends exhorted him both by word and writing to accept  
it, saying that this charge was due vnto him, as to the greatest Captaine of our age, and the  
most faithfull of the Kings subjects, most happy in his successe in all his enterprises, and the  
man who had most obliged his Country: and as he was without companion for those qual-  
ities, so he needed not feare any coruiall in his pretension; but to these qualities he must  
make

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A make profession of the Romish religion: which they said was so necessary, as the King  
would rather forbear to make a Constable, then to doe it without this condition.  
That they of the reformed Religion had by the Graunts and Edicts of their former  
Kings beene made capable of all Offices: but this (which makes him that enioyes it, the  
second person in the State, and giues a power in a manner equall to the royall authoritie,)  
must be excepted. They of the religion said, that it was sufficient to haue deferred this  
honour, although he did not enioy it, with that condition, which if he did, he would lose  
all his ancient seruants and friends, and his credit with them of his religion. The Duke  
being come to Paris, he thanked the king for the Briefe he had sent him for the office of  
Constable, and excused himselfe vpon many great and important considerations, pro-  
pounding vnto him the Duke of Luynes, who was in speciall grace with his Maiestie;  
whereupon with the approbation of the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Guise, and many  
other great personages, the Duke of Luynes was made Constable of France, and took  
his oath: his letters being verifed by the Court of Parliament: After which, the Duke of  
Lefdiguiers was made Marshall generall of the Royall Armies.

Duke of Luynes  
made Con-  
stable of France

The King desirous to aduertise all the chieft of his realme of the estate of his affaires,  
through the disobedience of the assemblie at Rochel, and that hee had made the Duke  
of Luynes Constable of France, he wrote this following letter to the Marshall of Bouillon.

The Kings Let-  
ter to the Mar-  
shall of Bo-  
uillon.

Cousin, seeing the Assembly of Rochel yeelds mee not the obedience which they  
ought, and that I haue as you know, attended it hitherto: That in Bearne they haue made  
publique enterprises, and drawne souldiers together against my authoritie and expresse  
commandement; And that it seemes that some of my subjects endeavour to trouble the  
publique peace; to ouerthrow the order I haue taken with so much paine and trauaile  
to assure and establish the same in my kingdom: I am resolved presently after Easter to  
goe to Tours, where I will aduise of what I haue to doe, and to provide for the main-  
tenance of my authoritie and Edicts, which is the end of my iourney and my intentions;  
Hauing the like will to preferue and fauour those which shall continue in their duties, as  
to reduce such as shall forget their obedience, not regarding herein religion, but onely  
the faction; whereof I will hereafter aduertise you more particularly when I come to  
Tours. In the meane time I thought good to acquaint you herewith, being assured that  
you will allow of my designe, blaming these disobediences and disorders, and continue in  
this occasion and all others to shew your good will, for the maintenance of your autho-  
ritie, and the publique good of this businesse. I will adde hereunto, that I haue advanced  
my Cousin the Duke of Luynes to the charge of Constable of France, iudging that the  
re-establishment of that place will be greatly profitable and behouefull to my affaires and  
Kingdome, putting the same into the hands of a Personage endowed with so many good  
parts. Whereby I assure my selfe the successe will be answerable to my hopes, and to the  
contentment of such as loue my person, and the good of my seruice, and particularly of  
you, Cousin, whom I pray God to preferue. Paris the 4 of April.

E Vnto this Letter the Marshall of Bouillon made this answer. Sir, I receiued the Letter  
which it pleased your Maiesty to send me of the fourth of this present moneth, by which  
I vnderstand to my great griefe, the discontent which your Maiesty continues to receiue  
from your subjects of the Religion assembled at Rochel; and your resolution to goe to  
Tours, there to aduise of the meanes how you may maintaine your authoritie and Edicts.  
Whereupon Sir, I most humbly beseech your Maiesty to pardon me, if I make bold to say  
vnto you, that you might receiue more contentment in this troublesome businesse, vifing  
your bounty and clemency, rather then the rigour and force of armes, in causing (without  
any other consideration) that immediately of your selfe, by your iustice and goodnesse,  
the fore-passed inexecution of your Edicts may be executed; & that for the time to come,  
F they may be maintained and obserued: for by these meanes you will take away the feare  
which almost all your subjects of the Religion in all the Provinces haue: that contrary  
to your Maiesties intention, they will breake the Edicts; and that they make but their pre-  
text of this disobedience of those of Rochel. That hereunto tend all the oaths which haue  
been lately taken in diuers places, yea, in the presence of your Maiesty. And this appre-  
hension which is almost generall, making them beleue, that their ruine is intended, can-  
not but produce dangerous inconueniences, which might be auoided, by causing them to  
see the contrary in effect. For this feare being taken away, a notable disobedience would  
appeare,

The D of Bo-  
uillon answers.

1621 "appeare, which nobody would approue. Concerning which, Sir, I pray God to giue vnto A  
 "your Maiestie good and wholesome Counsels, who hauing done me the honour to aduer-  
 "tise me, that you haue dignified *Monsr. de Luyres* with the charge of Constable, I can doe  
 "no lesse then praise your Maiestie therein, and in all other things which you doe, who hath  
 "esteemed that place fit to be supplied by such a personage as is worthy for the same. I be-  
 "seech your Maiestie also (as I haue already done by my last) to comānd that I may be furni-  
 "shed with those necessaries which concerne the protection of this place. I haue lately sent  
 "vnto you the reasons which binde me in this season to desire the effects of your fauor, the  
 "which I humbly beseech you to impart vnto me, and to beleuee that I will remaine alwaies  
 "Your most humble and most faithfull subiect and seruant, *Henry de la Tour. From Sedan, B*  
 "April 19, 1621.

The Duke Les-  
 diguier feels to  
 reduce the As-  
 sembly at Ro-  
 chel to obedi-  
 ence

The Assembly  
 answer

The King going from Paris on the fifth of April, hee stayed at Fontaine-bleau  
 vntill the nine and twentieth, to giue the Duke *Lesdiguier* time (as hee had intreated his  
 Maiestie) to imploy his credit (if it were possible) to reduce the assemblie of Rochel to  
 obedience. The Duke had sent two seuerall Gentlemen with Letters to Rochel, reproach-  
 ing their disobedience, which deserved a sharpe punishment; and exhorting them to  
 consider of the afflictions which might fall vpon their Churches in diuers parts of France.  
 To his letters they published this answer. Wee know Sir how much wee should attri-  
 bute to the aduice which comes from so great an experience; but wisthail, remember if  
 you please, what hath followed against your expectation and ours, after your mediation C  
 at Loudun, and to what dangerous inconueniences our facilitie hath brought vs, being in  
 danger to fall into the like, if we follow the same courtes; to the end you may beare with  
 vs, if that wound which it hath giuen vs in our preservation, makes vs incapable of the  
 separation which you require with such instance, adding to your aduice reproaches of dis-  
 obedience, and the threats of a sharpe punishment; which we should not finde strange in the ene-  
 mies of our profession; who diuerting his Maiesties good inclination, take delight in slan-  
 ders and violence, and whose spleene we know, will not bee restrained with the ruine of  
 the Churches of Bearne: but when as they (which are so much bound to the peace of  
 Gods houles, in the which they haue taken their being and must leaue an Honorable me-  
 morie to posteritie) lift vp their armes against vs, this is an affliction which wee cannot D  
 expresse, &c.

Notwithstanding the sharpnesse of these Letters, the Seigneurs of Fauas and Chalas  
 deputies of the reformed Churches, being commaunded to pursue their complaints in the  
 name of the Churches (because that in Court they would in no case heare mention of the  
 said Assemblie) aduertised the said Duke *Lesdiguier* of all their former grieuances, and  
 pray him once for all to giue peace vnto the Churches. The Duke hauing treated hereof  
 with the Kings Councill, he gaue them this answer, first that the King was resolved to  
 maintaine his Authoritie, and not to suffer any assembly within his Realme without his  
 permission. Secondly, to cause his Edicts of pacification to bee observed; Thirdly, As  
 for the assemblie at Rochel his Maiesties pleasure was, that the Deputies should craue E  
 pardon, and then they should proceed to their separation. Fourthly, that in regard there-  
 of, his Maiestie would cause his Souldiers to retire from those places which might giue  
 any cause of distrust. Fifthly, that for the places of Iuretic in Dauphine, his Maiestie would  
 ordaine that within fixe Moneths, they should haue what they could iustly and reasona-  
 bly demand in that regard. Sixtly, touching Bearne, that there should bee an order effectua-  
 lly performed, if it were not already done, for the payment of the money which his Ma-  
 jestie had graunted in stead of that which had beene receiued out of the reuennues of the  
 Clergie. Seuenthly, That *Monsieur de la Force*, should enioy his Government of Bearne  
 and his Children their places, with all Honors belonging vnto them: or else his Maiestie  
 should giue them recompence, or suffer them to receiue it from such as should bee plea-  
 sing vnto him. Eightly, And touching the Government of Ortez, it should not bee ta-  
 ken out of his hands who commaunded therein; his Maiestie being aduertised that hee  
 had not swarued from his obedience: And to witness his Maiesties will to make vse of  
 his seruice, he would send him a particular Letter.

The Deputies at the reading of these Articles, shewed that the assembly at Rochel would  
 neuer accept of these Conditions, yet they intreated the Duke that nothing might bee at-  
 tempted against the Churches vntill the returne of *Monsieur de Fauas* from Rochel, the

which

A which he promised, desiring his speede: but all this wrought no effect; but they sent Let-  
 ters to the Duke reiterating their former complaints with that which had past in Bearne  
 and Vannes.

The King hearing of their proceedings and intention, halted his journey to Tours, from  
 thence to go into Poitou. And to the end they of the reformed Religion should not grow  
 irascions of his journey, on the second of April he published a Declaration in fauor of those  
 which should containe themselves in their dutie and obedience; taking them into his  
 protection. During this Declaration which was made at Fontaine-bleau, there hapned a  
 great combustion in Tours against them of the Religion, about the buying of one *Martin*

The Kings De-  
 claration in fa-  
 uor of them  
 of the Religion.

B *le Noire* an Inn-keeper. They going to intetie him on Sunday the 13 of April, the people  
 and children flocked together, singing of songs against the party deceased, who they said  
 was a man of a lewd life. The base multitude increased stilly and animated the children,  
 who followed them with stones and twillings, so as they were forced to retire themselves  
 into an house neere vnto the Church-yard, where as this rascall table held them in a mari-  
 ner besieged. Some got into the towne and complained vnto the Maior, who came pre-  
 sently to the place, and freed them which were in the house. Hee being retired, the multi-  
 tude grew greater; for that many rascals were joined with the boies, and came into the  
 Church-yard, where they drew the bodie out of the graue, with an intent to burne it; if  
 the Maior and other Officers had not come and caused the bodie to be re-interred. Not-  
 withstanding all their endeours, this insolence continued the next day, and they spoiled

A multitude of  
 Tours, &c.

C and burnt the houses of them of the Religion about the Church-yard, & their Temple. The  
 King being aduertised of this Edition from the Maior of Tours, he presently gaue Com-  
 mission to *Melleuille le Doux* Master of Requests, to goe thither and informe of the fact,  
 being accompanied by an Exempt of the Guard and two Archers. Hee also commaunded  
 the Secretaries of State to write into all parts, that this disorder should be punished ex-  
 emplarily. In the meane time the Lieutenant criminal and the Kings Proctor had com-  
 mitted five of those seditious rascals to prison, which had assisted the boies and helped to  
 burne the Temple. *Melleuille* comes to Tours; and beganne to proceed against them.

The violence  
 of the seditious  
 multitude.

The people hearing that they would hang the prisoners, a multitude of the base sort  
 came before the Palace, and with a sudden violence entered, brake the doores and win-  
 dows of the criminal Chamber, freed the five prisoners, and forced the Iudges to faine  
 themselves as they could. After this they spoiled five houses belonging to them of the  
 Religion. Vpon this great disorder the inhabitants began to shut vp their shops, to goe to  
 armes, and to make barricadoes, threatening to shoot at the seditious, who were nothing  
 amazed, but desired to speake with the Maior; who being acquainted with their demand,  
 he gaue them to vnderstand, that if three or foure would speake with him, they should be  
 conducted with all safetie: the multitude allowed of it, and three great Rogues offering  
 themselves, past three barricadoes without armes. At their first approach they insolently  
 demanded three prisoners which were yet detained. My friends said the Lieutenant crimi-  
 nall, you haue them all. Wee haue but two said they, and there remaine three: but being  
 assured of the contrary; This is not all said they, we require, that you and the Maior shall  
 signe it vnder your hands, that if there be any of ours found in your prisons, you shall fet  
 them at libertie; and that hereafter (vpon your soules and bodies) there shall neuer any in-  
 quirie bee made for that which is past, the which was granted and presently signed. At  
 night *Melleuille* and others came out of those places where they had hidden themselves to  
 auoide the furie of the multitude, taking poste to goe and aduertise the King: who was  
 come to Blois with an intent to make some stay there; but hearing of this mutiny, hee de-  
 parted the next day, and came to Tours on the sixt of May. The Grand Prouoost com-  
 mitted 25 or 30 of this seditious multitude, and a day was appointed for the execution of

F five of them which were most culpable, and the rest were pardoned.  
 The day before this execution, the King parted from Tours towards Saumur, vpon a cer-  
 taine intelligence which he receiued from Rochel, that in their assembly it had beene resol-  
 ued to put 6000 souldiers into that Town, and to surpris *Monsr. de Pliss*, and the Siegne  
 of Armagnac gouernor of Loudun, to the end that if the King marched into Paris with  
 an army, they might cut off the intercourse betweene Paris and it. Moreover, that they of  
 the Religion of Mayen, Perche, and Beaufe should ioyne together, and execute their de-  
 signes, vpon Chartres, Vendôme and Planciers.

Why the King  
 shifted his  
 stile of Saumur

They

1621

Advertisements  
given to the  
King touching  
the Assembly.

They write that the King shewed this advertisement to the Duke of Lefdiguiers, who was of opinion that he should prevent the danger, and specify assure this Towne and passage of Loire to his obedience. Hereupon his harbingers come on the 10 of May, where they began to make out the King and Queens lodgings. In the evening some companies of the Guard arose, and the next morning the Suisses, who marched directly to the castle, *Monf. de Plessis* seeing them at the gate, and the harbingers ready to make out the Kings lodgings, hee intreated them to have patience untill hee knew his Majesties pleasure, unto whom hee had sent : but hearing in the afternoon that his pleasure was to lye in the castle, he presently delivered the keys to the Captaines of the Guard : drew his garrison out into the field, and himselfe went into the town. The King arising towards the evening at Chappell, *Monf. de Plessis* saluted him, and offered whatsoeuer hee had or might have : the Officers of Iustice did the like, with the Magistrates and Clergy. The King stayed five daies at Saumur untill the 16 of May, where he received a confirmation both of the former advertisement for the putting of 6000 men into Saumur, and that they had made a division of the Provinces of France into 7 Synods or Circles, making Bearne the eighth. That they had chosen a head for their generall Army which they should raise, and Generals in every Circle, with the orders which should be observed ; the said Assembly reserving the soveraigne authority to dispose and depose the said Generals and of all affaires. That the duke of Rohan (having accepted to be General in chiefe of high Languedoc and high Guienne) had delivered the government of Saint Iohn D'Angely unto *Monf. de Soubise* his brother, who was also chosen General of Britany, Poitou, and L'Isle-Bouchard. That on the 13 of May, the Duke of Rohan and his brother *Soubise*, had made a Proclamation in Saint Iohn D'Angely, that whosoever would not carry armes for the defence of the Towne, should depart within three daies, the which most of the Catholikes did, and some of the reformed Religion. That the Assembly had sent to the Noblemen, Townes, and Churches of their party, in the Country of Orlance, Berry, Sologne, Gascinois and Loris, to take Armes and to assiste Gergeau, Sancerre, Sully & Chastau. Renard, and to surpris all the passages they could upon the river of Loire about Orlance. That they had sent to all those of their religion in Normandy, Britany and Champagne, to take armes and seize upon all the strong places they could within their Provinces. Finally, they D write, that they had resolved to make war in all the Provinces of France.

These advertisements whether true or false, were the subject which made the King send to the Earle of Saint Paul from Saumur, and to the Prince of Conde, to give order for Sancerre : To *Monf. de Longueville* to disarme them of the religion in the Townes of Rouen, Caen, Diepe, and New-haven, and to treat with the Earle of Montgomery for Pontorion : To the Duke of Vendosme, to assure himselfe of Vitry and Chastillon in Vandolais : and unto *Monf. de Nevers*, to disarme them of the religion in Champagne. How these commandements were executed in their Gouvernements, you shall heare hereafter.

The Assembly (as they said) being forced to take armes for their iust and naturall defence, and for the liberties of their consciences, and safety of their lives, divided their Provinces into eight circles (as hath been said) and made choice of generals who should command therein. To the Duke of Bouillon first Marshall of France was given Normandy, the Isle of France, Berry, Anjou, Mayen, Perche and Touraine, except L'Isle-Bouchard. To *Monf. de Soubise*, Britany, L'Isle-Bouchard, Poitou, and that which depends thereon. To the Duke of Tremouille, Angoumois, Xaintonge, and the adjacent Islands. To *Monf. de La Force*, base Guienne. To the Marquis of La Force, Bearne. To the Duke of Rohan, high Languedoc, and high Guienne. To the Earle of Chastillon, base Languedoc, the Seuenues, Gevodan, and Viuzet. And to the Duke D'Esdiguiers, Dauphine, Prouence and Bourgondy. They made many orders in this Assembly for military service, whereof the Assembly referred to themselves a soveraigne power : That no treaties of peace nor truce might be made, but by the resolution of the generall Assembly. Touching the orders souldiers should observe : Forbidding of traffike : For the payment of souldiers : For the liberty of husbandmen : For the stay of the Kings revenues and of the Clergy : with divers others, the full power whereof was referred to the generall Assembly.

The Provinces of France being thus divided into 7 Circles, and choice made by the Assembly of severall persons to be commanders in those Circles : the Duke of Bouillon who was the first (and should have been general of their army, wheresoever he had come) would

The Provinces  
divided into 8  
Circles.

Orders made  
by the Assembly  
for the managing of their  
affaires.

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The number of  
the Townes of  
Safety for them  
of the Religion.

A would not accept of their Commission. The Duke of Tremouille also refused it, protesting all fidelity and obedience to the King. And as for the seventh Circle which they had given to the Duke D'Esdiguiers, seeing him so constant in the Kings service, and that he was now made Great Marshall of the Kings Armies ; and besides, that he had by his letters termed their Assembly unlawfull, they refused to make Lieutenants general in that seventh Circle, whereof *Monf. de Montbrun* had letters for Prouence. They of the reformed Religion had 9 Townes of surety within these seven Circles, and 601 Churches. These Townes were given them by former Kings for their safety after the Ciuill Warres, in the which they had Governours of their owne Religion, and in many of them the King paid the Garisons. Montauban and Rochel were not of the number, but Governed themselves, apart by their Consuls and Maior. Besides, they enjoyed many Townes and Castles which were no Towns of safety : But you shall see this summers war will deprive them of most of them, taken by force, or yielded by voluntary obedience.

The King before his departure from Saumur, made the Earle of Sault (of the reformed Religion, sonne to *Monf. de Crequi*, and grand-child to the Duke D'Esdiguiers) Governour of the Towne with a good Garison ; and as they write, contented *Monf. de Plessis*, letting him know that it was necessary for the publique safety, the Towne and Castle should remaine during his voyage, in the order he left it, and likewise for his entertainments he gave him allowance. On the 17, the King came to Touars, a Towne of safety, belonging to the Duke of Tremouille, where the Lady his mother remainyng. The place imports for the passage, yet the King took the Ladies word for the Towne and Castle. He came from thence to Partenay, where he stayed 4 daies, to let his Cannon & munition advance. In the meane time, he writes to all places both within and without the Realme, touching the innocence of his Armes. The Secretaries of State write unto all the Provinces, not to suffer any leaues of Souldiers, and that the Edicts in fauour of them of the religion (who had no society nor correspondencie with the factions of Rochel) should be strictly observed. There the Constable *de Luynes*, examined the state of the Army, and saw the accompt of the Munition of Warre, and enquired of the Earle of Chomberg, what Treasure hee had to support the charges of the Warre ; giving order for all things which D was held necessarie for the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely.

During the Kings stay at Partenay, the Earle of Auric advanced towards S. Iohn with five regiments of Foot, and two Cornets of Horse. On May 16, in the night, hee camped within a quarter of a league of the Towne, taking the bridges which crosse the River of Buttone, and there made three barricadoes. Here they within the Towne committed a great error, not knowing the importance of the passage vntill it was too late : for if they had broken these bridges, it would have beene difficult to have passed their cannon. They of the Towne drew in what prouision they could, seeing the enemy so neere them : for they had still two Ports open, by which there entred in seven daies about 2000 Foot and many Gentlemen. The Earle forced the barricadoes, which they of the Towne had made E in the suburbs of Maftha, and drew neere to the Port. The town-men burnt three of their suburbs ; and the Duke of Rohan seeing himselfe thus pressed, complains by his Letters unto the Earle of Auric, for that hee viold such acts of hostility against him, considering their great familiarity & friendship. He protested he would not attempt any thing against the Kings authority, but was still ready to obey his commandements, desiring him to suffer a Gentleman to passe whom hee had sent with Letters to the Constable. The Earle made him this Answer.

Sir, You must not misconstrue my proceeding, seeing it is by the Kings command. I should have beene glad this charge had beene given to some other, in regard of the friendship which is betwixt vs, but seeing it hath pleased his Majestic to command mee to this F I write, I would not contradict his will : wherefore I pray you hold it for strange, and blame (although to my great griefe) that I will do what possibly I can, to shew how faithful and obedient I am to his commandement. I assure you that the Seigneur of La Force may passe with all safety to the Constable ; but in the meane time I will not forbear that which hath beene given me in charge, and dispose of the Forces as shall be thought fittest. And will remaine your humble and obedient Seruant, &c. The Gentleman coming to Partenay delivered this letter following to the Constable : Sir, Reporting myselfe on the credit of your fauor, I write unto you to beseech you

Nothing makes  
the Earle of  
Sault, gouernour  
of the Towne of  
Touars.

S. Iohn D'Angely  
inserted  
with the Kings  
Forces.

The Duke of  
Rohan writes  
to the Earle of  
Auric.

The Earle of  
Auric Answers

1621

At de Rohans  
Letter to the  
Constable.

to mitigate the sharp and violent pursuits, and strait pressing of S. Iohn. You know I neuer refused to giue the King entry into this towne: but some mutiners and feditious, which were in armes about the rampiers, caused me for sometime to keep the Ports shut, that I might pacifie to people greatly animated, and draw them to the obedience which they owe vnto the King: this haue I by all meanes endeouored to doe, and therein employed the feueritie and power of that command which hath pleased his Maiestie to giue me in this Towne; and haue so much preuailed, as I can assure you they will receive whomsoever he shall appoint: and for my owne part, I am resolu'd to quit the place. But as you know, my enemies who haue brought me into bad termes with his Maiestie, giue me occasion enough of distrust. I pray you to moue the King to permit me to leaue him the Town without seeing his Maiesty, for the Iealousie I haue that my enemies seek rather my ruine than the publike good. I referre this businesse to your discretion, and intreat you to beleeue that I am your most humble and obedient seruant, *Henry de Rohan. From Saint-Iohn May 18, 1621.*

Some said, that the Duke of Rohans intention was contrary to his writing: his acceptance of the Assemblies Commission: his preparations to take possession of the Circle of Languedoc and Guienne: the burning of the suburbs of S. Iohn, and the souldiers which he had drawne into the towne, were sufficient proofes: And whereas he said he would quit the towne, it was not to deliuer it into the Kings hands, but commit it in guard to his brother *Soubise*. To whom the Constable made this answer.

The Dukes answer.

'Sir: If my fauor were such as it could stay the Kings designe, and preuent his enterprises, I would boldly promise that which you require with such instance: but you know the King is so absolute in his resolutions, as it is hard to diuert him from his will: yet I promise to employ all my credit for your content, and to draw him to that which you demand, not that I will constantly assure you, but I will doe my best endeour, being your most obedient seruant, *De Luynes.*

Diuers Govern-  
ors bring their  
keyes vnto the  
King.

The Governours of S. Maixant and Fountenay, came and brought their keyes vnto the King being at Partenay: and they of Chastellerault and L'Isle-Bouchard had done the like at Saumur. Comming to Fountenay on the 23, the Minister & Consistory cast themselves at his feet. The Minister craued pardon, beseeching the King to leaue them the libertie of their Religion, and to assure himselfe of their obedience. His Maiestie answered, that he had neuer infringed the Edicts, and that he had not taken armes but to punish those which had violated them, and to maintaine the rest in peace, and that he pardoned what was past, hoping they would doe better hereafter. He spake principally to the Minister, who had bene one of the most turbulent of the Assembly. *Monf. de la Boulay* Governour of Fountenay made knowne vnto his Maiestie, that the place might be in danger of revolt by reason of the neighborhood of Rochel, whereupon the King left an Exempt of his Guard in the Castle. Maillezay situated in an Island, and having but one passage to enter, yielded at the same time to the King. The Governour of Maran, brother to *Monf. de la Boulay* brought also his keyes to Fountenay, to whom the King deliuered them againe commanding him to continue faithfull in his seruice, and to leaue souldiers for the preservation of the place, for that it would cut off all commerce betwene Rochel and Poitou.

The King came to Niort: a towne of surety, whereas *M. Karabel* receiued him with all freedom. He blamed the disobedience of Rochel, and grieved at their designs, protesting that he would neuer separate himselfe from the Kings commandement. Thus all the Governours of the townes of Gasconie in Poitou and Touraine, hauing brought their keyes vnto the King, his Maiestie vpon their free submission, returned them to their Governours, with command to see the Edicts of Pacification obserued, and to maintaine peace among his subiects.

Petition of  
them of the  
Religion at Tours.

During his Maiesties stay at Nyort, the Deputies of the Religion at Turos, presented a petition vnto his Maiestie, wherein after a solemne protestation of their seruice and obedience, they gaue him to vnderstand, that by reason of the late sedition in Tours, they had bene deprived of all meanes to bury their dead: their Churchyard being made a highway, their Temple burnt, and some private men spoiled of their goods, so as they could not remaine safely in their houses. They humbly besought his Maiestie, that their Church-yard might be restored, their Temple built againe, and in the meane time they might haue some place appointed them by prouision where they might assemble. That

their

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A their goods might be restored, and that hereafter they might liue in Peace amongst their fellow Citizens: And that his Maiestie would commaund the Magistrate to protect them, and that the like injunction should bee made vnto the Chiefe inhabitants of the Suburbs. Whereupon his Maiestie resolu'd in Council, that a Commisnaire should bee sent to Tours, who with the aduice of the Gouvernors, the Officers of Iustice, and the Mayor and Sheriffs thereof, should giue them a place in the Suburbs or nere vnto the Towne for the exercise of their Religion, according to his Maiesties Edicts, and that with the consent of the Inhabitants of both Religions, whom he tooke into his protection, Commanding the Governour and Mayor to haue a care of their preferuation. And to giue them means to buy a place whereon to build a Temple for the exercise of their Religion, hee granted eighteen hundred pound sterling to be taken in two years, out of the money which was appointed for the fortification and reparation of the said Towne. As touching the losses which had bene sustained by particular men, who had bene spoiled during that sedition, his Maiesties pleasure was, the Commisnaire should informe himselfe of the truth to make report vnto him, after which hee would take such course as should befit.

A Decree con-  
cerning their  
Petition.

At the same time, the King made a Declaration, by the which, all that were remaining or retired into Saint Iohn D'Angely and Rochel, and all others which fauoured them directly or indirectly, or should haue any access, intelligence, or association with them: or that should in any sort acknowledge the said Assembly of Rochel, or the other Assemblies, Circles, Prouinciall Councils, or other Congregations, which had correspondence with that of Rochel, and which assembled themselves without his expresse Commission, were declared disobedient and guiltie of high Treason, and to haue lost all Graunts, Priuiledges, Freedomes, and immunities: Commanding all his subiects making profession of the reformed Religion, and all Townes and Communalities of the said qualitie, to make declaration in the Presidiall Courts and Bayliwicks of their Iurisdiccions, of their good intentions to his Maiesties seruice: And that they should renounce, disauow, and protest, in no sort to adhere to the assembly of Rochel, nor to any other that should be held without his expresse leaue; and that they would oppose themselves against all the resolutions which should be taken there: forbidding all Gentlemen and others, to suffer their Children or any other depending on them, to goe into the said Townes or to giue them any comfort or assistance, or to lodge them in their houses, vpon paine to be held guilty of the said crime.

The King being at Nyort, with a resolution to besiege Saint Iohn D'Angely, from whence the Duke of Rohan was retired, assuring his brother that hee would see him with succours: The Duke of Luynes Constable, considering that *Monf. de Soubise* would ruine himselfe in defending of this siege, he desired in fauour of the alliance which hee had with the house of Rohan, to draw this Nobleman out of danger, sending vnto him the Seign *Bispend* to exhort him to obedience, and to yeeld the place: but being fortified with the counsell of *Haut-Fouissine*, and the succours the Duke his brother had promised him, hee refused to attend the Cannon and to keepe the Towne.

The Kings de-  
claration a-  
gainst them  
of Rochel and  
Saint Iohn.

Vpon this willfull resolution of *Monf. de Soubise*, his Maiestie finding that the Seigneurs of Loudiere by a proofe of his fidelity had procured the yeelding of *Fountaine le Coyne*, contrary to the liking of the Lady of *La Boulay*, and that hee might helpe much in the siege of Saint Iohn, and reduce *Monf. de Soubise* to his dutie: Hee suffered him to pus himselfe into the Towne, vpon colour to hold his rank vnder *Soubise* command: during the which he might inspire him with obedience, and make the meanes easiest to recuie the Kings mercy. In the meane time the Towne is iusted as you haue heard. On the 19 the Dukes of Desiguieres and Brillac arriued, hauing the conduct of the whole Armie. The Duke of Rohan was gone into Guienne, where he raised some men, and sojourned at certain troopes which the Marquise of Malause brought vnto him, with the which he assured Nerac, and degraded the Catholike Councillors of the Chamber, and commanded the Towne with a garison of 600 men.

At Saint Iohn D'Angely they spent seauen dayes attending the souldiers which came from all parts to this siege. The approaches being made, they framed their Camps, pitched their Tents, lodged their Munition, assigned out the Quarters, marked the Trenches, viewed the place and all the approaches whereby they might hope for any succours. The King arriued on the last of May, and tooke view of the Towne: and on the second of Iune,

The King  
comes to Saint  
Iohn D'Angely,  
with the whole  
Armie.

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Summons the  
Governor by  
a Herald.

His Maieftie ſent an Herald to *Monſi. de Soubiſe*, commanding him to deliuer the A Towne vnto him, vpon paine to be declared guiltie of Treason. The Herald deliuered his charge in theſe words. *To thee Benjamin of Roban; I command thee in the name of the King thy Sovereigne and mine, that thou open the Gates of the Towne of Saint Iohn D'Angely, to the King to enter therein with all His Armie. In default of ſo doing, I declare thee from the King thy Sovereigne Lord and mine, guiltie of high Treason; thy Houſes and Caſtles to be razed, thy goods conſiſcate to the King, and thou and all thy poſteritie baſe and ignoble.* To whom the Seig. of Soubiſe answered. *That he was the Kings meſt humble ſervant, that he was but a Soldier, and could make no anſwere, before hee had communicated this commandment vnto the aſſembly of Rochell, and to his brother the Duke of Roban.* And becauſe hee ſpake with his Baron, the Herald replied; *Know that thou oughteſt not neither as Capitaine or Soldier to anſwer with thy head covered, but that when I ſpeake in the Kings behalfe my Sovereigne Lord and thine, thou oughteſt to haue thy hat in thy hand.* Hereupon the Seig. of Haut Fountaine ſaid vnto the Herald, The King may excuſe *Monſi. de Soubiſe* if he pleaſe, for he was neuer ſummoned. Thus the Herald returning without any reſolution, hee met the Seigne- neur of La Salle Capitaine of the Guard, vnto whom he ſaid, that hee found no obedience, and that it was fit the Cannon ſhould ſpeake.

At the ſame time his Maieſty hearing that at Rochell they peruerſed all order of iuſtice, and that his Officers could not with libertie exerciſe their places to doe right vnto each partie: He reſolved to tranſfere the Preſidiall Court from Rochell vnto the Towne of Marans and ſent forth his letters patents to that end.

The Towne is  
affaulted.

The Herald hauing made report vnto his Maieſtie, of the anſwer which *Monſieur de Soubiſe* made vnto his charge, hee gaue preſently order that the place ſhould bee furioſly affaulted: ordered all his troopes towards Aunx, and other places from whence any ſuc- ceſſes might come, and brought his Trenches vnto their Ditches. There were many braue exploits of Armes, Affaults, Batteries, and Mines performed during this ſiege, at one of the which *Haut Fountaine* the ſoule of their affaires within the Towne was ſlaine, whoſe death did ſomewhat daunt their ſpirits. About the 23 of Iune, the Seigne- ur of Soubiſe, beginning to doubt his being long able to preſerue the place, hee cauſed a trum- pet to craue to ſpeake with *Monſieur Zamet*, his meſſage was to demand a ſafe conduct for D a Gentleman named *Montmartin*, ſent by the ſaid Seigne- ur of Soubiſe to the Conſtable: he was conducted by the ſaid Seigne- ur *Zamet* Marſhall of the Campe vnto the Kings quarter. He beſought his Maieſtie to giue him time to ſend to the Duke his Brother, and if he had not an anſwer within ſoure dayes, hee would yeeld the place: whereunto his Maieſtie would not yeeld, but willed him to tell *Monſieur de Soubiſe*, that all he could hope for was to yeeld the place and to preſerue his life, and that if he would accept of this grace, he ſhould reſolue by the next day, for afterwards there was no more mercie. *Loudriere* (who had put himſelfe into the Towne as you haue heard) ſeeing him penſiue in this extremitie, aduiled him to reſolue to yeeld the place, offering to engage his Honor and life, that he would obtaine his pardon in caſe of ſpeeidie obedience. *Monſi. de Soubiſe* who could not E truſt vnto it, conſidering the great loſſe of ſo many braue Men ſlaine at this ſiege, deſired to be aſſured: *Loudriere* offers to remaine in hoſtage, and to go and get the pardon ſigned if he would proteſt to yeeld the place.

Loudriere per-  
ſuaſion vnto  
Monſi. de Sou-  
biſe.

In the meane time the batteries are redoubled with ſuch furie by the Duke of Eſpernon, as ſeeing the Kings men lodged on either ſide in their Rampiers, their walls beaten downe and the Mines ready to play, they reſolued by the perſuaſion of *Loudriere*, and the preſent feare which preſt them, to accept of the Kings grace, beyond the expectation of all men, who did not beleue that 2000 men which yet remained, ſhould yeeld vpon thoſe termes of aduantage for the King. Whereupon *Loudriere*, *Bigaudiere* and *Montmartin* came vnto the Campe with authoritie from *Monſi. de Soubiſe* and the other Commanders, who F accepted and ſigned the Kings Pardon and tooke an oath contained in theſe words. *Wee vnderwritten, by vertue of the power giuen vs by Monſi. de Soubiſe, commanding in the Towne of Saint Iohn, accept the grace contained in this preſent writing which is pleaſed the King to doe vs, promiſing to ſee it effected.* Signed the 25 of Iune.

Articles of the  
Kings pardon  
in the ſiege.

His Maieſtie ſeeing his Enemies implore his fauour, Hee granted them theſe Articles following. Firſt, That the King pretends not to make any Treatie but at the moſt humble ſupplication often reiterated, of thoſe which are in Saint Iohn D'Angely, His Maieſtie

doth

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A doth pardon them all indifferently, whatſoeuer hath beene done or committed during this ſiege: vpon condition, that they ſhall craue pardon and ſwear to remaine eternallie vnder his obediencie, and that they ſhall neuer carrie Armes againſt His ſeruiue vnder any colour or pretext whatſoeuer. Secondly, That His Maieſtie did graunt them free libertie of their Conſciences according to His Edicts. Vpon theſe Conditions His Maieſtie out of his Bounty, did graunt them the libertie of their perſons, and the enioying of their goods, as they had formerly done; and ſuch as would retire themſelves, ſhould haue ſafe conduct giuen them, for their Perſons, Armes and Horſes. And as for any other de- mands made by them, they ſhould be left to His Maieſties pleaſure. The next day the Grand-Prouoſt of France, entered early into S. Iohn D'Angely, who preuented a great diſor- der, for that the Souldiers which were to depart, had abandoned the Gates and Breaches, and prepared themſelves to be gone, the which they ſhould not haue done, before the companies of the Kings Guard had entered and ſeized vpon the Portes and Breaches. But he gaue commandement vnto his Lieutenants, Exempts and Archers to guard thoſe places, himſelf walking vp and downe the Towne, and cauſing all the Soldiers and volun- taries of the Armie to depart, for that they began to grow inſolent; And in the meane time the Duke of Deſdiguieres and Duke of Eſpernon entered, to take order for their de- parture. Attending the coming of theſe Noblemen, the Grand Prouoſt entertained *Monſieur de Soubiſe*, and the chiefe Gentlemen which were with him touching their taking C of Armes; To whom they anſwered, that the contrauention of the Edicts, and the feare to be oppreſſed in their conſciences, had drawne them to thoſe extreames: But the Grand Prouoſt let them vnderſtand, that the eſtabliſhment of Circles, and Prouinciall Councils were manifeſt contrauentions of the Edicts. He preſented vnto them the inſolencie of the Aſſembly of Rochell in the diuiſion they had made of the Prouinces; in their Com- miſſion, and their new ſeale to leaue Souldiers; to ſeize vpon the Kings money; and to fortifie their places.

Discourſe be-  
tweene *Monſi.*  
*de Soubiſe* and  
the Grand  
Prouoſt.

On the ſixte and twentieth of Iune, the Garifon, the Gouvernor, and all the Voluntaries went out of Saint Iohn: They paſſed through the Kings Armie without Drumm or ſhew of Armes paſſing before the King. *Monſieur de Soubiſe* came laſt with his Houſe and D voluntaries, which had aſſiſted him during the Siege, and they were conducted into a place of ſafety. They were held to be about 1500 foot, and about 200 Gentlemen. *Monſieur de Soubiſe* preſented himſelf vpon his knees vnto the King and demanded pardon, aſſuring his Maieſtie that he would eſſect, whatſoeuer he had promiſed by the Seigneurs of *Lodriere* and *Montmartin*. His Maieſtie being on horſeback layd his hand vpon his ſhoulder, and ſaid vnto him: *I ſhall be glad that hereafter you giue me more occaſion to be ſatiſfied with you, riſe, and ſerue me better.* This ſiege continued little about a Moneth, but it was very furio- uſe. There were many Noblemen and Gentlemen of quality ſlaine and hurt on the Kings partie, but not about 200 Souldiers loſt of the whole Armie. During this ſhort ſiege, there was about 10000 Cannon ſhot ſpent againſt the Towne, the which did ſo E annoy it, as there was ſcarce any houſe free from ſpoyle, ſo as the inhabitants were ſaine to lye in cellars and neere the ground, fearing to bee cruſt vnder the ruines of houſes, and with the bullets which fell in the ſtreets, and on their houſes like haile. They were re- duced to ſuch extremitie, as the Souldiers had but two ounces of bread a day, and they were ſo tyred from the beginning of the Siege, as they had no meanes to take one houres reſt. The Kings Troops being in poſſeſſion of the Towne, there was a brute in the Campe, that the Souldiers had ruined the Temple and ſpoyled the Miniſters houſe with ſome o- thers, whereof many of the reformed Religion, which ſerued the King faithfully, hauing made report to the Grand Prouoſt, he returned ſpeedily to Saint Iohn and aſſembled the Council of the Towne, the Miniſter, and the Conſtitutie; letting them vnderſtand, that F without doubt this inſolencie would be caried throughout the Prouinces, with a great ſhew by ſome ill affected Frenchmen, and made an hundred times greater, and more pre- iudiciall then it was; perſwading weakie ſpirits, that the faith was violated, and that it was impoſſible to ground any aſſurance vpon the Kings promiſes; wherefore to make the truth more apparent, he deſired them to declare in publique, what loſſes they had receiued in particular. To which ſummons they all agreed freely, giuing him letters of Atteſtation, by which they declared that the ſouldiers of his Maieſties army, which had entered into the towne to demand bread and wine of houſe-keepers, had not taken any thing but victu-

*Monſi. de Sou-  
biſe* cruces pa-  
don of the  
King.A Declaration  
touching the  
Spoils con-  
demned at Saint  
Iohn D'Angely



1621 alls, without any excess, force or violence, and had about all preserved the chastitie of women. The Minister and Consistorie likewise declared, that their pulpit, seats, and glasse-windowes of the Temple had bene broken to the value of ten pounds sterling; and that the Minister had lost certaine goods to the value of fifteene pounds, taken by unknowne lacques. But he that writes the generall History of the Rebellion of France, saith that notwithstanding any order they could take, the souldiers for an houres space fell to spoile, contrary to his Maiesties expresse Defence. The King gave commandement by his Letters patents, that the wals and fortifications should be razed, and the ditches filled vp; and withall he deprived the towne of all their priuiledges, and made the Inhabitants subiect to taxe, like vnto the Labourer of the champion country.

S. Iohn D'Angely razed.

Whilest the King prepared for the siege of S. Iohn, the Prince of Conde and the Earle of S. Paul imploied themselves for the reduction of Sancerre, Gergeau, and Chasteau-Renard, places of surety. Being at Saumur, he had written to the Earle of S. Paul to assure himselfe of Gergeau, which is a small towne foure leagues about Orleans, hauing a goodly bridge vpon the riuer of Loire. Henry the fourth had made it a Towne of surety, and had affected the gouernment to the Duke of Sully, after the death of *du Faur*. It had bene greatly fortified during the League, and since in the late alterations. The Earle of S. Paul hauing had conference with the Seigneur of Monde Bailiffe of Gergeau (who was an enemy to the fortifications thereof, and had caused the fort in the suburbs of S. Denis to be razed) they found that the onely difficultie was, That *Bourbiers* who commanded, and the two Captaines that were in garison therein, had not long since, nor onely made their Companies compleat, but much augmented them, and kept a very wary guard: That almost halfe of the Inhabitants were of the Religion: That the Catholiques had ben disarmed: besides, that they were all in a iaculosity, for that some officers of the Artillery had but three daies before, drawn powder and some warlike instruments out of their magazin, to send vnto the King army. Vpon these difficulties the Earle of S. Paul (loth to hazard any thing) came from Orleans to the suburbs of S. Denis at Gergeau, sending for *Bourbiers* and the other Captaines, to whom hee deliuered the Kings Letters, commanding them to doe whatsoever the Earle of S. Paul should ordaine in his name. The Earle telling them that his Maiesties intention was, to be assured of the towne of Gergeau. They excused themselves, and said, that the King by his Letters did not command them to come forth: On the contrary, that his Maiestie passing by Orleans, had charged them to guard well the Towne and Passage for his seruice. Moreouer, that the Duke of Sully Gouvernor of the Towne had placed them there; and that it was fit they should aduertise him, who was then in Languedoc. The Earle seeing he could preuaile nothing with *Bourbiers*, resolved to besiege Gergeau, drawing together what forces he could. The Marshall of Vitry, and the Baron of Perfan his brother in law, with the Marquis of Rothelin, passing by Orleans, and hearing of this siege, came to assist the Earle in this occasion. The Marquis entered into the Towne to perswade *Bourbiers* and the Garison to obedience, but hee preuailed nothing: whereupon the Earle resolved to batter it, sending for Cannon and munition to Orleans. The besieged seeing themselves inuelted, sent to craue aid of the reformed Churches neere about them, who with all speed made choice of *Vateville Manchiesien* to command the succors they would put into Gergeau the day that *Bourbiers* had limited. But the besieged being doubtful thereof, and withall, fearing they should not be able to enter, they sent to present Articles vnto the Earle for the yielding of the Towne, which were granted vpon condition they should depart the next day being May 23. The Articles were, For the free exercise of the Religion, and the payment of what was due vnto the Garison. The same night *Vateville* came downe the Riuer with 200 men, and the guards being retired, in the morning they put themselves into the Towne, and became masters thereof, by the help of the inhabitants of the Religion.

The siege of Gergeau.

Gergeau yielded to the Earle of S. Paul.

The Earle of S. Paul hauing summoned *Bourbiers* to effect the Composition which he & the rest had signed, hee was much troubled; for on the one side *Vateville* shewed his Letters, and told him hee was come at the houre appointed; and on the other, hee had signed the treatie, and giuen his word to depart. Notwithstanding, hauing called a Councell, and considered that they had not things necessarie to maintaine a Siege; nor men sufficient to defend their fortifications, being withall ingaged in a Composition, they resolved to obferue it, and to deliuer the place vnto the Earle, the which was performed accordingly.

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A The Earle of Saint Paul having put a new Garison into Gergeau, returned the next day to Orleans, where hee received an aduertisement, that many Gentlemen and others of Vandolmois and Dunois of the Reformed Religion, were assembled together neere vnto the Forest of Marchenoir, either with an intent to succour Gergeau, or for some other enterprize. Whereupon he drew his Forces together, and caused them to marche instantly towards the Forest where they were retired, who seeing themselves pursued and charged, some fled through the woods, and the rest fell into the Earles power; among the which there were many Gentlemen, whom hee caused to be set at liberty, and their horses restored, vpon promise they should not cary armes against the Kings seruice.

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A defeat of them at the battle of Vandolmois.

B Chasteau-Renard, which is two leagues from Gergeau vpon the Riuer of Loir, appertained vnto the deceased Princeesse of Orange, daughter of *Ispar de Colligny* Admiral of France, and Earle of Chastillon vpon Loir: It had bene numbered amongst the Townes of surety, with a Garison of fiftene men in the Fort called the Chastellet, which is a Rocke fortified with faulconets, powder, bullets, and other necessaries of defence. *Congis* and *Vandelin* were as dead paies therein, who vpon rumor of the war, had brought certaine of the Religion into the place, furnished it with victuals, and kept it more strictly shut vp then before time. Whereof the inhabitants of Chasteau-Renard entering into distrust, and hauing enformed the King thereof, they were commanded to seize and to assure themselves thereof. Hereupon, the execution being refused, all the inhabitants goe to armes, and being conducted by the *Seigneur de L'Isle*, Lieutenant of the Baillywicke of Chasteau-Renard, on the fourteenth of May, about foure of the clocke in the afternoon, they goe vp to the Fort, and summon *Congis* and *Vandelin* to put the place into their hands, according to the Kings Letters: which they refusing to doe, they presently scale and enter the place, force such as make resistance, and thrust out *Congis*, *Vandelin*, and the residue: and in their roomes place some of the inhabitants to guard the Fortresse. This done, they aduertised *Monsieur de Saint Paul* thereof, who sent word to the King of what had passed, assuring his Maiesty that he would take such order in his gouernment, as there should be no alteration on this side Loire.

The inhabitants of Chasteau-Renard seize vpon the Fort.

The King, during his abode at Saumur, had written to the Prince of Conde, to goe to Sancerre and assure himselfe thereof, and to them of Sancerre to receive him. Now therefore the Prince about the end of April, coming into his Gouernment of Berry, knowing the importance of this place, and that vndoubtedly it would bee the cause of trouble and disorder, if by industry and without open force (according to his Maiesties directions) he did not seize thereon: he practised his intelligences both within and without the Towne, with such as were affectioned vnto the Kings seruice: During which, he was aduertised that the Townsmen had a designe to worke in some of their Fortifications, and that the younger *Briguenaut* had perswaded the youth and some inhabitants to receive a Garison. Wherefore he sent word vnto the Sheriffs and inhabitants of Sancerre, that they should depute some among them to come vnto him; that hee had something to say vnto them which concerned the Kings seruice, and their owne preservation.

A discourse of that which passed about the taking of Sancerre.

Three of them being come to Bourges, after hee had very gently entertained them, and conferred with them about the practice of the younger *Briguenaut*, hee sayd vnto them, That their duty bound them to continue in the Kings obedience: That necessity constrained them thereunto, being in the middest of France, without succours or hope of any to uphold them, but their modesty and obedience: That remaining in the state they were, fortifying nothing, nor receiving any garison, hee promised to preserve them, and to change nothing in their Towne, goods, and liberty of conscience. They thanked him for the care hee had of them; assuring him that they had no designe to fortifie, promised not to doe it, nor to take in any Garison.

F Notwithstanding, the Prince being assured by them with whom hee had intelligence, that the inhabitants of Sancerre would not suffer him to enter the stronger into the town, hee resolved to arme with all diligence, and not to send them the Kings Letters until hee had forces ready to surprize and make them to obey, in case they refused him entry. Hee signified therefore vnto some Gentlemen as well of Berry as of Bourbonnois, his Maiesties commandement, and prayed them to raise all the troops, and with all the speed they could, and appointed his Rendezvous at Saint Satur, on the 20 of May. Hee gaue order also for 12 peeces of Artillery to be brought the same day before Sancerre.

The Prince of Conde assembling troops.

During

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Hee goes to  
Siege Sancerre.

A Capitulation  
made with the  
Inhabitants of  
Sancerre.

The Fortifica-  
tions of the  
Towne and  
Castle of San-  
cerre reduced.

During these levauies, the Prince assured himselfe of such places and persons as hee A thought might waite or hinder his designs, and caused all the inhabitants of the Religion in the townes of Issoudun, Argenton, Chateauroux, La Castre, Aubigny, Chastillon, and other places where there were any numbers of them, to bee disarmed. Whilest the Prince was occupied herein, and ready to march with his troops towards Sancerre, hee received newes that the towne had received a Garison on this manner: Geigeau being put into the Kings obedience, *Vatueille* (before mentioned) had left the Towne with about 400 men well armed, with the which he entred by night into Sancerre, by the favour or connivance of the chiefe inhabitants: The younger *Briquemaunt* was in Bourgundy to leavie troops. *Vatueille* being entred, fought to make himselfe Master of the Towne by the means of them of the Reformed Religion, onely the Earle of Marans crossed his designe, being then in the Towne, whom hee vsed so audaciously and with such insolent threats as hee refused to retire.

The Prince of Conde had long before wonne vnto him one Captaine *Bronchard*, an old Souldier, and of great credit in Sancerre, who by his commandement seized vpon the Castle, with some of the Earles seruants, and some inhabitants, the which hee defended valiantly against the Towne: whereof the Prince being aduertised, hee advanced his troops with all speed to relieue them. Approaching neere the towne, the Earle of Marans Lord thereof, met him, and the two Gentlemen whom hee had sent with the Kings Letters and his owne, bringing answer that they of the Towne were humble seruants to the King and Prince, ready vnto all obedience, but they were not at liberty, nor Masters of their Town, to dispose as they desired, nor strong enough to obey, for that *Vatueille* was Master: wherefore they intreated the Prince to haue pitty on them, and to free them from this servitude, promising to contribute what they could to serue him. The Prince hauing not forces sufficient to inuest the Towne, hee sought to winne them by policy, trying them by goodly reasons and perswasions, and sowing ialousies betweene the inhabitants and the Garison, so as distrusting one another, they might yeeld to his will; and in the meane time hee might put succours into the Castle. His practices preuailed so well, as *Vatueille* grew fearefull of some bad designe, and banded a part with his Garison: They of the towne were likewise in feare, lest that *Vatueille* should commit some folly; whereupon they beganne to ioine themselves together, and to arme, so as they were all in mutinie, distrust, and feare one of another. In the meane time, the Prince put an hundred men into the Castle, wherewith they grew much amazed. *Vatueille* goes to the Prince, who feeds him with such good words, and a gratuite of six hundred pound sterling, as hee resolute to depart with his souldiers, armes and baggage. The Townsmen in like manner (feareing lest *Vatueille* should abandon them and deliuer the Towne into the Princes hands) came also vnto him, and after great contestation received this Capitulation: Not to be molested in the exercise of their Religion: That they should be free in their liues, goods, and honors: That whereas they desired not to be disarmed, nor to receive any Garison, it should bee according to his Maiesties pleasure: That all which had borne armes, might retire and be conducted to a place of safety. After this, *Vatueille* with his Garison, came forth, and the Prince entred, and put in a sufficient guard for the place.

It is written, that *Vatueille* going forth, casting his eyes backe, wept for anger, saying, *What a fortune lose I by the wickednesse of Traytors which haue sold me? Whereunto hee added: That the Prince had taken Sancerre with a drame, and that hee wondered how it should come into the imagination of man to thinke to take the strongest place of France, for situation, with words.*

The same night the towne was yielded, they tooke a spy, whom they brought vnto the Prince, who confessed that hee had bene sent by the Duchesse of Sully, to assure them of the Towne, that within three daies they should haue succours: wherefore hee disarmed the inhabitants of Sancerre, leauing them nothing but their swords; their armes were carried into the Castle, to be restored when the towne should bee demanded. The same day the Prince mustred his troops of Berry and Bourbonnois to the number of 7000 foot, and 800 horse, all which arriued the night before: But to the end the Prouince should not be ruined, hee presently sent them away, except 500 men which hee put in Garison into the Towne and Castle, whilest they laboured about the razing of the Fortifications. This Towne was of great strength, and had in former times bene long defended by them of the

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They of the  
Religion dis-  
tracted an diuers  
pages.

A the Religion against a Royall Army. In this moneth of May, all they of the Reformed Religion were disarmed in the Townes vpon the Riuier of Loire, Picardy, and Champagne. Vpon this apprehension, many fought to shrowd themselves from the Roime of persecution which they feared, and retired themselves into England, Sedan, and other places.

In Normandy, the Duke of Longueville, disarmed them of Diepe, Rouen, and Newhauen. They proceeded more mildly at Caen, where many of the Religion during the League, had obtained the places of Captaines, and other charges. The Marquis of Mofny, acquainted the Magistrates with his Maiesties command, desiring their ayd and counsell in this disarming, to the end it might not alter the Kings seruice, nor the peace of the Towne. They refused to send for the Minister, one of the Captaines, and some of the chiefe of the Religion, whom the Marquis acquainted with his Maiesties pleasure, and his purpose to execute his commandements: That he had no will to surprize them, assuring himselfe of their voluntary obedience in that which concerned the Kings pleasure, they hauing bene already disarmed at Diepe, Rouen, and Newhauen. They required time to confer with the body of their Church, fearing they should find some difficulty to perswade the people to obey this commandement; for that in the greatest troubles for the same cause they had not bene distrustful: yet they would doe their best endeauours to dissuade them to obedience. They had two houres giuen them to conferre: and at their returne were content to deliuer their armes to their Captaines: the which was performed the next day, and on the six and twentieth they were carried into the Castle, and laid vpin one of the Magazines, whereof an Inuentory was taken and signed by the Marquis, and then left with the Register of the Towne. The Duke of Vendosme in like manner assured vnto the Kings obedience, Vitry, Chastillon in Vandelaix, and other townes and Castles in Britany.

The Assembly at Rochel had solicited the Earle of Montgomery, Gouverneur of Pont-Orson, and of the Religion, to be of their faction, with an intent if hee would not yeeld therunto, to surprize this place: It is a frontier Towne of great importance, lying vpon the Sea betwene Normandy and Britany. The King being aduertised that the Earle D would by no means yeeld to the Assembly: He sent him word, that his desire was, he should receive a recompence for his Government, to the end hee might preferre that place so much importing those two great Prouinces. The Earle hauing taken aduice of his friends, and received content, deliuered the towne vnto a Catholique Gentleman to whom his Maiesty had giuen the Government.

On the twentieth of May, seuen Ministers, fifteen of the Assembly, and twelue of them which they call free Burgeses, assembled together in Councell in the towne of Rochel, to cōsule whether they should expell the Priests of Saint Margaret of the Congregation of the Oratory, and in what manner they should doe it: some which were barbarous and inhumane, would haue them massacred or burnt in their Church; and some would haue them E cast out the wals: but in the end the Magistrate letting them vnderstand that the like might be done vnto their brethren which were in Catholique townes, this miserable designe was not executed: onely it was resolved they should leaue the towne, and the Maior had charge to acquaint them therewith; vpon whose command two of them came vnto him, to whom hee made this short discourse: *My Masters, hitherto I haue done what I could for your preservation; but now I acquaint you with my weaknesse: consider what I may doe for you: I haue retired my selfe from a Company, to come and giue you this aduice. Of necessity you must depart the towne speedily, there being no means to containe the people, being intensed against you: Consider speedily how I may further your departure.*

The Fathers of Saint Margaret seeing the Maiors honesty, gaue him thanks, and entreated him to assist them with his counsell: who aduised them to make shew of going to walke two and two together, and so depart. To who they answered, That they could not doe it without danger of their liues, for that they should vndoubtedly fall into the hands of many souldiers which were without the Ports. Whereupon they retired. About noone, the Maior seeing the towne in quiet, euery man being gone to dinner, hee sent fiftely for these Fathers, telling them that hee had prepared apart, and would send them away: whereof they were very glad, resolving vpon their departure, the Maior came vnto them with thirty or forty men armed; who causing them to shut the doores of their Church

Pont-Orson  
yielded to the  
King by the  
Earle of Mont-  
gomery.

The Fathers of  
the Oratory  
driven out of  
Rochel.

The Assembly  
at Rochel  
was  
dissolved.

The Duke of  
Vendosme  
sent  
the  
French  
King.

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Church and house, tooke the keyes and conducted them to the new Port, where a Barke attended them to carry them to Brouage. The Mayor did still accompany them, and going out of the Port, shut it after him, to prevent the fury of the multitude, and to see them safely embarked.

Death of the  
Cardinal of  
Guise.

During the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely, the Cardinall of Guise dyed at Xaintes of a Fever, having over-hear his blood with much toile at the siege. Hee was once a Cardinall Deacon, and had neuer fung Masse: He was a Prince altogether martiall, and more enclined to armes then to his booke, whereof he made good prooffe, going vnarmed in the company of his brother the Prince of Iouille, and forced the barricados of the suburbs of Saint Iohn, without any apprehension of all their shot: His death was generally lamented in Court: His Maiestie gaue good testimonies of his griefe, and the Prince his brother was wonderfully afficted for his losse.

Pons yielded  
to the King.

After the reduction of Saint Iohn, the King refreshed his army some few dayes, and in the meane time sent the Marshall de Chaune to inuest Pons, into the which the Marquis of Chasteau-neuf de Lymolin, nephew to *Monsieur de la Force*, had put himselfe, with diuers Gentlemen, and fiftene hundred Harquebusers, purposing by their resistance to giue leifure vnto the Rochellers and the Townes of Guienne and Languedoc to continue their fortifications, and mitigate their feares.

This Towne of Pons is of very great importance vnto the Prouince of Xaintonge, and within foure leagues of Xaintes: It hath a very faire and strong Castle, with strong wals and deepe ditches. The Towne standeth on the steepe decline of a hill, at the foot whereof runneth the Riuer of Seine. In briefe, it is a very good and strong Towne, and might well haue long disputed their approaches, and kept the Royalists from their Counterskarres, but the Commanders seeing the Kings army so neere, and most of them being reputed the authors which had caused the Assembly at Rochel to sweare their continuance, fearing the Kings iust indignation, they bethought themselves, giuing notice to the Constable by the Marshalls *D'Esquiers*, that they would accept of an honourable composition: whose answer was, That they should yeeld the place at the Kings discretion without conditions, and that he would be a meane for their liues and liberty; the which they accepted: whereupon some of the chiefe brought the keyes presently to the King, the same day he came to Coignac, which was the last of Iune. The Marshall *D'Esquiers* and *Chau-ne* entred the towne to prevent disorders, and to draw forth the Garison, into the which the Regiment of *Esillac* entred, vntill the fortifications and wals were demolished; for if this towne had fallen againe into rebellion, it had kept the passage from Poitou to Bourdeaux; and had much supported them of Rochel by their intelligences with the Townes of their party resould in base Guienne.

The Fortifications  
and wals  
of Pons demolished.

The Assembly at Rochel imagining that the King should not bee able to force Saint Iohn D'Angely in so short a time, the which they could by no meane succour, resould to send those souldiers they had within Rochel to make a descent into base Poitou, towards Lusson, Olone, Tallemont and Saint Benoist, hoping by this meane to draw together all them of the Religion in Poitou and other Prouinces, and withall to bring into Rochel all the victuals and other commodities they should find in that Country, foreseeing, that they would not suffer them to gather their harvest nor vintage. *Fouca, La Noue, and Bessay*, landed with twelue hundred men, and spoiled some places. The King being aduertised hereof, he presently sent the Marshall of Prallin, the Duke of Elbeuf, and the Earle of Rochefoucault, with their troops. They of the Religion had already embarked at the Port of Larrerie two thousand bushels of meale, and the best mowables they could find in Lusson and thereabouts, but the Marshall seized on these Barkes, and caried the meale to Lusson. The Rochellers coming to Saint Benoist began to build a Fort at the mouth of the Riuer of Lay, and in the meane time the three Commanders make an enterprize vpon Sables D'Olone. The Marshall giues a furious assault vnto their new Fort, takes it, and kills a hundred and fifty of their men, and puts the rest to flight, whereof some were taken, and others drowned in the Owze. The three Commanders hearing hereof, saved themselves in their Barkes, and so retired: The *Granges* brethren to *Bessay* understanding this defeat, abandoned Tallemont: so as all this Country which seemed lost, was in an instant freed from the Rochellers.

The Castle of  
Sully resould.

The King being at Coignac, was aduertised of the resoul of the Castle of Sully vpon the

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A the Riuer of Loire, betweene Gian and Orleans. The Earle of Saint Paul hearing that the Duchesse of Sully had admitted many of the Reformed Religion into her Castle, with the consent of *Buzion* who was Capitaine, and that the number encreased daily, hee sent a Gentleman vnto the Duchesse, to know the reason of this alteration: She excused her selfe, saying, that they were poore men, exiled from their houses, and that being of her Religion, she had in charity giuen them entry into the park of her house. The younger brother of *Briquemaunt* one of the Deputies of the Assembly in Rochel, with the Baron of Trinne, and many Gentlemen and Souldiers, had retired thither, so as in lesse then eight dayes they were foure hundred foot and horse, which did much annoy the adiacent Prouinces. They seized vpon the Church of Saint Pere on the other side of the Loire, right against the Castle, the which they fortified with good trenches, in the which the Baron of Trinne commanded with three score men: they interrupted the comerce of the Riuer: and made the neighbour Parishes to pay taxes, and to labour in their fortifications. The inhabitants of Sully seeing this alteration, resolute to maintain themselves in the Kings service against the Castle: and to keepe them in this duty, the Earle of Saint Paul sent the Baron of Courtenay to command ouer them: and seeing the harme this place did, not onely in his Government, but in the other neighbour Prouinces, and what might happen in time, he resould to prevent it: but for that he wanted sufficient forces, hee wrote to the Duke of Montbazon Governor of the Ile of France, to the Marshall of Vitry, and especially to the Prince of Conde, Governor of Berry, who had the greatest interest, for that he was nearest: but there was some difficulty; for sayd some, If the Prince comes in person to the siege of Sully, the Earle of Saint Paul could not be General of the Army, although it were in his Government: whereunto the Earle answered, I desire to prefer the Kings service and the quiet of the Prouince, before the honour which I should get. He sent to the Prince, and they met at Aubigny, whither the Marquis of Rohony, sonne to the Duke of Sully, came (being sent by the King in Poste, to reduce *Buzion* to his duty, which he could not effect) where they resould of this siege, preparing their troops and Cannons to batter it.

First of all, they forced their new fortifications at Saint Pere, where they were most of them slaine and drowned. After this they went into Sully, and planted two Battaries, forcing them to abandon the Parke, and retire into the Castle, which was but little, and greatly annoyed by the Cannon. The Duchesse of Sully was retired into the Towne, being much-grieved to see this house ruined by her owne fault, and that to be assured of her person, they spake of sending her to Bourges. The besieged were incommoded both with the want of meane to cure their wounded (being many, who died for want of reliefe) and with the stench of the garbage of Cattell they fed on: so as on the 19 of Iuly they sent to the Prince to demand a Composition, the which was granted. The conditions were. To returne in safety to their houses, and to enioy their goods. A pardon for all that had beene done at Sully and thereabouts. A promise to obtaine a pardon from the King for *Buzion*. That they should haue free liberty of conscience according to the Edicts: That they should depart with their armes and baggage, booties and horses. That they should be conducted to a place of safety, and within three dayes to separate themselves, and returne vnto their houses. That they might leaue two within the Castle to retire their baggage. That all prisoners should be deliuered: vpon condition that they should yeeld the Castle of Sully into their hands, and take the oath which *Monsieur Soubise* had done to serue the King in all places, and against all men. These Articles were signed by the Prince of Conde and the Earle of Saint Paul.

The Castle of  
Sully yeelded  
by composition

A little before, the Duke of Tremouille came to the Kings quarter at Saint Iohn, to protest his fidelity and the obedience he ought vnto his Maiestie, who said vnto him, That he was glad to see him nere him, so the end he might see that hee had not taken armes: but so suppress the new Common-wealth of Rochel; and such as did acknowledge their command, and that he would make it knowne that he was with a good King and a good Master, so that he should see and low him: That he would not forsake mans conscience no further then by the trust of doctrine, and the good examples of the Clergy, if God lent him any time to live. At the same time *Monsieur de Mallevre*, a Gentleman of the Religion, came out of base Guienne, with an expresse commission from many Townes and Communalities, and especially from *Monsieur de Basse* *Cardignan*, to receive the Kings commandements, and to reduce and disauow

The Duke of  
Tremouille  
comes to the  
King.

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disauow the Deputies of this Prouince, which were at the Assembly at Rochel, which A  
gaue the King great content, being wrought by this meanes. *Monseur de la Force* being  
made Generall Prouinciall of the Circle of bafe Guienne by the Assembly, *Monseur de*  
*Boiffe Pardaillan* could not like of this diuision, nor to be commanded by him, who by the  
practices of his sonne *Casellan*, and his nephew *Chasteauncus* of Lymosin, Deputies in  
the said Assembly, had procured him this Commission after his retreat from Bearne. This  
Seigneur of Boiffe hauing refused a Commission to be his Lieutenant Generall, he preua-  
iled so by his credit, as he procured a Prouinciall Councell of bafe Guienne to bee called  
at Saint Foy, in May, to aduise of the meanes how they might obtaine a quiet condition  
for the townes of the Religion in that Prouince vnder his Maiesties obedience: where it  
was resolted to send *du Malles* vnto the King to offer obedience in the behalfe of their  
Prouinciall Assembly, and particularly of *Monseur de Boiffe Pardaillan*, and of all the townes  
of bafe Guienne except Montauban and Bergerac. He deliuered his charge accordingly:  
To whom the King made this answer: *That they for whom he had brought assurance of their*  
*fidelitie, should be entreated like vnto the Catholiques: neither would he euer suffer them to be*  
*forced in their consciences, nor oppress in their publique or priuate fortunes.* But notwithstanding  
any care or foresight in his deputation, hauing exacted an oath from them that sent  
him, and caused all them which represented the Communalities, to signe his instructions:  
yet the corruption of the time preuailed, and by meanes of the Duke of Rohans voyage  
into high Languedoc, and the intelligences of *Monseur de la Force*, all the Townes of bafe  
Guienne, (except Saint Foy, and Monur, Mont de Marfan, Cassan, and Castillon) con-  
trary to their duties and promise, reuolted; tooke armes, receiued souldiers, placed and  
displaced Gouvernors at their pleasure, and the Chamber of the Edict established at Nerac,  
and the Kings Iudges and Officers were shamefully expelled.

The townes of  
baf Guienne  
send to offer  
their obedience  
to the King.

Some townes  
reuel against  
guenne.

The King comes  
to Courras  
where *Monseur de*  
*Boiffe* pretends  
his fidelitie.

On the eight of Iuly, the King came to Courras, a goodly house belonging to the Coun-  
tesse of Saint Paul, and a famous place for the battell which the deceased King did winne,  
and by the death of the Admirall of Toyseu: His Maiesty discoursed iudiciously of this  
battell: That good Capitaines should be without ostentation, and that the Admirals iea-  
lousie against the Marshall of Matignon (who was coming vnto him) for that he would  
not share the honor with him, was the cause of his ruine. During this discourse, *Monseur D*  
*de Boiffe* arised, with many Gentlemen of the Religion, who came to offer their lyes and  
Governments vnto his Maiesty, who receiued them fauourably, and entertained them in  
particular touching the innocency of his armes, and the bad designes of the Assembly  
at Rochel.

The Consuls of Castillon and Saint Foy came thither, and brought the keys of their  
Townes, so as there remained not any but Bergerac, which held the Kings mind and his  
Councell in some suspence. But before his departure, the Constable (who had laboured  
powerfully with such as might low diuision in the towne, and strike a terror into those  
fiftene hundred men) receiued certaine newes that *Monseur de la Force* prepared for his  
departure, and that the Garison disbanded, the which many held incredible, for that the  
place being very well fortified and furnished with men, artillery, and munition, it seemed  
that *Monseur de la Force* should have kept it, either to cast himselfe at the Kings feet in ope-  
ning him the Gates, or to have buried himselfe in the ruines of a breach: but the Con-  
stables care had ruined his authority and his childrens, by lawfull and necessary meanes in  
this age of infidelity.

The King goes  
out to blocke  
vp Rochel.

Before the Kings departure from Coignac, he gaue order for the blocking vp of Ro-  
chel both by Sea and Land. He sent to the Ports of Normandy and Britany, to prepare a  
Fleet to stop the Pyrates courtes, which came from all parts to Rochel, for that all their  
thefts were held good prize there in paying their duties: Hee also sent to the Duke of  
Guise to Marfeilles, to cause the Generall of the Gallies to bring them towards Rochel. By  
Land he commanded the Duke of Elspem to goe with foure thousand foot, and six  
hundred horse to lodge about the Towne, and to keepe them from all communication  
and commerce with Poitou, Xaintonge, and Anix, the which troubled them of Rochel  
and the Deputies of the Assembly much. This Towne being now blocked vp, it shall not  
be impertinent to relate what I find written of the situation, government and strength of  
this Towne.

A description  
of Rochel.

Rochel, they say, is the Queene and Mistris of all others, and is the very Sanctuary of  
all

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A All Malecontents. It is the strongest within the Realme, and may be speedily relieved by  
land and water, from Poitou, Xaintonge, and Anix, and by sea from the neighbour  
lands, and from England, Holland, and other Countries. The Seigneur of Loudriere,  
vnder the title and quality of Seneschall of Anix, reuaxes himselfe Gouvernor, but all his  
authority consisteth in chusing of a Maior yearly, out of three which they present vnto him,  
which is not much.

The body of the towne is composed of a Maior, forty eight Peeres, and one and fifty  
Burgesses. This company of 100 men of the most sufficient amongst them, gouerne the  
people absolutely. But within these six yeares some seditious spirits which had and yet haue  
B good entry into their Councils, that they might become the more necessary, haue sowed  
such distrusts among the people, and of such consequence, as they haue now formed ano-  
ther party, to counterpoise the body of the town, which being compounded of the Com-  
mons, and some of the rich inhabitants are called Franck Burgesses, and are at this day so  
strong, that they make the Ministers preach as they please, and haue brought the body of  
the towne to admit into all their Assemblies and Resolutions of importance, fix of these  
Franck Burgesses, which are called Sindics or Tribunes, and to this effect are chosen every  
yeate by the people, and changed as they see occasion. This newly caused hatred and  
diuisions in the managing of affaires, wrong and confusion. The Towne is free from all  
Subsidies and Impositions, and for this cause much frequented with traffique, so as it is  
C thought there may be found a hundred or sixscore Merchants worth 100000 Crownes  
apiece the worth of them. It is very well furnished with powder, and 150 Cannon for  
battery, besides Culuerins and smaller Pieces, with victuals, and other necessary proui-  
sions: The inhabitants are so well armed, as they made shew of seven or eight thousand  
foot to the Duke of Sully, when he tooke possession of the Government of Poitou; the  
fortifications of the towne are almost finished: it consisteth of twelue great Royall Bastions  
of free stone, with double ditches, deepe and broad at the bottome, with spacious  
Rampiers.

The hauen is small, but very safe, made like a horse-shoe, and within the compass of  
the wals, the road is in a manner round: the gates which shut vp the hauen, is drawne  
D vp nightly betweene two round Towers, betwix which there is no more space, then for  
the passage of a good ship. The Lanthorne Tower which is higher then the rest, looks  
into the sea, and stands vpon the point of the wall on the right hand going out of the  
Port.

The town is of a flat situation, and the ditches may be easily filled with water when they  
please: there is a great Marish of two or three thousand paces broad, which diuides the  
approaches into two parts, at the least a French league from the Towne, so as to besiege  
it they must haue two Armies by land, which cannot releue one another, and a third by  
Sea to hinder their succours.

But let vs returne to the Kings voyage into Guienne. The Duke of Rohan and *Monseur*  
E *de la Force* hauing assured Tonnins, Clerac, and other places, to their partie, on this side  
the Garonne, they goe to Nerac, where they were receiued with great shewes of affe-  
ction, and *Monseur de la Force* acknowledged for Generall of the Prouince. This towne  
was much fauoured by Henry the great, wherein he kept his Court long, being but King  
of Nauarre, in regard of the pleasantnesse thereof. It is able to endure a Royall siege. The  
Chamber of Iustice is held in the Castle. President *Pichon*, a Catholique, was lodged  
there, and *La Porte* was Gouvernor. The President seeing the arrival of these two Noble-  
men, and the reception they gaue vnto *Monseur de la Force*, he demanded assistance from  
the Gouvernor of the Castle, who swore that he would neuer open the gates but to the  
King: whereupon he sent presently to the Duke of Mayen, beseeching him to come to  
F Nerac, and to relieue him in this extremity, seeing that the Gouvernor had assured him ne-  
uer to yeeld the Castle.

The Duke was then sick of an ague at Bourdeaux, hauing no troops leauied in his  
Government, but he presently posted away with his followers, giving commandement to  
*Barrault* and *Ornano Sainte croix*, to come to him with their Regiments.

He aduanced without troops, hoping to make them acknowledge their fault, and re-  
turne to their obedience: but he found the young Viscount of Casters, and a son of *Monseur*

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de la Force, within the towne, who shut the gates against him, and answered him with A Muskett shot.

In the meane time, the Kings army (by the care of the Marshals of Roqueleure, and Antiberie, and of Monsieur de Vignolles,) grew to bee three or foure thousand foot; and aboute eight hundred horse: but this was not sufficient to iueit both Nerac and the Castle; they also wanted Officers, Cannon and Munition, and order for money to pay the army, which made some stay of the Dukes proceedings.

On the 23 of Iune, the Duke being aduertised that the Marquis of La Force had draw together about two thousand men, and giuen it out that he would raise the siege of Nerac, he suddenly went to horsebacke, leaving Monsieur de Vignolles with the foot and some horse before the towne: but vpon the way he vnderstood that they had surpris'd Caumont at noone day, by the treason of a Confill and a Sentinell of the reformed Religion, whereof the other inhabitants of the same religion were innocent, as seeking to defend themselves; there were twelue or fiftene slaine, and three Catholiques; so as they had like to haue surpris'd the Castle, there being not aboute tenne souldiers within it.

This was the Marquis his chiefe designe, seeking to draw the Gouvernor Escurville into the Towne by an interposed person, vpon colour of a Christning, the which he promised to doe, but did not, being forced to keepe within the Castle, by reason of the alarme which was giuen, and the flight of the Catholiques which came flying towards the same.

The Duke of Mayen being ariued, and seeing the Castle hold out, he resolved to retire, and charge the enemy, hauing drawne together about three thousand men, with the helpe of the neighbour townes, and the Regiments of *Barrault* and *Ornano*, which were come vnto him, with the which he charged the Protestants in their trenches and barricados, and they defended themselves resolutely for the space of foure houres, where the fight was very furious, but in the end they were forced to abandon them, and to retire to their other workes within the Towne, so as Colonel *Barrault* had good means to enter into the Castle with his Regiment. In the night the Protestants (seeing the Castle so well fortified, and the Duke of Mayen ready to charge them in the morning with the whole army) retired towards Castell-Jaloux after the losse of foure hundred men, whereof one hundred were burnt and slaine with the ruines of a Church which they had made a Magazin for their powder, which was set on fire by negligence.

Thus they lost Caumont againe, which is held the strongest place in Guienne, whereof they made themselves assured, hoping by this diuersion to raise the siege of Nerac.

The Duke of Mayen hauing reduced Caumont to the Kings obedience, he returned to Nerac, where notwithstanding that La Force Capitaine of the Castle had broken his word and deliuered it vp, that succours were entred, and that they had made many resolute sallies, yet they were forced to yeeld vnto the Duke the ninth of Iuly, and to receiue a Catholique Gouvernor with a Garison of eight hundred men, and to feed the Kings armie, being eight thousand men, for the space of foure dayes.

Thus Nerac, which had bene honored by the Kings father with the Chamber of the Edict in Guenne, is for her revolt thus punished, and it transferred to Agen. A goodly example for others, which giue care to the passionate speeches of malecontents, who alwaies couer their owne interests, passions, ambition, and couetousnesse vnder the cloake of Religion; or that of the common weale.

The Duke of Mayen seeing himselfe fortified with a faire army both of horse and foot, and supplied with money from the King to defray the charges of the warre, he turned head towards Castell-Jaloux, a towne of surety in the Duchy of Albret, whereof the Viscount of Fumac was Gouvernor: It is a place of good repute for warre, and well seated; hauing means to interrupt the commerce of them of Bourdeaux, with Armagnac, Condoms, Ax, Bayonne, and Spain: it is in a Country full of them of the Religion, and where the Catholique Religion was scarce knowne: but it is not able to maintaine a long siege. Wherefore seeing the Duke of Mayen turne head with his army and Cannon towards them, they sent their Deputies vnto him, promising to receiue what law it should please the King to prescribe.

Monhur

A Monhur, a little towne of surety, vpon the bankes of Garonne, well fortified, was reduced to the Kings obedience by Monsieur de Baiffe their Gouvernor (as we haue said) but it reuolted during the siege of Montauban, the sonne of Monsieur de Baiffe falsifying his word which he had giuen his father, and his fidelity to the King: which was the cause of a parricide, and the ruine of Monhur.

As for Mont de Marfan and Tartas, townes of surety also, in the Duchy of Albret, vpon the Riuier of Ladour, which falls into the Sea at Bayonne, the Gouvernors and inhabitants sent to make protestation of their fidelity vnto the King, or vnto the Duke of Mayenne in the name of his Maiestie. And so did Millan and other small places. In some they charged the Gouvernors, or tooke them quite away; hauing razed the fortifications. This is all which passed in bafe Guienne, beyond the Riuier of Garonne, where the townes were reduced to the Kings obedience, by the Duke of Mayenne.

The King came to Castillon on the 21 of Iuly, where La Force the Gouvernor receiued him with all kinds of submission. This towne belongs to the Duke of Bouillon, and all the inhabitants are of the Religion. In all the townes belonging to the said Duke, the King was receiued by the Gouvernors, Capitaines, and Inhabitants, with all shewes of duty and demonstration of faithfull Subjects.

It is a towne of surety vpon the Riuier of Dordone: it purchased reputation, being assaulted by the Duke of Mayenne, who commanded an army in Guienne vnder Henry the third, for that it had made resistance foure months, and defended a trench fise weekes, where there was nothing but a barricado of Hogheads which made the separation, yet there was neuer place better assaulted, nor better defended. His Maiestie hearing that some indiscreet persons would haue committed a disorder in their Temple, he commanded Monsieur de Modene to make enquiry, who set certaine Archers to guard it, to the end the souldiers which past, might not commit any insolency, whereof they gaue him a certificate, and desired his Maiestie to pardon what was past.

The King came to Saint Foy, where the Seigneur of Theobon, who had married the daughter of Monsieur de Baiffe, was Gouvernor. The Court lodged there, but the King in the Castle of Mezieres. This towne is in the Seneschaley of Agenois, three leagues from Bergerac, mounting vpon the Riuier of Dordone, and of no lesse efficacy then Bergerac. It is well fortified, manned, and munitioned. The Magistrates and Conscils gaue the Grand Prouost a Declaration that they had receiued no bad vltage, either in their persons or goods, but all honour and fauour from his Maiestie: yea afterwards both they and Theobon their Gouvernor, whom the King left in the place, reuolted during the siege of Montauban. The Seigneur Panissant came thither vnto the King, he was powerfull in Bergerac, and had laboured faithfully to reduce them to their obedience by the Constables care. His Maiestie receiued him fauourably, and was well pleased with his seruice, promising to acknowledge his fidelitie to him and his posterity. The King came to Bergerac, where he entred without any solemnity, he stayed there foure dayes, and viewed the fortifications.

E This towne is held of great importance in bafe Guienne, for their wealth, traffique, and great fortifications: It stands vpon the Riuier of Dordone, in a large plaine not commanded.

During his Maiesties stay there, many neighbour places of Agenois and Quercy (who fought nothing but a president of some reuolt within the Realme) were deliuered into the Kings hands by their Gouvernors, who gaue them recompence, and commanded their wals and fortifications should be demantled, speaking these words worthy of his piety and iustice, *That he wished there were no places fortified, but vpon the Frontiers of his Realme, so the end the hearts and fidelities of his subjects, might serue as Citadels for the guard of his person.* The chiefe places thus reduced, were Puymerol, Thonneins, and Montflanquin on this side the Riuier of Garonne. Finally, Montsegur, Parado, Saint Serre, Castelnau, Cardaillac, Cadenac, Castets, and Mucidan, places of surety, with others which the Protestants held, betwene the Riuers of L'Isle, Dordone, Garonne, and Lot, (except Clerac, whicher the most zealous of these townes retired themselves to defend it against the king) came and brought their keyes to his Maiestie. The Duke of Sully being at Figeac, sent to assure the King of his fidelity, the like did they of Turenne, Lymceuil, and all other places belonging to the Marshall of Bouillon.

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The

Caumont surpris'd by the Marquis of La Force.

Caumont recovered from the Protestants.

Nerac yielded to the Duke of Mayenne.

Castell-Jaloux.

1621

Monhur.

Mont de Marfan and Tartas.

Millan.

The King comes to Castillon.

And to Saint Foy.

Bergerac.

The Duke speaks.



1621

The Kings vigilancy in the security of his Army.

The King passed his Cannon over the River of Dordone, and left Rembures with his Regiment in Bergerac, to see the fortifications thereof demolished: In his march hee was very careful (seeing the bad wayes) for his Cannon, which hee caused to be suclered by his troops, to prevent all surpris by them of Clerac, so as hee was forced to stay a day at Saint Bartholmewes for it, which hee desired to see in the head of his army, for neuer Prince was more ialous nor more careful for the lodging of his troops, as well for their safeties, as for the commodities of water, wood, and forage. When the army is quartered, he desires to know the situation of their lodgings, the approaches and the distance of the enemies Garisons: saying, that it is a great impiety in a Generall, not to take an exact care of lodgings, for that the whole armie relies vpon his foresight and vigilancy. He would not suffer his horse and foot to be diuided by any sudden Torrent, or by any charge of the Enemy falling betweene them, so as they might not succour one another, saying, that they must accustom them to lodge after this manner, were it but for the reputation of the Generall which commands the Army.

The King sends to view Clerac

The King having resolved to march, it was propounded by the Constable to send the Marshall of Saint Geran, and the Seigneurs of Termes and Zamet, to view the situation of Clerac, which was but three Gallie leagues from Saint Bartholmew, to bring him word at his coming to Tonneins, what they had discovered: which his Maiefty finding very necessary, commanded that Monseurs Company of horse, and Arnauds Carabins should accompany them.

Is faine to lodge and sup without his Officers. The vigilancy of the Constable.

On Monday the nineteenth the King removed from Saint Bartholmewes, with intention to goe lodge at Tonneins, but there fell such a storme of raine, as all the grounds were drowned, and the brookes which were betweene Hautevigne and Tonneins, so overflowed, that most part of the army was in great danger. The King seeing this deluge with which his poore souldiers were drenched, would neuer enter vnder any rooffe, or into his Coach, to giue them an example of constant suffering, and besides, comforted them with good words. This raine lasted six or seuen houres without intermission, and forced the King to lodge at Hautevigne vpon the brink of the flood, without any of his Officers, because they were already past these waters, and by this meanes was faine to sup with such piousness as was found amongst some stragling lurlers of the army.

The Constable slept not all the night, and foreseeing that those of Clerac (who had foure thousand souldiers in their towne) would wax audacious with this accident of the weather, & that they should have small seruice of the footmen or Cannon for foure daies after, he sent many messages vnto the Grand Prouost, as well to repaire the bridge which the Torrent had broken, as to cause lights to be set vpon all eminent places, and in the high-ways, to guide those which were yet in the waters, or other wayes strayed, that they might ioyne themselves vnto the army.

The Lord Keeper, and many other of the Councell, were passed a little before, vpon a little bridge, before the throng of people came, or that the River was risen, and went to Tonneins. The Secretaries of State and Treasurers came a while after, but too late, for they found the passage stoppt vp by the Foot. At the same instant arriued the Grand Prouost, who leauing the King, to enter into the meadowes all couered with water, in many places to the skirts of the Saddle, and fearing lest the little bridge should be broken, which was the onely refuge for the King if he had come into the water, advanced himselfe to leize vpon the fame, but stepping vp to get thereon, the thrust was so great, that hee was borne downe into the River, with his cloake buttoned about him, where, had not the souldiers of the Guard pulled him suddenly out, he had perished, as some others did in the same place. Being gotten into a Mill hard by, hee sent presently for Carpenters to strengthen the bridge that the King might passe; but he would not abandon his Cannon, nor his foot, which made the Grand Prouost goe to Tonneins, where he found the Keeper of the Seales, and the Earle of Schomburg, where they resolved to assure themselves of Tonneins, in the which there were but two Companies which should enter in guard before the Kings lodging.

This accident might well tempt the inhabitants in regard of the persons which were come into the Towne; but they provided carefully for the keeping of the Ports, and for their hofis and armes.

The

1621

Opinions touching the siege of Clerac.

A The waters being somewhat fallen, his Maiefty came on the twentieth of Iuly to Tonneins, where it was propounded in Councell, that the army could not bee drawne together to attempt any exploit in three dayes, nor recover their Cannon and Baggage in foure, wherefore in the meane time they should consider what might be fit for the siege of Clerac, if they persisted in their rebellion. There were diuersities of opinion. Some held that Clerac was without fame or reputation, and that it was not to bee found in the Mappe; yet the situation, the fortification, and foure thousand men (which were held to be the most warlike of the Prouince) defended it: That the foile was so fat and slippery, as three dayes of raine would ruine the Kings trenches: That it was easie to imagine that they of Montauban encouraged them to endure a siege, to preferre themselves, and to draw the Kings army into a rainy season, which was their onely hope: That it was better to prevent them before they had finished the parapet of their new workes, or resolved what troops they would receiue to maintaine the siege: That they knew well they were very ialous to receiue any troops from any great man of their party, and therefore they could not recover any but from their neighbours, which would not be sufficient, for that they must haue about two thousand men, onely to keepe the half-moones and new fortifications of Villebourbon: That Clerac might be kept from all acts of hostility by the neighbour garisons: That the full obedience of the townes of Languedoc, depended on the taking of Montauban, and in like manner Clerac would yeeld; the siege whereof would consume much time, and make them lose the fruits which they expected before winter: wherefore they were of opinion, That if they of Clerac would yeeld to the raising of their new fortifications, and giue hostages to perform it, they should accept them, whereby they should giue time, and spare much blood which would be spilt.

The contrary opinion maintained, That it touched the Kings reputation, to leaue a place in Guienne, which might be a shelter and refuge to the mutins (who commonly liue quietly in their houses, hauing no retreat) and that there was no other place which would maintaine a reuolt: That they must not confider the number of men within it; but the quality of such as had authority, and remember, that if the Marquis of La Force, who was Gouernor, could haue found any safety, he would not haue left it so shamefully: That S. Torfe (who was the most eminent in birth and reputation) had good parts for a Souldier, but he had not sufficient for a Commander, nor to defend a place which should be battered with 25 Cannons, and that they knew well there were not ten men of command within the towne: That the inhabitants (who had goods to lose) would maintaine their authority, and not suffer S. Torfe nor his souldiers to suppress their power, and that when as they should see themselves assaulted, and ready to be made a prey to the army they would embrace a partie: That the souldiers (seeing themselves in ialousie with the inhabitants, and they alone exposed to all dangers) would thinke of their safety, especially, when they should haue lost their Counterscarpe and ditches: That they must spend a month in taking of the townes which were in the way to Montauban: the which the Duke of Mayen (who would arriue the next day, from the taking of Caumont and Merac) might performe with his armie, and so no time should be lost.

The Constable said, That there were many reasons on either side, but he was of opinion to attempt Clerac, relying vpon the intelligences which hee had practised with the enemy, whereby he hoped that Clerac would bee reduced to obedience within three weekes. Whereupon the King refused for this siege, commanding the Cannon should advance. On the 22 of Iuly, D. Esclapart, a Captaine of Carabins, brought some of the chiefe inhabitants of Clerac to the Constable, who demanded, That his Maiefty should suffer them to enjoy their libertie, and leave their fortifications as they were, for they desired their liues, and so they would declare themselves his subjects. To whom the Constable made answer, That should he might or more powerful to use this speech: you remember, that the King was your gages, and hath bequeathed them thirty Cannons to you; and that you should haue his feet, as a pardon of your criminall designs, and assure your selves, his subjects, and his wise hope for no Capitulation: The King would not make any with them, nor can he. But he hath the honor to be allied vnto him, and on who are a rebellious people, and must satisfy him by his own hand, to some to dispute the authority, and reputation of the French King, and to say, that it was true, but they could not doe otherwise, hauing no further power.

The next day, the King being in Councell, said, That the day following they must goe

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1621 a Rendezvous to all the foot, to invest the towne: To whom the Constable answered: A That the Marshall D'Escligniers and Monsieur de Boisse were gone, to see if they could make them become honest men: who arising at that instant, made report, That they had saluted them with the Cannon, and store of Musquet shot, and that they must not expect any reason from them by mildnesse: Moreover, they said, that the approach vnto the towne was troublesome, and barricadoed in many places, which they must force, and give the command to the wildest and most resolute and courageous. Some write that they ramped themselves, *Souldiers without feare, defending a Towne without a King.*

They sayd also, That the iustice the King should doe in Clerac, would strike a terror into all the factions of France: That his subjects complained by the officers of Soueraigne Courts, That his Maiestie had left the title of *Leuis* the Lust, which his admirable iudgement had purchased, to take (by his too great mildnesse) that of *Leuis* the Gentle: That it was a kind of cruelty to vie indulgence to such as sought to peruert the Lawes of the Monarchy, and that he must doe like vnto a pitifull father, who to saue his sonnes body, causeth the Chirurgion to cut off an arme or a leg: By these reasons they concluded, That they must not speake of any treatie, but of an absolute submission at the Kings discretion.

Clerac inuaded.

The first charge

The Marquis of Termes slain.

The Constable gaue three Rendezvous to the army, for that Clerac was environed with many hills full of Vines, of very hard access; the approaches were narrow passages, difficult for the horse, where the besieged were entrenched and barricadoed. The army being arriued, and the Commanders hauing viewed the places fittest to be assailed, they gaue order for the charge, the which was giuen in three severall places with great resolution, and maintained by them of the towne very obstinately. The Regiment of the Kings Guard (being led by *Monsieur de Termes*, Marshall of the Camp) having forced their third barricado, and pursued the besieged to thier very ditch, he was unfortunately shot into the body, being on horsebacke and without armes. Hee was presently caried to Toncins (which was the Kings quarter) lying till the next day. He was generally lamented. The Kings Confessor came to visit him, who saluted him in the Kings name: Father, said hee, speake no more vnto me of the Kings of the earth, to whom I am now vnprophable, but speake onely of the King of heauen. He committed his last sighs vnto the Grand Prouost, and entreated him to assure the King, That the onely griefe hee had to dye, was for that he could no longer serue him: That he left a brother afflicted, a young wife in despair, and two children without meanes and in miserie: That he recommended them to the Kings charity, protesting that he had not any thing but what it pleased him to giue him. The King hearing of this disaster, went to visit him, and hauing embraced him, he comforted him, promising him to haue a care of his children, who returning from him, the teares fell from his eyes.

Distrust and jealousie betweene the souldiers and the inhabitants in Clerac.

Deputies sent from Clerac to the King, to shew him the situation of the place.

The Marquis of Clerac comes to the King.

The siege continued, and the Kings troops aduanced with their trenches which were ready to breake into their ditches. These sharpe assaults, with their Batteries and Mines, terrified those sieged, there being also some iacobins and distrust betweene the souldiers and the inhabitants, by the Constables industry, practised from the beginning of the siege. All these encounters drew the first Consul and the chiefe inhabitants to thinke of their safety; and for that he had the honour to be well knowne vnto the Duke of Angoulême, he desired to speake with him, whom hee made acquainted with the desire they had to submit themselves, whereof hee advertised the Constable. Many held this report incredible, that in place of that situation, fortified in perfection, and full of men and munition, hauing performed an action of vnexpected resistance, should on the twelfth day of the siege begin to yield: Yet for that the Countersiege was now ready to be begun on the fourth of August, hoping for no reliefe but from the Kings clemency, they deputed the first Consul, and some of the inhabitants, with a Minister, to call themselves at his Maiesties feet, and to crave pardon. They were presented at Toncins by the Constable: Being before the King vpon their knees, the Minister spake after this manner: Sir, the result of a tumult of rebellion, who haue suffered themselves to be caried away with furious passions of rage, upon pretence of religion and oppression of conscience, with our selves at your Maiesties feet, transfer our liues, liberty, and goods, to the discretion of your Maiesties iustice or mercy: We thus haue sought to make our liues a part of the sin, yet much lesse then our crime desired a deliverance we hope any thing of the other, except your Maiesty will as vnprophably pardon the sinners, as we haue pardoned the sinners of the world: If you may be so happy, we will stay on.

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1621

A trary to the Children of Israel, who said, We haue seene God, and we shall dye: But we will leave in eternall memory to our posterity, That we haue seene the King, from whose bounty wee haue receiued life. If your Maiesty grant it, we shall acknowledge you for the Tutors god of the world: We shall not open our mouths, but to blesse your name and reigne: our hearts shall desire nothing more then the greatness of your Scepter. And as we haue bene the most rebellious, and least worthy of mercy, we will be hereafter the most faithfull and obedient of all your subjects. The King made them this Answer: You haue done well to submit your selues wholly to my mercy, shew your duties to morrow, and I will make you taste of my bounty. My Constable shall acquaint you with my further pleasure. Whereupon they retired to Clerac, to giue order for the dislodging of their Souldiers.

The Kings Answer.

The Kings pleasure was, that they should yeeld at discretion, vpon assurance of his mercy, and that they to whom his Maiestie gaue life, should depart with white wands and some baggage, the inhabitants paying 50000 crownes to redeem themselves from spoile: moreover, 10000 which were giuen to the Master of the artillery, for the rights due to his charge: and 10000 more vnto him that had caused the Capitulation to be signed; and the Towne to remaine at the Kings pleasure. The Capitulation being concluded & diuulged, the battery ceased, and the souldiers prepared presently to scale the bulwarke, desiring nothing but pillage. The Marshall D'Escligniers entred early on the fift of August to draw forth the Souldiers, and to bring in some of the Kings Guards. The Constable came soon after, to whom the Consuls presented the keyes of the Towne: and S. Torse who commanded the souldiers, deliuered vp his sword, and all together besought him to acquaint them with the Kings pleasure. He assured S. Torse of his life, and to the rest he said, The King hath giuen me charge, to command you to liue hereafter in the obedience to the which you are naturally bound, and neuer to ingage your selues in the resolutions of these vnlawfull Assemblies, to the which you haue indiscreetly yeeld your selues. If you fall into a relapse, assure your selues, he will make you generally feele the effects of his indignation. He is now satisfied with the punishment of some few which are most culpable, to be a terror to many, and an example to all such as shall runne headlong vnto the dishonour of these seditious resolu: and as for the rest of the inhabitants, he gaue them their liberties, liues and goods.

The Constable enters Clerac.

At the departure of the Souldiers, there happened a great disaster: the souldier companies of the Kings Armie, had promised vnto themselves to force Clerac, and to reuenge the death of the Marquis of Termes, and of many other braue men slaine at the approaches. The Constable had provided for all disorders within the Towne; They had resolved to passe then ouer the river of Lot, to auoyd the fury of the Kings Armie: They which embarked first, entered confusedly and in great numbers, the Souldiers of the guards, seeing some with their Muskets and Swords contrary to the accord, fell vpon them to take them away: This first violence amazed such as were disarmed, who fearing their liues caused the Boate to leane on the one side, so as many fell into the River, and were drowned. Others being ready to embarke, and not knowing the cause of this combustion, thinking themselves to be in danger of death, cast themselves into the river which is swift and deepe in that place. The third Boate being ouerladen, was ouerturned and most of them drowned: others seeking to saue their liues by the current of the streame vpon a causey of stone which ranne crosse the River, were sone swallowed vp in these gulfs. Moreover, there was a rope fashioned to either banke for the passage of the Boates, at the which there were some 30 Souldiers hung, but the Kings men cutting the rope they were caried away with the violence of the streame. The King was much displeased at this insolency, and commanded iustice should be done.

A disaster at the going forth of the Souldiers from Clerac.

Clerac being reduced to the Kings obedience, they made choise of foure or five of the most musketeers to suffer for the rest, which were one of the Consuls, a Prouost, and his sonne who was a Minister, a Physician and a Shoemaker, very turbulent men. They were condemned by the Grand Prouost to be hanged, and were executed; but the Physician being ready to die, his pardon brought him, by the intercession of the King's Physician. Hauing giuen order for the raising of the fortifications of Clerac, the King went towards Agen, before his departure the Duke of Mayenne was come vnto him, who had charge to recalle those little Townes retired beyond the River of Garonne, and then to passe at Thoumou and to ioyne with his Maiestie at Montauban. Being at Agen, the towns of Lezard, Laour, and Tournon, brought their keyes to the King, he liued and dyed.

Execution of the souldiers of Clerac.

of

1621

Towns of force  
yielded to the King  
and of Mayen.

Albiac taken &  
spoiled by the  
Duke.

Dieters towns  
submit them-  
selves.

A Hollander  
ship taken at  
Cet in Languedoc.

What armes  
were taken in  
the ship.

M. de Noy  
taken and  
brought to the  
Duke of Epemont.

of Sureire in Armagnac vnto the Duke of Mayenne, namely Mauuefin, L'Isle in Jordan, A  
Manfieux and Mas of Verdun. The Duke hauing past the Garrone, went to assault the  
Tower of Barira, into the which they of Montauban had put 200 men, who yielded vpon  
composition: The Duke deliuered it vnto the owner vpon condition that hee should  
maintaine 50 Souldiers for the defence thereof, but they of Montauban recovered it  
soone after, and slew all which made resistance. The Duke went and besieged Albiac,  
where they refused to lodge him, and put themselves in Armes: so as in three dayes siege  
the Duke lost about 200 men: but in the end hauing forced them with the Cannon, to  
yeeld to his mercy, he caused the Capitaine, the Consuls, and 20 of the chiefe Burgeses  
to be hanged: the rest were put to ranfome, and those which could not pay, were bound,  
and sent afterwards to serue as Pioners at the siege of Montauban: They write that the  
cause wherefore the Duke vsed so much rigor at Albiac, was for that (besides the violent  
viage of the Kings Souldiers by them of Montauban, when they fell into their hands)  
Monfi: de Pignolles Marshall of the Campe had been sore hurt at this siege. Those  
of the Religion of Realleuill with in one League of Albiac, which had likewise prepared  
to endure a siege, seeing this hard vantage, abandoned their Towne. The Inhabitants of  
Causade vpon their suite, were receiued to obedience. The like did Bournequet, Negre-  
pellisse, and Bule. Saint Anthoine a little strong Towne in Rouergne, sent their keys by  
one of their Consuls, with protestation to maintaine themselves in the Kings obedience,  
but marching thither, and being with in one Gascogne league, hee receiued intelligence C  
that they were reuolted, they sending him word that their Consull had betrayed them in  
his Commission. The Duke preparing to bessege it, hee had commandment from the  
King to come with his troopes of Montauban.

On the fourth of August, there was a Hollander ship taken at Cet in Languedoc on  
this manner. About midnight, this Shippe came to an Ancre, within musket shot of the  
shore, the Capitaine, with three souldiers, and an Interpreter landed. They found a fisher-  
man of whom they demanded in what country they were: who before he would answer,  
asked them if they were of the Religion: and they answering yea, he said also he was one.  
The Capitaine hearing this, discovered his voyage vnto him: he presently conducted him  
into the Citadell of Cet, making him beleue the Gouvernor was cousin to *Monfi: de Cha-* D  
*stillon*, who receiued him very courteously. Hauing enquired the Captaines name, he sent  
*Grafly* the Fisherman to the Souldiers aboard, to come to land by commandment from  
their Capitaine. The Gouvernor hauing entertained them, he presently sent twelue of his  
souldiers to seize vpon the ship: who being Masters thereof, they discharged all the  
Ordnance of the ship and Citadell for ioy. The next day morning the Duke of Mont-  
morency came from Pezenas, and visited the ship: where they wrote, hee found six double  
Cannons, and eight Field-peeces, besides eight other which belonged to the ship: 4000  
Muskets, 4000 Carabins, 2500 Pistols, 2500 Pikes, 500 Curassies, 500 Souldiers-coates,  
200 Quintals of powder, a great number of bullets for Ordnance, and great store of Lead E  
for small-shot, with a number of planckes for the seruice of the warre, which wood was  
valued at 4000 Crownes. This ship was giuen to *Espinault* Gouvernor of Cet, and the Fish-  
erman had 200 Pistols: the armes were carryed to Pezenas and Agde. They write that  
the whole freight of this ship was valued at 20000 Crownes, and that it did belong to the  
Churches of the Circle of base Languedoc.

The King had made the Duke of Epemont Generall of his Army in Xaintonge and  
Aunis, who approached neere-vnto Rochel, with 4000 Foot, and eight Cornets of  
Horfe, where there were many skirmishes, encounters, and exploits of armes, which were  
too tedious to relate in particular. In one of them the Seigneur of *La Noue*, being of the  
Rochellers party was taken: He had obtained passport from the Duke of Epemont to  
see a sister of his who lay sick, vpon condition that he should come vnto him: he came, F  
and the Duke conuined him to returne vnto the Kings seruice, laying before him the hon-  
nor which his Father and Grandfather had purchased by seruing their Kings well: but he  
peruaded nothing: hauing scene his sister, he returned to Rochel, where hee resolved to  
lay an Ambuscado in a wood, to surprize some of the Kings men which went daily to the  
gates of Rochel. But he continued so long in his Ambuscado, with 20 Curassies without  
any diligence, as they were forced to find to the next village for meat: the place which  
brought to, obscured the place, and the number, and acquainted the Duke of Epemont  
therewith,

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A therewith, who presently sent 60 men of Armes, who seized vpon all the approaches of  
the Ambuscado. *La Noue* was on the top of a Tree with a periscope-glasse, to see if  
he could discouer any one in field; but he was so suddenly surprized, as he had no leisure  
to get to Horfe-backe, but was forced to yeeld to the Baron of Nieul, hauing of his men  
slaine, and 8 taken prisoners. Being brought to the Duke of Epemont, hee receiued him  
courteously, telling him he was to blame he had not beleued him: when hee entreated  
him to leave Rochel and acknowledge the King, yet he was glad to see him in good estate  
and not hurt, and that hee would aduertise his Maiefty. The Duke, did only blocke vpon  
Rochel by land, so as they could haue no commerce with their Neighbours: Hee gather-  
B vp their rents from their Farmers, neither could they receiue, either Come, wine, or any  
other commodities by land, so as their onely helpe was by Sea.

There was diuision among the Protestants in the Circle of base Languedoc: *Genau-*  
dan, Viarez, and the Sauennes, of the which *Monfi: de Chastillon*, had been made *Prouin-*  
cial Generall by the assembly of Rochel: some of the milder spirits, desired to yeeld to  
C obedience to the King, and to enioy the liberty of their consciences according to his El-  
dicts: but such as were zealous for the assembly of Rochel prevailed, which bred much  
alteration in those parts. They grew ialous of *Monfi: de Chastillon*. They called an  
assembly at Nismes, where they frame many complaints against him: That hee conten-  
ned the Generall assembly, and would not approve the Union: That he had intelligence  
with the enemies of their partie: That hee discountenanced all such as were affected to the  
Churches: That he had hindered the succors of Saint Iohn D'Angely, whereby had fol-  
lowed the losse of Guienne: That he would not doe any thing against the Kings will and  
pleasure: That he had sought to diuide the Prouinces from the generall Assembly, and  
had giuen support to all such as would forsake it, with many such like. Whereupon the  
Assembly, as well by the consent of the generall Assembly, as that of these Prouinces, and  
the generall desire of the Churches, being forced by the necessitie of affaires, wherein del-  
ays (they said) would be preiudiciall: They declared *Monfi: de Chastillon*, fallen from  
all Charges and Dignities which he had held in the name of the Church; and particularly  
D from the place of Generall of the Prouinces of base Languedoc; the Sauennes, Genau-  
dan and Viarez, as also of the Governments of Montpellier and Aiguemortes; forbidding  
him expressely to exercise any faction of Generall or Governour, in the same: Generall  
or Governments, vpon paine to be declared an open enemy: And also, forbidding all men  
which made profession of the Religion, to acknowledge him for Generall, nor to receiue  
any order from him, or any other in his name, touching the warre or Treasure, without  
the expresse resolution of the Assembly.

There were many enterprises and surprises on either partie in base Languedoc and Vi-  
uarez, during the moneths of Iuly and August. *Monfi: de Montmorency* Gouvernor for the  
King in Languedoc, had receiued commandment to spoile the Harbets & Viueage about  
Nismes and Montpellier. *M. de Chastillon* had lodged his troops neere to Montpellier to  
E prevent it. And they of Nismes entertained some troops to that end about their Towne.  
The Duke of Montmorency understanding that they of Nismes had lodged 400 men in  
Marguerite, a great village entrenched, a league from their Towne; hee resolved to defeat  
them, and lodge in that place, to annoy them of Nismes during the haruett. Hee had  
drawne together 300 horfe and 350 foot, with which hee marched by night toward *Mari-*  
guerite, and in the morning gaue a furious charge, and forced them to retire now instand-  
ing all their resistance: in which retreat very many were slaine, so as in the end such as  
were fled into a Tower and the Church, demanded composition for their liues and armes,  
the which was granted, they being in all not about fourescore men. There came out of  
Nismes 1500 foot and 500 horfe; but they found it difficult to relieue them with any  
F safety, seeing the Dukes army in front of them with two peeces of Ordnance, which made  
them retire.

In April this year, the Pope had granted a generall Indulge, to pray vnto God to protect  
and defend his Church, and to root out all heresies. Hee gloried to see his eldest sonne  
of the Church triumph over his enemies, sending him a Letter, which was presented vnto  
him at the siege of Clerac: whereby hee encouraged the King to continue his victorious  
armes against heretikes, as he termed them.

The Assembly at Rochel, seeing the successe of the Kings armes in Guienne and these  
parts,

Diuities  
moving the  
Protestants in  
Languedoc.

Monfi: de Cha-  
stillon disor-  
dered from his  
place in Lan-  
guedoc by the  
assembly of  
Nismes.

A defeat of 400  
men in Mar-  
guerite by M. de  
Montmorency.

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The assembly  
at Rochel  
to diuert  
the Kings  
armes.

The substance  
of the Affen-  
sible C. made  
sense.

Vatseille deli-  
uers out his  
Commissions.

parts, fought meanes to diuert them, by stirring vp some combustions in Normandie, which is in the other extremity of the Realme; presuming that there were many of the reformed Religion in the chiefe Townes of that Province, which would be ready to take Armes vpon any good occasion, if they might haue a leader. The Assembly make choice of *Vatseille* called Mont-Christien (who had been in Gergeau and Sancerre when they were taken) knowing him to be a man of action, fit for troubles, mutinous and factious, whom they appointed to go and leaue men in Normandie, and to draw them of the Religion vnto Armes. He came to Rochel in Iuly, where he stayed 15 dayes to confer with the Assembly. And as he was a good speaker, so he promised them Mountaines: They deliuered vnto him many commissions with money & bills of exchange, to raise regiments of foot and some Companies of horse in Mayen, and the neighbour Prouinces: which Commissions were of this Tenor. That the Churches being persecuted by the enemies of their Religion which abused the Kings affection and conscience, (vnder whose humble subiection and obedience, they protested before God and men to continue inuolubly, acknowledging that he was giuen them of God, to be their Soueraigne Lord) It was necessary to vse a iust defence, and to oppose lawfull and naturall meanes to violence and oppression, to maintaine his Maiesties authority, and Edicts, the liberty of Conscience, and safety of their liues. To which end they gave out their commissions to whom they pleased, by vertue of the authoritie giuen them by all the Churches of France, and Souerainie of Bearne.

*Vatseille* being come from Rochel, before he deliuered his Commissions he visits many Gentlemen of Mayen and Normandie, aswell of the reformed Religion as others of their faction: Hee imparts his designe to none but such as hee knew well affected to the partie, and in the end being assured of diuers Captaines, he deliueres them Commissions and Money, to leaue men speedily, and to be ready to goe to field vpon the first command they shall receiue from the Assembly at Rochel, which hee thought would be in the beginning of October. In the meane time *Vatseille* being assisted by 100 or 12 of his most confident Captaines, did often visit them of the partie in base Normandie, and giues them a Rendezvous on the 11 of October, neere the Forest of Andaine by Alençon, where hee had already some numbers assembled, who began to spoyle the neighbouring Townes and Villages, and had already attempted to surpris diuers strong houses and the Castle of Carbrage. The Duke of Longueuille Gouvernor of the Prouince, and *Monseigneur de Matignon* Lieutenant general, aduertised of *Vatseilles* designs, came to Alençon & Donfront, in the beginning of October. *Vatseille* continues his practices, and assures them of the partie, that there would be 5 or 6000 men at the Rendezvous. On the 7 of October, hee came to a Borough called Touraills 5 leagues from Falaise, and as much from Donfront, accompanied onely with 6 of his Captaines, and the groom of his chamber: They came into an Inne and called speedily for their Supper, seeming by their talke that they meant not to stay long. The Host had an opinion that this was *Vatseille* of whom there was so much spoken, and held it fit to giue notice to the Seigneur of Touraills, a Gentleman whom hee knew to be well affected to the Kings seruice. He ranne vp to the Castle (a quarter of a league from the Borough) and told his Lord what guests were at his house, and that hee supposed them to be *Vatseille* and his Captaines. The Gentleman resolved instantly to serue the King in this occasion, or to lose his life. He sent presently to two Gentlemen his neighbours, intreats them to come vnto him on an occasion whereon the Kings seruice depended and the safety of the Countrie; but whilst they prepared their Armes to goe, a Souldier by mischance flou off a peece in the court of the Castle, which made them feare that this noise would make *Vatseille* dislodge, wherefore hee aduanced speedily with such men as he had, to inuest the Inne: but comming forth hee met with two Gentlemen, and 3 or 4 Souldiers which came to assist him, being in all 30 persons: Comming to the Inne, they lay by the Candle in *Vatseilles* lodging that they were about to dislodge: And for that no man knew them well, he sent to command them in the Kings name to tell their names, and lay downe their armes. *Vatseille* called himself *Champeaux*: but hearing a noise about the House and in the hall, they came downe well armed, and at the staires foot slew a Gentleman and one Souldier, and hurt some others. *Touraills* and his company charged *Vatseille*, who was slaine vpon the place, his groom was wounded and taken, the other 7 being fore hurt, escaped by the darknesse of the Night, passing on

Vatseille being

foot

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edited  
at  
the  
Library

Vatseille body  
in  
the  
castle

Opinions touching  
the siege  
of Montauban.

Against the  
Siege.

For the Siege.

Shewes  
the  
reasons  
why  
the  
siege  
should  
be  
continued

new

A foot through the river neere vnto the Taine. The next day morning they were met by the Countrey people, much troubled with their wounds, where some dyed, and the rest retired to some places of strength. *Vatseille* took their horses and baggage, and carrying the dead body, with the prisoner, to be carried to his Castle, giues the armes, horses and baggage to the Gentlemen and Souldiers which had assisted him, examines the Groom, who confessed that it was *Vatseille* his master, whom they had slaine, and discouered many things importing the Kings seruice. Early in the morning, *Touraills* aduertised *de Matignon*, the D. of Longueuille, and the Parliament of Roen of this accident: sending also a Gentleman to the King lying before Montauban. They proceeded criminally against his body at Donfront, whither it was sent, where they condemned it to be broken in pieces, and the ashes cast into the winds. His seruice confessed, that some of his masters Commissions which were not yet distributed, remained with one *Penes* a cousin of *Vatseilles*, where they found 45 Commissions hidde in a chest. This seruice done by *Touraills* was much commended, and the death of the two Gentlemen which were slaine greatly lamented. These newes were very pleasing vnto the King, who wrote vnto *Touraills* thanking him for the good seruice he had done him, and assured him hee should finde the effects of his loue and bounty when occasion should be offered.

The King comes to Agen the tenth of August: He meditates on nothing but the siege of Montauban, which was the chiefe bulwarke and refuge for the Protestants in high Guienne and Languedoc. This was an enterprise of great importance: for if hee takes this Towne, all the rest will easily yeeld themselves vnder the yoke of obedience: if hee faile, the honor of his former victories will be blemished. Hee proposed it to his Council of warre, in the which there were diuersities of opinions. They which were against the present siege objected foure Reasons: First, the neernes of Autumn; the fauer of diseases, which was the death of the souldiers, who eating new fruits and grapes, would be instantly afflicted with contagious diseases, burning agues, purples and bloody fluxes. The second was the ordinary ouer-flowing of the river of Tarn, in September, by reason of the raine which the Southerly windes engender at that time in those Countreies; and in March by the melting of the snow from the mountaines: which raine ceasing, and the river being retired within its channell, leaues the Countrey about Montauban (being a fat rich ground) so bad, myrie, and slippery, that they should not be able to retire for the space of three weekes. Thirdly, the fortifications of the place, being the refuge of all the resolute and resolute men of their party, with the obstinacie of the inhabitants. And fourthly, the Duke of Rohan who was at Millaud, where hee assembled the succours of the neighbour Prouinces, being most of the Religion: being more necessary to goe and defeat him, and to cleanse the Countreies of Albigeois and Rouergue. Finally, that it was conuenient to delay the siege of Montauban vntill April following: and in the meane time to leaue strong garisons in the neighbour Townes, to hinder their traffiques, and cut off their viuals.

They which held the contrary opinion, said, That the ouer-flowing of Tarn happened but in the end of October: and that in two moneths and a halfe they might easily take Montauban, if it were not releued with men and viuals. That the insolent humor of the inhabitants of Montauban would neuer agree with the Souldiers. That against the pretended succours of the Duke of Rohan, his Maiestie might send his Light-horse into Albigeois, to fight with them vpon all occasions; being well aduertised that his chiefe Forces consisted onely in Foot, and that his Chieftain was nothing worth. That it would blemish the reputation of his Maiesties armes, to passe towards Albigeois and Rouergue, and leaue such a Towne as Montauban at his backe, the which would presently require a rebellion in all the Townes reduced vpon the river of Garonne, in Quercy, and Perigord. In whilst the Kings army should be fighting for the passages of the mountaines, where the weather is opposite to them (clues to an army); and where it is not good to be but when the weather is dusty and dry, and not during the stormes of snow which reigne there. That the discommoditie of Autumn and of new fruits, might be found as well in Albigeois & Rouergue as in Quercy. That the suit of the Thoulouzains to his Maiestie, to take this thorne out of their feet, and what they offered towards the charges of the siege, should be preferred before the proposition of eight moneths time, for the delaying of the siege: and that which there was no doubt but they of Montauban would neuer meane to waite

1621 new broyles. Moreouer, the preparation of so many cannons and munition ready; the courage of so many souldiers, and the iustice of his Maiesties armys, were powerfull reasons to conclude the siege of Montauban as speedily as might be, so free the reuolt in so many prouinces without hope of renewing.

The King comes to Montauban. These opinions being weighed and considered, the Siege of Montauban was resolved, and it was concluded that the Duke of Angoulême should goe with the Light horse into Albigeois and Rouergue, to crosse the Duke of Rohans designs. The King came to Montauban, on the 17 of August. The Duke of Mayen, and the Marshall of Themines came vnto him with their Forces, and were commanded to invest Montauban, towards Villebourbon. This towne is situated vpon the declining of a hill, which discouers the Country round about. At the foot of this hill there is a long bridge, but narrow, which passeth over the river of Tarn, the which cometh not vnto the walls, but when it overfloweth, so as they may goe on dry-foot round about the Towne, the which is well fortified with bastions, ravelins, bulwarks, halfe-moones, and all other fortifications, being also well furnished with artillery, men, and munition; so as they did hope to make a long defence. It was invested on the 13 of August on three sides; vpon the East was the Constables quarter, where commanded the Prince Joinville, the Earle of Bossompierre, and the Marshalls of Prallin and Chaune, with the regiments of Elusac, Champagne, and Normandy. On the South was the Duke of Mayenne, with the Marshall of Themines. On the West lay the Duke of Desdiguers, with the Marshall of S. Geran, with the Regiment of the Guards, and three others. And the Kings quarter was at Picquecot, as you haue heard.

A description of Montauban. In the beginning of the Siege the Duke of Sully who had some years before retired himselfe into Quercy and Languedoc, came vnto the King, beseeching him to giue peace vnto his people, hoping hee should preuaile so much with them of Montauban, as they should craue pardon. The King promised to pardon their offence, if they would submit themselves vnder his obedience: in case content that the Duke should enter into Montauban, seeing he said he had no other desire but to perswade them to obedience. Being entred, he found that the Earle of Bolfraud a Biemois (otherwise called Captain *Mazette*) commanded the souldiers: The reputation which he had gotten in the warres of Sawoy, where his Highnes had giuen him for his notable seruice, the little Earldome of Bolfraud, had made the people to chuse him for their Commander: yet some say *Monsi de la Force*, had the charge. For the government of affaires, there was a Councell chosen, consisting of the Minister *Chamier*, the Consuls, and sixe others of the most zealous of the party.

The Duke of Sully finding that *Monsi de la Force* and the other Gentlemen of the party, which had put themselves into Montauban, had no authority, and that all was gouerned by this Councell of the Towne: He laid before them the importance of their resistance, and told them freely, that they would make themselves odious vnto all the world by their proceeding. He propounded the meanes vnto them to obtaine their pardon in particular, and the reason they had to procure it. Hee shewed them that for the combustions which were in all Europe, there was no meanes for them to hope for any succours from strangers: And that Kings and Princes embraced not their protection, in whose ruine they had no interest. To whom the first Consill (having taken aduice of the Councell) made this answer, That they had resolved to liue and die in the vniou of the Churches, according to their oath, and therefore they neither could nor would doe any thing in particular, but treat for the generall of the cause, and the approbation of the Duke of Rohan, Generall of the Prouince. The Duke of Sully returning with this answer, his Maiesty and Councell saw they would treat as companions in authority, and not as subjects: so as this negociation proued fruitlesse.

On the first of September, they beganne to play against the Towne with 45 peeces of Ordnance: There were three batteries against the old Towne, two against the new, and two others against Villebourbon. Yet they had Saint Anthonies gate still open; where-by the besieged might goe in and out at their pleasure, and send their spies out daily to see what was done in the Kings Camp, by whom the powder (as they suppose) was set on fire, the second of the month, in two of the quarters: The first was about ten of the clocke in the morning in the Kings quarter at the chiefe battery nere vnto the Kings guards,

The King comes to Montauban.

A description of Montauban.

The Kings army quartered.

The Duke of Sully comes into Montauban.

His speech to the Councell.

The answer of them of Montauban to the Duke of Sully.

The powder in the Kings quarter set on fire.

guards, the which was so violent, as it ouerthrew the Gabions which couered the Cannon; burnt most of the Gunners and Officers of the Artilletie: amongst the which was *La Vallee* a famous Canoniere.

The like accident hapned the same day in the afternoon at one of the Duke of Mayennes batteries, which not onely burnt the Officers of the Ordnance; but also the Marquis of Villars, brother by the mothers side to the Duke of Mayenne, and Marshall of the Campe, and the eldest sonne of the Earle of Ribera, with two Capuchins which preached in the armie. The next day the Duke resolved to assault the halfe Moone at Ville-Bourbon, where many Noblemen and Gentlemen voluntaries went courageously to assault the place, but they were repulled with such resolution, as they lost two and thirtie men of note, and forty souldiers.

This was the first disgrace receiued before Montauban, the which was the same night somewhat moderated by the newes which the King receiued, that the Duke of Angoulême had defeated the Marquis of Maloize, hauing three thousand foot and foure hundred and fifty horse at Fauch, where they had foure hundred men slaine vpon the place, and two hundred wounded, amongst the which were about forty Gentlemen, or Captaines, with about an hundred prisoners.

On the Dukes side were slaine three Commanders, with twenty light-horsemen, and fifteene hurt: about thirtie or forty footmen slaine. After which defeat, there was an accord made by the Duke with the Marquis of Maloize, That he, the Seigneur of Causse, the Baron of Senegas, with the Colonels, Captaines, Commanders, and Souldiers, should promise vpon oath, not to cary Armes, during the space of sixe moneths vpon any pretext whatsoever, but for the Kings seruice. In regard whereof, they should vnder the Kings good pleasure, haue a generall pardon to enioy the benefit of the Edicts, as well for the libertie of their consciences, as for their liues and goods. That they should depart out of the Fort of Fauch, with their liues, armes and baggage, and retire whither they pleased, with a safe conduct if they desired it.

But let vs returne to the siege of Montauban. The batteries at Ville-Bourbon, continued the third and fourth of September, vntill foure of the clocke in the afternoon.

The Duke of Mayenne, being desirous to lodge in the halfe Moone, gave a second assault in this order. The Marquis of Themines conducted thirty Muskettiers, and a dozen Souldiers with Ladders, in the head of forty men at armes, hauing on either hand certaine voluntaries supported by the Regiment of Faucon, and seconded by that of Soze: passing out of their trenches, the Marquis had a Musket shot in the head, and was slaine, the which so amazed the Muskettiers which followed as they stood still.

Then the men at Armes, led by the Seigneurs of Sajanne, Monban, and Angy, passed on to the point, hauing the voluntaries on either side, and were the first which cast themselves into the ditch, which was sixe foot deepe. The besieged had a casemate which did much annoy them, yet they forced them to abandon it.

The Ladders which they should haue planted to the bastion, right against the halfe Moone, were foure foot too short, which was the losse of many. The voluntaries & men at armes which assaulted the halfe Moone, finding the earth much beaten downe with the Cannon, and easie to mount vpon, tooke the halfe Moone, notwithstanding all their shot, and without doubt had caried *Ville-Bourbon*, if the footmen had charged. But they grew so amazed seeing many returne wounded, and beleeuing that all had beene lost, as they stood still, leauing those Gentlemen to the slaughter; neither was it possible for their Campe-masters to make them aduance.

During this little stay, the besieged resumed new courage, and the voluntaries and men at Armes seeing no man to second them, and a cloud of a thousand men comming, and passing the bridge to cry kill, kill, they were forced to retire, and leaue the place, which they had so happily gotten and defended for the space of two houres. The slaughter increased by this disorder and retreat, where there were slaine forty Gentlemen vpon the Halfe Moone and in the Ditches, 60 hurt, with a great number of souldiers, whereof many died fince. In this assault, the Earle of Boulfrand Commander within Montauban, with many others were slaine.

Some write that the Duke of Mayen grew so melancholy for the losse of his brother the Marquis of Villars, and so many of the Nobilitie slaine at two assaults, as hee wished himselfe

Another fire in the Duke of Mayennes quarters.

The Marquis of Maloize defeated.

The second assault of the halfe Moone.

The Marquis of Themines slaine.

The halfe Moone taken.

Recounted againe by the besieged.

Losse of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the assault.



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himselfe dayly dead. Being blamed by his familiar friends, he answered, it was not fit for him to live any longer after the losse of so many friends. That he was sorry he had not followed the aduice which had been giuen him, to approach by trenches without the hazard of so many braue men.

The batteries continued furiously to open a greater passage, and to renew the assault. At the Kings quarter, they advanced their trenches vnto the Ditch, and the Duke D'E. dignified did the like to come to the Sap and Myne. The Duke de Mayenne, had caused Gabions to be brought to the Countercarpe of the halfe Moone, which being discovered by their Centinels, the besieged sallied forth, and with hookes pulled them downe, with three fouldiers which were surprisid amongst them.

The Duke of Mayen, hauing with infinit toyle advanced his trenches vnto the edge of the Ditch, and planted his Gabions, on the seuenteenth of September: the D. of Guise (newly come from Prouence to the Armie,) and the Earle of Schomberg comming to see him in his Tent, he told them that he would shew them his walke, bringing them to the end of his trenches and Gabions, where he meant to plant a new battery within Musket shot of the besieged, where being discovered by the enemy, they made certaine Musket shot at them without any harme, onely the Earle of Schombergs hat was shot off. The Duke of Mayenne looking backe to see whence it came, was shot into the left eye with a musket bullet and slaine vpon the place, which presently put all the quarter into armes. At the brute hereof the fouldiers had no courage to take their Armes, the Commanders and Capitaines wept: But the sorrow was farre greater in the Kings quarter. His Maiesty who had a great interest in the losse of this generous Prince, wept bitterly, and could hardly resolute for the space of eight dayes, nor be diuerted from his melancholy. All France shewed great feelings of griefe for his death: but especially the Citie of Paris, which vpon the newes of fo great an accident, went about to thrust a sword into her owne bosome, and consume her selfe in a cruell sedition, if by the wisdome of her Gouernours, and Magistrates, this fire had not beene quenched in the beginning. The Duke of Guise after his cousins death, returned into Prouence, to prepare a Fleet against Rochel. His Maieesty tooke time to dispose of his Governments. The Prince of Ioinville was made great Chamberlaine of France in recompence of his vertue, and to binde him more strictly to serue the King faithfully, making promise to all the Dukes officers and household seruants, to recompence them for their wages and seruices. The generall sorrow for his death, throughout the Campe, did somewhat coole the heate of their assaults, and batteries for the space of ten or twelue dayes.

The newes of the Dukes death, being brought to Paris on the one and twentieth of September, his friends lamented it, but the raskall multitude spake boldly, saying, that they endured too much, and that they must kill all the Huguenots who had slaine their Catholique Princes and Noblemen, and that if they presumed on Sunday next to goe to Charenton to the exercise of their Religion, they should not returne home. The wisest sort of the Burgeses hearing those bold speeches, chid these raskals and scumme of the people, as seditious and greedy of alteration; there being also in Paris at this present a great number of murdering theues, and other needy Rogues, ready to take what was not their owne. This speech continued vntill Saturday following. Those of the Religion in the Towne, were not a little astonished. And this murmure spread abroad, so amazed them, that the most part of them left their houses, and abandoned Paris.

The Duke of Montbazon Gouernour of the Towne, foreseeing this sedition, desiring to assure them of the Religion, against these popular threats, and to prevent the mischief, sent for the ancients of the Church, to know their resolution, and whether they would goe on the morrow the fixe and twentieth of September vnto Charenton: but they being affrighted with these former rumors, said that they were determined not to goe.

Hereupon the councill was held at the Chancellors house, where it was at first concluded they should not goe; but because it was a matter of importance, and where in the King and his Edicts were interessed, it was at length resolved, that notwithstanding all these rumours, they should continue their exercise, and in case they would, they should be assisted as well as possibly they might. The Duke of Montbazon gaue aduertisement hereof to the Ciuill and Criminall Lieutenants, and the two Prouosts, to attend vpon the way to Charenton; who sent their Commissaries, and Sergeants,

and

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A and a good number of the Officers of Justice armed vnto the gates and streets of Paris, to driue away the people which flocked together, some to see what would be done, others, to put themselves into action. All along the way to Charenton, the Prouosts with their Archers, continued all day vntill the euening. And the Duke himselfe assisted with a great number of Gentlemen besides his guards, went early in the morning that way, attending the houre of their returne, desiring it might be without any combustion, which could not be. For presently after noone, an infinit number of the base multitude ranne to S. Anthonies gate to attend their returne, and a great number went out as farre of the valley of Fescamp vpon the way to Charenton. The guards seeing such

B a number of people inclined to doe mischief, were much troubled to prevent the disorder. The Duke sends his guards to ioine with them: The Knight of the Watch did what he could with his Archers, and clenfed the wayes, making those Raskals to runne through the Vines. In the meane time the Prouosts with their people, and the Dukes Carabins conducted them of the Religion, being all together in one body in the midst of them.

Being thus disposed, they began to march towards Paris: but notwithstanding all this good order, this insolent scumme, beganne to assault them of the Religion: first with inuiolent words, and then with blowes, who defended themselves, hauing swords and daggers; so as they slew three, and foure of theirs were beagen downe with stones. The slaughter had beene greater, if the guards had not stayed the peoples fury, which continued euen in the Citie, notwithstanding the Gouernours presence and his guard.

The sedition was great at Saint Anthonies gate: and comming into the great street, a poore Gentlewoman with some others which had not put themselves with troupe amongst the guards, was stayed at the gates by a troupe of raskals, who would force her to salute our Ladies Image ouer the Port, who speaking fine words against the worshipping of that Image, was presently murdered. A poore Priest passing through the street, was runne after by a number of these people, who would haue slaine him, taking him for a Minister, if by the care of the Gouernours folke, he had not beene speedily shue into the Arsenall.

D This tumult increased still, so as the Prouost of Merchants was forced to cause the Burgeses to arme, to draw the chaines, and to keepe good watch. They which dwelt most remote from Saint Anthonies street, hearing a cry that they did massacre the Huguenots at Saint Anthonies gate, left the Churches being euensong time, and ranne to their houses to take their Armes, thinking there was some great sedition in the Citie.

This popular fury stayed not thus, but extended it selfe vnto Charenton. For as soone as the guards were parted to conduct them of the Religion to the Citie, a troupe of idle vagabonds fall vpon their Temple, breake open the Court, spoile the Stationers shops, and burne the Temple, and so passe the river to enter into Paris by the Vniuersity, being in number about foure hundred, hauing made them an ensigne of a sheete. A furious sedition which troubled all the Magistrates, and put the whole Citie in alarme. The night following, they of the Religion were so terrified, as no man durst assure himselfe in his owne house, but went and lodged with their Catholike friends. And they which during the tumult stayed abroad, durst not returne into the Citie, but very late, and by other gates.

The next day the Duke of Montbazon with all the Magistrates, went vnto the Parliament, where a Decree was made, by the which the Court tooke them of the Religion into the Kings protection: Forbidding all men vpon paine of death to wrong them. The Magistrates were also enioyned to make enquire of the authors of the said sedition, and burning at Charenton.

F Whilst the Court laboured to suppress this disorder, the sedition renewed againe in the suburbs of S. Marceau, where one of the Religion hauing slaine his owne sonne, and some others, was presently murdered by the people, and his house spoiled: but the Duke and the Prouost of Merchants comming, dispersed this multitude: yet after their departure they returned againe, and beganne to spoile two houses belonging to some of the Religion: but the Prouost and Lieutenant comming with their Archers, seized vpon foure laden with goods, which they would haue caried away. These they committed, and the next day they were punished by a Decree of the Court: that is to say, two were

[ b b a ]

hanged

Death of the  
D. of Mayen.A sedition at  
Paris against  
them of the  
Religion.The Duke of  
Montbazons  
providence.A tumult at  
S. Anthonies  
gate.The temple of  
Charenton  
burnt.Some of the  
seditious  
were  
executed.

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hanged with Papers on their breasts, whereon was written *Seditious and Incendiaries*; A the other two were whipped with halters about their necks, and banished for nine years. The King was much offended at this action, commanding that there should be severe justice done.

The passage  
of Hicks into  
Montauban.

But now to returne to our siege of Montauban. Presently after the D. of Mayens death, there was a piece of service performed at that siege by a young man of our Nation, whose name deserves to be registred in this History, and left to posterity: which was, for the carrying of Letters into the towne besieged, from them of Rochell, and to assure them of their estate. I finde it not written in any of my authors, being either ignorant of the fact, or careless to doe a stranger that honour: yet I will deliver it faithfully vnto the Reader, as I received it from his owne mouth. For the better understanding whereof I must acquaint you with his life there. His name is *Ellis Hicks*, his father was a Scribe dwelling within Ludgate, not long since deceased. He followed *Monfieur de Mont Pouillon*, second sonne to *Monfieur de la Force* in France, during these last warres, being then not above twenty yeares old.

The Marquis of *La Force* his elder brother and his Lord being forced to leave Caumont by the Duke of Mayenne, they came to Clerac before the siege; where finding the inhabitants diuided, the better for desirous to obey the King, and the multitude resolute in their revolt, they left the towne, thinking to goe to Bergerac, but they had submitted themselves vnto the King: So as leaving Guienne, they came down towards Rochell with fifteene horse. Comming to the gates, they were shut against them, they calling the Marquis Traitor, and telling him that having betrayed Guienne, hee came now to betray them; yet by the meanes of *Monfieur de Fausar*, who commanded all the strangers which were in Rochell, they were let in, yet without any good liking of them of the towne, or with any assurance of their safeties. Montauban had beene besieged about a moneth, the assembly at Rochell was in suspense, having no communication with them being shut vp by land. They had sent many with Letters to informe them of their estate, but none returned, and were daily made beleue that Montauban was yielded vnto the King.

They were desirous to make a new tryall. Master Hicks (for his service well deserves D that Title) offers his service to the Marquis. The Assembly hearing of it embrace it, although his young yeares could giue them no great assurance of resolution. They furnish him with horse and money, and ship him to Mornac, after which, in eight dayes, travelling most by night with guides, he came to Moissac foure leagues from Montauban, where the Earle of Carleil, then extraordinarie Ambassadour for his Maiestie was lodged, being the same night that *Monfieur de Mayenne* was slaine.

There hee findes attending vpon my Lord Ambassadour, a familiar friend of his called *Fairfax*, who brings him to the armie, where they meet with one *Webbe* a follower of the Marshall of Saint Geran, who shewes him the campe, the trenches and the Mine by the Marshalls commandement, and lodgeth that night in his quarter.

The next day he resolves to put his designe in execution, hee had acquainted *Fairfax* therewith, who perswades him by all meanes to desist; but he told him that seeing hee had promised to doe it, he would die in the enterprise, or performe it. Hereupon hee dismissed *Fairfax*, and having made choice of a void place betweene the Kings quarter, and the Constables, where there was neither trench nor guard, but some straggling Centinells. He set spurs to his horse, and made towards the towne, there were some horsemen pursued him, and the Centinells shot at him, and the towne did the like: but coming neere to one of the bulwarkes, hee waied with his hat vnto them, which caused them to forbear, and to come downe to a Posterne to let him in.

*Fairfax* having bene scene in his company, was presently laid hold on, and carried to the Kings quarter; where being examined, hee confessed that hee had knowne Hicks long, but was not acquainted with his intent; and that for his owne part he was a Gentleman belonging to the Lord Ambassadour, and was come onely in curiositie to see the Campe, which being verified, he was sent home with good vllage.

Hicks being come into the towne, was conducted by the Consuls to *Monfieur de la Force*, who knew him well. He delivers his Letters, and acquaints them with the estate of Rochell, which gaue them great content. He informes them with the estate of the Kings

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A Kings Army: that the Duke de Mayen was lately slaine, that the Souldiers dyed daily of the purples and flux; and that if there should fall any store of raine they would not be able to lye there. He likewise told them there was a Myne ready to be blowne vp that night, and shewed them the place for the which they prepared. Having made a breach, they came to the assault, and were repulled with the losse of six hundred men. He staied three weekes in the Towne, during the which there were diuers enterprises. His desire was to returne to Rochell, telling them that his worke was yet but halfe done. Hee would take no letters with him: but onely a note from *Monfieur de la Force*, to witnesse that hee had bene there: onely they willed him to assure the Assembly, that they would neuer treat but for the generall of all the Churches, and if hee would haue any letters, they would signe them with their bloods. Hee takes the opportunity of a darke night (after diuers former attempts) and gets out on foot with a guide, creeping vpon their knees, vntill they had past the Kings Centinells, and came that night to Negropelisse, where he lay hidden in an old ruinous house all the next day. The next night hee came to Saint Antonia, being seuen good leagues from Montauban; where they began to wauer, and were ready to submit themselves: but hee having assured them of the estate of Montauban, they persisted. There they furnished him with a horse, from whence hee went to Castelnau, and visited *Monfieur de la Force* Ladie: which done, after some daies trauell he got to Marans; and from thence by sea, being seuen leagues, to Rochell, where he gaue an account of his employment, to their great contents.

On the foure and twentieth of October in the night, there happened a great fire vpon the Merchants Bridge at Paris, the which in three houres consumed both that and the Changers Bridge, so as the houses which were built vpon them fell into the riuer, to the vndoing of many men. They spake diuersly of the cause, some of the ignorant multitude would needs ascribe it to them of the religion; but it was more truly verified to be by the negligence of a maide in a Scribeuers house; The priuate losses vpon these two Bridges were very great, and many men vndone thereby: whereupon the Court of Parliament made a decree, whereby all Rogues and Vagabonds were banished the Citie. A generall gathering was made throughout all the Parishes, for the reliefe of such as had bene scorched by the fire. The Prouost and Sheriftes were enioyned to free the course of the Riuer, and draw out the materials. Men were appointed to looke for the goods in the bottome thereof, and to cary them to the Towne-house, there to be inventoried. That the poore Merchants who had lost their estates, should not bee fued for their debts for the space of one whole yeare.

The Duke of Rohan having no meanes to relieue Montauban by force, the Marquis of Maloze being defeated by the Duke of Angoulesme, he sent *Beaufort* with twelue hundred men to succour the Towne; who got to Saint Antonin, where hee was pressed to hasten his succours, else Montauban would be lost: whereupon he resolved to march by the plaine, coming about midnight neere vnto the towne, where there was a strong Batriado, guarded by three hundred men. They write of these twelue hundred, a third part entred into the Towne, and that the rest were slaine and taken prisoners, amongst the which were *Beaufort* that led them, and the Gouernor of Saint Antonin. But Master Hicks, who was then within the towne, reports confidently, that there entred seuen hundred men well armed. The day after this exploit, the Kings army was fortified with 60 or 70000 men, brought by the D. of Memoryency, the Marquis of Villeroy, and others.

On the eighth of October there was an enterview betwixt the Constable *Luyne*, and the Duke of Rohan, to aduise by what meanes they might conclude a peace, but there was great contrariety in their propositions. The Constable offered to treat particularly for the Duke of Rohan, and high Languedoc, and that Montauban should render to the Kings mercy. The D. of Rohan, as Generall of the Churches, desired to make a generall treaty for all the Townes of their party; the repairing of the demolished Townes, and 100000 crownes to pay his troops; which was thought an unreasonable demand: And so they departed, but all satisfied one with another.

On the ninth day of October, the Prince of Ioinville gaue an assault vnto the great Bastion of the old Towne, that he might lodge therein; but hee was repulled with some losse. And the next day, the Marshall of Themines, having blowne vp a myne in the halfe moone of the Bastion at Villebourbon, and lodged some souldiers thereupon: the night

A great fire vpon  
the merchants bridge  
at Paris.

Successors sent  
to Montauban.

An enterview  
betweene the  
Constable and  
the D. of  
Rohan: as  
the D. of  
Rohan desired  
to conclude a  
peace.

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night following, the besieged issued out, cut the throats of them all; put to flight the first, A second and third guards of the Trenches, and came vnto the Marshalls Tent, filled a great part of their Trenches, burnt their Galleries, and the carriages of their Cannon; set fire on their powder, and caried away a Falcon.

A general assault.

Hauiug held the trenches six houres, in the end they were driuen out by *Saint Croix*, *Barault*, and *Faucon*, Camp-masters; whereof the last had his arme shot off, and died soone after. They write that in this fallie, there were twenty eight men of note or Officers slaine, with two hundred souldiers; and of the besieged but foure slaine, and two prisoners. This repulse did nothing daunt the Kings army, for on the seuenteenth of October they gaue a general assault at the three Batteries; where they were repulsed, but B with equall losses. There were two things afflicted the Kings Armie, sicknesse, and jealousies: and there followed a third, which was the onely hope of the besieged, which was raine, whereby the Riuer swelled.

The Earle of Suze taken by the Pefants of Grenoble.

At this time the King receiued an aduertisement that *M. de Montbrun* (who had beene made Lieutenant generall of Prouence, by the Assembly at Rochell) had revolted in Mure in Dauphiné, and that his troops being three or foure thousand strong spoiled the champion Countrie: That he had great enterprises vpon Grenoble; and that the Earle of Suze was taken and brought thither. This Earle had his chiefe abode in Champagne; But seeing how the affaires of them of the Religion declined in many Prouinces, he resolved to goe make warre in Dauphiné, being followed by some Gentlemen. Passing by C Griex, within a league of Grenoble, on the sixteenth of October to goe to Mure, the Country people growing jealous, demanded whither they went; the Earle answered they had nothing to doe, so as from words they fell to blowes, in which conflict there were three Pefants slaine, and six hurt, whereby the Earle had a free passage; after which they made what speed they could, yet knew not whither they went: in the end they came to a Village called S. Mury, where they intreated a Pefant to direct them their way, promising him foure pistols: the Pefant offered his seruice willingly; but hee willed his Boy to goe and aduertise the Commons, whilste he led them through the rocks of Marinette, where they were no sooner entred, but they were encountered by three or foure hundred Pefants, armed after their manner, who cried vnto them, S and deliuer your armes, else you are dead men. The Earle and his followers, seeing themselves in a place of such disadvantage, seeked to saue themselves; but the Earle of Suze, and some gentlemen to the number of twenty five were taken and caried to Grenoble. The Pefants pursued the rest, and tooke fourteene more, among the which there were found diuers letters to *M. de Montbrun*, with a plot of the Towne, and on which side they should assault it. The Pefants were rewarded with some money, and the horses and armes of them which were taken.

A second enterprise to seize vpon Grenoble.

This first enterprise against Grenoble being discovered, they within the towne which had intelligence with *Montbrun* plotted a second, but the meanes to aduertise him was very difficult: they must of necessity passe by Port de Clay, two leagues from Grenoble, E which was well guarded; *Bouffier*, an Aduocate in Parliament tooke the charge vpon him, and drew the instructions of the enterprise, who hauing giuen them to his Clerke to carie to *Montbrun*, and for the more safety he put him into a Wine-pipe, and laid it in a Cart, which passeth Clay without any discovery, hauing gone a quarter of a league further, the Carter beat out the head of the vessell, and the Clerke went his way towards *Montbrun*: he presently encounters with another Clerke his great companion and friend, who enquired of his journey, and he like a silly fellow discovered vnto him the enterprise, promising him mountaines if hee would make one. The other seemes to be glad, giues him great thanks, and promiseth to goe with him; entreating him to stay but halfe an houre vntill he had done some necessary businesse. In the meane time he runs speedily to Clay F to aduertise them which were in Guard, who post after and seize vpon the Clerke; they search him and finde his letters and instructions; and conduct him to Grenoble, where *Bouffier* his Master, and others were committed to prison: And thus the second enterprise was also discovered.

The enterprise of Grenoble discovered.

In the meane time *Montbrun* spoiled many Castles in the countrie of Diois, and the Mountaines of Dauphiné, threatening to come neere vnto Grenoble, which made the Parliament to giue order for the leauing of 6000 men for their defence. The Duke

*d'Esquigues*

A *d'Esquigues* being aduertised of these alterations, wrote this following letter; "*M. de Montbrun*, I haue beene aduertised that you haue armed in Dauphiné, and haue had some reproach, as if I were your Consort, the which hath much troubled me, both for that I desire there should not be any combustion in Dauphiné, or that they should feeble the commodities of warre; as also for the consequence of the fact. You know the King doth not take armes against the reformed religion, but doth onely pursue them which are revolted; else I would not assist nor giue my consent, being against my Conscience which I preferre aboue all things. It is most iust his Majesty should be master of his Townes, and that those which will not yeeld obedience willingly, he should force by his armes; otherwise he should be neither Master nor King, but euery one should make a party by himselfe; the which would proue to bee of a very dangerous consequence, by the which any raigene enemy (how weake soeuer) surprising vs in the heart of our diuisions, would make himselfe Master of the whole Realme. You know that strangers haue alwaies fought to diuide vs; and when they haue scene vs banded one against another, they haue then fallen vpon France and troubled vs, whereas they could neuer annoy vs being at vnity. There is nothing which makes a kingdom more powerful then peace and concord; but when as discord begins to creepe in, and euery one drawes his owne way, and will not heare the voice of the master Pilot; it is an euident signe of Shipwracke. I am not yet so ignorant in affaires of State, but I know how wee should cary our selues; and I cannot but tax our Ministers of great rashnesse in this conclusion which they haue taken in the assembly at Rochel, neither would I nor any good man giue his consent, being a meanes to ruine the State. I haue beene aduertised of the disaster which is befallen the Earle of Suze, and am sorry for it, although I am ignorant of his intention, or whereunto it tended. I pray you consider what you doe, and that you attempt nothing by armes which may be prejudiciall to the Kings seruice. But contrariwise, if you discouer any mines, employ your armes to suppress their insolency; or rather lay them quite downe to free the world from ialousie. I desire not that Dauphiné should bee oppressed, and you cannot entertaine your troops without discommodity to the people. For this cause I entreat you againe to disarme and to dismisse your forces: but, aboue all haue an especiall care not to attempt any thing against Grenoble, where they say you haue intelligences. I haue beene aduertised that there are certaine busie-headed people, who haue beene desirous to deliuer it vnto you, to the prejudice of the Kings seruice, and in fauour of Rebels, the which I abhorre. You know with what paines I haue preferred this Prouince, during the troubles; and now I desire it should not fall into the miseries whereunto others are subiect. Rebellion is a crime which cannot be exprest; and which drawes after it all kindes of calamities, the which I should bee loath to see in Dauphiné; and you cannot make your selfe Master of Grenoble but by apparant rebellion. And therefore I entreat you to leaue the affaires in the same estate they now are in, and that I may haue the contentment to heare you haue laid downe E armes, &c. From the Campe before Montauban the 13 of November 1621.

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The Duke of Esquigues letter to M. de Montbrun.

The Seigneur of Boisse Pardailan, being in the Kings armie before Montauban, an aduertisement came vnto his Majesty, that there were two thousand of the Religion in armes which spoiled the Country lying vpon the Riuer of Garonne and Dardonne, hauing their retreats into Monheur and Saint Foy; and that his Sonne and Sonne-in-law were the Leaders, whereupon the King said vnto *de Boisse*; These are yours, goe speedily and take such order as shall bee fit. Vpon this commandment hee leaues Montauban and enters Monheur before they had any intelligence of his coming, which made such as were in armes to leape ouer the walls to auoid his indignation. Thinking to haue assaulted Monheur, he passeth the riuer of Garonne, and goes towards S. Foy, where hee had left F *Thouven* his Sonne-in-law, who was revolted. He passed by Genac, where hee assembled the Consuls, and let them know the necessity of their obedience.

Montbrun and Saint Foy revolt.

At night *Monseur de Boisse*, being retired into an Aduocates house called *Nauze*, after Supper *Sahgnac* of Bessine, being followed by fortie Muskettiers, entred the lodging, finding *Monseur de Boisse* in a Gallery, who without any amazement leapt to his armes and cried out; Ah Traitors, will you murder me thus wretchedly? These assassins cried vnto the Iudge of Genac, and vnto *Nauze* to stand aside, and presently discharged fise and twenty Musket shot; and slew him with a Priest which was alwaies about

M. de Boisse murdered: and Genac revolted.

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about him. After this detestable murder, they threatned the Inhabitants of Genfay to burne all about the towne if they opened not their gates: but it is safe to force them, which are willing to be forced: so as seeing *M. de Boffe* dead, they opened their gates, and they became Masters of that place, the which did much fortifie Saint Foy. The Marquis of Mirebeau, sonne to the deceased, commanding in Monheur, declared himselfe presently for the revolted: they which had slaine his Father were kindly entertained into Saint Foy; and Monheur, which towne did much hinder the commerce between Bourdeaux and Thoulouse, and was likely to bee a bridle to the Kings Armie.

Diseases in the Kings Campe.

At Montauban they continued their batteries, and the besieged were still resolute: knowing the difcommodities of the Kings campe, and assuring themselves, that the abundance of raime which fell, would force them to rise; for intruth, the Campe was full of sicknesse, as fevers, bloody fluxes, purples, and other contagious diseases, whereof many men of quality died daily, besides an infinite number of souldiers. The Duke of Memorycy (who had brought goodly troopes to the Kings army) fell dangerously sicke, so as the Physitians despaired of his health: His troopes being lodged in the Duke of Ediguieres quarter, holding their Commander to be dead, three thousand went away in one night, whereby the quarter was left very bare, and those which remained were forced to be daily in guard, which caused great sicknesse in the regiment of the guards, and other troopes being ouer toyled. Many went away without leave and could not be staied. The mortality was great throughout the whole Campe, and the infection of the ayre dangerous for such as continued at the siege. They within the towne were not freed from the said miseries; many souldiers and inhabitants died of the plague, and poverty. These miseries which had wasted about a third part of the Kings army, greatly dishearted the Commanders and Souldiers, with the tediousnesse of the siege, during the which they had gotten little ground on the enemy. In the meane time the bad season of the yeare pressed them, and the continuall raime so annoyed their troopes, as they knew Montauban would not be taken that yeare; and that they should be forced to yeeld vnto the time. At the quarter of *Ville Bourbon*, where the Marshall de Themines commanded, the Regiment of *Thoulouse* went almost all away: and the other Regiments for the losses and sicknesse they had had, were not able to winter there, and stood in great neede of some ease of their continuall trauell in the trenches; whereupon those of the towne grew insolent, making many braudoes against the besiegers, inviting them to yeelde to *Monsieur de Rohan*, or *Monsieur de la Force*, and they would hold good quarter with them.

The newes therefore of the continuance of the warre in Dauphine by *Monsieur de Montbrun*, where the presence of *Monsieur d'Ediguieres* was very requisite for the peace of that Prouince, together with the important necessity of the regaining Monheur, which troubled the country vpon the River of Garonne, and all Guienne; and the continuall raime and ouerflowing of the River of Tarne, were the principall causes which moued his Maiesty; First, to goe and bessege Monheur. Secondly, to leaue six thousand men in the Townes, Castles, and Forts about Montauban; with five hundred horse to keepe the field, vnder the charge of *M. de Saint Geran*. And thirdly, to send backe *Monsieur d'Ediguieres* into Dauphine; and to make his grand Child the Earle of Sauli Lieutenant Generall in Dauphine, which for very important considerations was effected. Ande establish certain Imposts for three yeares at Valence, vpon all things which should be transported vpon or downe the River of Rofne, to furnish towards the charges of the siege of Poussin and of Bay, which since this war had hindred the trafficke both by water and land all along the said riuer.

The Constable's letter to D. of Mont.

About this time the Constable wrote a letter vnto the Duke of Montbazon, wherein he obserues the defects of the siege of Montauban in these termes; "Sir, I did assure you I would be the last at the siege of Montauban, which I haue not failed to perform, because this morning I made our retreat, and by the same means the review of our miserable troopes, which sicknesse and length of the siege had so wasted. Wee haue raised the siege, but not withdrawne our intent, and the affection wee haue at one time or other to ruine them, hauing reduced them to such estate as they cannot come out of their towne, but they must either be taken or slaine by our troopes which inuiron them, to the number of six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, composed of those new troopes which

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A which arised here within these two dayes, and of some old Regiments which wee leaue to refresh and strengthen themselves. This is our misery, which although it touch all our army, yet hath it not taken downe our courage, as we will shortly shew them, if it please God. Wee were resolu'd to goe into Languedoc, but an accident hath happened, which hath diuerted our designe, the death of *Monsieur de Boffe*, who was murdered by his owne sonne, and his sonne in law; for he who slue him, is retired vnto them, and they are resolu'd, with two places which the King had by agreement entrusted them withall before the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely. Vpon this accident the King had sent to inuest them; and after his Maiesties entry into Thoulouse, hee will goe and assaile Monheur, to chastise the elder sonne, who is in that towne, and hath declared himselfe against the King: of which I will aduertise you. This, Sir, is our misery, the which would much more afflict vs, if the deceased King (the greatest Captaine of elder times) had not many times assailed places of lesse strength, and yet beene forced to leaue them, and raise his sieges. And for vs, it is certaine he was neuer in the like extremity as we, who for the great sicknesse amongst vs, haue beene constrained to raise the siege of a towne which could not hold our twelue dayes longer, if we had had men; but the length of the siege had so wearied our Captaines, that in stead of encouraging the souldiers, they disheartned them. Four things haue ruined vs: the first was, The Duke of Mayen by his rashnesse made diuers assaults to no effect, and lost thereby a great number of Noblemen, Gentlemen, with many Captaines and souldiers, so as the rest of his troopes were vtterly discouraged, & went almost all away, what order fouer could be giuen: The amazement of his quarter gaue the enemy such heart, as they verily beleueed they could not be forced, and hindred them from treating, which else without doubt they would haue done. The second was the fault which the Duke of Angoulesmes troopes committed in suffering the succors to passe into the towne, which else had beene taken within foure dayes. The third was, the sicknesse of *Monsieur de Montmorency*, which caused three thousand men which he had brought with him to depart in one night, by which meanes the Duke d'Ediguieres quarter was ruined. The last and the greatest, was the great & intolerable sicknesse which spread it selfe vniuersally through all the campe, from which none hath beene free, the King excepted and my selfe, whom our good God hath preferred. You haue seene my Letter to *Monsieur de Montmorency* which shewed our miseries, the repetition whereof would be now too long; I dreame on the siege no longer, but thinke on what is to be done hereafter. You know the King hath so bridled these people, as they cannot escape; they shall haue no more libertie, no more commerce or trafficke, no labour or tillage, no meanes to victual their towne, seeing that round about them we haue placed strong Garisons (as you know) to cut them off if they issue forth. This is all I can say vnto you, the rest the bearer shall report. Assure you that I am with all the forces of my soule. Your most humble sonne, and obedient seruant, *Luyner*.

There were diuers things published notwithstanding, which made the Constable author of all the miseries of this siege, vnderaken out of leason, and contrary to the opinion of all the world. They taxed him, That he had not besseged it on all sides, as hee should haue done: That he had leauied much money vpon Edicts, loans, and impositions, and had brought much from Paris with conuoyes, with pretext to pay the souldiers, where hunger slew more then the enemy or sicknesse: That he caused six hundred men to labor daily at Leseny, as many at Quille-beuf, eight hundred at Amiens, five hundred at Cahis, two hundred at Luyner house, which they built at Paris, all after the rate of two shillings sterling per diem. Besides 1500 in garison at Amiens, for the guard of part of his treasure, and all vpon the Kings costs, whilst the poore souldiers before Montauban died of hunger, and had beene forced to abandon the army for want of pay. They taxed him with many things; First, with his absolute power in the government of the State, commanding the armies and Seales. Secondly, for the new Edicts which he would passe. Thirdly, for his carage in military actions. Fourthly, with his riches and sility, his Government. So as not only the common people of Thoulouse cursed him, but also men of qualitie complained: whereof a kinsman of his being at Thoulouse to aduance the Kings entry, aduertised him by Letter, to whom he made this answer.

Cousin, if I were a new Courtier, and that I were not accustomed to the continuall faults of slander, I would not so easily oppose my constancy to diuert it, and should not resolute to that patience which the knowledge of such actions giues me; but being intired

"The Duke of Montmorency's letter to the Duke of Montbazon." "The Duke of Montmorency's letter to the Duke of Montbazon." "The Duke of Montmorency's letter to the Duke of Montbazon."

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 "spoken of: I woud not that you are touched with these detractions, seeing you have not  
 "wherewithall to repell them as I haue, by that innocency wherein I haue liued. I heare  
 "them with indifferency, this contagion infects me not, because I am armed with a coun-  
 "terpoison, which is my sinceritie and my incomparable fidelitie, which marcheth in the  
 "front of all my actions. You who heare but the thunder of the people, liue in apprehen-  
 "sion, although you can iudge better then any other, that my good intentions may wor-  
 "thily shelter me from such stormes. Let vs giue the vulgar leaue to talke, and those whose  
 "idleness giues them leifure, to glosse vpon other mens actions. Hee that brought heresie  
 "into the Realme, hath he not attempted against heauen? Wherefore those which haue no B  
 "better foules, haue they not the like libertie to controll my actions, and that falsely? They  
 "are men full of malice, and without fame, seeing they speake ill of the present euents, and  
 "so easily forget what is past, which hath bene publicly applauded and held for miracles.  
 "What haue we done to be so condemned? What ingratitude is it, that this towne should  
 "forget the good hath bene done them, to haue taken many townes, which like Harpies  
 "had their tallons ready to reare them in pieces? What more pretious thing could they  
 "hope for, then the person of our King, and that of his Constable, and of all the Princes,  
 "Officers of the Crowne, and many other men of quality, who haue caried some markes  
 "of this siege, either by the hand of heauen, or by them of the towne. And although those  
 "masters which glosse vpon our actions (who are continually in danger, and they secure C  
 "their seats) shall it be lawfull for them to iudge vniufully of our carriage, and may we not  
 "appeale from their passions, but must see our selues condemned? I am of opinion, that the  
 "King should attend iustice from heauen, feeling wee fight for him who can discerne the  
 "good from the bad.

"I will not stand to iustifie that which concerns the siege; our foresight for the vnder-  
 "taking of it; our care and resolution in ordering all things necessary; our diligence in pre-  
 "ferring a continuall toile before rest, which they likewise speake so much would willingly  
 "haue spared; and our resolution to expose our liues without consideration, but onely for  
 "the Kings seruice, and the good of his Estate. To whom am I bound to giue any account  
 "but vnto God, and the King? seeing I fight for none but for Religion and the State; all D  
 "other considerations are indifferent. Whatsoeuer happens, I will neuer confesse any de-  
 "fect, seeing I am innocent before God, and know how to make those controllers silent;  
 "nor will the Constables sword, but in letting them see that they haue beleueed too lightly  
 "or iugmented too maliciously.

"Touching the euent of this siege, God will dispose at his pleasure, and I will doe my  
 "dutie; assuring you that whatsoeuer happens, we will leaue such forces in this Prouince,  
 "as they shall haue no cause to feare. We will leaue such forces about Montauban, as they  
 "shall be more miserable in their imaginary liberty, then if they were in the Kings pro-  
 "tection. Let them of Thoulouse consider, that they are no proprietaries of their towne:  
 "that the King is their soueraigne Lord, and hath the greatest interest in their preseruacion: E  
 "His reputation is engaged; it is for the good of Languedoc: Let them giue vs leaue, for  
 "in taxing men they daunt their courages, and in accusing them falsely, they take from them  
 "all courage to doe them good: And if it were not in respect of the King, seeing them so ill  
 "affected, I could make them know that they must hope for much from my care, and not  
 "break with me, who am able to assist them powerfully, &c.

The King  
 comes to  
 Thoulouse.

"The King hauing raised his siege from before Montauban, hee went to make his entry  
 "into Thoulouse, where he was receiued with great shewes and state: the particularities I  
 "will leaue to the Originall. Coming thither, the Constable entertained the Court of  
 "Parliament and the Capitouls of the towne with a goodly discourse touching the raising  
 "of the Siege, and spake so plausibly vnto them, who had contriued their men, money, F  
 "and cannon, to assist his Maiestie in this Siege, as he made them to allow of the Kings re-  
 "solution in retiring of his armie. He told them that it was for the best, assuring them, that  
 "in the Spring the King would shew great effects of his power against his rebellious  
 "enemies.

"During the Kings abode at Thoulouse, he was aduertised of a defeat of three thousand  
 "of the Religion in the Countie of Foix, vho vnder the conduct of the Baron of Leran,  
 "had attempted the towne of Varelles, into the vvhich the Seigneur of Urban had put  
 "himselfe

A himselfe with his friends to defend it: but being fearfull of the Kings approach, and the  
 Duke of Angoulesmes, with the light-horse, they raised their sieges, and retired their  
 Cannon.

"They write, that in their retreat they were charged by the Barons of Aunoux and S.  
 Chamant, and by Urban, who sallied out of the towne, and were wholly defeated, so as  
 six hundred were slaine vpon the place, and many taken prisoners, amongst which was  
 the Baron of Leran their Commander.

"The King vpon the first aduertisement of the reuel of Monheut, sent the Marshall of  
 Roquelaure to iussell it; and presently after the raising of the siege of Montauban, he di-  
 B patched Monsieur de Bassompierre with foure Regiments. The winter season made them  
 apprehend a long siege, yet the souldiers laboured willingly, and vpon the Kings coming  
 to the Campe, they recovered their countercarpe. They of Saint Foy fought to releue  
 them. The King hearing that they of Saint Foy kept the field, he sent the Duke of Lux-  
 emburg with twelue hundred foot, foure hundred horse, and two Cannons, to charge  
 them; but they retired and abandoned those petty places which they had taken. The King  
 commanded the Marshall of Roquelaure to giue an assault to Monheut, but hee entreated  
 his Maiestie to haue patience, assuring him that hee would soone bring them to submit  
 themselves to his mercy.

"There were diuers batteries, mynes, and assaults, in the one of them the tenth of De-  
 C cember, the Marquis of Themines, Marshall of the Campe, was shot through the left ankle,  
 whereof he died within few dayes. He was much lamented for his valour, both by the  
 King and the whole armie. The same day the Kings troops going to renew an assault, the  
 Marquis of Mirambeau, eldest sonne to the Seigneur of Boisse, who had bene hurt in the  
 cheeke in the beginning of the siege, shewed himselfe vpon the rampier with the Viscont  
 of Casters, holding out their armes as if they meant to parle, and anon after came downe  
 into the ditch, and spake with Monsieur de Montesson, whom the King had sent into that  
 quarter: They offered to yeeld vp the towne and agree to any reasonable conditions;  
 which being reported to his Maiestie, he sent them word they should render themselves  
 to his mercy, and that he would not grant them any articles: yet towards evening the  
 D King made a promise of life to the Gentlemen, yeelding at his discretion, and to the souldiers  
 to march away with white stickes in their hands, as for the inhabitants, he would ad-  
 uise what order should be taken with them.

"On the next day, his Maiestie hauing sent them a commandement what order they  
 should obserue, they came forth of the towne; first the women and maids in boats, but  
 some were obstinate and would needs stay behind, which afterwards perished, for the re-  
 giments got in disordredly at the breaches, spoiled the towne, & burnt it to the ground.  
 The Marquis of Mirambeau was vnhorfed, his cloake taken from him, and so ill entreat-  
 ed, as but for the Marshall of Roquelaure he had not escaped: the Viscont of Casters  
 was also detained. There came out of this towne 200 souldiers.

E "The fourteenth of December, and there dayes after the taking of Monheut, towards  
 night, died the Constable Luyres of a pestilent feuer: he lay sicke some eight dayes, and  
 drawing towards his end, was troubled with frequent convulsions, which left him not till  
 his death, which bred great amazement in many, and gaue occasion vnto diuers to iudge  
 thereof according to their passions. His body was presently opened, embalmed, and sent  
 by water to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Tours.

"On his death-bed he besought the King to take his wife and children into his protec-  
 tion, which his Maiestie promised, and gaue assurance thereof vnto the Lady, by a com-  
 fortable Letter which he wrote vnto her at Paris: Thus this great man, who had as it were  
 a foueraigne power ouer warre and peace, is wrapped vp in the bundell of the dead with  
 F the common souldiers; all his honors could not adde one houre to his life, nor the Kings  
 fauours purchase him any fauour with death.

"During the siege of Monheut, there were some insolencies committed by them of the  
 Religion at Montpellier and other townes in Languedoc. They write, that they fortified  
 the Churches and Couents in Montpellier, in the name of that Circle, to say Masse, &c.  
 doe any act of the Romish Religion, whereof notice being giuen to the Capuchins, they  
 would rather dye then desist willingly; so as they continued their exercises, but the doores  
 being shut, and without the ringing of any bell, apprehending some tumult of the com-  
 mon

Insolencies  
 committed in  
 Languedoc.

The Baron of  
 Leran and one  
 of the Religion  
 defeated.

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Monheut  
 besieged  
 by the  
 Kings  
 troops.

Death of the  
 Marquis of  
 Themines  
 Legistes.

Monheut  
 yeeldeth.

Death of the  
 Constable.



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mon people; yet afterwards they were forced to abandon their Church, so as in these combustions in Languedoc there were threecore and six Churches spoiled and beaten downe.

The same day that Monheur was taken, his Maieſty was aduertised that Royan had been deliuered to *Monſieur de Souſſe*, by means of the inhabitants; the caſtle was deliuered vnto him with this ſhamefull compoſition, That the Captaines brother, who was Lieutenant in the place, ſhould remaine Governor. Who comming ſoone after vnto the King, was deliuered into the Grand Prouoſts hands.

Ships belyd by  
the Duke of  
Neuers.

Rochel, as you haue heard, was taken vp by land, by the Duke of Eſpernon and his troops. His Maieſties intent was to doe the like by ſea; for the effecting whereof, he had given order to the Duke of Neuers to cauſe ſiue goodly ſhips to be made, the which being rigged and made ready at Diepe, about the midft of October, and furniſhed with cannon and all things neceſſary, they ſet ſaile, but being vpon the coaſt of Britanie, they were diuided by a tempeſt; two of them were caſt vpon the coaſt of England, and the other three anchored vnder Bel-Iſle. In Nouember, ſaying towards the Iſle of Re, they were encountered by tenne Rochellers, who ſuncke one,ooke another, and the third fled to Brouage.

The Kings  
my put into  
garion.

His Maieſty hauing reſolued to returne to Paris, and to put his army during the winter into garriſon, in the townes of Guienne, to keepe Saint Foy in awe; hee gaue the charge thereof to the Duke of Elbeuf; the long ſiege of Montauban had cauſed *Monſieur de Montbrun* to reuiue his deſignes in Dauphiné, and to make vie of his Commiſſion which hee had from the Aſſembly at Rochel, hoping to make himſelfe as great a man as his father had formerly beene. The pretext of their taking armes, was the burning of the Temple at Charenton; and for that it was giuen out, they had murdered diuers of them of the Religion at Paris. The Eſtate of Dauphiné was very confuſed, where the ſouldiers on either ſide committed a thouſand inſolencies: the people cried out; the paſſages were not ſafe; Grenoble fearing ſurprizes, fortified it ſelfe; the inhabitants were burthened with great guards; the gates were barricaded both within and without; and no man durſt ſpeake his mind freely, nor tell of which party he was.

The Duke  
D'Esquigues  
returns into  
Dauphiné.

The Duke D'Esquigues ariued in the beginning of December: his returne freed the inhabitants of Grenoble from their feare, and reſtified *Monſieurs* troops; hauing diſmiſſed moſt of the companies which had beene leauied by commiſſion, hee freed the country from the oppreſſion of ſouldiers. *Monſieur* and thoſe of his party aſſembled ſoone after at Die, and ſent the Seigneur of Champoleon to the Duke, who would not heare him, ſending them word that he would not receiue any one of their partie before they had ſent him a Declaration and promiſe to diſarme, and to ſubmit themſelues to the Kings ſeruiſe vnder the benefit of the Edicts: which hauing done, he cauſed this following order to be publiſhed, for the ſecuring of a peace in Dauphiné.

A Declaration  
made by the D.  
D'Esquigues  
concerning  
theſe o the  
Religion.

Hauing carefully laboured ſince our returne into this Prouince to maintain the Kings Authority, reſtraine all diſorders, and giue peace vnto his Maieſties ſubiects; hauing heard the Deputies of them of the Religion aſſembled at Die, and receiued their proteſtations of fidelity and obedience to the Kings ſeruiſe, and not to adhere to any delignes or intelligences, to the preiudice of his Maieſtie, and the good of his Eſtate: knowing that his Maieſties intention is, to ſuffer all them to enioy the benefit of his Edicts, which make themſelues worthy of his fauour: We charge and command all Captaines and Commanders of horſe and foot, to diſmiſſe their troops within eight dayes after the date hereof, and to retire vnto their houſes, and not to commit any act of hoſtility or exaction, vpon paine of death.

He alſo ordained, that all priſoners taken by them ſhould bee preſently ſet at liberty without ranſome, neither ſhould they be ſlayed for their charges, which hee would take after their enlargement: That all places and Caſtles taken by their party, ſhall be reſtored to the proprietaries; and the new fortifications demoliſhed. In yeelding this obedience, they ſhall not be moleſted nor diſquieted for any thing that hath happened during the ſaid alterations: the which ſhall be ſuppreſſed as if they had neuer beene, taking all the Commanders, Captaines, and Souldiers, with their goods and families into the Kings protection and his. Forbidding all men of what eſtate ſoeuer, to attempt any thing againſt their

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A their perſons and goods, vnder pretext of iniuſtice or otherwiſe, notwithstanding any decree made to the contrarie, the which ſhall be without effect: and to ſuffer them to liue quietly in their houſes and in the poſſeſſion of their goods, charges, and honors, with free libertie to goe, come, and ſtay, in all places whither their affairs ſhall call them, &c.

Within three dayes after, the Earle of Saulx, grand-child to the Duke D'Esquigues made his entrie into Grenoble as the Kings Lieutenant General in Dauphiné. The Seigneur de *Montbrun* alſo diſarmed and retired vnto his houſe. About this time the Duke cauſed his armie to march towards Valentinois to goe to beſiege Pouzin and Bay, to cleare the Riuier of Roſne, and free the commerce which theſe two places had hindred ſince the month of May laſt. The next year will ſhew vs the ſucceſſe of theſe enterpriſes.

The newes of this peace in Dauphiné was very pleaſing vnto the King: all the world did greatly extoll the Duke D'Esquigues, giuing him the title of the Kings moſt faithfull ſeruant.

The King hauing diſpoſed of his army in Guienne, he returned to Paris about the end of Ianuarie, where the inhabitants receiued him with great content (being twelve thouſand of them richly appointed in their armes) a league without the towne. The Deputies of Rouen came to Court, to be ſuters vnto his Maieſtie for the razing of the Fort of Quillebeuf; hee preſented them with a royall bounty: I know well (ſaid hee) what you would demand, you deſire to haue Quillebeuf razed, I tell you I haue reſolued not onely to ruine the fortifications of Quillebeuf, but of all thoſe petty places within my Realme which are not on the frontiers; ſo in ſtead of Petition, the Deputies beganne their ſpeech with thanks for this bounty, and ended it with vowes and prayers for his proſperity.

The ordinary Aſſembly for the accompts of the Clergy had beene held at Paris in Iune, from whence it was transferred to Bourdeaux. The King deputed the Seigneurs of Vie and Houſay Councillors of State, vnto them, to acquaint them with the eſtate of his affaires, which had neede to be ſpeedily relieved with money from the Clergy. Vpon their propoſition the Aſſembly reſolued to aſſiſt his Maieſtie with a million of crownes, to be onely employed in the ſiege of Rochel.

The Aſſembly hauing deputed certaine of them to make this offer vnto the King, the Biſhop of Rennes made this ſpeech, being aſſiſted by the Cardinals of Retz and La Valette, and the chiefe Prelates of the ſaid Aſſembly.

#### Remonſtrance of the Clergy vnto the King.

SIR, as the preſent miſeries cauſe vnſpeakable griefe, being accompanied with the remembrance of former felicities: ſo the ioy of proſperitie and happy ſucceſſe, hath not any more liuely feeling then that of calamities endured when all object of ſorrow is taken away.

The griefe and heauineſſe of the French Church was great, ſeeing the ancient and true Religion oppreſſed, her luſtre blemiſhed and deſaced, and her libertie captiued in many places of this kingdome.

But now, that heauen (fauourable to her vowes) hath reſtored the greateſt part of that which force and violence had wreſted from her, and our miſerie beginning to change into happineſſe, we alſo change our feares into hopes, our ſighes into ſongs, and our complaints into praifes, yeelding infinite thanks vnto his diuine bounty, for the particular care he hath had of this Monarchy, giuing vs a powerfull King, to maintaine the beauty and dignity of the Church.

It is you, Sir, that changeth our mournfull accents into acclamations of ioy, by the great advantage and good, wee beegine to reape by your piety and the ſucceſſe of your armes: So next vnto GOD, wee wholly conſecrate our praifes to your vertues.

You daily raiſe vp the Altars which Heretic had trodden vnder foot, vpon the which they now renew the ancient and true ſacrifices of reconciliation and peace. You diſperſe all the feares and apprehenſions which did enuiron vs. Feare. **hab**

[cc]

no

Preparations  
to beſiege Pouzin  
and Bay.

The King re-  
turnes to Paris.

An aſſembly of  
the Clergy.

"no more abiding in our foules, and expecting the full enjoying of peace and safetie which  
"your labours promise vs, we will bleſſe your name, and praife your generous actions which  
"cannot be enough worthily praifed.

"Let the ancient Hiſtories of the Hebrews extoll their King who beganne to raigne  
"at eight yeares, and in the twelfth of his reigne undertooke to chaſe away Idolatry, which  
"his predeceſſors had ſuffered; the which he performed in foure yeares: but we will ex-  
"alt our *Auſpurn* about him. It is true, Sir, that you had one yeare more then this young  
"King; when you tooke in hand the nobleſt Scepter of the earth. But you have exceeded  
"him in zeale towards God, hauing not attended vntill the twelfth yeare of your reigne  
"to ſuppreſſe irreligion and reuolt which are ſiſters, and go hand in hand; ſo we expect this  
"grace from heauen, that in leſſe then foure yeares we ſhall ſee the time, when as God  
"ſhall be ſerued and honoured by all your ſubiects without diuiſion, as he is indiuiſible and  
"alwayes like vnto himſelfe: That hee ſhall bee called vpon with one heart and beliefe  
"throughout your Realme, whoſe bounds hee will vndoubtedly enlarge, ſeeing the paine  
"and care you take daily to encreaſe his ſeruite.

"Hauing dilated much vpon the Kings zeale and piety, hee complains of many out-  
"rages (as they pretend) done vnto the Clergy by them of the Reformed Religion, and  
"animates the King to continue his deſigne of proteſting armes againſt them, ſeeing it  
"tends onely, (ſaith he) to repell the iniuries done to God and your Maieſtie, the which be-  
"ing ſuffered, will entertaine a Chaos and conſuſion in your Realme: for where order, re-  
"ſpect, and the lawes are violated, it is impoſſible the Eſtate ſhould be quiet and happy: and  
"ſeeing that matters are reduced to that paſſe, as their obſtinate error cannot endure the  
"King and the authority of the Church; nor their fellony the yoke of obedience which is  
"due vnto you; what can you doe better, Sir, then to take the rod of Iron to puniſh theſe  
"traitors, who deſire rather to lye in toille, then to be governed in peace; who conuert all  
"your fauour into poiſon, and grow more bitter by the effects of your bounty. Sir, wee  
"deſire not warre, but peace: the God whom we preach daily, is a God of peace and not  
"of diſſention; we muſt imitate him in the ſame ſpirit, and demand it of him inceſſantly, as  
"the chiefe point of felicity.

"But to enjoy a good peace, you muſt ſometimes cement it with warre, the which be-  
"ing juſtly vnderaken, although it draw after it ruines, ſpoiles, and loſſes, yet is it much  
"better then a bad peace; for God who is a juſt Iudge, doth alwayes giue a happy end to  
"a war well grounded. But there was neuer any more juſt then yours, ſeeing it tends onely  
"to haue that reſtored vnto God and your Maieſtie, which is due vnto you within your  
"Realme. It were therefore a crime to ſuſſerne, that any rebellious deſigne ſhall bee able  
"to trouble or change your proſperitie and victories. The meanes to make them perfect  
"and abſolute, is continually to beat and trample vpon this vngatefull, which preſumes to  
"riſe vp againſt you.

"And for the greater aſſurance, as the Prophet *Eliſeus* did ſet his hand vnto the Kings  
"to giue ſtrength vnto his bow, elſe the arrow hee ſhot had bene of ſmall force; ſo, Sir,  
"the Church muſt ſet her hands to yours, and aſſiſt you to get an abſolute victorie ouer  
"your enemies; the muſt accompanie your armes with her continuall prayers; and as it  
"fortifies your deſigne by a common aide, ſo the honor of the Church, muſt be a faithfull  
"director to your forces.

"And for as much as in an occaſion ſo much importing the honor of God, the health of  
"foules committed vnto vs, and the tranquillitie of this Eſtate, whereof wee hold the firſt  
"rancke; it ſhould be very vniſmely to ſee your Maieſtie expoſed daily vnto danger, and all  
"the orders of France, to contribute their liues, counſels, and meanes, to the hazard and  
"extraordinarie charges of this warre, and wee to remaine ſecure in our houſes, and to  
"honor vp thoſe goods which ſhould be employed for the ſeruite of God whereunto they  
"were firſt conſecrated.

"To this end, Sir, the Deputies of the Clergie of France, conſidering the eſtate of your  
"preſent affaires, have given vs in charge to preſent vnto your Maieſty a Million of Crowns  
"which wee offer vnto the perfecting of this maſter-piece, ſo gloriously begonne by you:  
"and particularly for the ſiege of Rochel, to the end, that as it hath bene the head of re-  
"bellion, ſo alſo let it be the end.

And

A And as the diuine bountie doth often heare the vowes and prayers which are made  
"vnto him when his Altars are couered with offerings; ſo we humbly beſeech your Ma-  
"ieſtie to take in good part two humble Petitions wee offer vnto you: Firſt, Sir, That it  
"would pleaſe you to maintaine vs in our ancient rights, priuiledges, and immunities, and  
"aſſiſt vs with your authority and conſent, for the enioying of that which belongs vnto vs  
"be it fees, or Caſtles, or ſtrong places, for the which wee have taken the oath of fidelitie  
"vnto you: And withall not to ſuffer any exerciſe of the Reformed Religion in our lands  
"and Iuriſdictions, remembering that if we hold them of your Maieſty, you alſo hold them  
"from God, who ought to be more particularly honoured and ſerued in thoſe places then  
"in any other, ſeeing they have bene given vnto the Church; for expiation of offences  
"committed. The other Petition, Sir, is; That you would not calme this ſtorme by the  
"ſame meanes they haue done in former times; when they ſhare the rights of heauen with  
"thoſe of the earth: when they balance feare, humane conſiderations and reaſons, with  
"the power and aſſiſtance of heauen: when they meaſure the honour of God with private  
"interſt, whatſoeuer they build thereupon, is as variable and inconstant as the foundation;  
"which is the world: and euerie Edict which diuides the faith, diuides alſo Kingdomes.  
"This peace is no peace, but remaines onely the name: It is a miſchiefe painted ouer with a  
"ſhew of good. We ſeek not to deprive the effects of your clemency towards private  
"men, who touched with a true repentance, haue recourſe vnto your bounty, as to an affi-  
"red Sanctuary, knowing that ſo great a Monarch is better pleaſed to ſaue and pardon his  
"ſubiects, then to ruine them: but all theſe aduantages which haue bene given them; by  
"the general Edicts of pacification, haue made them more obſtinate to maintaine their  
"errors againſt God, and their rebellion againſt you: They haue often ſubmitted themſelues  
"vnto the yoke, and often ſhaken it off againe, which be markes of their infidelity and our  
"weakneſſe. Neither doe we pretend to root out their error by force and violence, ac-  
"knowledging the liberty which is engrauen naturally in the ſoule of man: That what is  
"brought in by force is of no continuance; much leſſe of merit for faith, which ſhould be  
"free and inſinuated mildly by diuine inſpiration, by patience, remonſtrance, and all ſorts  
"of good example; which bee the armes wee pretend to vie, to bring them vnto the true  
"Religion.

C But for your part, Sir, as the cauſes and root of a miſchiefe being knowne, they muſt  
"be cut off and the courſe ſtayed: ſo your Maieſtie hauing ſcene by effect, that the places of  
"ſurety, which they held not by Edict, but by a ſimple Briſfe, whereof the terme is expired,  
"haue ſerued to no other end but to entertaine an open faction of diſobedience, and to pra-  
"ctiſe all kind of rigours againſt the Clergy and Catholiques. Wherefore we humbly be-  
"ſeech your Maieſty to cauſe them to bee demolithed, when God ſhall deliuer them into  
"your hands, as you haue begonne; and if any be preferred, that the Catholiques may be  
"the ſtronger, from whom they may expect all favourable ſlage.

E In the end he concludes in theſe words: God grant, Sir, that the Rebels of your Realme  
"ſeeing themſelues deprived of Forts and Rampiers, and of meanes to doe euill, may bee  
"conuerced to the Catholique Faith, and to the obedience which they owe you. God  
"grant, that ſuch as continue obſtinate, may flye ſpeedily to your mercie; or continuing in  
"their malice, may be a prey to your Maieſties armes, and their memorie perpetually ac-  
"cuſt, &c. This was the ſubſtance of the Biſhops long ſpeech.

The Aſſembly at Niſmes for the Circle of baſe Languedoc, had (as you haue heard)  
"made an act for the diſmiſſion of *Monſieur de Chaſſillon* from his charge; and called the  
"Duke of Rohan to be General of their Churches, and of the Prouince, in his place,  
"who likewiſe cauſed an Apologie to be publiſhed in his defence againſt their crimi-  
"nations.

F The D. D'Esquigneres (who after the ſiege of Montauban was retired into Dauphiné  
"to pacifie thoſe troubles) was aduiſed to ſend ſome man of authority and of the reformed  
"Religion to the Duke of Rohan at Montpellier, to repreſent vnto him the miſeries which  
"the continuation of theſe warres, would bring to the general of their Religion; and  
"that a peace would be more expedient for them, and would quench the exceſſe of  
"the peoples fury in the three townes of Montpellier, Niſmes, and Vze:

*Monſieur du Cros*, a Preſident in the Parliament of Dauphiné (who during the reigne  
"of King Henry of the fourth, had bene general agent for the Churches, and had pur-  
"chafed

1621

The Duke of  
Rohan an-  
swer to his

chaſed great credit and reputation amongſt them of his Religion) was entreated by the Duke *D'Eſdiguiers* to performe this good office, and to goe vnto the Duke of Rohan to acquaint him with the meanes to attaine to ſome treaty of an affured peace. This Preſident comes to Montpellier, and is well received by the Duke of Rohan, who heard him willingly, and made him this answer, That he had with griefe ſeene the infolencies which had bene committed in baſe Languedoc: but thoſe people touched with a feeling of that which their brethren throughout all Europe ſuffered, were growne thus bitter: That hee would labour by all meanes to reſtrain their exceſſe: And as for himſelfe, whenſoeuer any occaſion were offered to make knowne his fidelitie and obedience to his Maieſtie, to whom he had the honor to be allied, the ſeruiſe of God excepted, he would ſhew all dutie and due reſpect.

The Deputies of the Circle and their Partifans, grew wonderfully ieaſous of the Preſidents coming, and of his conference with *Monſieur de Rohan*: They preſently bruite it abroad, that he was come to Montpellier, to perſwade the Duke of Rohan to abandon them, and to deprive them of their Commanders and Leaders; That they muſt free themſelves of him, and make him an example for all others to attempt the like.

They which had conſpired this Preſidents death, fearing their deſigne might be diſcovered, and ſo diuerted by the Duke, reſolued to execute it inſtantly, ſending one to ſalute him on the behalfe of the towne, to let him vnderſtand that the chiefe Burgeſſes deſired to doe their duties.

The Preſident hauing received him with all courteſie, ſaid, That if they did him the honor to come they ſhould be welcome. This ſpy being returned to them which ſent him, about forty of them entred ſuddenly into the Preſidents lodging, where one of them like a mad man, for the beginning of his ſalutation, ſayd vnto him; Traytor, committe thou to withdraw the Duke from vs: who at this day is the onely protector of the faithfull, ſeeking our ruine with that goodly *D'Eſdiguiers* who hath ſought the overthrow of our Religion in France: if we had him here, we would make him feele the reward of his deſerts as well as your ſelfe. The Preſident making offer to answer, one preſently ſtopped his diſcourſe, thruſting him into the bodie, wherewith hee fell downe, yet not dead, but they preſently diſpatched him, giuing him fifteene or twenty wounds, which done they diſt ſhut his ſeruants into the houſe, and retired themſelves.

The Duke of Rohan (who had entered ioyfully into the Towne) was ſo much diſpleaſed at this action, committed during his abode there, as he was forced to take his bed being ſicke with very griefe for ſo barbarous an act, committed vpon the perſon of a Deputy of ſo high a qualitie, and ſent from a Nobleman to whom they were infinitely bound.

This popular fury being ſomewhat cooled, and thoſe which had been leaſt irraged, and were moſt capable of reaſon, and counſaile, to pacifie the Duke of Rohan, who demanded iuſtice for this act, and to giue ſome forme of ſatisfaction to the King, and the Duke *D'Eſdiguiers*, ſeized vpon foure of theſe murderers, who were preſently executed; E yet ſome write that the chiefe authors and moſt culpable eſcaped.

The King was much incenſed at this murder, committed contrarie to the Law of Nations, vowing to doe exemplarie iuſtice. The Duke *D'Eſdiguiers* knowing the danger of a great Kings indignation, whoſe grace and clemencie is neglected, writes vnto the reuolued of Languedoc, Montauban, Guienne, and Rochel, conjuring them by the loue and zeale which he hath vnto their ſafety, to expiate their crimes and reuolt, by their prompt reſolution vnto obedience, in theſe tearmes.

My maſters, my name it may be will be ſuſpected, as not hauing bene acceſſarie vnto the ſame reuolts, vnto which your rebellion hath plunged you within theſe eightene months; yet the affection which I haue euer borne you, and the care I haue had of you theſe fifty yeares, may chance to adde ſome force to my remonſtrances, which ayme at nothing but the good of you and your affaires.

You know how much I haue bene offended with the murder of *Monſieur du Cret*, who was ſo traiterouſly viſed at Montpellier. You cannot be ignorant how much his death hath grieved me, ſeeing a man whom I much honoured and held in great eſteeme to be ſo cruelly ſlaine. Yet hath not all this ſo much enflamed me, but the affection on which I beare you hath left ſome tendernesse of heart in me, to giue you ſuch counſell

as

A as one friend may giue vnto another whom he loueth. It is not at this preſent that you haue made prooffe of my frienſhip; the happy raigne of *Henry the Great* doth ſay the admirable markes thereof. I made the ſame remonſtrances vnto you the laſt yeare; hoping to put a bit into the mouth of the headstrong horſe of reuolt; which hath gotten looſe amongſt you.

You haue ſeene with what griefe and compaſſion, I haue beheld your Townes ruined by this error; & how much more expedient leſſers for you, to open your gates vnto this great King, whoſe iuſtice giues life vnto his courage, then to attend the furie of his choller, which will not be pacified but with the teares of ſuch as ioyne in ſatisfaction with you.

B haue employed my ſelfe many times to procure you a peace; but the iuſtice of his Maieſties armes; the authoritie which he hath ouer thoſe townes; the power of his arme; and in briefe, his iuſt demands haue as often ſhut my mouth, as my tongue hath been ready to ſpeake thereof vnto him. Every man knowes, that the King will in no wiſe trouble the peace of our Churches; or meddle with our conſciences: but his iuſtice would be ſatisfied for many indignities, and murdres which haue bene committed amongſt you. For as hee is a moſt iuſt King, ſo will he haue equitie in equall regard throughout his dominions; and his glorious name admiſſes him not to make any compoſition with inferiours; nor is there any Nation ſo barbarous in all the world, which approue your leauing of armes againſt your moſt lawfull Prince.

C In doing any part, if the memory of mee be of any eſteeme amongſt you; and if the good offices which I haue performed on your behalfe, be not altogether buried in obliuion, I doe againe compeſſe and beſeech you to depart from your partialities, and to follow the aduice of him who is and euer hath been moſt affectionate vnto you. A ſubiect can neuer humble himſelfe ſo much vnto his Prince, both diuine and humane lawes require it: your Maieſties ſhould miſte you, better late then neuer. The King is ſo milde, as your leaſt ſubmiſſion will make him pardon your offences. He is a Lyon in courage, who ſeeing his enemy at his feet ready to ſubtriue himſelfe, he toucheth him not; but if he growes obſtinate he knows how to breake all his practices, to the prejudice of his enemies. You ſhould be well aduiled, and not attend him before your townes to offer an entry. The honour

D you ſhall haue in ſubmitting your ſelves, ſhall be the greater, the more ſpeedy it is. There peruation a ſubiect may get, when he murines againſt his Prince, is greater when he humbles himſelfe generouſly, and ſubdues his owne pride, then to conteſt againſt his King. If the Kings clemencie and bounty be not capable to bring you into the right way, and that this naturall piety be not ſufficient to reduce his obſtinate ſubiects to his ſeruiſe: yet let his powerfull armes (which are already ſaine vpon you) moue you. Let his great authoritie; his generous troopes, and his glorious ſcepter, be as an adamant to draw your iron hearts to his ſeruiſe.

Conſider, I pray you, & remember, what this inuincible King hath done this laſt yeare againſt you: what townes and places he hath taken from you, and apprehend the furie of his armes. The clouds of diſcord will in the end diſſolve to your prejudice, and theſe miſts of rebellion will be diſperſed by the heate of a Sunne, I meane of *Leuis* the iuſt, who hath alwayes bene our Protector, when we haue humbled our ſelves at his feet.

You cannot deny but you are his ſubiects: you and I and all Frenchmen owe him tribute and obedience. It is one of Gods commandments, and we muſt honour his Prince, and not conteſt againſt his will. Whitherto you haue made ſhew of rebellion, now make it known that you are his Maieſties good ſeruants, and wipe out this blemiſh of your inſamy by a voluntarie ſubmiſſion, you ſhall get more by mildneſſe then by force. You haue no occasion of diſcontent: for ſince the Kings coming to the crowne, what priuiledges or immunities hath he denied or aboliſhed? Nay, hath he not increaſed and augmented them by new Edicts in our fauour. You haue vnderſtanden this warre, vpon a faſe Title, and there is no man that hath any zeale to his Maieſties ſeruiſe, but diſaduoues your rebellion: and they which conuerſe dayly with you, condemne your reuolts, as capital crimes, contrarie to all diuine, naturall and humane lawes.

Many diſſiduous perſons, who haue no other deſire but to breed confuſion, and to trouble the ſtate, are crept in amongſt you, whoſe abſence ſhould be as much deſired, as their preſence ſeemes to promiſe you fauour, and ſeek to animate you againſt the King, to the

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end



1622

The estate of  
them of the  
Religion.

dize going and coming vpon the Riuer of Garonne, which they could neuer yet easily doe, for the largenesse of the riuer being three leagues, which caused many vessels to escape often. Secondly, to augment the laid Imposts, and to gather there the *part promised to the Seigneur of Soubise* distinguished from that of the *Assembly*, which they called of the *cause and of the towne of Rochel*. Thirdly, to keepe them from carying of any graine to Bourdeaux; and fourthly, to hinder the commerce of Medoc, and Xaintonge with Bourdeaux.

The second descent should be at Soulac, situated at the point on Medoc side, opposite to Royan, the which had also diuers ends. First, they should build a Fort, and land good numbers of foot and horse, to runne vnto the gates of Bourdeaux, and annoy them by all acts of hostilitie, it being but fifteene leagues from Soulac, the country being plaine and of easie access. Secondly, to entertaine their intelligences with them of their party, as well in the champion countrie of Gascoigne, as in Bearie, there being no Riuer nor Towne vpon the way to hinder their succours. Thirdly, to furnish Royan, Rochel, and their Navy at Sea with fresh meat, the countrie about Soulac being full of cattell. And fourthly, to haue commoditie for their ships which lay before Royan, to Anchor by Soulac, when contrarie winde should driue them from Royan.

The party of the Religion did also hold Boy vpon Bay, and Poasin vpon the riuer of Roſne, where no merchandise could passe without paying the imposts according to the taxes which they had set. So as they made an account, that of the imposts which they should raise vpon all merchandise coming and going vpon the Loire & Garonne, or the Roſne, of the contributions of the open Country, of the prizes taken at Sea, of the reuenues of the Church, and of the sale of the goods of those of their party which were retired into the Kings towne, to be able to defray more then 2000 souldiers which they entertained in their fleet, in the field, and in their garisons in diuers Prouinces; and without to find the King so much businesse, as they should be constrained to make peace with them at their pleasure.

This was the estate of them of the Reformed party, in the beginning of this yeare. Let vs now see the successe of so many enterprises one after another, and the order which the King, his officers, and Lieutenants tooke to hinder the execution of their designs.

Descent of the  
Rochellers in  
the Ile of Argenton.

On the 22 of January 1622, the Rochellers made their descent in the Ile of Argenton, which was onely for pasture and vnihabited, where they beganne to build a Fort with foure bastions, and furnished it with Ordnance, which they might easily doe, being masters of the Riuer and of the Sea, the King hauing no ships armed, but such as were kept in at Brouage.

*Monsieur de Gourgues* first President at Bourdeaux, being aduertised of this descent and building of a Fort, and of the spoiles which *Monsieur de la Forges* troops committed vpon the riuers of L' Isle and Dordone, seeing Guienne without a Gouverneur since the decesse of the Duke of Mayenne, and without a Lieutenant General, the Marshall of *Raquelaur* hauing deliuered vp his charge vnto the King; and the Marshall *Themines* being not yet settled: he propounded in Parliament to arme the people of the Champion country as well in Medoc, as throughout all Bourdelois for their defence; and to send two Councillors to Libourne to leauy two thousand men, with the which they should assist the Duke of Elbeuf at the siege of Moutrauel. And likewise to raise foure or fve hundred foot or more, to hinder the enterprise of the Rochellers within the Riuer, and to rigge outcome ships. For the performing of which charge, they should gather certaine Loanes, and establish a Councell vpon all occurrents: That they should disarme them of the Religion within the Towne, thereby to free the people from all ielousie of them: That they should prouide Munition, and Graine, and assure their Ports and Walls.

An order made  
by the Parli-  
ament of Bour-  
deaux to resist  
them of the  
Religion.

Defence of  
*Monsieur de Fauas*  
at Soulac.

*Monsieur de Fauas* landed with his foot, horse, and Artillerie, at Soulac, on the fifth of February. Hee tooke the Borough suddenly, and besieged the Church, the which yielded within foure and twenty houres, hauing promised the inhabitants to preferre their liues and goods. Hee hoped to be reuenged vpon Bourdelois, but especially vpon the countrie Houses of them of the Parliament, who by a Decree the yeare before, had condemned him to lose his head; declared him ignoble, and his goods confiscate.

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A The very day of this descent, the first President sent *Captaine La Salle* with his company of foot to the Ile of Calaus, whereof if the Rochellers had seized, as they might easily haue done, they had cut off all commerce betweene the towne of Bourdeaux and Medoc, Xaintonge, Blay, Bourg, and the riuer of Dordone; and had reduced it to great extremity. *La Salle* had commission to leauy threecore men for the guard of the Ile, and the building of a Fort: and to march with threecore of the ablest to Soulac, to relieue them which were in the Church; or if it were yeelded, to ioyne with the people of the country. *La Salle* leauies the building of the Fort to two of his brethren, and comes to Leparre the onely Towne of Medoc, where he heares of the yeelding of Soulac, and finds the inhabitants of Leparre and thereabouts so amazed, as they began to cary away their goods, thinking they should neuer be able to defend their towne nor Castle: but he reassures them, and breaks some Bridges, ouer which their enemies in this season were to passe to come towards Leparre and Bourdeaux, making Forts and placing guards vpon certaine passages.

Soone after, the *Seigneur Dornano Saint Croix* (chosen by the Parliament to command the troops) attending the leauying of more forces, came to Leparre, and within a while were to the number of fve hundred foot, which staid the course of *Monsieur de Fauas*, and in diuers encounters slue and tooke many of their enemies. *Fauas* for his part caused all the people neare to Soulac, to worke about the building of a Fort neare vnto the Church.

C Hee pillaged and burnt the houses betweene Soulac and Leparre; put garlison into the Church of Grayan, vſing the aduantage of his horse in the plaine Country vpon the foot Companies of Bourdelois; which being reported vnto the Parliament, they giue order for the leauying of a Company of forty light horse, with the which the *Seigneur Dornano* arrives at Leparre on the two and twentieth of March, and on the three and twentieth (before *Fauas* knew he had any company of horse) he parted in the euening, and by breake of day came within a mile of Soulac, where he forthwith the Bourrough, slue about thirtie Souldiers, and tooke sixteene; after which they retired with their booty to Leparre, being fve leagues off. *Fauas* much incensed at this affront, resolues to be reuenged, and entreates the Baron of Saint Seuerin, commanding in Royan, to come and assist him;

*Dornano* charged the  
Rochellers in  
Soulac.

D who brought a hundred good men to Soulac on the last of March; hauing also drawne some of their best souldiers out of their Ships, he came with forty horse, fve hundred foot, and one peece of Ordnance to Saint Viuen, where two companies of their enemies were carelesly lodged, with weake barricadoes. As soone as they perceived the Rochellers, *La Salle* issued with thirty Muskettiers and begins the skirmish: the Rochellers so follow the charge, as they get into the towne, and discharge their artillery, so as the enemy is much endamaged, and *La Salle* hurt. But the north wind caused them of Leparre three leagues off, to heare this Combate, so as *Dornano* gets speedily to horse, and with twelue voluntaries, and his light horse comes to Saint Viuen, charged threecore Muskettiers at ten paces distance, who slue diuers of his horse, but were themselves all slaine; and the fight continuing, *Fauas* and *S. Seuerin* in the end retired with the losse of 125 of theirs, and but few of their enemies.

*Fauas* routed the  
Saint Viuen.

E After this rout at Saint Viuen, *Dornano* returned to Bourdeaux, where letting them vnderstand that he could not besiege the Church of Soulac with lesse then a thousand or twelue hundred foot, fifty light horse, a company of Harguebussiers on horsebacke, and two Peeeces of artillery, as well to inuest and force the besieged as to prevent all succours from Rochel and Royan. Afterwards *Fauas*, seeing no great successe of his enterprises as the assembly of Rochel hoped; and that *Monsieur de Soubise* had but bad fortune in the Ile of Rie, as shall be said hereafter, he brake his Fort of Soulac, to guard the Church onely, made a truce with the first President and *Dornano*, and after retired himselfe F to Rochel.

One of the principall designs of the Assembly of Rochel in procuring this descent at Soulac was, as you haue heard, for other respects. And the enterprise of Nerat (into which by their intelligence they were entred, and had slain fve men vpon the little bridge betweene both townes) succeeded not. In Bearne they which affected *M. de la Forges*, seeing the siege of Montauban raised, had a designe vpon the Castle of Berloc, situate in the way betweene Acqs, and Nauarreux: the King had ordered it should be raised; but as such demolitions are commonly at his charge; *M. de Piller*, who commanded in the Ca-  
stle



file, being of the Religion, begged the ruines of the King, vpon condition to doe it at his owne charge, the which was granted; but as they write, he meant it not: which policy being discouered by *Monfieur de Poyanne*, Gouverneur of Nauarreux, being also aduertised that the Captaine of Bedoc was present in assemblies, where they spake of nothing but raking armes, and that he had no intent to raze Bedoc, although he had begged the ruines, onely to keepe any other from that commiffion; he prefently fuprised *Piles* in the faid Caffe, caufing all the Country thereabouts to labour in the demolifhing thereof, fo as within fifteene daies it was laid euen with the ground.

An enterprife  
vpon Cauffade.

In the beginning of the year they of Saint Antonin and Montauban made diuers enterprifes, to free the paffages from one towne to another, as well vpon the townes of Cauffade and Bourniquet, as vpon Negrecliff, which three townes are two leagues diftant one from another, and iust in the mid-way betwene Saint Antonin and Montauban. They had an enterprife to force Cauffade by Pettard, but before they would undertake it, there was a letter sent to the Consuls, in the name of the Duke of Rohan, in the which he blamed them for the fault they had committed, in abandoning the party of their religion, before the siege of Montauban, and contrary to their oath of the Union with the Churches: but there being now a fit opportunity offered to repair this error, they might free themselves of their garifon, being aduertised that most of the best fouldiers were gone away, which made him to perswade them to recouer their liberty with courage; and that for his part he would giue order, the Gouverneur of Saint Antonin should fo fauour them in this enterprife, as it should fucceede to the great content of all their Churches. *La Gafquerie*, who caried these letters, finding the Consuls deafe, returned to Saint Antonin, where *Ballaguere*, who was Gouverneur, with others, refolued vpon this enterprife, hauing drawne together aboue fifteen hundred men from all the neighbour Garifons of the religion; whereof the Baron of Vaillac who lay in *Queilus* of Bonnette, a league from Saint Antonin, aduertised *Pugnet* Gouverneur of Cauffade, who prefently sent word thereof vnto the Marshall of Themines, being in Cahors, who gaue order to the Commanders and Gouvernors thereabout, to send succours to Cauffade. *Pugnet* hauing drawne together feuentene or eigheteene hundred horfe and foot, lodged them (as he thought fit) attending their coming. On the ninth of Ianuary betwene two and three in the morning, the Gouverneur of Saint Antonin approached with his troops, and planted his ladders neere vnto the Temple gate, and entred the Temple with three hundred men, besides two hundred which were vpon the walls attending the playing of the Pettard. The euening before, all the ftreets were barricadoed, and field peeces planted, which vpon the alarme giuen were discharged, & the Garifon fell vpon them fo as there were two hundred flaine within the towne, and the rest fled out the wall. The Kings succours which lay without the towne, hearing the noife, aduanced, and meeting the enemy without, there was a great conflict; but in the end the troops of Saint Antonin were put to rout, where many Gentlemen, Captaines and Souldiers were flaine, and others taken prifoners, among the which was the Gouverneur of Saint Antonin.

The Garifon  
of Montauban  
defeated.

They of Montauban being fauoured by the difcommodities of the winter, and by the Forest of Montefeh, where they made their retreat, went often towards Thouloufe to take prifoners and cattell, but the Kings Garifons in Montefeh and Fignan annoyed them much, and cut off the victuals which was brought vnto them, and on the fifteenth of Ianuary came vnto the gates of Montauban, and caried away thirty Kine with some horfe, which the fouldiers within the towne would not offer to refcue, being preffed therunto by the inhabitants, but told them, if they would giue them their pay they would goe to field, and not be shut vp in a place afflicted with plague and hunger. The Consuls seeing they could draw no fervice from fuch men, difmiffed three hundred, to whom they gaue part of their pay. They marched away by night, and recovered a wood neere the Towne, fearing that if they kept the champion, they should bee discouered by the Kings forces which lay thereabouts: the extremity of the cold caufed them to make fires to heat them, the which being discouered by the Countmen, they prefently gaue aduertifement to the Marquis of Ambre, and the Consuls of Lauour, who armed what forces they could, and fet vpon them, fo as of the three hundred, there were not aboue forty left alieue, which were taken prifoners.

The King being come to Paris, many grew weary with the toyles of warre, who feeing

The Duke  
D'Esquigneres  
meditates a  
Peace.

The reasons  
of  
such as pro-  
pounded a  
peace.

A ing the Kings Treafure exhausted, and many of the Nobility flaine, they propound diuers meanes vnto the King to refolue to a Peace. The Duke d'Esquigneres befeecheth his Maieftie to giue it vnto his people, promifing to draw his reuolted fubiects to obedience. The King who desired nothing more then his fubiects hearts, with the preferuation of his authority, lets the Duke vnderstand, that if they would refolue to obey, they should finde him ready to pardon. It was propounded whether they should continue the warre, or grant them peace: which bred a contrariety of opinions. They which perswaded to peace, faid, it might be made after this fort: First, that continuing in full fubiectiō and obedience, they should leaue them their townes, euery one enioying their ancient priuiledges; for the which townes they should be answerable vnto the King, vpon paine of confiscation of all their goods, whereunto they should submit themselves willingly, and by treaty. Secondly, that within their townes they should obey the King in all things, to which the rest of the Prouinee and their neighbors were fubiect. Thirdly, that they should pay the like tributes and impositions, obserue the same lawes, and other rites, if they had no ancient exemptions. Fourthly, that they should obey the Edicts; and should not keepe any Garifons in their Townes or ancient fortresses but their Morriages onely. Fifthly, that they should demolish the new fortifications of Castles and small places which they possessed, and onely continue the strength of their greater townes and other fortifications, made before the death of the deceased King: and the King for his part shall keepe them in the protection of his Edicts, so long as they should continue obedient. Sixtly, that strict commandement should be giuen to doe iustice without distinction of religion, and to prevent all scandals and acts which might breed complaints and sedition. Seuenthy, that they should haue permission to assemble from time to time, but no where but in Paris, to the end it might be knowne to the King and all France that they treated nothing but according to the duty of fubiects. Eightly, the particular assemblies to make deputies, should bee held in their feuerall places, with the permission of Gouvernours of Parliaments.

The reasons of such as maintained the continuance of the warre, were, First, that the King should not seeme to desire a peace; Secondly, that if he gaue eare vnto it, it would make the rebells more proud and obftinate, and withall, he should wrong his authority; Thirdly, that he should not heare any speech of treating with his fubiects, but all hee should doe, was to receiue them without any other capitulation then a simple pardon and naked obedience: the which, if they did not offer freely, hee ought not to heare them; Fourthly, that he should not treat with them, as with a body, seeing there is a distinction betwene Huguenots which obey, liuing vnder the Kings protection & difaduow the rest, and those which are reuolted; Fifthly, that there is a difference betwene the Huguenots which are reuolted, for some may pretend particular priuiledges, as Rochell; others iust feare, as weake townes, and others interest of accords and graunts: and therefore it was fit euery towne should treat in particular; Sixtly, that no Commander was capable to treat for another, but for himselfe, for that he cannot haue power of all the rest, and therefore it would be in vaine to treat; Seuenthy, that by colour of a treaty, they would discouer the kings intentions and forces, and fortifie themselves accordingly: and therefore in stead of treating, they should set vpon them; Eightly, that a treaty would giue them time to furnish their townes with men, victuals, armes and munition; Ninthly, that they had solicited strangers to ioine with them and assist them in their cause, and therefore should not be admitted to treat with their King; Tenthly, that they had not kept their promises, so as they which maintained the iustness of this warre, faid, that it was honorable, profitable, iust and necessary.

All these goodly propositions of peace were changed into a resolution of warre, by reason of the disorders which they faid were committed in Languedec, bafe Guienne, and at Rochel.

The Duke of Elbeuf, being made Generall of the kings army in Guienne, as you haue heard, to restrain the course of *Monf. de la Force* and those of that parrie, hauing vnder his command fise regiments of Foote, confisting of one thousand eight hundred men, and fise companies of light horfe, most of which were with *Monf. du Hallier*, Captaine of the kings guard, at the siege of Genfac, where he found greater resistance then bee expected. The Duke, hauing caufed the towne to be well viewed, and finding there was small store

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The Castle of  
La Force be-  
sieged.

of munition in the army, and that they had too few men to attempt such a place which expected succours speedily, it was resolved not to engage themselves at this siege: whereupon he put his army into garison, and assured Duras for the King. The Duke lying at Bergerac, was advertised that certain troops which retired themselves into the Castle of La Force, did much annoy the Countrey, whereupon he resolved to besiege it with three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and four Cannon. *M. de la Force* hearing that the Duke meant to force his chiefest house, parts from Saint Foy with all his troops both of horse and foot, being one thousand and five hundred men, which made the Duke to come downe into the plaine. *M. de la Force* advanced all he could to relieue them, coming within halfe a league on the thirtieth of January in the evening; by two a clock in the morning came resolutely into the plaine, where hee gaue two furious charges to the right wing of the Dukes army, and continued the fight for the space of six houres, during the darknesse of the night; but being much gauled by their Ordnance, they were forced to retire behind a hill, where they stood in battell eight houres more, according to the relation of *M. Hickes*, who was present at this encounter. Some authors write that *M. de la Force* lost three hundred men, and the Duke but twenty five, who retired his army without taking the Castle, and the reason was (as they say) for that *M. de la Force* had sent to intreat him to suffer him to deliuer it into the hands of the Signeur of Bourdeilles, Gouverneur of the Countrey, who should answer for it, wherewith the Duke rested satisfied; and the rather because he was solicited thereunto by many Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Kings seruants, who feared the ruine of their houses if this Castle should be razed, according to a decree of the Parliament of Bourdeaux.

Montflanquin  
surprised and  
fortified by the  
*M. de la Force*.Clérac surpris-  
ed by the *M.*  
of Lusignan.

Whilest that the Duke takes muster of his army at Elmer, with a designe to besiege Montrauel, the Marquis of La Force was sent by his Father to seize vpon Montflanquin, a towne situated vpon a hill, and strong by nature, the which the yeare before had beene reduced vnto the Kings obedience, their fortifications ruined, and their Cannon taken away; but as soone as the Marquis was entred, the inhabitants repaired their breaches speedily, so as in fiftene daies they were able to defend it against an army of foure thousand men. This surprize did much fauor the Marquis of Lusignan designe vpon Clérac. The yeare before he had bene Gouverneur of Pignerol, and had left it without any recompence, it being demolished with the rest: for the which he grew so discontented as hee fought by all meanes to enter againe into the partie of the reformed, but would not doe it but by the surprize of some place to purchase him the more credit. At that time *Scabellier* Seneshall of Elguillon was Gouverneur of Clérac with a Garison of five hundred men. The Marquis well informed of the State of the garison, began to practise with some Burgeses, wishing them to get a Mason to make a hole in the wall within for one man to enter, and to relye vpon him for the rest of the execution; the which they promise, but all his care was to recover men and not bediscouered. The result of Montflanquin, being but six leagues off, was a great helpe to him, hauing meanes to draw what men he pleased from thence.

The Gouverneur had bene advertised of an enterprize vpon Clérac, but hee could not discouer how it could be done. *Monsieur Duc*, a Councillor of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and Commissary for his Maiesty for the razing of the fortifications of Monheur, Clérac, and Tonneins, hauing discouered that the Marquis of Lusignan had an enterprize vpon Clérac, advertised the Duke of Elbeuf, sending him word it was good hee should come vnto the banks of the riuer of Lot, where all the people seemed to breathe nothing but a reuolt, but his answer was, that he was otherwise employed. This Councillor hearing that it should be put in execution vpon the one and twentieth of Februarie at night, he resolved to put himselfe into the towne the day before with fiftene horse and fifty Muskettiers: but the Gouverneur would not suffer his footmen to enter, so as they were forced to lodge in a Village, halfe a league from Clérac: They visited the walls that night, yet could not finde the hole; they were advertised of an enterprize, but could not discouer the particulars, or how it should be executed. The Marquis was in no lesse feare that it was discouered, hauing receiued some intelligences from the towne. *Ferrant*, who had most conference with the Mason, and should haue come vnto him to acquaint him with the place, came not, but onely wrote vnto him, that the Mason had seene him that day, and was full of trouble and feare, by reason of their alarmes in the Towne; yet hee had

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A had promised to doe what he could; if he made the hole, hee would not then fend vnto him, but if he could not, hee would then come vnto the Marquis. Another sent him word, the Inhabitant who should lend his house for to make the hole, was resolved to discouer it to the Gouverneur. All this could not diuert the Marquis, who comming to the rendezvous, they resolved to go vnto the wall to see if the hole were made. At their approach to the walls they were discouered and shot at by the Centinells. At the last they found the hole with much difficultie, the which was so little and vnease as one man could hardly enter in on all foure; but notwithstanding the alarme they entered & forced their barricades and all their places of strength. The Gouverneur, *Duc* the Councillor, the Abbot of Clérac, and many others were taken prisoners, and as they write, about two hundred flaine, amongst the which was *Ernyé Maruets* a Iesuite.

During this surprize of Clérac, the Duke of Elbeuf was at the siege of Montrauel, in the which was *Motte Gauchon*, with three hundred choise men, and diuers good Captaines. The towne was soone taken, and the besieged retired to their Fort and bastions. The Gouverneur demands composition, and Duke refused to receiue them but at discretion. They planted a new battery, and gaue an assault, the which was valiantly defended for the space of two houres, where the Gouverneur was flaine vpon the breach, with many others: They retired into a Tower, but being readie to be forced, on the third of March they yielded to the Dukes mercy. All the Commanders were prisoners, whereof some of them were sent to Bourdeaux, to be exchanged for *Duc* the Councillor taken at Clérac: The women and maidens were conducted away in safety, to auoide the insolency of the Souldiers; and some fiftene souldiers and inhabitants hanged, and the rest prisoners.

During this siege, *M. de la Force* surprized Tonneins, where there are three townes, the vpper, the lower, and the Bourrough of Cuges. The inhabitants receiued them willingly, being much affected to the religion. There remained nothing opposite vnto them but the Castle of great Tonneins, belonging to the Earle of La Fausquion, which after some daies siege hee yielded. The D. of Elbeuf, hauing taken Montrauel, resolved to besiege it, being defended by *M. de Monpouillan*, second sonne to *M. de la Force*, the Viscount of Casters, *Theobon*, and diuers other Commanders with fiftene hundred foot. Vpon his march, the Marshall of Themines met him with his forces at Marmande, being about three thousand men. At their first approach they took the lower towne, and as they write, slew about three hundred of the besieged. *M. de la Force* came from Clérac to relieue them, but was repulced. They gaue an assault to the vpper Towne, but they were furiously driuen backe by the besieged. They gaue another assault to a house which the besieged held; the which was obstinately defended; but *Monpouillan* the Gouverneur had a Musket shot in the head, and many of his men hurt and flaine. The Dukes men hauing taken a bastion of importance, they were forced to demand a parley, and *Monpouillan* intreated him by his letters to grant a Pasport to foure or five Gentlemen hee would send vnto him and the Marshall, the which hauing obtained, they came and propounded conditions to their owne aduantage; the which the D. would not accept but vpon these terms;

E That the Commanders should be prisoners, and put to what ransom it should please the King; and the souldiers at discretion yet to haue their liues saued, and to remaine prisoners during these troubles. The Deputies returned without conclusion. *M. de la Force* the father, sent two other gentlemen to treat, but itooke no effect: after which hee made other attempts to relieue his sonne and the besieged within Tonneins, which he failed of, nor without losse to both parties: for during the combate, the besieged made a sallie out, where they ouerthrow some, and forced the rest to abandon their Commanders, who were flaine fighting, so as they became masters of the bastion and trenches, burnt the carriages of their Ordnance, and cast two into the ditch, and one into the riuer: but soone after they recovered F their trenches and bastion againe: what succeeded at this siege, you shall heare about the end of May.

The Marq. of Lusignan, seeing himselfe freed from the Marshall of Themines, who was gone to the siege of Tonneins, hauing raised a regiment, and being well fortified with good souldiers from diuers places, and hauing also recovered two pieces of iron Ordnance, he resolved to attempt the Abbey & Castle of Granges, a league from Clérac, where he vnderstood there was store of corne, wine, lard, and other necessaries to victual a place. Hauing besieged the Castle, there came five hundred horse and foot of the Commons, led

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by

Montrauel be-  
sieged by the  
D. of Elbeuf.Tonneins sur-  
prised by *M. de*  
*la Force*.Besieged again  
and taken by  
the D. of  
Elbeuf.

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*Monsieur du  
Plessis* Letter to  
the King touch-  
ing a peace.

by the Seigneur of Catus with some horse sent by the Marshall of Themines to relieve it: The Marquis leaves his trenches, and chargeth them so suddenly as few returned. That night the castle yielded, and the Marquis caused great store of provision to be caried by boat to Clerac with armes for 700 men.

The proposition of peace formerly mentioned continued in Court the two first Moneths of the year, during the which *Monsieur du Plessis Mornay* wrote thus vnto the King. Sir, Heretofore your Maiestie hath bene pleased, yea and hath commanded me to speake of your subiects of the Religion. I am so little, and the businesse so great, as I feare left your Maiestie should terme it presumption. Wherefore, *Not daring to inyne my selfe with those which demand peace for themselves*, I hold it my duty to craue it in all humility for your selfe, and by your owne bounty, of whom, next vnto God, they are to acknowledge both to haue their being and well being. I hope to see your Maiestie moued, like a good father, to giue it them: can they bee ignorant what need they haue to sue for it with all kinds of submissions which may expiate what is past, and protest their future obedience. If hitherto, Sir, they haue not done it in such good manner as was to be desired, your Maiestie may be pleased to consider, *the seuer was giuen them, that their rime was absolutely refused*; which made them thinke all means iust and lawfull to preferre themselves; hath made them shut their eyes to all respect and dutie, and to fix them onely vpon their necessity; yet being already, *as some as it shall please your Maiestie to shew them a good countenance, to cast themselves at your feet, and to poure out their liues for your service*. I haue said, Sir, that I presumed most humbly to entreat you for your selfe: for it is your house which is on fire, they are your men which are lost, your blood which is spilt, your treasure which is wasted, your triumphs which are turned into funerals, and when these desires shall succed beyond imagination, you shall haue nothing remaining but deserts and ruines. Suffer an ancient Seruant, Sir, to put you in mind, *in what perils they haue sometimes assisted that great King Henry your father, and for how many years*, and let these their seruices past, hold some place in their account, in deduction of the discontents your Maiestie hath received. The chiefe negotiation consists in you, who can iudge vprightly *what assurance is necessary to warrant them from the malice of their ill-willers which hath been but too apparent in these latter years*. And although they should neither haue counsell nor courage to demand them of your Maiestie, yet it is incident to your naturall bounty and fatherly affection to grant them of your selfe; that is to say, *to capitulate properly with your iustice*, wherein your authority shall thinke absolutely, and it may be, occasion may be found offered, wherein your Maiestie may employ men of all qualities, and make triall of their courage and fidelitie together. I bend my knees before your Maiestie, and craue pardon for my presumption, beseeching the Creator, that I may see your Maiestie peaceable within, and glorious abroad, to die in this inuolable qualitie, your most humble, &c.

And in the same moneth there was a discourse directed vnto the Queen Mother, whom they knew to be much inclined to a peace, to entreat her to procure it for France, and to be an intercessor to the King her sonne.

According to the designe of their Assembly at Rochel, formerly mentioned, *Monsieur de Soubise* landed the foureteenth of February in base Poictou, neere to Saint Benoit in the mouth of the Riuer of Iard, with three thousand foot, and about three hundred horse, hoping within few dayes to double his troops, the which succeeded: for many of the religion in base Poictou, came vnto him at Mareil vpon the said Riuer. This descent gaue an alarme to all the countrie, and caused the Earle of Rochefoucault Governor of Poictou to come straight waies to Saint Ermine on the said riuer of Iard, sending to some Noblemen and for some companies of foot to come vnto him to oppose the enterprises of them of the Religion. But *Monsieur de Soubise* according to the intelligence which he had with some Catholique Gentlemen, went & surprised Sables, D'Olonne, and the castle of Chame: Those of Sables compounded with him; to bee free from spoile; to giue him twenty thousand crownes, a certaine number of iron peeces, and three vessels, all which he receiued: but being entred with some troops, hee forbore not to pillage them for two houres space, whereof the inhabitants complaining vnto him, *I had* (said he) *promised them the spoile before your composition was made*. The Earle of Rochefoucault hearing that *M. de Soubise* his troops increased hourly, and that he had a designe to attempt Talmont: hee sent to entreat the Seigneur of Roche Barritault (who had drawne his friends together

An encounter  
betweene  
Roche Barritault  
and *Cressiniere*.

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A to put himselfe into the place. Whereupon he parted on the eight and twentieth of February with fourescore horse, and thirte Muskettiers to goe to Talmont. *Cressiniere*, whom *M. de Soubise* had left in Mareil, hearing thereof, resolved to lay in ambuscado for him; but finding that he was pale, and not faire, hee pursued him, hoping to finde means to fight with him at some passage. Being aduertised of their coming, and seeing no means to retire but by fight, hee resolved to fight. *Cressiniere* seeing him in this resolution founded a charge, where there was a long and obstinate conflict; which continued aboue an houre and a halfe. *Roche Barritault* fighting long on foot, was wounded, taken, caried away and afterwards released; there were some other of note slaine, some of the common souldiers, and fiftene taken prisoners. The Earle of Grassy, sonne to *Roche Barritault*, with his Lieutenant, and thirty of their troope retired safely, with foure prisoners. They of the religion (as they write) lost fiftie persons in the fight, amongst the which were *Cressiniere* their Leader, and fourteene Gentlemen of quality. In the meantime *M. de Soubise* fortifies the Castle of Chame: hee meant to besiege Talmont; but hearing that great numbers of men were within it, hee retired his troops: Being aduanced along the Sea shore, towards Saine Giles, and the Ile of Ré, the inhabitants would not suffer him to enter. It is written that he said; If the Earle of Roche-Foucault came to field, he would vndoubtedly beat him: that if the Earle ioynd his forces with the Duke of Elperons, they should fight; but if the King came, hee would flye away; the which afterwards proued too true.

The estate of the affaires in base Poictou required the Kings presence: They which were inclined to speake for a peace, wished he had not parted from Paris till after Easter, being aduertised from *M. D'Esdaignieres*, that all the reformed Churches should send their Deputies, with their demands for a peace, and should bee there presently after Easter. But such as could not relish this peace, said; It must needs bee dishonourable, being made with enemies who kept the field, and proclaimed themselves victors both by Secand land. Hereupon they speedily set downe the estate of their armies and gaue order to hasten the preparations; and to aduance the munition and carriages to the riuer of Loire. But waite cannot be made without money, and it cannot be recovered but from the people: They that direct the treasure, seeke to draw it with the least oppression that may be. The creation of Offices, and increase of Officers fees being the mildest courses; and the most assured to finde money speedily; which being propounded in Councell, there were welue Edicts sealed for new Creations, the which were verified in Parliament, the King sitting in his seat of iustice.

Twelve Edicts  
for the raising  
of money.

The King after his coming to Paris, had granted the demolition of the Fortifications at Quillebeuf, which would no lesse annoy Paris then Rouen: They had bene much aduanced when the deceased D. of Montpensier was Gouverneur of that Province: the Marshall *D'Ancre* continued them, & they were almost finished by the Constable *Luyne*, notwithstanding all the complaints of the Parliament of Rouen: a worke which had cost aboue six hundred thousand crownes. The King had resolved in Councell that they should be demolished and the ditches filled vp, giuing Commission to the Deputies of Rouen for the effecting thereof. The Inhabitants of Quillebeuf, who thought to grow rich by this fortification opposed themselves, threatening to kill and drown all the Labourers which should be sent thither. In the end, the Duke of Longueville, Gouverneur of the Province, and the first President of Rouen, were forced to goe thither with foure companies of Foot to see the demolition performed, the which was begun and ended with force and armes, to the great griefe of the Inhabitants, the content of the Country, and the ease of them at Rouen.

The fortifications at Quillebeuf were demolished.

The King, before his departure for Poictou, meant to reconcile the Duke of Nevers with the Prince of Loynville, incensed one against another for a quarrell which happened the year before betwene the said Duke, and the Cardinal of Guise deceased, in the house of *Monsieur Guines*, a Councellor in the great Councell, where the Prince Loynville accompanying his brother the Cardinal, had stricken the Seigneur of *Mareuil*, Master of Requests of the Kings house, who managed the Dukes affaires. The Cardinal of Guise at his death had craued pardon of the Duke of Nevers, who remained satisfied, so as the Duke had no spleene but against the Prince of Loynville, whom his Maiestie would himselfe reconcile, causing this Act following to be drawne the 19 of March, 1621:

The Duke of Nevers and Prince Loynville reconciled.

*Monsieur*

1622

The Kings fo-  
cond voyage  
into Poitou.Reduction of  
Poussin and Bay

*Monsieur de Nevers*, I am duly informed and satisfied of your obedience to my com-  
mandements, in that soliciting a suite betwene you and the deceased Cardinal of  
Gaife, you were not accompanied in your Carrosse, but with such a number of Gen-  
tlemen as I had limited, vpon that which had past in the house of the reporter, where the  
Cardinal and Prince *Joanville* his brother went to seeke you: the Cardinall thinking that  
in some writings you had done him wrong, was transported with choller, and gave you  
a blow with his hand vpon the head, and you returned it with thrusting him backe with  
the like stroke: which wrong the Cardinall hauing acknowledged at his death, deman-  
ded pardon of you, and you haue rested satisfied; yet, for that your spleene continues  
still against the Prince *Joanville*, who did accompany him; he doth assure you, that if he  
had knowne his brothers intention, he would haue sought to dissuade him, or at least not  
accompanied him, acknowledging that this action was done by surprise and advantage:  
that you had not your Sword when you were stricke, and that as soone as the Gentleman  
of your horse had giuen it you, you did endeavour to witness the feeling a generous Prince  
ought to haue vpon such an affront: And the P. *Joanville* assures you, that when he drew  
his sword putting himselfe between you and the said Cardinall, his purpose was not but to  
prevent some greater mischief which might for euer make both your Families irrecon-  
cilable: confiding likewise that diuers times since you haue endeauored by all honou-  
rable means to be righted by him; and that your foresight and authority onely haue hindered  
the deciding herof by armes. And as for that which concerns the Seigneur of Marefcot, the  
said Prince *Joanville* declares, That the opinion he had that the said *Marefcot* did nourish  
this strife betwene you, provoked him, being in choler to see him present, to strike  
him with his sword: and for that he hath the honour to be of my Councell, and a Master  
of requests of my household, and that you shew a discontent for that with my leave hee  
deales in your affaires, the said Prince *Joanville* saith, That he is very sorry, and would not  
haue done it but for the former cause, and being loath to omit any thing that may content  
you, he will giue him when you please, or such new, such contentment as you and he shall  
rest satisfied. In all which your generous carriage being well knowne to all men, and to  
him in particular, the suspicion you had of his ingratitude being wholly taken away by his  
declaration, the offer to content *Marefcot* for your sake, and the desire he shewes to haue  
to embrace that good correspondency which should bee cherished betwene Cousin-  
germans; I conceiue that all this should giue you content and satisfaction: And there-  
fore in reason, and by my authority I desire and command you to forget what is past,  
to embrace one another, and to continue friends. I will also that vpon your reconciliation,  
such as accompanied you, forget whatsoever hath past in their particular. Which done,  
the Prince *Joanville*, directing himselfe to the Seigneur of Marefcot, said; *Monsieur Marefcot*,  
I am very sorry, for the loue of *Monsieur de Nevers*, to haue stricken you, I pray you  
forget it, and I will be one of your friends. To whom he answered; Sir, seeing that *M.  
de Nevers* is content, I am also satisfied.

The next day being Palme-Sunday, the King parted in the afternoon for his voy-  
age into Poitou, going without any state to Blois: His Guards both French and  
Suisse were sent with all speede downe the riuer of Loire towards Saumur. Being at Or-  
leans, he receiued aduertisement from the Duke D'Esclignieres of the reduction of Pou-  
sin, that towne, with that of Bay, hindered the free commerce vpon the Riuer of Ro-  
ne, betwene Lions and Marceilles.

The Duke hauing sent to perswade *Blacons*, who commanded in these two townes,  
to conforme himselfe to the order which he had set downe for the peace of Dauphiné,  
seeing that these two places depended on the country of Valentinois. Whereunto hee  
answered, That they depended not of the government of Dauphiné, but of Viue-  
retz, and therefore belonged to Languedoc: that he was not resolved to yield them but  
by the consent of the Assembly of base Languedoc and Viuretz. This answer drew  
the Duke from Grenoble, in the end of February, meaning to besiege Poussin, which  
*Blacons* had greatly fortified. Hee assaulted the towne, and planted his battery speedily  
vpon a little hill which did much annoy them. In the end he made a breach, which the Sei-  
gnieur of Grange vadertook to assault with his Regiment, but they entertained them with  
such resistance, as he was glad to make his retreat, lost many of his men, & himselfe hurt.  
He was seconded by the E. of Tallard, who, in the beginning forced the besieged to retire.

Hec

1632

A He recovered their wals thrice, but yet they defended the breach with such furie, as in  
the end they left it being not held reasonable. The Cannon being ready to play againe,  
and the Duke hauing built a fort, *Blacons* offered to yeelde the place vpon certaine con-  
ditions: After much contestation, the towne being important and strong, the Duke yielded  
to these Articles, all with the Kings good liking, and not otherwise: That the  
Seigneur of *Blacons* should come forth of the towne, with armes and baggage, and should  
haue the towne of Bay vpon Bay in government. 2. That the Governor of the towne  
and cattle of Poussin which were to be changed by the Duke D'Esclignieres should not  
withstand be of the religion. 3. That the garison also which was to be established  
there should be of the Religion. 4. And as for Bay vpon Bay, that the like condition  
should be obserued in the reduction thereof. 5. Finally, that there should no hurt or  
dammage be done vnto the inhabitants of the said places in their persons or goods: Ac-  
cording to this agreement the Duke made Governor of the Caste of Poussin D'Alons Go-  
vernor of Serres in Dauphiné, a Gentleman of the Religion, and of the towne of La  
Roche de Grange, one of the Religion also, and the garisons of the same Bay vpon Bay was  
rendred vpon the same conditions, and *Blacons* made Governor thereof.

The King being at Blois, the Prince of Iohnuillé went thither, to craue his leave and  
permission to marrie with the Countesse of Laynes widow, to whom hee was already  
made sure, conditionally, that as soone as the Nuptials were performed, he should repaire  
C vnto his Maiestie againe with all speed. Being come backe to Paris, hee eloped the said  
Ladie in the Caste of Lusigny, where the wedding was kept with great magnificence.  
The Prince of Conde, all the House of Lorraine, the Duke of Nevers, the Duke of Mon-  
bazon, the Duke of Chaulne, and many great Personages were invited thereunto.

The King (hauing made some stay at Blois and Tours) came to Saumur to take order  
with his Councell for some matters concerning that place: Hee had bene aduertised  
that they of the Religion in that towne had bene very factious; and that they had pro-  
fessed with *Monsieur de Soubsie* to surpris the place, by the means of some soldiers of  
the Garison whom they had corrupted. The King went to Councell with the Princes and  
Noblemen, where they were made acquainted with the great charges of the towne of  
D Saumur, for the maintenance of such a garison, whereupon the King rebuked the solici-  
tations should be demolished in the suburbs, and onely a garison of these hundred men  
left in the towne and castle, with a company of light horse.

The King continuing his voyage, and causing his troops to aduance both by water  
and land, he came to Nantes on the tenth of April, where hearing what troops the Earle  
of Rochefoucault had in base Poitou, being three thousand foot, and four hundred horse,  
he sent vnto him to be ready when he should call for him. He informed himselfe of *Soubsie*  
his designs; what way they could take to come into Britanny; what forces he had; and  
what shipping he had brought from Rochel; and what means there were to charge him  
and defeat him by land. He resolved to aduance with his armie, vpon an aduice giuen by  
E the Earle of Rochefoucault, who found the enemies army easie to be defeated, if his Ma-  
iestie tooke a fit time and aduanced his army with speed.

The King had sent the Seigneur of Boscargis who was well acquainted with those  
Countries of base Poitou, to put himselfe into the Isle of Rie, and to defend it with the  
inhabitants, whom he found ready to capitulate with *Monsieur de Soubsie*, assuring them  
that the King would come to succor them within two dayes; whereupon they planted  
two small peeces of iron, with the which they kept them from entering that day into the  
Island. The next day, *Monsieur de Soubsie* found another passage whereby he entered, but  
this resistance gaue the King time to approach and was the cause of his ruine.

*Boscargis* returns to the King, and assures him that if he would charge *Soubsie* in the  
Isle of Rie, he doubted not but to find him a passage both for horse and foot. This Isle of  
Rie is environed with an arme of the sea, and is five leagues in length, and two leagues  
broad, in which there are great marshes: vpon the firme land are the Boroughes of Rie,  
Saint Giles point, Saint Hillary, La Barre du Mont, our Lady of Pont, and Saint Iohn de  
Mons. Some were of opinion they should not attempt the Island, being of hard access,  
and that the enemy had six thousand foot, and aboute five hundred horse, three peeces of  
brasse Ordnance, and foure of iron: the King indeed had more men, but no Ordnance.  
Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he resolved to see if *Soubsie* had any courage to at-

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tend

Prince Iohnuillé  
marries the  
Countesse  
widow.A resolution to  
demolish the  
fortifications  
at Saumur.The King  
comes to  
Nantes.The King finds  
to defend the  
Isle of Rie.

1522

lead him. Vpon this resolution, the Earle of Rochefoucault was sent for to come the next day with his troops to ioyne with the Kings armie betwixt Apremont and Cominiquers, where the whole armie met, and the King tooke vp his quarter at Chalais, within a league of Rie.

On the next day by two a clocke in the morning, the King was on horsebacke, and according to his former deliberation of assailling the Ile in two places, the Prince of Conde had charge to march along the Dike of Peric with the Regiments of the guards of Normandie and Normandy, and the Earle of Rochefoucault to set vpon Saint Giles. Point with his troops of horse, and the Regiments of Elillac, Rainville, and Saint Vincent. The King with the body of the army according to their successe was to succour them. *Monsieur de Soubise* made them to defend the entry of the land, and to charge the Regiments of the guards with his horse and foot, but he retired to Rie without fight. His Maiesty having bene 15 houres on horsebacke, camped at Saint Iohn de Mons, and there fed his troops, staying for the ebb to passe the Channell of Saint Giles called Bessle, the which he did about midnight, being five hundred paces broad, the foot men wading vp to the middle.

The Kings army is put in battell, but as they write, *Monsieur de Soubise* troops were partly embarked, the rest cried for mercy, casting away their armes: but the Pelants so bene revenged slew many. *Monsieur de Soubise* fled with his horse, and abandoned his Cannon.

On the 16 of April, the King marched with his forces to the Crosse of Rie, diuided from Saint Giles by an arme of the Sea, where he defeated all the foot, and part of their horse. Many cast themselves into Barkes to flye to Rochel, but being aground they were most of them slaine. There were six or seven hundred prisoners taken. At the same time the King sent to the Earle of Rochefoucault being at Saint Giles, to inuest the Castle of Chaume with three thousand men, which vpon the first summons yielded, vpon condition to haue their liues saued. *Monsieur de Soubise* fled to Rochel, where he was receiued with little fauour.

After this, there was some contestation about the prisoners of quality, namely, for the Earle of Mareuil, and *La Motte Saint Sautier*. The Duke of Vendosme, *Monsieur Schomberg* and *Humieres*, sued for their pardons, or at the least that they might be ransomed. The Prince opposed himselfe, saying that they were vnworthy of any grace. It was referred to Councell, and afterwards all men of quality were entreated as prisoners of warre, but of the souldiers about six hundred were carried to Nantes, whereof some sixteen were hanged, and the rest condemned to the gallies for ever.

The Duke of *Espernon*, seeing the King refused to force them of the Religion, sent *Monsieur de Buillon* to his Maiesty being at Nyort, to make their submissions, and to disallow all the revolts which had bene made against him since the last troubles: He fluted his Maiesty on the Dukes behalf, with all the protestations of a good subiect. The King receiued *Buillon* graciously, and made it knowne, hee did no lesse affect him, then the Duke whose businesse hee did manage. Hee let the King vnderstand, that many townes which had sent him, besought his Maiesty to receiue them into his protection, and to accept of their seruice, promising neuer to embrace any other party but his. Hee had diuers audiences, where the King made it knowne, with what affection he embraced those which with a generous mind came willingly to submit themselves vnto his lawes, and how much he desired rather to reduce his subiects by mildnesse and clemency, then by force and the rigor of armes, whereupon the Deputies of euery towne in particular were sent backe with all assurances of his good intentions.

*Monsieur de Soubise* being returned to Rochel after this great defeat, fell into a generall hatred of the multitude, reproaching him with his poore carriage, and for so great a losse of the body of Religion, so as soone after he refused to make a voyage into England, to procure some succors, but it had no great successe.

The King came into Xaintonge, and past by Saint Iohn D'Angely, to see the end of the demolishing. He was put in ialousie of the Castle of Taillebourg, which belonged vnto the Duke of Tremouille, who had contained himselfe within the bounds of Neutrality, and would not embarque himselfe with the Rochellers, foreseeing the storme which threatened them, neither yet ioyne himselfe to the Kings party, for that hee would

The Duke  
of  
Espernon  
sends vnto the  
King for a  
peace.

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1622

A giue no ialousie to the other, giuing alwayes vnto his Maiesty an entry into his Townes when he pleased. The King refused to doo if any of the townes which the yeare before had vowed all obedience, would mutine against his army. The Gouvernor of Taillebourg seeing the King neere, refused to offer his seruice like a faithful subiect, as hee had done the yeare before, imagining his Maiesty would haue bene contented with his offer. The King receiued him with all courtesie, but withall hee commanded *Monsieur du Halier* to take some troops of horse and foot to visit the place, and see if the effects were answerable to the Governours promises. Vpon his approach, the Inhabitants grew into a mutiny, some would open the gates, and some refused to let *Monsieur du Halier* enter; who presently sent word thereof vnto his Maiesty, and in the mean time he sent to aduertise the Townsmen, that if they did not render, they would presently cut off their Governours head before the gates, which at first moued them not, but when they saw a scaffold preparing, to saue their Governour they receiued the Kings troops into the Castle, into which *du Halier* put a strong garison. There was found great quantity of munition and armes for sixe thousand men, with 25 peeces of Cannon. This newes was brought vnto the King at Xaintes, who sent backe the Governour into his place, with commandement to draw nothing into the Castle.

The King being at Nyort, refused to besiege Royan, who had suffered themselves to be surprisid, and was fortified by *Monsieur de Soubise*, and the Seigneur of Fauas, seruing as a backe-dooore to them of Rochel, to come forth and roue vp and downe all the plaines of Xaintonge; and now his Maiesty being come to Xaintes, he sent the Duke of *Espernon* with foure thousand men to inuest it, who soone became Master of the suburbs, lodging therewith two Regiments: And vpon the newes of the Kings approach in person, and the Cannons coramg to batter it, he which commanded therein vnder *Monsieur de Fauas*, had already sent vnto *Monsieur d'Espernon* to yeeld the towne vpon an honorable composition, which being almost agreed vpon, *Monsieur de Fauas* attues with succors, breaks off the treaty, and wreakes his anger vpon the said Capitaine. Thus Royan resolves for a siege.

The Kings army approached, planted their Cannon, forced their out-workes, and D wonne a bastion called Soubise: the besieged blew vp a Myne, where many Noblemen and Gentlemen were slaine, and amongst others, the Seigneur of *Humieres* much lamented, with 80 souldiers.

In the end, seeing they could keepe the place no longer after the taking of these two bastions, they demanded a composition, with pardon, which his Maiesty granted vpon these Articles: 1. He gaue life and liberty to his subiects of what qualitie soeuer being in Royan: 2. He suffered them to retire by sea or land whither soeuer they would in all safety, except into the Ile of Argenton and Medoc, and to carie away their armes and baggage, except their cannon, munition, and victuals. 3. That they should restore to the Seigneur of Saint Sutin, what soeuer did belong to him and those that went out with him, with their ships, or the value thereof. 4. That they should set at liberty *Monsieur de Pouffe*, and other prisoners taken in Royan, where soeuer they were, for the which they should giue hostages. 5. That his subiects of Royan should liue in libertie of conscience according to his Edicts. 6. That all men might retire to their houses, and liue vnder the benefit of his Edicts, hauing made declaration, for the which they should haue passports, and they which would not make vse of this grace, should promise not to cary arms against his Maiesty. 7. That they should deliuer vp the place within five houres.

According to this capitulation, the besieged left their Cannon in Royan, and retired to Rochel by Sea, with their armes and baggage. The King made *Drouer* Capitaine of the Regiment of the guards Gouverneur of this place, with three hundred men in F garison.

The King being at this siege, hee had two seuerall aduertisements, the one pleasing, the other distastfull: The first was the yeelding of Tonnais, and the other the reuolt of Mont de Marlan, with the Marquis of Castelnau their Gouverneur. Tonnais had endured till the discomforts which might bee; as well by the want of victuals and munition of warre, as in regard of the infection, the towne being finally, and the multitude of sicke and wounded men. *Monsieur de la Force* had twice attempted to relieve it, being forced to retire with losse. The Duke of *Albion* would

The castle of  
Taillebourg  
seized on for  
the King.

Royan besieged

The capitulation  
of Royan.

Needfull of  
the besieged  
at Tonnais.



1622

would haue them yeeld at discretion, and they resolved to dye rather then to doe it.

The length of this siege did much import the Kings desire to passe into Languedoc. Whereupon the Duke vpon the fourth of May granted these Articles following to *Monsieur de Montpion* and the besieged.

Articles of composition.

1. That they should demand a general pardon for all that had bene attempted against the Kings seruice.

2. That they should sweare and protest not to carie armes for six moneths against his Maiestie.

3. That in consideration thereof, they should depart out of Tonnins with their armes and baggage, their matches dead.

4. That they should leave all the Cannon and Munition.

5. That they should haue boats or carts to carie away their sicke in safety, or to remain there to be cured.

6. That they should haue passports to retire whither they pleased.

This Capitulation being faithfully performed, *Monsieur de Montpion* and the Viscount of Castels died within three dayes after of their wounds ; and on the Kings side there died at this siege, the Marquis *D'Ambre*, and *Cornuillon* great Steneshall of Thoulouze. After which the three towne of Tonnins were set on fire, for a punishment of their revolt.

The result of Montde Marfan, and the reduction.

The Marquis of Castelnau Gouvernor of Mont de Marfan, and Seneschall of the Countrey, had during these last troubles continued firme in the Kings seruice ; in regard whereof, he had given him an hundred men more in garison ; but growing discontented for that he had not employment according to his desire, and pressed by some who perswaded him, that if he were master of the place, it would aduance a treaty of peace, which would be profitable for them of the Religion : he drawes souldiers secretly into the castle, and on the first of May he sends a prisoner to be kept in the old Castle with twelue Muskettiers, the next day he drawes two hundred horse and four hundred foot into the town and disarms the inhabitants. The first President of Bourdeaux who had alwaies strict correspondency with the Marquis for the Kings seruice, hearing this unexpected newes, sent presently vnto him to let him vnderstand, that whatsoever he had done might be excused by his friends, and that he might retire himselfe with aduantage. Presently the Lieutenant Criminall arriued at Bourdeaux, letting the President vnderstand, that he was come with aduice of the Marquis and his confident friends, by his meanes to retire him from the danger (whereinto some factious spirits and the discontent he had against some inhabitants, had engaged him) and the towne and countrey from the ruine which threatened them, who if he might be protected and those which assisted him, and that in recompence of his charges and the government of the towne and castle (the onely recompence of 50 yeares seruice done by his father and brother lately slain, the one before Montauban, the other before Tonnins) he would deliuer the place vnto whom it pleased the King.

The importance of the result of Mont de Marfan.

The first President considering how much the siege of this place would crosse the Kings designs, and hinder the progresse of his armes, hauing a resolution after the taking of Royan to reduce Saint Foy, Montflanquin, and Clerac, and so to passe into Languedoc, hauing nothing so pretious as time : That the place might well be fortified and defended, hauing many men within it, and that the countrey round about could hardly feed the Kings army eight dayes : that the entertainment of the Gouvernor and Garison cost the King yearly eight thousand Crownes, and that for these 50 yeares it had bene held among the townes of heretie, for that the Gouvernors were of the Religion, and that the malecontentes had no other retreat in Beazne and Gasconie : he returns the Lieutenant Criminall with all speed to the Marquis and his friends, with a promise to procure from his Maiestie the greatest recompence hee could, and an assurance to deliuer twenty thousand Crownes presently, to any one he should make choice of in the Province, and his Maiesties approbation for all which had past in Mont de Marfan, for the which hee engaged his word and faith. Hee entreats him to appoint one to receive the money, and so set downe a day when he would deliuer the place : hee conuerts him to doe it speedily, and in the meane time to make vse of the Gouvernor of Royans misfortune, whom his owne men shut out of the gates, and that hee would haue a care to himselfe and the place.

The

A The first President aduised the King, who he had concluded, that he had had an ample commission, considering the benefit would redound to his seruice, and the danger delay would bring, either by the change of the Marquis and his friends, or by some other, which such as he had drawing into the towne might make upon his place or persons. His Maiestie allowed of this Treaty, and commanded the Earl of Solmsberg to furnish the money presently, and both aduise the Prince of Condé thereof (being present the day before to Bourdeaux) to whom he recommended the execution in the instant time. The first President receiued several messengers from the Marquis with certaine conditions : That hee held it not safe to deliuer the place, before he had disposed of such as did assist him, to retire to their houses, and to that end to let them see the Kings Pardon, verified, and a Passport, fearing that returning to their houses, they might be taken by his Troopes of *La Maitie* *Gondrin* and *Poyanne*. The President acquaints the Prince of Condé herewith, and incrites him to write in such sort to the Marquis, such Letters as may be a new assistance of the Kings approbation and a Pardon and Passport for his friends. The Prince, at hasten, the execution of this Treaty, deliues 10000 Crownes (appointed for the payment of such troopes as he had brought from Royan) and binds himselfe with the first President for that rest againe charge to the Seigneur of Poyanne, to receive the place, and to keepe it till his Maiestie had otherwise disposed thereof.

Vpon the receipt of these Letters the Marquis dismissed his friends, and deliues the place accordingly ; the which a month after, by order from his Maiestie, *Poyanne* sent into the Mayon and Jurats, who by verue of a Commission from his Maiestie, razed the Castle, and bound all the inhabitants of the reformed religion to depart the Towne, to seeke them from suspicion and popular sedition, during their combustions.

About this time *Jehan Paul de L'Ecluse*, formerly a Councillor in the Council of Paris, and Deputy in Court for the Churches of Beazne, was taken at Cozes in Xaintonge, with many Commissions for the lauying of souldiers, he was sent to Bourdeaux, where the Court of Parliament made a quick dispatch of him : for vpon the examination of some Witnesses, and the verification of his own hand writing, he was condemned to be drawn through all the streets vpon a Hurdle, with a writing vpon his head, containing *Guiltie of High Treason, and President in the assembly at Rochel*, and so brought before the Palace there to doe penance in his shirt vpon his knees with a halter about his necke, bareheaded and barefoot, holding in his hand a burning Torch of two pound weights. After which to haue his head cut off, and his body quartered, for that, said the sentence, he had wickedly and maliciously assisted and presided in the said assembly at Rochel ; and in quality of President signed commissions, to leaue souldiers against the Kings seruice, and authority, and had assisted in the Council of justice, established in Rochel, by authority of the Assembly, to iudge souverainly of the life and goods of the Kings subiects : and verily all that he had made a booke, entitled, *The Persecution of the Reformed Churches of Beazne*, which Booke and Commissions were condemned to be burnt. His posterity was

declared base and ignoble, and all his goods confiscate to the King.

In the end of the last yeare, the King had by his Letters Patents declared the Duke of Rohan guilty of High Treason ; but they had not bene sent to the Parliament to be verified, in regard of the conference which was then made for a Peace : which being broken off, and there being no more hope, they were now sent to Paris and verified. By which he was deprived of all honours, Dignities, Offices, Governments, Pensions, Priviledges and Prerogatives, and commandement given to all men to seize vpon his person. Whersupon the Earl of Rochefort, who was made Gouverneur and Lieutenant General in Poitou, the Dukes place.

After the reduction of Royan, the King staid some dayes in his Campe, to resolve vpon three points. First, for the preferation of Poitou, Xaintonge, Aulnis, and against the enterprises of the Rochellers. Secondly, to free the River of Garonne, Bourdeaux, and Medoc, from the Ports of Soules, and the Ile of Argenton, held by *Fauas* and *Boisse*, for them of Rochel. Thirdly, Touching his voyages into Languedoc by the River of Dac-dongne, and in passing, to reduce Saint Foy, and Clerac, which had revolted ; the Gouvernors of which places had sent vnto his Maiestie for pardon.

For the first, the King appointed the Earl of Soissons, assisted by the Marshal of Vieux, to command the army which he resolved to leave in Poitou, Xaintonge, and Aulnis, at

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The Duke of Mont de Marfan yielded into the Kings hands.

Paul de L'Ecluse a Councillor at Paris, executed at Bourdeaux.

The Duke of Rohan declared guilty of Treason.

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well to retain each one in his duty, as also to invest and blocke vp Rochel both by Sea and Land.

For the second, it was resolved, to send the Earle of Aurrie Marshall of the Campe, into Medoc, with 1500 men, and two Colucians: whereof having advertised the first President of Bourdeaux, he presently sent the Scigneur of Aspalais vnto his Maiestie to let him vnderstand, that his expedition would cause a great combustion in all Medoc, which since the encounter at Saint Vilian, had not bene troubled by the revolted: That he had hope that if *Famard* did not shortly yield vp his place by treatie, vnto his Maiesties obedience, he should either surprize or force it. He represented the same vnto the Prince of Conde being at Bourdeaux.

At the same time the President hearing that *Famard* was gone to Rochel, vpon diuers occasions; and that there were few men left in Sotiac, they caused some of the principal to be taken withal, to take a recompence for the place; and withall caused it to be invested by two Companies, making preparation to force it: whereupon they parleyed, and on the nine and twentieth of May yielded the place into the hands of *Aspalais*, to haue their hies and goods saved, vpon condition they should not cary away any ornaments of the Church nor graine; and in recompence, the first President gaue one hundred and fifty Pistols, and a Barque, as they had demanded: but being imbarqued with their armes and goods, they saw certaine long boats armed, which attended to take them, finding too late, that they had not demanded a safe conduct in their Capitulation; so as they were presently taken prisoners. As for the Fort in Argenton, held by *Buisse*, it was not yielded till June.

Touching the Kings voyage into Languedoc, by the Riuer of Dordone, they said hee was bound vnto it, and that he should make vse of the losses his enemies had received, during the siege of Tonneins, there being slain in diuers combats; about two thousand of their best souldiers, and about fifty men of command; most of the which had bene in Montrauban, during the siege: That *Monsieur de la Force*, who was in Saint Foy, and the Marquis of Lusignan in Clerac, had promised to submit themselves to the Kings obedience, if his Maiestie came with his armie.

Hereupon he sent the Prince of Conde with part of his troopes towards Saint Foy, and gaue commandement to the Duke of Elbeuf (who was yet with his forces about Tonneins) to come thither.

Vpon the way, the Prince assured himselfe of the Townes of Genfac, Monsecuq, and Elmet. *Monsi de la Force*, seeing Saint Foy invested, desired a conference with *Monsieur de Lomenie*, Secretarie of State, where making shew of great repentance for his former errors, with a desire to submit himselfe wholly to the Kings clemency, hee presented Articles for his reduction, his childrens, and the Nobilitie, which had followed him: and for the townes of Saint Foy, and Montflanquin, beseeching his Maiestie to giue them a fauourable answer.

These Articles being brought to the King, he made these following Answers; whereby he found that his Maiestie remembered not what was past, but gratified him for his gouernments and charges, whereof he had disposed.

1. Your Maiesties most humble and obedient subjects, making profession of the Religion in Saint Foy, humbly beseech you to beleue that next to their duties to God, they haue nothing in greater esteeme, then to yeeld you the humble seruice, and perfect obedience they owe you, in submitting themselves to your clemency and bounty: and to liue the more happily vnder the benefit of your Edicts. They humbly beseech you to giue them a generall abolition and pardon for all things which haue past since the first of February 1620.

Answ. Granted.

2. His Maiestie is also humbly intreated to allow of their new fortifications, and of all iudgements and condemnations, giuen and executed by the authoritie of the Consuls, and other officers of Iustice to that effect; and generally of all things done and committed since the first of February 1620.

Answ. Granted.

3. That the exercise of their Religion should be free as at this present, according to the Edicts of Pacification; and that all men, of what qualitie soeuer should en-

ioy

A ioy the same priuileages, touching their persons, goods and dignities, which they held by his Maiesties fauour before the troubles.

Answ. Granted.

4. All iudgements and Decrees of death and confiscation of goods, giuen against the inhabitants of Saint Foy, without lawfull defence since the first of Februarie, should be void and of no force; and the parties to be restored to their former estate.

Answ. Granted.

5. And to witnesse vnto his royall Maiestie the great desire the inhabitants had to make knowne their obedience and fidelitie, they submitted themselves, to execute in all points, whatsoever his Maiestie should please to ordaine for the demolishing of their fortifications: yet they humbly besought him, to grant them their walls and old ditches, with their Draw-bridge, Ruelins, and other things profitable for their preseruacion, wishing they might be so happy as that his Maiestie would wholly rely vpon them for the demolishings, yet referring it to his pleasure, and beseeching him to vse the mildest and lightest meanes that might be; and that if any souldiers should be left there to that end, they might be discharged when the worke was finished.

Answ. The King granted them an old wall, and thereto was referred to his coming to Saint Foy, whereof hee would dispose with the least discommoditie which might be for the inhabitants.

6. And in regard of the great Expences, the Consuls and inhabitants haue been forced to vndergoe since the said first day of Februarie; it may please his Maiestie to grant them Letters freely, to impose vpon the towne and iurisdiction thereof, the summe of sixe hundred pound sterling, to be leauied in two yeares.

Answ. Granted.

7. That nothing might be altered in their Artillerie and Munitions, but to be left in their possession as before.

Answ. That his Maiestie would dispose of it as his pleasure.

8. Likewise they beseech his Maiestie most humbly, to free them of the passage of his Armie, considering the extreme necessitie of the Country.

Answ. Granted.

9. All Noblemen, Gentlemen, Captaines and Souldiers, of what qualitie and condition soeuer, shal promise and sweare, well and faithfully to serue the King, vnder the benefit of his Edicts, and to enioy peaceably their goods.

Answ. All such as are in Saint Foy, or elsewhere, whose names *Monsi de la Force* shall presently present, shall enioy the benefit of this present Article, if so be within fixe dayes they accept thereof, and doe moreover take an oath of fidelitie.

10. His Maiestie is most humbly intreated to restore *Monsi de la Force* and his children vnto their Charges, Dignities, and Pensions, or to giue them recompence, and to haue consideration of the great losses which he hath suffered; and in like manner that his Maiestie would be pleased to restore the Seigneur of Contenant, to his gouernment of Bergerac.

Answ. His Maiestie grants the place of a Marshall of France vnto *Monsieur de la Force*, and the summe of 200000 crownes in recompence of his and his childrens places: the one partie to be paid at Paris, vpon sight of the Letter; and the other in the end of the yeare, and all Pensions granted to his children to be continued.

11. That it may be lawfull for all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Captaines, Souldiers, and others, of what qualitie soeuer, which haue assisted *Monsieur de la Force*, and his children, since the first of Februarie 1620, to retire with all safety whither they please with their armes, horses, and baggage.

Answ. Granted.

12. His Maiestie is humbly intreated to grant them a generall Pardon, for all things done and past, since the first of February 1620.

Answ. Granted.

13. That they may enioy the free exercise of their Religion, in all places, as they had done before these combustions.

Answ. The King will cause his Edicts to be executed.

14. All iudgements and Decrees, giuen against the said men of warre, or others which twice assisted these Noblemen, and haue not bene heard and lawfully defended, shall be void

The Fort of  
Sotiac yielded

Saint Foy  
invested.

Articles granted  
to *Monsi de la Force*, children  
of Saint Foy,  
and Mont-  
flanquin.

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void and of no effect, and the condemned restored to their goods, and estates, as they A were before; and all confiscation, leavies, and condemnations for matters of warre to be of no effect.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Granted.

15. That the Seigneurs of Boniollé, Theobon, Baignac, Saint Legier, Brequepignat, La Motte, Bicalon, and Beauville may be restored to their Estates, Offices, Dignities, Pen- sions, and Grants; or be recompenced accordingly. And that hereafter they may enjoy them with the arrerages of their Carisons.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Granted: and so Bicalon the place of a Capitaine entertained.

16. That the Towne of Mont-flanquin might enjoy the like pardon; and that the B Curtaines wherewith they have begun to fortifie their Towne might be continued upon the old foundations.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. They of Montflanquin shall have a Pardon for all things done unto this present day.

17. That all which were fled into Saint Foy might retire themselves with their goods and commodities, and transport them where he pleased.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Granted; so as they retire into Townes under his Maiesties obedience, or to their houses.

18. That it would please his Maiestie to have consideration of such as had been named to *Monseur de Villeaux Clercs*, for the gratifications which had been promised.

Ans<sup>r</sup>. Granted.

19. The Earle of Vauguion, and all other Souldiers which are in Saint Foy shall be set at libertie, and in like manner his Maiestie shall cause all such as are prisoners in the Ar- mie, commanded by the Duke of Elbeuf, and taken since the first of February 1620, in base Guienne to be delivered, be they Catholiques, or of the reformed Religion. These Articles being signed, the Printe and Duke D'Elbeuf entred into Saint Foy, on the foure and twentieth of May, to draw out the Garison. The keeper of the Seales having taken the oath of allegiance from the Magistrates, and the regiments of the guards having seized upon the Ports, his Maiestie entred the next day, where he carefully visited the place and fortifications.

The reduction of Clerac.

He left the towne on the eight and twentieth of May, with some troopes therein, vnto D till they had razed the fortifications, and sent part of his armie with the D. of Vendosme, for the reduction of Clerac, which had beene mediated by one *Duc* a Councillor of Bourdeaux who was a prisoner. Vpon the surprize of the towne, the first President of Bourdeaux had caused two of the Marquis his daughters to be stayed there, with five chests of his greatest wealth, whereof being advertised, hee told the Councillor that hee would not put him to ransom, but desired his liberty, and withall intreated him to be a meane to free his two daughters, and to have restitution of his goods. Hee also sent presently to the first President, letting him vnderstand that no man was better acquainted with his continuall zeale to the Kings service, yea, in these last alterations: that for his re- quitall he had been deprived of his government without recompence; driven for a long time from his house of Lufignan, ransacked and spoiled with a Garison and threatened to haue it demolished; which had caused him to seek some refuge and assurance by an enterprize vpon Clerac. That although by the practice of his enemies hee were thrust out of the Kings fauour, yet he desired nothing more then to returne to his obedience, and that restoring vnto him his daughters, his moueables, & the townesmen of Clerac, whom they detained prisoners, he was content to set at libertie *Duc* the Councillor, and all the Church-men and seculars which were taken in Clerac.

Fine thousand pound sterling.

The first President in the answer which he made vnto him, exhorted him to haue re- course vnto the Kings clemencie, assured him the fiftie thousand Franks which hee de- manded, and besides that the inhabitants of Clerac should be discharged of 50000 crownes which they had promised: That he would beseech his Maiestie to honour him with the Government of Clerac, and to grant him a most ample abolition for all which was past in the surprize of the towne, which was all that hee or the inhabitants could desire.

Prisoners set at liberty at Clerac.

In the meane time after some passages to & fro, the Marquis his daughters & his goods were sent backe; and the Councillor with the Abbot of Clerac, and some other Prisoners set at libertie. *Duc* the Councillor comming to the King, he sent him backe to Clerac, to treat

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A treat with the Marquis vpon these conditions, that yielding the towne to his Maiesties obedience, hee did grant them a general pardon, for all faults committed against his au- thoritie. That they should haue free exercise of the reformed Religion, in the towne of Clerac, according to the Edict of Nantes; That his Maiestie also did discharge the in- habitants of the painement of fifty thousand crownes due vnto him; That he granted vnto the Marquis of Lufignan, (as a testimonie of the trust hee posited in his fidelity) the govern- ment of the towne of Clerac, and the summe of five thousand pound sterling, in re- compence of the government of Poitiers, which hee was possessed of; as also to see him paid his Pension, and to bestow his fauour and beneficence vnto him, as he should en- deavour to deserve. Whereupon the Marquis and inhabitants submitted themselves, and received the Duke of Vendosme, two leagues without Clerac, late shinner with some part of the Kings Armie, to receive their submission.

The next day, the Counteillor presented the Marquis, the Consuls, and chiefe in- habitants of Clerac, vnto the King at Agen, with these words:

Sir, behold the Consuls and inhabitants of your Towne of Clerac, who come to offer their obedience, by my mouth, with all respect and submission. They had increased need to represent their humbled hearts; and sorrow for their errors; but Sir, I dare not doe it. Methinks I heare you say: I will none of these hearts hardened in their rebellion: these hearts of flint, whom my mildnesse could not tame: the examples of their neighbours infamy; nor my chastisement amend. These refractarie hearts for whom I haue now

C the third time come from the furthest parts of my Realme, endured the injuries of the weather, runne the hazard of my life, to see and necessarie to your subsidies, and yet could not be assured of their conquest. You haue reason, Sir, if you take counsell of your ius- tice, she will reasonably make you reject the offer: as insolent and fruitlesse to your Ma- iestie, but also to punish the presumption. But if you give leave to your Clemencie to giue her aduice, seeing the hath beene hitherto so witty and politike for your enemies, as it seemes she hath had intelligence with them to aduance their designs, and to keepe backe yours; beleeue, she will make this offer very pleasing vnto you. She will tell you, Sir, that the dislike of Kings should be without Armes, and their choller without sting;

D that they must pardon some, being as it were ashamed to be reuenged on others, and draw backe their hands; as if it were from those creatures which pollute them, when they are artful: she will tell you that the lustre of your armes, will be more pleasing enuring in to Clerac, when as they shall see but as ornaments and shew, then when as the last yeare they were instruments of your vengeance: she will let you see their breasts; and I thinke, Sir, that you shall see their repentance, with heauy hammers breaking and bruising their hearts, which haue so often giuen consent to their crimes.

Is it not true you ill aduised spirits, that you would die presently at the Kings feet, to winnesse your sorrow and repentance, if the desire which you haue to amend, did not make you desirous?

E The foulness of your offences makes you so hideous, vnto your felices, as you should not dare to present your selves before his Maiestical presence, if you were not fully resolved by some notable service, to deface those blemishes which make you so foule and vnpleasing. If they ever faile, Sir, to yeeld the obedience which they owe you, if they ever breathe any thing against your service: If their eares be euer open to those whisperers which haue so often enchanted them: If they ever bow their knees against *Idol* of Rebellion: If they take for a guide that supposed opinion, that your Maiestie would deprive them of the libertie of their consciences: Finally, if they be euer what they haue beene, and become not truly what they should be, let them feele the rigour of your iustice, as you now make them taste of your Clemencie. For my part, as I am an Intercessor in fauour of their repentance, I will become their aduersary in fauour of their obsequie: if they fall into a relapse; and as I haue bene a mediator for their gracious reconciliation, I will be the solicitor to pursue their rigorous puni- ment.

In the beginning of June the King came to Agen, where hee received the submissions of the Duke of Sully, who offered all the places hee held in that countie: namely, Ri- geac, Tardillac, Cardillac, and Carac. From thence he came to Maussiac, where hee divided his troopes. He sent some towards Montauban, vnder the command of the Duke of Ven- dosme to keepe them in: *Monseur Zamet* had charge to goe with five hundred Menes into

The Submission of the Consuls of Clerac by *Monseur de Sully*.

[cc]

1622 into base Languedoc, to joine with the Duke of Memorency, and *Mont de Chastellon*, A and to spoile the Countie about Nismes, and *Montpellier*, thereby to annoy the inhabitants and drive them to wraies.

Ships of Hol-  
land sit vpon in  
the Riuer of  
Bordeaux by  
the Prince of  
Conde.

Before the King past from Blay to enter into base Guenée, certaine stranger Ships, whereof some were English, but most Hollanders, lying in the riuer before Bourdeaux, to take in their ladinges of Wine, Corne, and other commodities, the Prince of Conde being therein the towne, and seeing the ships staught with Wine and Corne, (thinking perchance that this provision were for the relief of Rochel: but others have written that he meant to make these ships to be as well of warre against the Rochellers.) he commanded them to bring themselves vnder the which they refused to doe: whereupon the Prince commanded the Castle to shote at them; and they feared not their Ordnance against the towne, so as one of the ships was sunke with the towne Cannon, and the Merchants much dammified; whereof they made great complaints in Holland. The King hearing what had past, assured the States Ambassador, that it was not done with any bad designe of the Prince, and that he was ready to make reparation for the losse: disallowing the action which was done contrary to his priuie and commandement.

Montreuil and  
Tourenis razed  
and burnt.

The King passing from Saint Foy to Agen, by Montreuil, a towne which the Duke of Elbeuf had lately forced, considering that he had onely demantled it, and that it was still a retreat for Theues, he commanded all the houses should be set on fire, and consumed to Ashes. And the Prince of Conde leaving Saint Foy, and passing by Tourenis, he caused the three townes to be set on fire, and all the buildings to be consumed; for that it had twice revolted, and did trouble the passage of Garonne, and much annoy the Country, wherefore the King was well pleased with what the Prince had done.

Rebellion of  
Negrepelisse.

The Armie still advanced towards Montauban: but first of all the King meant to become Master of Negrepelisse, which had bene the yeare before reduced to obedience by the Duke of Angoulême, and the Marshall de Themines, who left three hundred men therein in Garison to assure the place. The inhabitants could not long continue in the protestations which they had made to maintain themselves in the Kings obedience: but being inspired by some bad counsell of their revolted neighbours, they studied by all means once againe to free themselves, and to shake off his Maiesties yoke, and in the end resolved to murder the Kings Garison, which were sufficient at the first to master the people, who were not many in that paltry place, but a third part being consumed with diseases growne by infection of the ayre, especially after the siege of Montauban, and for scarcity of victuals, the inhabitants might the more easily perswade ouer them: so as (having resolved on their designe) in one night they slew their Corps de garde, & massacred the rest of the souldiers which were in their lodgings. They wrote the women shewed great crueltye in this execution.

Negrepelisse for-  
ced and all put  
to the sword.

The King was much offended at this treacherous act, and vowed to make them an example to the world: wherefore hee marched with part of his troopes to Negrepelisse, where the Prince of Conde commanded as Lieutenant general. They were summoned to open their gates for the Armie to enter, but they knowing themselves unworthy of any fauour, refused it, saying, they would die with their swords in their hands, for the defence of their Towne, but the next day they were battered and forced; where the souldiers committed the cruellest butchery which hath bene heard of; for they flew men, woman, and child, but such as were saved through the charity of good men: namely, by *Montfau de Vieg*, keeper of the Sables, who presently after the taking of the Town, commanded one of his followers to redeem the women and the maidens hee should finde amongst the souldiers, thereby to preserve their honour and liues: he brought fiftene to his Lord, who were conducted into his lodging, as into a place of safety, and to be preferred. Other women fled vnto certaine religious men following the armie, but they could not save them, for they were wrested from them by the rage of the souldiers, who slew one another to enioy them, and in despite murdered the poore women.

The charity of  
Montfau de Vieg  
keeper of the  
Sables.

Crucies con-  
tinued at  
Negrepelisse.

This Charity of *Montfau de Vieg* was imitated by the Cardinal of Retz, and others of the Councell, who had compassion of these poore women and Virgins, which were falling into the souldiers hands, to satisfy their furious lust; many could not avoid them, and which was worse, after they had forced them, they stabbed them barbarously: some were worse entreated, and crucified by the violence of fire: the cruel souldiers pursuing

Gm-

A Gunpowder into their priuy parts. For the which, his Maiestie and the Commanders in the armie were much offended, They excused this excele, for that these miserable women had a little before murdered the Kings garisons, and had shewed themselves most cruell at the breach. The Castle yielded the day after at discretion, where the men were all hanged, but the women were preserved without any touch to their honour.

Saint Antonin  
besieged.

B After the sacke and ruine of this towne, the armie advanced to Saint Antonin, a place which the Duke of Rohan had caused to be fortified; as the hope of Montauban, the terror of the Country, and the most commodious to send succours to them of his party in that Province. He had put into it twelve hundred souldiers with Armes, Cannon, and Munition for their defence. Notwithstanding the King sent to inuest it, and came himselfe in person to the siege, being resolved to force it. The approaches to this place are very difficult, being full of Rocks and bushes, and therefore very troublesome for the horse. It was long before they could bring and mount their Cannon, but in the end they made a reasonable breach, and an assault was giuen, the which was resolutely defended by the besieged, where there were many slain on either side. The Duke of Retz was hurt in the knee, with a Faulcon shot nere vnto the Kings Person; and they wrote there had not bin scene a more bloody siege for so short a continuance in a long time.

In the end, the Garison and Gentry which were within the towne, (desiring rather to fly to the Kings mercy, then to lose themselves with the miserable inhabitants, who would haue perished within their towne) being masters of a Port, yielded the place to his Maiestie on the three and twentieth of June. Hee suffered them to retire vpon condition neuer to carry Armes against his seruice, to take entertainment in his armie, or to goe to their houses. The Inhabitants redeemed the towne from the spoile of the souldier for 100000 crowns which they deliuered vnto the presently. There were 10 or 12 of the most munition hanged. The King left the Regiment of Nauarre for defence of the place, vnder the command of *St. de Chappes*. Others write that *Perodil* was made gouernor thereof.

Saint Antonin  
yielded and  
ransomed.

During the siege of Saint Antonin, the King receiued newes, that the Earle of Ioiny General of the Gallies, who had bene forced to lye all the winter at Lisbon, coming from Marceilles, was arriued at the mouth of the Riuer of Garonne with ten Gallies, and that in passing before the Ile of Argenton, he had caused *Boisse* (who commanded in the Fort for the Assembly of Rochel) to be summoned to yeeld the place, or else hee would besiege it. Whereupon he had promised to giue him all contentment within two dayes: but the same day the D. of Luxemburg coming to Blay, and sending to *Boisse*, he deliuered vnto him the place, with the Artillery and Munition for five hundred crownes: after which, they of Rochel had no retreat in the Riuer of Garonne. *Boisse* leaving this Fort, fell mad and died soone after. The King being gone to Thoulouse, the Marshall of Praslin, and Bassompierre caused the armie to aduance, to take in three little places from the revolted, which greatly annoyed that Citie, namely, Cucy, Carman, and the Mas Saint Puelle, but the enemy perceiving the armie to approach, abandoned them, fearing the chastisement of Negrepelisse, and Saint Antonin. His Maiestie caused them to be demolished, but spared Carman, in consideration of the Earle of Carman, Gouernor of Foix, a Nobleman very much affected to the Kings seruice.

The generall of  
the Gallies  
comes into  
the Riuer of  
Garonne.

And to the end, that during his Maiesties journey into base Languedoc, the revolted might no more nestle themselves in the places which they had formerly held in base Guenée, on either side of the Riuer of Garonne, there were some Councillors in the Parliament, appointed to see the razing of the fortifications of certaine Townes, Forts, and Castles, which had bene held by them of the Religion: which was put in execution.

Many townes  
and Castles  
razed and de-  
molished in  
base Guenée.

During the Kings stay at Thoulouse, there was much speech of the obfincie of them of the religion, which made the King and the whole Court to conceiue, that most of their Townes in that Province how small soeuer, would make resistance; the which would cost much of the Nobilities blood. Therefore his Maiestie exhorted the Princes and Noblemen of his Court vnto two things: the first not to carie themselves rashly in combats without armes, and without command: the other was, so cleanse their consciences from the finnes and offences they had committed: whereupon they all disposed themselves to confession, and to receiue the Sacrament.

In the meane time, the Inhabitants of Montpelier seeing themselves in danger to lose the fruits of their fields, and the benefit of Haruest, resolved to prevent the spoile which they

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A deſcra't' Woo  
man of Mont-  
pellier.Bee de Rix, yeel-  
ded at dila-  
tion.The D of Ro-  
han retires to  
Calices.Athen de Soubiſe  
paſſage into  
England.The Duchesse  
of Rohan, pro-  
nounces the Ca-  
ſus of Angiers.A Declaration  
againſt M<sup>onſ</sup>  
de Soubiſe.

they were ready to make. Whereupon they ſent forth ſo many men, to aſſiſt ſuch as they had employed to cut downe their Hay and Corne ſpeedily. *Monſi. de Montmorency* being ad-vertiſed hereof, ſent all his horſemen to charge them, followed with good troops of foot, who being aſſiſted by the Earle of Chaffillon, and *Monſi. Zamet*, charged them with ſuch fury, as there were five hundred of them cut in pieces, many taken Priſoners, and the reſt pulled unto the very gates of *Montpellier*: after which, they caried away all their Hay, Corne, and Fruit.

The Kings Arme being about Beziers paſt the River of Orb, and had commandement to beſiege Bec de Rix, a towne ſituate amongſt ſteepe and inacceſſible Mountaines, which made the beſieged thinke they ſhould not be able to bring the Cannon neere to batter them, but they were deceived in their expectation: for ſeeing the Cannon brought, the beſieged reſolved to fly by night, but moſt of them were taken by the Regiments which were in guard, whereof ſome were ſlaine, ſome hanged, and ſome ſaved upon promiſe of ranſome. They which remained within the towne, yielded at diſcretion, whereof there were twelve hanged, and the towne redeemed from ſpoile for 1200 crownes. Whereupon three townes which were reſolved ſubmitted themſelves, fearing the like puniſhment.

The Duke of Rohan and his Arme, hearing that the King was reſolved to paſſe into baſe Languedoc, as well to purſue him, as to beſiege *Montpellier*, his Arme growing amazed, abandoned him, deſiring rather to retire themſelves, then to attend a bad encounter. The Duke put himſelfe into Caſtres, with an hundred horſe only, aſſuring himſelfe that place would be one of the laſt which ſhould be beſieged; and that in the meane time he might worke his reconciliation: for the effecting whereof, the Duke of Sully, and the Seigneur of Chalonge came on the Dukes behalfe unto the King at Caſtelnaudary, but there was nothing yet concluded.

The Earle of Carleu being then extraordinarie Ambaſſador for his Maieſtie with the French King, did often ſolicit him in his name for a Peace for them of the reformed Religion. To whom the French King made answer (as they write) that no man deſired peace more then himſelfe; and that he would willingly give it his ſubiects; but withall he would be obeyed and have the keys of his Townes. In the meane time *Monſi. de Soubiſe* came into England, to ſolicit his Maieſty for ſome ſuccors for that party. The French had preſumed to dive into ſecrets of State, and to ſet downe his Maieſties answer unto *Monſi. de Soubiſe* in this manner.

The King of England one of the wiſeſt Princes in the world, being well aſſured of the pure & good intentions of his moſt Chriſtian Maieſty, as alſo of the fraud and perfidiouſnes of his bad ſubiects reuolted, which reſuſed him his townes & their obedience, preuented the ſaid *Seig. de Soubiſe*, and told him, That if he were come to plead the cauſe of the reuolted in France, and to demand ſuccors for them, hee would not heare him, as a Prince, enemy unto ſuch reuolts and rebellions, which toucheth all Soueraignes to mo-ſtoleſt. But if he came to intreat him to be a Mediator for Peace, and to employ his favour towards the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, to pardon them, returning to their obedience, That he had not only given this in charge unto his Ambaſſadors, but would therein employ himſelfe againe moſt willingly, & that for *M. de Soubiſe* own part, it would be much better for him to procure his Princes grace & pardon, then to have recourſe unto ſuch means of making warre againſt him. That if he would reſolve to returne unto his duty, hee was ready to write unto the King, and to intreat for him. So he returned againe without any ſuccors granted from hence: but ſome voluntaries out of the Weſt parts of England, and others went to ſerue at Rochel of their owne accord.

The King being in Languedoc, ſent a commandement to the Earle of Briſſac to goe to Freſnay in baſe Britanie, and to ſeize vpon the D. of Rohans wife, whom he brought to Angiers, where the continued ſome time, to ſee if this proceeding would make the D. reſolve to emprove the Kings mercy by his obedience. The King ſtaied long at Beziers during the Canicular dayes. In the meane time all the Clergy of baſe Languedoc repaired vnto his Maieſtie: In whole name the Biſhop of *Montpellier* made a long ſpeech vnto him, full of complaints, and inuectives againſt them of the Religion, perſwading the King to perſiſt in his deſigne, and to root them out. And hearing that *Monſieur de Soubiſe* was paſſed into England, to craue ſuccors of men and Armes from his Maieſtie in the name of the aſſembly at Rochel. He made a Declaration by the which

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The conuerſion  
of the Duke  
of Eſpagne.The Dukes  
ſpeech to the  
Miniſters.A ſpeech made  
to the Duke, by  
them of the  
Religion.The Dukes  
answer.

A he was pronounced guilty of Treſon, unworthy of pardon, and incapable of all honours and Offices within his Realme, all his goods confiscated; and his lands granted to the Crowne.

About this time there hapned an accident which pleaſed the King, and gave occaſion of admiration to the world. The Duke of *Eſpagne* who had made profeſſion of the reformed Religion for the ſpace of three ſcore yeares, was now reſolved to leave it, and to vniſe himſelfe to the Church of Rome. Some write that he had long before ſermed motions to this conuerſion, and that in the yeare 1606, during the warres betwene the King of Spain, and the D. of Savoy, being in Aſſiſt with the Cardinal *Leſdigueris*, Nuncio

B to Pope *Pius* the fifth, he was intreated by him to returne unto the Church. To whom he made answer, I promiſe you, Sir, when you ſaye, Pope, I will become a Catholique. Afterwards Cardinal *Leſdigueris* was created Pope, and called *Gregory* the fifthteenth, who by his Letters ſummoned the Duke to performe his promiſe, and to become a Catholique. The King deſired this conuerſion ſhould be ſolemnly performed in the Cathedral Church of Grenoble, by the Archbiſhop of *Ambian*. His Maieſtie ſent the Seigneur of *Villeaux Clercs*, Secretary of State, Proudſt and Maſter of the Ceremonies, of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, with a Commiſſion for the Office of Conſtable; which Letters ſhould be preſented unto the Duke by the Maſſhall of *Creguy*; after hee had made a ſolemne profeſſion to be a Catholique. And there were other Letters directed unto the ſaid Maſſhall, and to the Seigneur *D'Alincourt*, and *Saint Chappuy*, to deliuer vnto him the collar of the ſaid Order.

This Ceremonie was performed on the foure and twentieth of Iuly with great ſtate, where there aſſiſted the Court of Parliament, the Chamber of accounts, with many Noblemen and Gentlemen. They write, that being ready to goe vnto the Church to make profeſſion of his faith, ſome Miniſters of the Religion which had viſually aſſiſted him, came vnto him, as it ſeemed, with intent to diuert him from his reſolution: ſeeing them bend their knees, and make offer to ſpeake vnto him, he preuented them, ſaying:

*My maſters, behold a man who by the grace of God hath vowed to ſerue God, and his King, the remainder of his dayes, in another manner of aſſiſtation then that you gave me. If you come to imitate me, and doe the like, I am ready to beate you; but if it be to ſpeake of any other thing I will not: whereupon they retired ſomewhat amazed. After which, the Duke was conducted to the Church; where he made a profeſſion of his faith vnto the Archbiſhop: returning to his lodging after Maſſe, the Maſſhall of *Creguy* his Sonne-in-law, preſented him with his Letters of Conſtable, and ſaid vnto him; Sir, ſeeing you are become a Catholique, the King gives you the Office of Conſtable, and commanded me to deliuer you the Commiſſion, with a diſpenſation of your oath, the which were preſently read. The next day he received the order of the Holy Ghoſt, with the accuſtomed Ceremonies, and the day after he received the Sacrament, with the other Knights of the order. In the evening, the chiefe of the reformed Church at Grenoble (amongſt which were diuers Gentlemen and Advocates) came to ſee the Conſtable, to whom *Vallan* a Counceller ſpake in the name of them all, ſaying:*

*Sir, we are much amazed at the change wee haue ſcene in your perſon within theſe 3 dayes: the change of honour, the change of quality, and the change of Religion. And that which we moſt apprehend is the change of humour and affection. For that having been brought up from your youth in the Religion which we profeſſe, inſtructed and confirmed ſay many yeares in the ſame: this metamorphoſis was the more ſtrange being not forced. And moreover, it is not without cauſe we apprehend, that the ſame Armes which you haue ſo long carried to defend and protect our religion, and which haue bin ſo fearful to our enemies, will be now employed againſt us. To whom he made answer: My maſters, you haue no great cauſe to be amazed at my change of religio. I haue long ſet a combat in my ſoule, & had longer reſolved this change, if your Miniſters, and your ſelves by artificiall perſwaſions had not diuerted me. I will ſay nothing of your Religion, but that I profeſſe now, and to the which it hath pleaſed God of his ſpeciall Grace to call me, is much better. As for the 4. changes which you ſay are hapned to my perſon, I may reduce them to two. Of Religion & Honour. For the firſt, it is the more pleaſing, for that I hold in more profitable for my ſoules health. As for the other, it hath pleaſed the King to honour mee with the quality of Knight of his Order and Conſtable of France, the which, although there be many within his Realme, which deſerve it better then my ſelfe, yet will I not yeeld to any man living*

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in fidelitie; and will waite vnto his Maiestie, with the hazards of my blood and life; this humble duty which bindes me to his service, desiring to imploy my selfe for your support and protection, so long as you shall be good seruants to the King, and not otherwise.

The Councell  
loes reply.

Hereinto the Councellor replied: Sir, I thinke you will doe vs the honour to beleue, that we are good and faithfull seruants to his Maiestie. The seruices which our partie hath done vnto the deceased King *Henry the Great*, his father, during the last troubles, are such apparant proofes, as we thinke no man will call them in question. But we are much troubled to see the bad impressions which the enemies of our Religion giue daily to his Maiestie, breed an alteration in this Estate, and of the fauours which it hath pleased him to shew heretofore vnto vs, as well for the libertie of our consciences, and obseruation of his Edicts; as for the assurance of our liues, goods, and freedome. But that which is most scandalous, is to see Libells cast dayly abroad, which tend onely to incense the people against vs.

The Duke  
answers.

My Masters (said he) concerning that which you say of those Libellers, make your informations apprehend, and doe iustice vpon them; wherein I doe offer you all aide and assistance, and will not spare any thing for your protection, conformable to his Maiesties intention: But touching the Kings seruice whereof you speake, there are three sorts of professors of your Religion. The one are direct Rebels, who seeke if it were possible to shake off the oath of obedience, and fidelitie, which they owe vnto their Prince and Soueraigne Lord. Others haue beene reduced to his Maiesties obedience by force, and tearme themselves the Kings seruants, for that they haue neither Foire, Meanes, nor Armes to resist him. The third kinde are like vnto Sorcerers, who in the cure of their Witchcrafts and distempers, make vie of the Name of God, and the Scripture, to abuse the simple people, and to couer their abominable impieties, with the vaine of deuotion: So are there many of your Religion who endeavour to cloake their bad designs vnder pretext of the Kings seruice, which they haue alwayes in their mouth to deceiue the people (which alwayes are too credulous) being the Kings seruants but in shew: take heed you be not of this number; and speaking these words, he turned his backe and left them.

*Mansfield*  
comes vpon the  
Frontiers of  
France.

Whilest that the King was busie with his armie in Languedoc, the further part of France, namely, Champagne euen to the gates of Paris, were put into alarme vpon the approach of *Count Mansfield*, and the Duke of *Brunswicke*, who had left the Palatinate, past through Alsatia, Lorraine, and were come vpon the Frontiers of France with their Armie: consisting (as they write) of twelue thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, and foureteen pieces of Ordnance. Mouzon, where the Earle of *Grandpre* was Gouvernour stood in most feare, and was but weakly provided both for men and fortification. He aduertised the Duke of Neuers, Governour of the Prouince, and craved his assistance, and fortified the townes as much as time would giue him leaue.

The Duke comes into Champagne vpon the brute of *Mansfield*'s approach; but seeing he had no forces to hinder him, he sends the Seigneur of Montrecau vnto him to draw him if he could to the Kings seruice: and in the meane time leaues 12000 foot, and 1500 horse by the Kings command, to oppose against *Mansfield*, and all others. Hee sent succours into Mouzon. The treatie continued ten or twelue dayes betweene the Duke of Neuers, and *Mansfield*; who seeing no conclusion, resolved to besiege Mouzon. In the meane time two thousand of his horse mutined, and would know whom they should serue, and who should pay them. *Mansfield* lying about Mouzon, to let them know that he was in treatie with the Duke of Neuers, and to enter into the Kings seruice; he put his Ordnance into the towne, and giue the Duke of Saxon Waymer, as hostage of his true intent. The Queene, knowing they should not bee able to leaue an armie in time, to make head against *Mansfield*, inuited *Don Gonzales de Cordoba*, General of the Spanish forces, to follow him and fight with him, who came presently with his Armie neere vnto Mouzon, and sent a Gentleman with Letters vnto the Earle of *Grandpre*, intring him to informe him of the state of the enemies armie; being ready to doe any thing for the most Christian Kings seruice. The Earle of *Grandpre*, who was assured from the D. of Neuers, that the King would make vse of *Mansfield*, and his troops, temporized, and would giue him no resolute answer, but referred him to the Queene and her Councell, thanking him for his good will; & intring him to continue.

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*Count Mansfield* seeing the Spanish armie in Luxembourg, and that of France ready to march; that the French had fed him with hopes as he had them with faire words: That they had giuen him no commodities but such as might reduce him to extremity, whereby he had lost many of his Souldiers: That as his men waited, the French army augmented, and approached neere the Frontiers: And that the Duke of Neuers abated still of his demands, he resolved with the Duke of Brunswicke to make a retreat to Breda in Brabant: But the difficulty was to retire the Duke of Szoozy in Waymer with his Artillery out of Mouzon: for the which he vied this policy, giuing the Earle of *Grandpre* to vnderstand that without any more treaty he was absolutely resolved to serue the King, and to march end would march to Cassine (a Castle three leagues off, belonging to the Duke of Neuers) and carry his artillery thither.

The Earle was easily perswaded to deliuer him his hostages and cannon, and so suffered him to depart with his carriages: but he tooke his course towards Mezieres, and sent to the Duke of Neuers to demand 6000 crownes to dismisse his troops, and for the first pay of such as should be entertained into the Kings seruice according to promise; but they varied so in their resolutions, as there was nothing performed of the treatie, but *Mansfield* fearing to be engaged betweene two armies, resolved to be gone.

The Kings army hauing mustred at Chasteauportien, the Commanders seeing *Count Mansfield* and the Duke of Brunswicke gone out of France; resolved first to send speedily to *Don Gonzales* who lay in Luxembourg on the other side of the Riuer of Meuze, to offer him the assistance of the Kings troops; and withall to follow *Count Mansfield* lest he should enter into France againe some other way. *Don Gonzales* being at Ivoy with 2500 horse and 7000 foot, hearing that *Mansfield* had taken his way towards Haynault, and that his great forces were reduced to five thousand horse, and five thousand foot, hee resolved to cut off their passage: where we will leaue them going towards Breda, after a great battell fought, much honor gotten, and as braue a retreat made, as hath bene in the memory of man.

*Mansfield* being vpon the frontiers of France, many of the Religion left the places of their abode and retired to Sedan, which breed occasion of much ialousie, so as many were stayed in passing, by the Gouvernors of towne and Prouinces. The Duke of Sully passing by Moulins in the night with foure boats laden with armes, goods, and money, went to lodge at Villeneuve three leagues off: The Earle of Charles Lieutenant to the Prince of Conde, being aduertised thereof, sent a gentleman to demand if hee had any passport from the King to retire himselfe, but he refusing to giue him any answer, the Earle went to horsebacke well accompanied after midnight, to Villeneuve, and summoned the Duke to yeeld himselfe, the which he did after some refusal, and was in the morning brought backe to the Castle of Moulins and put in safe custody, and an inventory taken of all which was found in those foure boats. The Earle aduertised the King of this action, who knowing that the D. desired to retire himselfe to his house at Sully, commanded that he should be set at liberty, and suffered to depart with all his train, armes and baggage, yet he allowed of the Earles action, and commended his fidelity.

At the same time the Earle of Suze was layed at Lions, by *Aransfour d'Alincourt*, suspected to be going to Sedan, to lead the Duke of Bouillons troops.

Many others were committed in diuers places, so as vpon the aduertisements which came daily, that many of the Religion left their dwellings, some for feare and apprehension, others to fauour the comming in of the strangers, and the Duke of Bouillons designed, the King made a Declaration, whereby he did forbid all his subjects of the Reformed Religion to abandon their houses and abodes where soeuer, to ioyne with them that were in armes, or with the strangers; nor to giue them any retreat, fauour, succour, or assistance: F vpon paine of Treason, and to be declared troublers of the publique peace.

The King caused his troops to aduance neere vnto Montpelier, to cut off their wayes, and all intelligence with Nismes and other reuolted towncs: *Monseur Zamor* lay next vnto them, and inuented a wily stratagem to draw them forth: He laid fire to five hundred horse in ambush within halfe a league of the Towne, and marched on with two or three hundred foot, with many great carts covered ouer and filled with Hay, sheaves, a croce, and faulcons charged with chaines and nails, and many musket barrels fastned together, all which might be charged in an instant: with these Carts and his foot in the plants

Polished  
Count  
*Mansfield*.

The Duke of  
Sully stayed  
at Moulins.

The Earle of  
Suze stayed at  
Lions.

The Kings  
Declaration  
against  
them of the  
Religion which  
left their houses

Described  
the  
armies  
and  
their  
movements

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places himselfe within halfe a league of the towne, making shew to reape the come, some of his souldiers being attired like countrymen. The Centinell seeing them, gaue the alarm, and the Citizens finding they were not about two or three hundred (never dreaming of any ambush) refused to send out six hundred musketeers to charge these haquest men, who seeing them come, made shew to retire, but being nere vnto them, they gaue fire to those wilde instruments which were in their Carts, whereupon they flue about one hundred vpon the place: their companions beganne to flye, but the horsemen brake out vpon them and charged them in flankes, so as most were cut in pieces, and few returned to the towne: which newes were very pleasing vnto the King, who resolved speedily to blocke vp the towne, hauing three thousand six hundred Reiters and Lanquenets brought vnto him by the Duke of Aluin, sonne to the Earle of Schomberg.

The Garrison of Montpellier deserted.

After the defeat of *Monsieur de Soubise*, in the Ile of Rue, and before the Kings going to Rayan, the Seneschall of Vioune had beene taken prisoner by *Beaulieu* younger brother to *Dampierre*; and caried to Rochel, where he was condemned to pay double ranfome, that is to say, to *Beaulieu* 1200 crownes, and to the Councell of 48, 600 crownes. Hauing presented the passport he received from the Assembly at Rochel to *Monsieur de Vicq*, hee shewed it vnto the King and to diuers of the Councell, all which were amazed at the reasones they vsed against the King, and his authoritie in the same. The Keeper of the Seales enforcing himselfe particularly of another prisoner which came from Rochel of the forme of this new common-wealth, he told him that besides the generall Assembly

New Councells erected at Rochel.

which was like the generall Councell of the League, by these words, *We command you*, as they did insert in their passports, They had erected three Councells: the first was a *Councell of warre*, called the *Councell of 48*, which resembled the Councell of the vniou of fixteene at Paris, which had beene the cause of so many miseries during the league. The second was the *Councell of Justice*, which did imitate a Court of Parliament. And the third was the *Councell of the Admiraltie*, which iudged of all prizes they tooke at sea. That the Presidents, Assistants, and Secretaries of the Assembly, were changed every two monthes, and in like manner the said three Councells: That at these changes there was much labouring to be named President, Assistant, or Secretary: They which had beene two monthes of the 48, were put into the Councell of Justice, or of the Admiraltie; And they of the Admiraltie were put into the Councell of 48, or of Justice: In all which three Councells they did put some of the Deputies of the Assembly and of the Towne-houfe: These Councells treated of the ranfome of prisoners, and of spoiles taken by Sea or Land: of confiscations and the reuennues of the Clergy: of imposts, customes, tributes, and the Kings reuennues. He sayd that the Nobility and Gentry which went to Rochel to assist them in this warre, were slightly regarded, and held in ieaiousie and distrust, for whensoever a Gentleman went out of his lodging, he was followed and watched by some inhabitant. Yea, he had scene after the taking of Sables D'Olonne, how *Monsieur de Soubise* hauing sent *Malheray* to Rochel, to haue leaue to suffer com to passe into Bourdeaux, whereby he should draw a great imposition to helpe to entertaine his army which increased daily, This demand being granted by the Assembly and them of the Towne-houfe, was hindered by the Councell of warre of 48: and vpon instant demand by *Malheray* to haue an answer, they peremptorily told him that they would make no other answer to *Monsieur de Soubise* but with the Cannon. This was the respect the Rochellers bare vnto their Generall.

The Gentry little esteemed at Rochel.

Touching their forces in the Towne, he said there were three companies of English, each consisting of an hundred men, (yet others which had serued there, report they had six hundred English.) There were some companies of French foot and some of horse besides the Burgesse which bare armes. That their chiefe strength was their army at Sea, whereof one *Guisen* a Burgesse of Rochel was Admirall, and about an hundred ships and places which scoured vp and downe; yet fish and wood was very deare within the Towne.

The state of the sea: of the Souldiers army before Rochel.

The King being at Xaintes as you haue heard, had resolved to leaue a part of his army in Poitou to blocke vp Rochel by land; he made the Earle of Soissons Generall, and the Marshall of Verry Lieutenant. This army which consisted of 6000 foot and 600 horse, was to keepe them by land from all commerce with the neighbour Prouinces and from enioying the fruits of their lands, lying without their wals.

They

A They were to build forts according to the direction of *Pompeius Targou* a great Engli-  
nier sent from the Pope, who should passe the Channell betwene Coreille and Chef  
de Bois with a chaine, to keepe ships from entering into the Towne. This army had their  
rendezvous on the 28 of Iune within a league of Rochel. They made their approaches  
and lodged at Laleu and Saint Maurice, where they beganne to build a fort, which the  
Townsmen did often seeke to interrupt, but it was finished by the 24 of September as you  
shall heare.

The Kings army preparing for the siege of Montpellier, Aimargues, Vauuert, and other  
weake townes thereabouts, razed their wals and retired themselves into Montpellier,  
Viez, Nismes, and other places. They fought to hinder the Lanquenets from ioyning  
with the Kings army, and to that end had put three hundred men well armed into Saint  
Giles; and they being led by the Duke of Aluin, and the Comte *Rhyngraue*, prepared to  
force it, whereupon they sent to Montpellier for succours, knowing they should not be  
long able to subsist.

On the 15 of Iuly they sent out seuen hundred choice men to annoy the said Lanque-  
nets, whilst they were busie about forcing of the place; who being aduertised of their  
coming, went and charged them, and after some resistance defeated them, whereof most  
were slaine and taken prisoners: The besieged hearing of this defeat, fled away in the  
night and abandoned the towne.

Saint Giles the Lanquenets taken.

C The Kings armie led by the Prince of Conde, marched towards Berderine and Ginac  
which made some shew of resistance. Being come to Berderine, they battered it furiously,  
and it was well defended in the beginning, but there being a sufficient breach made, an  
assault was giuen with such fury, as the towne was forced, and many of the besieged slain,  
the rest had likewise perished, and the towne beene burnt to ashes, if the Commanders  
had not stayed the souldiers fury: His Maiestie was contented to be Master of the place,  
causing forty of the chiefe authors of this revolt to be apprehended and hanged, and the  
fortifications of the towne to be razed. His Maiesties meaning was to reduce Ginac, ano-  
ther reuolted Towne, to the end nothing might hinder the sieges of Montpellier, Nismes,  
Viez, and other townes of importance, if they persisted in their wilfulnesse and disobe-  
dience; but being better aduised then the other, and loath to lose it selfe miserably like to  
Negrepelisse, she preuented her ruine by her speedy returne to obedience, imploring his  
Maiesties mercy. So they within it yielded to what composition it should please the king  
to grant them, and deliuered the place, hauing a generall pardon: yet to preuent any fu-  
ture reuolt, and to saue the charges of a garison, he commanded the wals and fortifications  
should be razed.

Berderine forced.

Ginac yielded and pardoned.

After this, the army marched to besiege Lunel, a towne situated betwene Aiguemortes  
and Montpellier, hauing a garison of twelue hundred men to defend the place, which  
they beganne to batter. But in the meane time they had aduertisement that succours were  
coming to them, and were within two leagues of the place: whereupon they sent out  
certaine troops to encounter them, but they vnderstood they were past by certaine vn-  
knowne wayes, and entred by night into Lunel: The Kings Cannon continued the bat-  
tery, notwithstanding the entry of these supplies; but there fell out a miserable accident;  
for the wind being very great, hauing giuen fire to a peece, the flame being driuen by a  
contrary gust, tooke hold of the powder with such fury, as a threescore souldiers were  
burnt, whereof most of them died.

Lunel besieged and yeeked.

The besieged seeing a great breach made, and an assault ready to be giuen; had recourse  
vnto the Kings mercy and vnto the Prince of Conde, who received them the eight of Au-  
gust, and granted them their liues, armes, and baggage, the souldiers to depart with their  
matches out: But at their coming forth the disorder was very great by reason of a cart  
laden with armes which the souldiers set vpon and rifed; and not so content, assailed the  
garison, who were glad to depart with the best things they had to escape their furie, by  
whom notwithstanding some of them were slaine.

This tumult came to the eares of the Prince and of the Marshall of Prassin, who draw-  
ing his sword, slew some of these pillagers which he met withall. On the morrow after,  
as they were bringing some carts of powder into the towne, the fire tooke therein againe  
which burnt some twenty houfes and some people, but the cause hereof could not bee  
knowne.

Two

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The King  
comes to Lunel  
and the army  
besiege  
Sommières.

Two days after, the King entred Lunel, but the army went towards Sommières, which having defended it selfe in the year 1573 for the space of fixe weekes against the Marshall *D'Amville*, afterwards Constable, being battered with many Cannon, thought now to doe the like yet after the Kings army was once in sight: that the *Seigneur de Fereville* had yielded his Town and Castle, which is within Harquebuste fort of Sommières: that after their best opposition and couragious defending of their approaches (wherein some persons of note of the army were slain and hurt, as namely, the Duke of Aluin in the legge) they were faine to retire: that their suburbs after their strongest resistance (in which some famous Captaines were lost, and namely, the *Seigneur de Lancheres*, a Captaine of the Regiment of Piedmont, and an Ayde of the Camp, and one whom the King more lamented then any other in all these warres) were also wonne: their trenches gotten, and the foot of their wall, where they flew *Fountaines* a Lieutenant of the Regiment of Piedmont: that a fearfull battery was ready which discovered them behind, and now within 24. houres had made a reasonable breach, and that they were without hope of succours, they yielded, their liues and goods saved, without armes. The King in person assisted at their coming forth, that good order might bee exactly obserued within and without, and the garison was with all safety conducted, being in number twelue hundred men.

The death of so many braue Noblemen, Captaines and Souldiers slaine, as well as the sieges of townes as in combats, and so much people lost and ruined in six monthes, since the Kings departure from Paris, made many desire a peace, with this addition, So as it might not be dishonorable: for there was not only a great losse of men of warre, but euen of the chiefe of the Kings Councell which died in this voyage, or were sicke to the extremity, as well through toyle and the change of ayre, as by the intemperatenesse of the season: amongst the which the Cardinal of Retz, President of the Councell, died the 16 of August of a feuer, and was much lamented of many. *Monsieur de Vieg*, Keeper of the Seales of France, did also yeeld his soule to God on the second of September, a personage growne old in the seruice of the King and State; the offices which hee had worthily discharged, and the Embassies wherein hee had bene employed, had brought him by degrees to this eminent place; the which the King gaue afterwards to President *Comartin*, one of his ancient Cancellors of State.

The King having left the Duke of Vendosme with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, to cleanse Guienne, with the Countries of Foix and Albigeois, and to take such places about Montauban as denied him obedience: He resolved to besiege Lombes, a towne which did much import; for the communication it had with Castres, Montauban, Raimont, Saint Paul, Puy Laurens, and other reuolted townes, being situated in the midst of them; the which he inuested on the 26 of Iuly, and the souldiers lodged vpon the Countercarpe, notwithstanding any resistance the Garison made. The Cannon playd vpon them, and the Marquis of Maloze shewed himselfe with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse to fight with him, so as they were glad to retire to Raimont. The besieged seeing themselves pressed by the Cannon, and out of hope of succours, they being retired, resolved to abandon it, and to save themselves by a Port which remained free, in regard they wanted men in the army, the which they did, leaving their families and goods. The Duke advancing his troops at the breake of day to give an assault, found the breach abandoned, and the gates open, which made him doubt that the enemy had some hidden designe: whereupon he lost to discouer, and being assured there were none but women and children in the towne, he caused them to be put in safety, and gaue the spoile to the souldiers, commanding the wals and fortifications to be razed.

The Duke having fortified his army with the Regiment of the Prince of Martigues his second sonne, being twelue or thirteene hundred men, he came to Saint Supplice, where he receiued news that they of Montauban during his absence and the Marshall of Themines, had made roads, and taken Renierz, with foure or five Castles about that towne, and that *Monsieur de Montbrun* (who commanded the souldiers in Montauban) was aduanced with three hundred horse, and what foot he could draw together, and had taken the Castle of Villebrunier vpon the River of Tar, a league from Villemur. Vpon this aduice the Duke poeas away with his horse, caught his foot to follow, and doubles the draught of

Death of the  
Cardinal of  
Retz, and of  
Monsieur de  
Vieg.

Lombes be-  
sieged.

abandoned, and

spoiled.

Monsieur de  
Villebrunier,  
and looses it  
againe.

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A of the Cannon, to goe the swifter, he surprised *Montbrun* on the sudden, who beganne to fortifie the Castle, and forced him to reue upon spurre to Renierz; his footmen being thus disordered, disperked and saved themselves, some in the Vines, others retired themselves into the Castle of Villebrunier, the which being inuested, the besieged grew amazed, and slipped downe in the night (being very darke) into the ditches and saved themselves by flight by wayes, only some were taken, whereof nine were hanged, and the truth fauted in regard of this young yeare; after which the Duke recovered Renierz, and all the best places which *Montbrun* and they of Montauban had taken, and then lodged his army vpon all the approaches to Montauban; where they took three Epies, whom they had sent forth with Letters from *Montbrun* to the D. of Rohan, whom he qualified General of the Reformed Churches of France, and with many other priuate Letters, containing their friends to find meanes to free them of the great miseries wherein they were, being oppressed with contributions, lodging of souldiers, continual guard, and want of necessities; the common people having no other sustenance but bread and water; and having so done with a Prince which slept not, so as they should be forced to retire the miseries if they had not speedie liberty giuen them by a good peace. Thus were their waies discovered, and their messengers hanged for their paynes.

After the deduction of so many places in Languedoc, Foix, Albigeois, and other Provinces, the Duke of Rohan seeing their affaires to decline daily, that there remained only Montpellier, Nismes, Vica, Castres, and some few other places which held their parties, all threatened with sieges, and deputed of assistance and succours from their neighbours which were already reduced: he resolved to reconcile himselfe by the mediation of the Constable *D'Esperguyres*, to whom he went (being at Pont Saint Esprit) the which the Constable receiued willingly, & obtained leave from the King to treat with him, in which before that time there were some Weekes spent, but nothing yet concluded.

The common people suspected that the Duke of Rohan treated for his owne particular, and that he would abandon them; whereupon hee obtained a passport from the King to goe into Montpellier to conferre with the Deputies of that Circle, and the Consuls of the Towne; and for that they grew obstinate, seeing the Kings army but small and weak, it made his Maiesty approach vnto Veronne, where the Constable came vnto him,

every man thinking a peace had beene concluded; wherewith many of the chiefe were discontented, thinking the Kings hands to be interceded by some secret Articles. Others seeing the souldiers grow cold, and that Montpellier was well fortified, held the Kings presence more necessary at Paris, then to enter into a long siege, in September, the count whereof might prove doubtfull: In the end, they which held for the warre, prevailed; or rather they of Montpellier who desired no peace. They write, that many Tickers were sent vnto them, by which they were giuen to vnderstand, that if they yielded vpon condition the King should enter (which was the chiefe point of the treaty) they were undone: whereupon resolution was giuen, to besiege the towne, and the Constable to be leaue of the King to returne into Dauphine, seeing the Prince, ignorant for the command of the army, having charge from his Maiesty to treat still with *Monsieur de Rohan*.

The Earle of Solons, being before Rochel, and continuing the making of this Port, there were many sallies and encounters made by them of the towne, in one of which *Ensis*, he who had intured *Monsieur de Roisse* *Paradillon* the year before, in Genoa, was taken. The Earle planned certaine pieces of Ordnance vpon his fort, and shot into the towne to mite their houses, which did much amaze the inhabitants. There grew some division in the towne among the Commanders, some adhering vnto *Le Roisse*, some to *Fandi*. In Iuly, *Pomphrey* *Targen* the Earles Engineer, had past the Channell at a slow voyer, and measured the breadth of it with a line, and on the fourth of August the chaine of iron which should shut vpon the Channell was brought. In 35 Cartes; and yet was it not all, and they planned two Cannons vpon the Sea side, to hinder the passage of the Rochelers, so as they could not approach so neere the shore as they had done.

The Rochelers being much weakened by the overthrow of their army vnder *Monsieur de Roisse* in the life of Rie, they deuised all the means they could to get men out of Normandy, and sending some of their faction with Letters vnto diuers of the Religion in that Proruince, as well to leave, as to make some surpris; they write that in May before, there were thike of those men taken in Alepcon, whereof the one returned himselfe was

The Duke of  
Rohan treats  
with the Con-  
stable.

The Constable  
comes to the  
King.

The proceed-  
ings of the  
Earle of Solons:  
and before  
Rochel.

The Rochelers  
Intelligence  
vpon Chet-  
bourg.

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The Rochellers  
prepare their  
Fleet.The Duke of  
Guise comes  
to Nantes.The Duke of  
Saint Denis  
preparing the  
treachery of Mont-  
pellier.The Duke of  
Saint Denis  
preparing the  
treachery of Mont-  
pellier.The Duke of  
Saint Denis  
preparing the  
treachery of Mont-  
pellier.

du Secretary *de la Rochelle*, who being examined upon the contents of these Letters and Instructions, were sent to the Court of Parliament at Rouen. There was another practice discovered, as they write, for the surprizing of Cherbourg, a Sea towne of great importance in bafe Normandy, the which was prevented by the care of *Monfieur de Montignon* Lieutenant general for the King, who having taken the ploy upon the fort of Cherbourg, and upon the port, the secret intelligences they had with the Governor of the towne, and the inhabitants of the Religion: he dismissed the Governor, and changed the garison, visited the place, and supplied the defects. The Rochellers ships which should have executed this enterprise upon Cherbourg being returned, they had commandement to keepe themselves ready, and to ioyne with the rest, to hinder the Kings Fleet, which they heard would bee within few dayes upon the Coast of Britany, to ioyne with those of that Province and of Normandy, all which would make a body of about 60 sailes, besides the Gallies, meaning to lie in the Road before Rochel, and to blocke it up by sea, as well as it was by land, and to beginne the siege when it should please the King. The Gallies being come into the Riuer of Nantes, the whole Fleet attended the coming of the Duke of Guise, who was appointed Generali and came to Paris in the beginning of August, where making small stay, hee passed into Britany, and arrived at Nantes about the end of the month. The Captaines and Commanders of the Gallies of Marseilles, lying at Couron three leagues off, in stead of coming to salute him and receive his commandements (as they ought to have done) went out of the Riuer and put to Sea, as if they meant to returne to Bourdeaux, making this way they did affect the Generali of the Gallies, betwixt whom and the Duke there had beene some private discontent, for the command of those Gallies: Notwithstanding, the Duke had commission from the King to be Admirall of his Fleet at Sea against the Duke of Rochel. In the end this iocaloufie was reconciled, the Duke acknowledged for Generali, and the Gallies returned into the Riuer of Nantes to receive his commandements: so as hee embarked speedily to goe to Breff, to draw all the Fleet together in Pont Louis or Blauet, from thence to goe in gresse to assault the Ile of Rieneire Rochel, and spare the Rochellers the paines of gathering in their Vintage there.

But as hee returned to Languedoc: the King had resolved to besiege Montpellier, notwithstanding that the world expected the conclusion of a peace, they thought the towne would have beene content their new fortifications should be razed; that the Catholiques should be restored to their former liberty; that the Kings Officers should be restored to their places, honors, and dignities; that those which were absent, should be recalled, and in signe of obedience, they should receive a Catholique Garison under a Governor of the Religion: All these things (as they write) had beene concluded; and the King was to enter with his army, but on the last of August, his Majesties guards comming to seize upon the ports and walls, (as they are accustomed to doe in the reduction of Townes, before the King comes), and the rest of the army being in battell to give passage to the garison which should returne, according to the Articles of the Treaty) they within felt into a mutinie, and shut their gates against the Kings troops, letting them know, that they were resolved to defend themselves and to die like souldiers, willing them to retire: whereupon the Kings army advanced, and forced a Port called Saint Denis. The besieged seeing it taken, sent out a Trumpet to complaine of this enterprise made contrary to the Treaty, which they said they would entertaine, but it was onely to discover the state of the Kings army, and to recover it, who seeing small guard in the Campe, and their quarters scattered, the besieged resolved to make a furious sally; and to recover it: and to take away all knowledge of their resolution from the Kings Centinels, they opened an old Port which had beene for many years together mured up, and filled forth to the number of 1500 foot, and 80 horse; they surprized the guards, slew some, and put the rest to flight, where divers commanders, Captaines, and Gentlemen were slaine. The Alarme came to the Kings quarter. The Duke of Montmorency who was then present, with the Duke of Fronlac, went speedily to horse backe with all the Gentlemen which were about the King; and charged the enemy, hewing great proofes of their valour and resolution, yet the Kings losse was great, the Duke of Fronlac was slaine, *Monfieur de Montmorency* hurt in the belly and thigh with a pike. There were also slaine the Marquis of Beuron, the Baron of Canillac, the Seigneurs of Estrange, Luçon the elder, *Cambolet*, and many others: There were few

soul.

1622

A tumult  
at Lions.A work  
taken  
from the  
besieged.The King sends  
for new  
supplies.The Rebels  
leave the  
towne.

A souldiers slaine, for they fled; but the Kings army advancing with all speed, they were forced to retire and leave the place.

This did much incense them throughout all France against them of the religion. At Orleans the newes of the Duke of Fronlacs death made them ready to take armes against them, offering unto the Earle of Saint Paul to employ their liues and armes to take reuenge for his sonne: but the Earle answered, that hee was sufficiently grieved for his death, not desiring to see any sedition in a towne which his Maiefty had committed to his care, entreating them to containe themselves in peace. But matters past not so quietly at Lions, where the common people, ioyning with a number of youth, fell upon them of the religion, spoiled their houses, burnt some with all their goods, and flew and hurt diuers: the which the Governor, Magistrate, nor Guards were able to prevent; and if the Queene Mother had not beene in the towne, and come unto the place where this tumult was, it had not beene pacified without great murder and spoile of them of the religion, where they are more hated then in any towne of France.

The King having received this losse at the fort of Saint Denis, sent consolatory Letters unto the Earle of Saint Paul, and the Lady his wife, upon the death of the Duke of Fronlac their son. The siege continued, and many braue sallies and charges were on either side. Upon the seuenth of September they tooke a spy comming out of Montpellier with Letters to the Duke of Rohan, to sollicite him to send them succours speedily, or else they were undone. He told them that they of Montpellier had attired twelue hundred women like souldiers, to make shew to the Kings army that they had many men. In the meane time they fell upon the Duke *Montmorency* quarter; *Monfieur Zamer* Marshall of the Campe came presently thither, and seeing the souldiers retire, said unto them, *Souldiers, yett live!* To whom they answered, *Sir, we have no more powder nor shot. What* (said he) *have you neither sword nor pike?* These words touched them to the quicke, and made them returne to their trenches, where he found the Capaines, who said unto him, *Sir, you will be a witness that you have found us doing our duties.* Having repulsed the enemy, and returning to another place, meeting upon the way with the Seigneur of Coudron, an Ayde of the Campe, they had both their thighs broke with a Cannon shot from the Port of Peyrou, whereof *Monfieur Zamer* died five dayes after, to the great griefe of the King and the whole army. On the 22 of September the King resolved to attempt an out-work betwixt two bastions at midnight, to the end the darkness might make their bastions and curtains vnfruisceable: whereupon six or seven hundred of the besieged sallied forth, but they were beaten, and the worke taken, where the Kings men entrenched themselves. This conflict continued about two houres, with losse on both sides: On the Kings were slaine *Tarroul*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Luxembourg, Governor of Blaye, Captaine *Lage*, the Seigneur of Mironde, and Captaine *La Ben*, and some souldiers: the besieged (as they write) lost about 200 of their best men.

The Kings army was too weak to invest Montpellier on all sides, victuals waxed very scant, and were passing deare: they found no forage for their horses, sicknesse increased, and the fruits and grapes of Autumne killed more men then the shot and sword of the enemy. The King to strengthen himselfe with more men, sent for the Duke of Vendosme from the siege of Britelle to ioyne with his army, and to the Prince of Conde to haften his regiment of Berry, which was said to be embarked at Lions: unto *Monfieur Brisson* to come unto the army with his regiment: to the Seigneur of Montspan to bring his: unto the Seigneurs of Tremont and of Ragny, who were leauying of two regiments in Bourgundy, to haften them to come into Languedoc with all speed: and to the Duke of Angoulême to bring six thousand men as well horse as foot, of the army which was leauied to defend the frontiers of Champagne against *Mansfield*, seeing the apprehension of all danger was past. They brought come downe the riuer of Roine, with artillery and munition for the siege of Montpellier. About the same time the D. of Espernon was made Governor of Guienne, which place had been voyd since the death of the Duke of Mayen. In the end of September the King battered the towne with 16 pieces of Ordnance, and the besieged seeing themselves cooped up, beganne to entrench themselves within the Towne, forcing all in generall, men, women, and children, to labour in the trenches. They made a reasonable breach in the wall, but the King would not give an assault, fearing they had some myne; and withall seeing his army tired, hee desired to bee refreshed

[ff]

with

with new forces before he would attempt it, yet they still advanced their works, in the which there were diuers encounters, and many slaine: amongst others, *Captaine* an old Captain of the Regiment of the Guards, and *M. de Requelme* General of the Venetians, (who had succeeded in the place of *Monsieur Zanes*) with *Captaine Saint John*, and many others. The disorder was great in this combat, where the Kings troops flying away, young *Gittereau* and *Guyemant* were slaine. In the end the Duke of Espemon seeing this confusion, drew his sword and commanded the Seigneur of Nantes to charge with an hundred Pikes, and as many voluntaries, which made the besieged retire.

The Pope commands them of Auignon to assist the King.

During this siege the Pope had commanded his Vice Legat to supply the King with armes, powder, munition, victuals, and all other necessaries, and if his Maiesty had a desire in his returne from Languedoc or otherwise to visit Auignon, that he should prepare to receiue and entertaine him and his Cour as his owne person. And for that the Kings army was full of infectious diseases, the inhabitants of Marcellles, to witnesse their affection to the Kings seruice, offered that if the King pleased to send the sicke men of his army vnto their towne, they should be carefully lodged and entreated at their owne charges, wherewith the King was verie well pleased. In the meane time, new troops come towards Montpellier for the King. The Duke of Rohan was in Nismes with most of his forces, and the troops that were in Suennens and Vauarets, which he might easily draw together to succour Montpellier: the King hearing of their intent by some spies which were taken, and in which way they would come, tooke such order as they durst not attempt it.

Their factions encreased daily at Rochel for command, the people being ready to ruine one another; they which had not commands according to their desires, turned their coats, left the towne, and went daily to the Earle of Soissons troops, and to *Monsieur de Saint Luc* at Brouage, and made more cruell warre against the Rochellers then any other.

A Combat at Sea.

Vpon the nineteenth of Septemb: there was a great fight at Sea, betwixt the Marquis of Rouillac who commanded the Fleet in Brouage, and the Rochellers: the Marquis having a Gallion called *S. Michael*, and tenne smaller ships, wherof six were runne aground and could not follow the rest, going to ioine with the Duke of Guise, Admirall of the Fleet. The Rochellers attended them at the beginning of the flood, being 14 ships, and bent their course towards Brouage, where meeting them, they beganne the fight, which continued fix houres vntill the ebbe, and then retired without any great advantage on either side. Touching the Affaires of Rochel, and the estate of the Kings army, you cannot be better satisfied then by this Letter written from the Judge of the Army vnto the first President of Bourdeaux on the 24. of September.

A Letter to the first President of Bourdeaux from the Judge of the Army.

Sir, the Count *Soissons* Fort is now in defence, and furnished with foureteene pieces of Ordnance, he hath sent fortwenty more to batter the towne furiously. The Rochellers haue great want of money and wood, and their fleet is ready to leaue them for want of pay. They haue taxed thirty of their best inhabitants at an hundred Crowns apiece, ten or twelue haue paid willingly, some with griefe, and others by force. All men of quality desire to yeeld obedience to the King, and are not kept backe but by the impudency of some factious people, who threaten to thrust 15 or 16 out of the Assemblée, saying, they are the cause of all their miseries. We attend daily the proceedings of the Kings fleet, which vndoubtedly will be master of the Seas, considering the estate wherunto the enemy is reduced. The Flemish ships which lay by vs are goneladen with salt. On Monday last, most of the English came out of the towne to our army, where they were well entertained and feasted. My Lord gaue them money and a guard to conduct them to Nantes, where they desired to imbarke themselves to returne into their Country, exclaiming against the discomforts they had receiued in Rochel, and seeming very glad to be at liberty. The Lieutenant who commanded them with the rest of the English, haue beene committed to prison; we attend hourly what will become of them: but this is not the way to haue Englishmen another time.

We haue a braue Sea-man of Brouage called *Sainton* of the reformed religion; but a sworne enemy to the Rochellers, who hath past through their fleet, and lodged vnder the fauour of our forts: hee takes all the Barkes which bring meale to Rochel, and euen yesterday hee tooke foure at their Charge. Hee lies within our Cannon shot of the Enemy, but neere our Forts and supported by our Cannon; so as when they

A they shoot at him, we shoot at them: Thus we make warre by Sea and Land, and forget nothing which may bring honor and reputation to the Kings forces.

But returning into Languedoc, you shall vnderstand, that some horse-men passing out of Nismes towards Auignon, tooke the Popes Legat, with the Seigneurs of Portes, Baudouin a Treasurer, and some others prisoners, and brought them to their towne, but they were set at liberty, paying their ranlomes. This Legat a little before had presented Letters vnto his Maiesty from his Holinesse, who did congratulate his victories, and continued him not to thrust himselfe into danger, whereby in his person hee should hazard the hope of Christendome.

The Popes Legat and others taken prisoners.

In the meane time, the Constable by the Kings commandement, had often conference with the Duke of Rohan, whereby they found means to enter into a treaty of peace, prolected euer since February; many times begunne, and as often broken off. Many contradicted this designe, and represented the state whereunto they had reduced them of the religion, whom his Maiesty in six months might wholly ruine or force to obedience: That the King and all France should reape profit thereby, when as the malecontented should haue no place of refuge, and the people should be freed from the apprehension of falling into new troubles: That they of the religion would promise much, but neuer effect the razing of their fortifications but by force: That within six months they should be constrained to renew the warre: finally, they objected many reasons against the peace which was in hand.

Opinions concerning the Peace.

But the King hauing stronger considerations, according to the aduice of the most ancient officers of the Crown, finding great advantage in the propositions and offers which the Duke of Rohan then made, he commanded the Constable to conclude the business, and come to the Campe; but the Marshall of Crequy came before, and (as they write) brought the first newes vnto the King, of the obedience which *Monsieur de Rohan* was resolved to yeeld vnto his Maiesty, and that he would draw them of Montpellier to submit themselves.

This Treaty was held very secret, vntill that the King causing the Prince of Conde to come priuately vnto him, told him, that he had receiued newes by a Poste, that the Duke of Rohan was resolved to obey him, and so cause the Deputies of the Reformed Churches, with the Inhabitants of Montpellier, to yeeld him all sorts of submission; and withall to haue the Articles put in execution, touching the razing of the new fortifications, in all the townes which were held by them of the religion; wherewith his Maiesty held himselfe well satisfied, resolving to giue peace vnto his subiects.

The King resolves to giue peace to his subiects.

The Prince shewing some discontent, for that it had beene treated without his priuaty, hee humbly besought the King, that seeing hee had now no more need of his person, it would please him to giue him leaue to goe and performe a vow which hee had made to our Lady of Lorette, which his Maiesty presently granted, and he left the Campe with a small traine.

The Prince of Conde goes to our Lady of Lorette.

During these negotiations, the Duke of Neuers hauing freed Champagne from the feare of *Mansfelds* army, finding a fit opportunity, and hauing good forces in the County of Retheleux, he lodged his troops as neere as possibly he could to Sedan, forbidding all men to transport any come or victuall out of the Realme, and by consequent to Sedan, which is out of France, and withall dispersed his troops round about it, in such sort, as victuall grew exceeding deare; especially bread, by reason of the multitude of families which were retired thither during the troubles. The Duke of Bouillon was troubled with this proceeding, he complained to the King, and wrote to the Councell at Paris, desiring to know what they intended to doe: The Duke of Neuers sent vnto the King at the same time to know his pleasure touching Sedan; for that there was neuer so faire an opportunity offered to besiege it. His Maiesty tired with so many troubles which oppressed the people, sent him word by the Marquis of Vicuville, that he should dismisse his troops, or send them with his army of Champagne, which was marching towards Montpellier, which had committed a thousand thefts, cruelties, and spoiles, more then enemies could haue done.

Sedan besieged by the Duke of Neuers.

In the meane time *Mansfeld* (leaving the Frontiers of France) had sent word to the Duke of Neuers, that he gaue the King the Ordnance which he left in Sedan, who shewing this Letter to the Duke of Bouillon, made instance in his Maiesties name to haue it delivered,

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but



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The Duke of  
Guise his de-  
signe with the  
Fleets at Sea.

but he made answer, that *Manfield* had sold them vnto him, and moreover that the Prince *A Palatine* opposed himselfe, saying, that they were his and not *Manfields*, for prooffe whereof, if hee would visit the peeces, hee should finde his Aimes.

At Rochel the Kings Fleet had not yet done any great exploit, onely they had taken one ship at the Sea, wherein were diuers Gentlemen of Normandy going to Rochel: the Fleet lay at Blauet, from whence the Duke of Guise sent to summon the English and Hollanders who lay with their ships before Rochel, to declare themselves what party they would follow, and then he resolved to goe with the Fleet against the Islands of Rie and Oleron, and to make himselfe Master thereof, with an intent to ioyne with the ships of Broage, and to fight with the Rochellers if they offered themselves, and the wind and B tyde would giue him leaue.

In the meane time the Duke of Rethelois, eldest sonne to the Duke of Neuers, (being but fifteene or sixteene yeares old) died at Mezieres, a young Prince of very great hope. This death did very much afflict the Duke his father, who had grounded the support of his House vpon the generosity of this Sonne, whose body was caried to Neuers, and interred by his mother, and the Duke himselfe went to the King.

The Constable  
comes to the  
army.

But returning to the treaty, the Constable came vnto the King when euery man held the peace assured, yet he went to view the trenches and gaue it out that the peace was broken: But soone after there was a truce concluded for foure or fve dayes, during the which they visited one another, and the Gentlemen of Montpellier came walking to the halfe-moone to view the Campe.

In the meane time newes came, that the Marquis of Maloze would put himselfe into Montpellier to fauour such as would not heare speake of a peace; whereupon the King went to horsebacke, and so continued all night, but the next day these newes were found false.

The Duke of  
Rohan goes  
into Montpel-  
lier.

The Articles of the peace being concluded on the ninth of October, the Duke of Rohan entred into Montpellier on the eleventh, where there were many seditious persons which refused to murder him, calling him *Scamberlat*, a name inuented among them for such of the religion as they held to be the Kings seruants.

In the end, after many Assemblies, they of Montpellier promised to obey, and to obferue this treaty of peace concluded for the general of al the reformed Churches of France and Berne. There seemed to be some difficulties in the execution thereof, for the clearing of which, the Constable, the Duke of Rohan, with the Deputies of the Seuennes, Nismes, Vizey, and Montpellier, had diuers conferences vnder the Fort of Saint Denis, where in the end a peace was fully resolved.

The D. of Rohan in performance of that which he had promised, came the eighteenth of October in the evening to the Kings quarter, most of the Court being retired, so as the King was almost alone; he kneeled downe before his Maiestie, and craved pardon for bearing armes against him: the King said, *Be you better aduised for the time to come, and I will forget what is past*. So hauing made him rise vp, they changed their discourse, and halfe an houre after, the Duke retired to the Constables quarter, where he lay all night. On the morrow he entred againe into Montpellier, and came soone after forth with the Seigneur of Gallogne, Gouvernor thereof, and all the Deputies of the other townes, who came to beseech his Maiesty to giue them peace, and to pardon their faults past: Hee presented them before his Maiestie, where all of them vpon their knees craved pardon and peace, by the mouth of the foresaid Seigneur of Gallogne, who spake for them all, saying:

A Speech made  
by the Depu-  
ties of Lingue-  
doc to the King

Sir, We are sent from all the reformed Churches of France, and the Soueraignty of Berne, most humbly to craue (in their names) peace of your Maiesty, and with our hearts humbled more then our bodies, we begge by the same, most humbly beseeching you to beleue that the false reports which were dispersed amongst vs, of the designs your Ma-  
iestie had against our religion, haue plunged vs in these miseries: we desire not to palliate the crime, we confesse our selues guilty: wherefore we present our selues vnto your Ma-  
iestie to craue pardon, and humbly beseech you to receiue vs into grace, and after the ex-  
ample of God (whose image you are) to haue a regard to our infirmities & to yield some  
thing to the feare we had to see the liberty of our consciences oppressed. The more cul-  
pable your Maiestie shall find vs, the more place shall you haue to imploy your Clem-  
ency. Henry the great, your Maiesties father, hath vsed our seruice, hath trusted vs, and hath  
loued

A Ioued vs; we humbly beseech you that as heire to his royall vertues, so you would cary the like affection towards vs, and not to distinguish vs hereafter from your other subjects, but by the seruise we shall doe you: For thereby Sir we pretend to let your Maiestie see that none can be more then weare, your most humble, and most obedient subjects and seruants.

The Deputies  
submit their

The King answered, that he willingly pardoned them, vpon condition they should be wiser hereafter then they had beene, that they should be good subjects to him, and he would be a very good King to them. After which they approached neere vnto the King one after another, to make their submissions: first the Seigneur of Calogne, then the Deputies of Seuennes, after them Vizey, and Nismes, and lastly they of Montpellier, all which  
B the King receiued according to his accustomed clemency, and then causing them to rise, he commanded the Seigneur *Herbaud* to reade a Declaration which he had caused to be made for the peace. The same day after dinner, the Constable entred into Montpellier with the Marshalls of Crequi and Bassompierre, and foure thousand Soldiers, who seized vpon the Ports, Magazines, Cannons, and two of the chiefe Bastions. The Grand Prauost  
battering caused the Kings decree touching peace to be solemnly proclaimed in the Kings  
quarter and trenches, hee entred into Montpellier and did the like; and the Harbours  
were marked out their lodgings for the Court, after the accustomed manner.  
The next day being the 21 of October, the Soldiers which were within the towne came  
forth in very good order, being twelve hundred in number, who were receiued by *Mon-*  
C *seigneur de la Courte*, and part of the Kings horle, and were conducted whither they desired.

After dinner the King entred in armes with his whole Court. His reception was stately; considering the shortnesse of time, and the difficulties of warre; all their rich hangings  
and precious moueables which they had hidden for feare of a sacke, were now brought  
forth, and set to view to honour this happy entry. They stroue to expresse their duties,  
the ioy was general, and nothing was heard, but the acclamations of the inhabitants  
of both sexes, who cried continually, *God saue the King*. The Consuls being accom-  
panied with the best inhabitants of the towne, came to meet him, witnessing by the speech  
they made vnto his Maiesty, that they were much grieued to haue offended him, and be-  
lought him (in presenting the keys of the Towne, and their selues, and their liues) to extend  
D his mercy vnto them, and not to punish their crimes, and the transgressions of his lawes  
with other armes then those of his Clemency and Pity. His Maiesty granted what they  
demanded, vpon condition that hereafter they should be faithfull, and neuer take armes  
against his seruice vpon any pretext whatsoever: That they should suffer their new forti-  
fications to be razed, their defences ruined, and their ditches filled vp, till the which were  
done and accomplished, they should haue three Regiments in Garison, and should obey  
whatsoever did concerne his Maiesties seruice.

Vizey which hath the title of a Duchy, would no longer persist in her disobedience; but  
submitted in imitation of Montpellier, and for the better assurance, consented the Castle  
should be razed and the fortifications demolished. The Towne of Nismes followed their  
E example. The Duke of Rohan was left Gouvernor of these two townes, and of Millhaud,  
yet could he not put in say garison. Many other townes desired to be numbered amongst  
the obedient, and of those which would not contradiet the Kings will. In the meane  
time Commissioners were sent to all the Courts of Parliament, to carie the declaration  
of peace, and to haue it verified, the tenure whereof followeth.

Vizey and  
Nismes submit  
themselves.

L E W I S by the grace of God, &c. As euery Christian Prince fearing God should ab-  
horre the effusion of mans blood, created after the image of the Almighty; so is hee  
bound not onely to auoid the occasions of ciuill and domestique warres, but to embrace  
F all honorable and lawfull means to vniue his subjects vnder the lawes of State in good  
concord and obedience. The same Diuine bounty which hath knowne our hearts  
since it hath pleased him to call vs to the government of this French Monarchy; is Iudge  
of our intention; and the world knows that our armes haue beene as iust as forced  
and necessarie, for the vpholding and defence of our authority; either against those  
which in the beginning, vnder diuers borrowed pretexts haue stirred vp trou-  
bles during our minority, or since against our subjects of the reformed Religion, ab-  
used by the practices of some of them, who haue thought to make as much

The Kings de-  
claration for  
the Peace.

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vie of their simplicity, as of the publique division of our Realme; although our intention was neuer other (after the example of Kings our predecessors) than to maintain them in peace and union vnder the benefit of our Edicts, and to conserue them as our good and faithfull subjects; if they containe themselves within the termes of respect and submission due vnto the Soueraigne; having spared no admonition and care, to prevent the mischief which was easie to foresee, before wee came to armes, whereunto wee were forced to our great griefe; to preserve our Royall dignity, and the power which God hath given vs, to see them from the altitudes and loudes which have bene given them with much art and cunning; of our good content, which hath neuer failed any man; and to prevent the accidents and miseries which have followed; and to make them know (with the end of the chiefe authors and favourers of this publique disorder) the true grounds of our sincere intentions, to cherish and maintaine them all in peace, and the free enioying of that which hath bene granted by our Edicts. And for that our subjects of the reformed religion have bene since better inspired, and acknowledged their fault and this truth; having had recourse to our clemency and bounty, by humble petitions from their Deputies, to grant them pardon, and to abolish the memory of what was past; and to respect them hereafter as our other faithfull subjects; inclining away rather to mildnesse and mercy, then to venge-ance and iudice of our armes, although they haue gotten vs great advantages, and might make vs hope for the like issue: Having respect to their submissions and duties, and being desirous to giue peace vnto our Realme; and vnto all our subjects in amity and concord among themselves, and to a generall and soyn obedience towards vs, and for other important reasons and considerations theunto moving vs: By the aduice of the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, and chiefe of our Councill, wee haue ordained; and by these presents declare vnder our hand, and our pleasure is,

### The Articles of the Peace.

I. **T**hat the Edict of Nantes, and secret Articles enrolled in our Courts of Parliament, shall be faithfully observed to our subjects of the Reformed Religion, in all points as they have enjoyed them during the reigne of the deceased King our Lord and Father; and since our coming to the Crowne, before those last alterations.

II. That the exercise of the Catholique and Romish Religion; shall be restored in all places of this Realme; and Countreies of our obedience, where it hath bene intermitted, to be freely continued without any trouble.

III. We expressly forbid all persons of what estate and condition soever, upon paine of punishment, as breakers of the peace, and trouble of the publique quiet, to molest or trouble Clergy-men in the celebration of Divine Service, and in the enioying of their Offices, Fruits, and Revenues of their Benefices, and all other rights which belong vnto them.

IV. And in like manner the exercise of the reformed Religion shall be restored againe in those places where it hath bene, according to our Edicts and Grants, and the Statutes, Officers of Receipt, and Officers of the Treasuries; shall be restored to the same estate they were in before those last troubles, except the Chamber of Narce, which shall bee restored where we shall thinke good, having heard the complaints of the Deputies of our Province of Guienne.

V. Our pleasure is, that all new fortifications of Townes, Castles, Forts, and others held by our subjects of the Reformed Religion, and especially those which have bene made in the Islands of Rie and Oleron, shall be razed and demolished, the old wals, towers, ports, ditches, and countermines, remaining in their former estate; forbidding all tomes to fortifie any more: And for the execution of the said demolishments, some of the chiefe inhabitants of the said Townes shall be delivered in hostage to such as we shall please to appoint.

VI. To the end that the Officers of our Crowne, and others deputed, may execute the commands thereof, according to the instructions which shall be given them: our meaning is, that all Townes held by them of the Religion; which within fifteen daies after the publication of these presents, shall submit themselves to our obedience, and open their gates willingly vnto vs; shall enjoy the contents of this present Declaration.

VII. We expressly forbid our subjects of the Reformed Religion; all sorts of Assemblies, Circles,

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A **Circles, Councels, Abridgement of Synods, and all other of what quality soever, upon paine of Treason, if they haue not expresse leave from vs: But they are onely allowed Assemblies of Consistories, Conferences, and Synods for matters concerning the government and discipline of the said Reformed Religion: forbidding them expressely to treat of any other politike affaire.**

VIII. Our said subjects of the reformed Religion, shall be discharged and freed from all acts of hostility and from all Assemblies, and Circles, and from all other things whatsoever contained in the 76 and 77. Articles of our Edict of Nantes, from the first of January 1621, until this present.

IX. And for what hath happened at Prinas, we will that a particular abolition thereof be made vnto the inhabitants of the said place, and vnto the Seigneur of Brisson.

X. And concerning the Accomptables and other officers in matters belonging to their charges, we will that the 78 and 79 Articles of the Edict of Nantes, shall be wholly kept and observed.

XI. Likewise for the indgements, sentences, and condemnations, made against them of the reformed religion, which haue borne armes; We will that they be thereof discharged according to the 58, 59, and 60 Articles of the said Edict.

XII. So also we ratifie and confirme all indgements given by Iudges ordained by the Governors of Provinces, either in ciuill or criminall causes, and the executions which haue followed amongst those of their party, and the said Iudges to be freed from all pursuits in that behalf.

C **Imposing perpetual silence to our Preachers Generally, their Substitutes, or any other that may pretend interest.**

XIII. Our pleasure is, that all prisoners on both sides, which haue not paid their ransomes, shall be freely set at liberty; and all promises made for ransomes which haue not bene discharged before the day of the date hereof, shall be void and of no effect.

XIV. That all persons of what quality and condition soever, shall be restored to their goods, names, actions, honours, and dignities, whereof they haue bene deprived, by reason of these presents troubles; notwithstanding all gifts and confiscations which haue bene made, except military charges: And such as haue willingly treated, or to whom we meane to giue some recompence.

D **XV. We ordaine that this present Declaration shall be entertained and kept by all our subjects according to the forme set downe in the eight Article of our Edict of Nantes: and that Commissioners of both Religions, shall be sent by vs into all the Provinces, to see the contents thereof put in execution. Commanding all our Courts of Parliament, and all other Iustices and Officers to whom it shall appertaine, to cause these presents to be read, registered, and enrolled, and to be inuicably observed and kept, without any contravention, for such is our pleasure. Given in our Campe at Montpellier the nineteenth of October, 1622. and the 13 of our Reigne. Signed Lewis.**

E **Monseur de Fiat being sent with this Declaration vnto the Court of Parliament at Paris, the Duke of Rohan gaue him this Letter following to the Duke of Montbazon.**

My Lord, your \* first sonne in law hath endeouored to ruine our \* Houleyour \* second hath procured vs peace and confirmed it; and for my part I am so satisfied with him, and find my selfe so much bound vnto him, as I shall openly declare my selfe vnthankfull, if I should euer shew my selfe other then his most humble servant: Of a delinquent I am become a fauorite, wherein he hath not a little furthered mee: And I must needs confesse that I am more obliged to the Kings goodnesse then any man else in this kingdom; therefore he may assure himselfe I will neuer faile in my duty towards him. Monseur de Fiat will further enforme you of all matters, vnto whose relation I referre my selfe, and in life and death will remaine your Lordships most humble Cousin and most affectionate seruant, De Rohan.

As for the particular Articles granted vnto the Duke of Rohan, the substance of them was this: 1. That the D. of Rohan should haue the Duchy of Vallois by way of engagement for 6000 pound sterling, to be paid on one entire payment, which Duchy should bee of the value of three thousand pound sterling yearly rent: and withall hee should haue twenty thousand pound sterling in hand, in recompence of his government in Poitou, and other particular governments of Saint Iohn d'Angely, Saint Maxant, Ma-

[[f 4]

lazzais,

The Duke of Rohan's Letter to the D. de Montbazon. The Countable Luyss, Montbazon of the House of Rohan. The Duke of Chevreuse who was sent vnto Monsieur to treat with the Duke of Rohan.

Private articles.

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lazais, Mesle, and for the Abbey of Lor in Poitiers: That hee should haue the government of Nîmes, and Vîez, without Garisons: That his Pension and his brothers should be reformed, and that the Seigneur of Calonge should haue six hundred pound sterling yearly pension.

2. That Rochel and Montauban should remain Townes of suretie for three yeares, and haue nothing demolished.

3. That all the new fortification of Montpellier should bee razed: That hereafter the Consuls should be named by the D. of Montmorency, according to the Kings pleasure, that is to say, two of either Religion: That in all other things the Kings will should be obeyed, and there should be no more townes of safetie, Hostage, or Mariage: That all B. Gouvernours should hold their governments of the King onely, and not of the said Churches, and without any Garisons, but such as it should please his Maïestie to appoint.

Institution of a new Regiment of light-horse.

Thus the Peace is concluded at Montpellier, where the King stayed six dayes: during the which many new Regiments came vnto him; but having no further employment, he cashiered some, and entertained others: hee also cast all the light-horse, taking from the Princes their Companies, and instituting a new Regiment of Horse, consisting of fifteene companies which should be commanded by Gentlemen chosen by his Maïesty, to prevent the disorders which hapned daily vpon the first discontent of any Prince, who falling from his obedience, carried his company with him: which done, the King leaving *Monseur Valence* in Montpellier with forty Companies of foot, to see the fortifications razed, he went to visit his chiefe Townes of Prouence, Dauphine, and Lionois.

The disposition of the Kings Fleet.

The Peace was not yet proclaimed before Rochel, nor any surcease of Armes: The Earle of Soissons kept them from all commerce by land; and shot into the Towne at random, and greatly ruined their Houses. The D. of Guise meant to doe the like by sea, wherein they had their greatest hope. He appointed a Rendezvous for the whole Fleet at Blauet, called Port Lewis. He attended three great Gallions from Marfilles, and one from Malta. But the D. fearing that winter would approach, the time would be vnsafe, and the Roads bad in those parts, he resolved to goe and fight with them, and not stay for the Leuant ships, but contrarie winds kept him in the Harbor. During the which the said Leuant ships came vnto him about the end of September. Hee then gaue order for the fight, and diuided his fleet into three bodies. The first was commanded by *Monf. de Saint Luc*, Governor of Brouage, being Vice-Admirall, having ten ships, and two Pinaces. The second commanded by *Monf. de Guise*, being in number sixteene ships, and two Pinaces. The third body contained six ships, and two Pinaces, commanded by *Monf. de Mantu*. Before these were three squadrons; the first consisting of ten Gallies. The second squadron of two & twenty Pinaces, in which *M. de Rochefoucault* was with 1200 footmen. In the third Squadron were three Pinaces, commanded by the Marquis of Afferac.

Having thus disposed of the Fleet, about the nineteenth of October, the wind being fauourable, they began to set sayle: but changing suddenly, they were forced to stay in the Roade of Bel-le, and on the five and twentieth, they came in sight of the Ile of Ric, where the calme made them cast Anchor, so as they could not approach the enemy by two leagues. There they concluded of the manner of their fight. On the feuen and twentieth, having little winde, the Gallies approached towards the Rochellers who lay at Anchor about a league from Saint Martin de Ric, being about 70 ships: who seeing the Gallies approach, and the whole Fleet in sight, they set sayle; but the calme was so great, and the Tyde against them, as the Kings Fleet was forced to cast anchor a league from them. In the meane time the Gallies came within Cannon-shot of the Rochellers, having commandement not to engage themselves too farre. The Duke of Guise resolved to goe and discomfite their Armie, commanding the Earle of Joigny to send him a Gallie, and in the meane time he tooke a barge, being accompanied by the Earle of Rochefoucault and foure or five Gentlemen, vntill he met with the Gally, with the which hee approached nere vnto the Rochellers, as well to haue the better opportunitie to fight with them, as to discover the burthen of their ships and their Ordnance. The fight grew so hot, as the Rochellers were forced to cast anchor, in regard of the calme, in three diuised Squadrons: but the winde growing fresh about one of the clocke after noone, they set sayle againe, and giuing way to the aduantage which the Gallies had by their Cannon, retired by little and little.

The

1622

A fight between the two Fleets.

A. The Duke of Guise thinking them to be disordered and in feare, held it fit to packe on all their sailes to fight with them. And so to this end he commanded *Bouc*, Sergeant-Major of the Armie to bring on the best sailers as they came, without any Order: vîing all diligence, to the end they might fight with them. *Monseur de Saint Luc*, being gone about some Commission to the Rereward, could not recouer his Ship, but many others were gone before him; to whom hee sent commandement to attend him; which some did, and others continued on their course, so as hee shot two pieces of Ordnance after them, and made their retire. The which hee did, as well to maintaine the first ranke which was due vnto his Charge, as to prevent all aduantages which the Rochellers might

B. get by the Fleets being thus scattered. The Duke of Guise recovered his Gallion, and the Rochellers got the winde, so as they must fight with them vpon disadvantage. *Monf. de Saint Luc* crept vp the winde all he could, being onely assisted by two ships, the rest fell all to lee-wards, and could onely helpe them with their Cannon a farre off, and by the Gallies, who likewise plyed them with their Ordnance, as long as they might doe it without annoying their owne company. In the meane time, the two Ships which were got into the winde with *Monf. de Saint Luc*, were boarded by foure or five of the Rochellers, one of which was sunke, and in one of the two ships, the *Cheualier de Cuges* Captaine thereof was slaine: this combat lasted vntill once a clocke at night, before they were cleared one from another.

C. In the meane time *Monf. de Saint Luc* continued the fight alone with the Rochellers Admirall, and Vice-Admirall, followed by their whole Fleet, the space of an houre and a halfe: the Admirall attempting twice to board him; and the Vice-Admirall thrice; but hee plyed them so with Cannon, and Musket, that they fell off againe without grappling; and so it hapned with other foure of their tallest Ships, of which some had laid him aboard. But a fift Ship of foure hundred Tunnes, being more eager then the rest to board him, was entertained, as after hee had vngarled himselfe, and was full of water, which would gladly, haue runne aground at Ric, but could not for it sunke by the way.

*Monf. de Saint Luc* engaged alone amongst the Rochellers Fleet.

Now *Monseur de Guise* (seeing *Monseur de Saint Luc* so farre engaged) had fetched such a compasse about with severall boardings, as he had gotten into the winde more then all the rest of the Fleet which followed him, and so much desired to succour him; that hee alone without staying for any other, turned short vpon the Enemy (although the rest of his Fleet were still to lee-ward) and thrust himselfe amongst the thickest of them; which the Admirall of the Rochellers perceiving, hee turned towards him with all their Fleet (except their Vice-Admirall, with ten other vessels, which were in fight with *Monseur de Saint Luc*) and bringing with them two ships full of fire-works, hee found the meanes whilst they were in fight, to fasten these ships to the poope of his Gallion; so as on a sudden the fire working his effect, burst out all over the said two ships, to the vnderment of all the Kings Fleet how the Duke of Guise could free himselfe from them, which in the end, notwithstanding all the enemies Cannon and Musket shot, by his great diligence and valour he effected, and quenched the fire also which had taken hold of his owne ship. This combat lasted aboue an houre, and was so hotly pursued as many of the Rochellers were slaine, at the push of the pike by them aboard the Admirall. Having thus cleared himselfe, he passed through their whole Fleet.

During this, the Kings Fleet following the said rout vvhich the Duke of Guises ship tooke, caused the Rochellers Vice-Admirall, and the other ten ships vvhich assailed *M. de Saint Luc* all this vvhile, and were graped vnto him, to leaue the combat. As soone as he was freed, and had gotten to the head of the Fleet. Hee set so furiously againe vpon the Rochellers, even as they were about to reuinite themselves, as the Vice-Admirall, and his Squadron were forced to separate themselves from the rest, and sayle before the wind vnto Rochel, and the Admirall with the rest to pley vp into the vvinde to recouer Ric: so the night fauouring their retreat, protected them from further losse; the combat having dured vntill once a clocke within night; the darknesse did much endamage the Kings Fleet with boarding and shooting one at another. In this conflict were slaine aboard the Duke of Guises Gallion, the Seigneur of Vinceguerre, with some other Gentlemen and Officers.

The Rochellers beaten and retire.

The Duke of Guise vvhith the vvhole Fleet, anchored in the place vvhith this fight was, the which was very furious, and continued from the morning till six a clocke at night.

night, in which they write were spent 20000 great shot: The Rochellers retired to Saint Martins Road, vnder the fauour of their Forts, and covered with many shielues and barres, where no great Ships could enter but with danger to runne aground. They write that in this battell there were not aboute foure hundred men slaine and hurt on the Kings side, but two thousand slaine and hurt of the Rochellers, and diuers of their Ships sunk.

The Duke of Guise being still resolu'd to charge the Enemy, commanded the General of the Gallies (for that the Ships could not aduance by reason of the great calme) to assault them where they lay. They met with the Vice-Admirall, caried by the Tide along the Coast of the Ile of Rie, which they battered so with their Cannon, as she ranne aground hauing lost many men. After this they were ouertaken by a storme, so as the Kings Fleet was forced to stay many dayes at L'Esguillon, and the Gallies went to seeke shelter at Brouage. The storme being past, the Duke went to set vpon them in Saint Martins Road, but could not draw them forth, so as after many Cannon shot, the winde being contrary, he was forced to leaue them.

Three dayes after, the Duke gaue order to passe the Flats which couered them, commanding *Monsieur de Saint Luc* to take the head of the Fleet, and to ioyne with them if he could: According to this order, hauing past the danger by sound, and spent aboute foure thousand shot on both sides: the Rochellers, as they write, were ready to runne aground to saue themselves, hauing no other meanes to escape: but the winde growing contrary, the Kings Fleet was forced to retire.

The Rochellers submit themselves to the Duke of Guise.

The Rochellers seeing their ruine apparant, and not to be auoided, came the same night to offer their Standard to the Duke of Guise, beseeching him to suffer them to enioy the benefit of the Peace which it had pleased the King out of his bounty to giue them. The next day *Guyon* their Admirall brought his fagge vnto the Duke, with assurance to disarme, & to satisfie all the other Articles which were enioyned them by his Maiestie, in regard of the said Peace, according to the order vvich he had receiued from the Maior and Towne-houpe of Rochel.

After this submission, they were stayed three dayes before they could make their retreat by reason of a tempest. On the fourth day, they passed vnder the Lee of the Kings Armie, and saluted it with their Cannon, carying neither Flags nor Ensignes, and retired within the Chaîne, and vpon the Owle of Rochel. The Kings Ships went to winter in Britanie, and the Gallies in Brouage and Tonne Charante.

This Discourse of the Nauies, my Author faith, was sent him from a man of qualitie, who was in the Kings Fleet, and one of the first in all fights. I haue done what I could to haue all other aduertisements of these encounters by Sea, from those of the Religion which liue in this towne, but could not be assisted; and therefore I must leaue the censure of the Truth, to the iudicious Reader, hauing discharged my dutie as faithfully as I could.

Persons of Note were slaine at Sea.

According to their Relation, there were many men of name slaine in these conficts. Of the Rochellers side the Seigneurs of Plomb, of Laille, of Coudray, of Merande the elder, all foure of Rochel. Moreover, *Launay* of Cane; *Emanuel* a Norman; *Captaine La Porte* of Loudun; the Seigneur of Queris, and of *S. John D'Angely*: all these they write were slaine in one Ship; & *Tessere* a Councillor of Rochel was taken prisoner there. As for the Kings Fleet, they write, there perished not any one Ship, neither did they lose many men of command; onely the Seigneur of Vinceguerre, and the *Cheualier de Cuge*, *Beauveau Persac*, Captain of a Gally, and *de L'Isle* Lieutenant to *Monsieur de Valence*. The peace hauing preferred the rest of the Rochellers Fleet, they gaue publike testimonies of their ioy both by word and writing, as may appear by this following Letter, which the Mayor and Sherifffes of Rochel wrote to the Earle of Soissons.

The Rochellers Letter to the Earle of Soissons.

My Lord, as our vowes & earnest prayers to God, haue a long time preuented the good newes of the Peace, which it hath pleased the King out of his bounty to giue vs; so wee beseech you to belecue, that not onely the actions of thanks to his Maiestie for this singular benefit, haue presently followed the happy aduertisements which came vnto vs, and that at that instant we haue shewed all signes of ioy and deuotion, and haue made no stay of the publication thereof, which we haue performed with all kinds of publike acclamations. Wee were bound therunto for many considerations; but especially by the naturall obedience

A obedience which we owe vnto our King, which shall alwayes bee preferred before our paine in case especially, which he should be proud to be our Commander, as he promiseth to doe. Wee hope, my Lord, presently to receiue the assurances by your Deputies, which we meane to send vnto his Maiestie to that end, who shall not depart before they haue the honour to kisse your hands, and receive your commendements. In the meane time wee beseech you to take in good part, as it were by way of anticipation, the priuat submissions which shall be made vnto you on our behalfe by the Seigneurs of Laizer, Beaupreau, Pyncau, and Lauchier of the body of our Towne: *Berthe, de Lande, Parau, and Olivier*, Burgesses, whom we send expressly to your Excellencie to acquaint you with what hath hitherto past vpon signification of this happy newes.

B Wee humbly beseech you, not to suffer this Peace to be interrupted by any alteration which might discompoise mens minds; but contrariwise, to dispose of all things, not onely for the publication of the said peace in your Armie; but also for the sincere execution of the contents thereof, as well by Sea as Land; as wee for our parts will be carefull, to obserue what better depends of vs, and to witnesse that wee are of vs his Maiesties most humble Subiects and seruants, and that we particularly honour with all affections the Princes of his blood, amongst the which my Lo: wee know the ranke you hold, and the interest which all France hath, that so precious a bud of the Flower-de-luce, should be esteemed, and preferred, for the which wee will pray to Almighty God, as your most humble and obedient seruants; the Maior, Sherifff, Peeres, Burgesses, and Inhabitants of Rochel, the sixteenth of Nouember 1622.

The Earle of Soissons acknowledgeth his Arme.

C The Earle of Soissons, according to the order he had receiued from the King, hauing caused the Peace to be published, dismissed his Armie. The Regiment of Champagne, with twenty complete Companies, vnder the command of *Arnauld* their Camp: Master were left in garison in Port Lewis, which was munitioned with victuals, and all other things necessarie; the which troubled the Rochellers; and made them send often vnto the King to be freed thereof. What succeeded you must heare hereafter.

D This with the conclusion of the Peace (which was so pleasing to all France in general, but especially to the poore afflicted Church of the Religion) I will end the continuation of this History. I know I haue undertaken a task which will be subiect to much controll, hauing treated of a subiect which we haue seene with our eyes, so as some who presume to haue had good intelligences of these actions which haue past, will haply contradict mee, and take me with mistakings. But they must accept of this answer, that I haue added nothing of mine own; but can bring my Authors for my varrant, if they haue erred, either transported with passion, or abated with misreports and false instructions; the fault is not mine: Neither doe I doubt but other mens relations, which shall speake most confidently, will be subiect to the like constructions. I haue done my best endeavour, and haue related euery thing with as much modestie as I could, no way inclining to any party; but only to set downe briefly (being tyed to strict bounds in this Continuation) what hath been written by my authors, whom I haue found to be altogether Royalists. I haue much desired to haue had information from them of the religion, wherein I haue treated some friends to employ their credits, but could receive no assistance.

E Wherefore if in these my painfull employments, I shall giue the Reader any content and satisfaction, I haue the reward I expect, in being throwed from the Detraction of maleuolent tongues,

FINIS.

**A Catalogue of the Townes and Places of Surety and Oltage  
for them of the Religion, reduced vnto the Kings obedience during this  
Warre; some by force, others by composition, and some of their  
owne voluntary submission.**

**Pau**, a Towne of Parliament, or Councell, in the Countrie of Bearne, was rendred vnto the King in the year 1610, on the fifteenth of October, when his Maieftie went thither in person to caufe his Edicts to be verified there.

**Nauarren**, was reduced vnto the Kings obedience three dayes after Pau; and the Seigneur of Poyanne left Gouernour, with part of the Regiment of Nauarre.

**Orthez**, was yielded vnto his Maieftie, and sent him their Keyes, receiuing *Alphonse* Zarnet for Gouernor of the place, attending some other order, with part of the Regiment of Picardie.

**Oleron, Lefcar, Sanneterre, and Nain**, expressed the like dutie, they receiued the Churchmen, which were restored to their liuinges; and the Garifon which his Maieftie sent thither.

**Lectoure**, a Towne and Castle strongly situated, which hauing the *Seig. de Fontaines* for their Gouernor, who became a Catholike, the Inhabitants would needs haue him changed; which his Maieftie granting, established there the Seigneur of Bleniville, with some souldiers in Garifon. In this sort assuring this place vnto him in the year 1620.

**Maram**, a Towne in bafe Poictou, heretofore vnder the command of the Rochellers, but now reduced, and continued in the Kings obedience by the Seigneur of Conflans.

**Tuizen**, a Towne in Lymosin, bearing the Title of a Viscounty, belongs vnto the Marshall of Bouillon; but assured vnto the King at his being in Angoulême, by their voluntarie submission, 1620.

**Vals** in Viuairetz, a little Towne, but stubborn Inhabitants, taking part with them of Priuas, were reduced by the Duke of Memoryre, in the year 1620.

**Saumur**, was taken from *Pleissis Mornay* in the year 1621, and the year following, the new fortifications were demolished.

At the same time were reduced to the Kings obedience, *L'Isle Bouchard* in Touraine, *Platry* and *Joffelin* in Britanie, *Vesins* in Aniou, *Loudun* and *Thouars* in Touraine, *Cabellerault*, *Fontaine le Comte*, *Garnash*, *Talmond*, *Saint Maixant*, *Nyort*, *Maillezy*, *Beauneux*, *Mauleon*, and other places in Poictou, which opened their gates voluntarily vnto the King, and receiued Garifon in the year 1621.

**Pont-Orson**, a place of great importance in bafe Normandie, was drawne from the Earle of Montgomery for a recompence, in the year 1621.

**Argenton**, a Towne in Berry, submitted to the Prince of Conde, 1621.

**Gergeau**, after some siege, yielded to the Earle of S. Paul, 1621.

**Sancerre**, hauing expelled their Lord, and disobeyed the King, was forced to yeeld by the Prince of Conde in the year 1621, their walls were razed.

**Sully**, after some resistance, was constrained to accept of the Kings Pardon by the Prince of Conde, in Iuly 1621.

**Chasseauneard**, fearing the Kings Armes, yielded vnto the Earle of Saint Paul, after the reduction of Gergeau.

**Saint Iohn D'Angely**, after the enduring of Royall siege, was forced to yeeld the 26 of Iune 1621, and to suffer the demolishment of their walls.

**Taillebourg**, a Towne and Castle of the Duke of Tremouilles, protested their obedience during the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely.

**Pons**, in Xaintonge, being terrified with the taking of Saint Iohn D'Angely, yielded vnto the King the 39 of Iune 1621, and was demantled.

**Canmont**, was generously regained by the great courage of the Duke of Mayen 1621.

**Bergezac**, which *Monf. de la Force* had strangely fortified, perceiving the Kings approach, sent him their keyes the tenth of Iuly 1621, whither his Maieftie sent *Rambure* with his Regiment into garifon and demantled it.

**Nerac**, which had bin obstinate in their reuolt, & sustained a siege by the D. of Mayen for certaine

certain dayes, was yielded vnto his Maieftie on the 7 of Iuly, who put a garifon therein. The King no longer entred into Guienne, but the Seigneurs of Boiffe Pardailan, put into his hands their places; *Castillon*, *Castellidoux*, *Turnon*, *Mont de Mayen*, *Mareuil*, *Mauidan*, *Puymerol*, *Lerac*, *Loyal*, *Merlaix*, *Sainte foy* and *Thonins* 1621; some of which reuolted the next year by the prauiſes of *Monf. de la Force*, which were since reduced.

*Mas de Verdun*, *Maunaisin*, *L'Isle en Tourain*, places in the Countrie of *Armagnac*, were reduced vnto the King 1621 in Iuly, by *Monf. de Mayen*.

*Albiac* was forced, spoiled and burnt by the Duke of Mayen, in Iuly 1621.

*Pont de Barbafe* and *Marmande* were reduced vnto his Maieftie by the Duke of Mayen in Iune 1621.

*Marguerite*, in Languedoc, was besieged by the Duke of Montmorency, and reduced the sixt of Iuly 1621.

*Chelair*, in Albigeois, which had oppressed the Catholiques, was besieged & forced by the D. of Vontadour, some of the houses burnt, and the walls beaten down, in Iuly 1621.

*Vauvert*, a Towne in Languedoc, taken by the D. of Montmorency, in Iuly 1621.

*Montenur*, in Guienne, reuolted by *Pardailans* sonnes, contrarie to their oaths, was besieged by his Maieftie, forced, spoiled, and burnt, in December 1621.

*Mailleac*, a place in Quercy yielded vnto the King at his coming neere vnto Montauban, in August 1621.

*Pouffin* and *Bay vpon Bay*, in Viuairetz, were besieged by the Duke *D'Esquigniers*, and after some resistance reduced, in March 1622.

*Montreuil*, a place in high Perigot, besieged, forced, and demantled by the Duke of Elbeuf, in February 1622.

*Bourmiquet*, in Quercy, besieged and reduced by the Marshall of Themines, January 1622.

*Genfac*, in bafe Guienne, where the Seigneur of Boiffe Pardailan was murdered, reduced by the Duke of Elbeuf, in January 1622.

*Royan*, a towne of Xaintonge, surprized by the Rochellers, assieged by the King, and reduced in May, 1622.

*Thonins*, after three moneths siege by the D. of Elbeuf, was reduced, the 4 of May 1622, and since burned.

*Montsegut* reduced in May 1622: At the Kings coming into Guienne.

*Montflanquin* reduced by the Capitulation of Saint Foy, in May 1622.

*Clerac*, besieged by the Kings armie in the year 1621 was taken since being reuolted, was againe reduced, in May 1622.

*Negrepelisse*, a towne in Quercy, reduced in the year 1621, did afterwards in November murder the Kings Garifon, and refused to open their gates vnto him in Iune 1622, was besieged, taken, spoiled, burnt, the inhabitants slaine and hanged.

*Cariac*, *Cadenac*, *Figeac*, the Duke of Sullies Towns in Agenois, receiued the Kings Garifons, in Iune 1622.

*Saint Antonin* in Albigeois, after some dayes of siege, and rude assaults, was reduced the 22 of Iune 1622.

*Carmail* and *Mas Saint Suede*, little reuolted places neere Thouloufe, were yielded in Iuly 1622.

*Berderin*, a Towne in Languedoc, besieged by the Prince of Conde, & *Ginac*, *Saint Gilest*, *Lunel* and *Sommieres*, were reduced, and their walls demolished.

*Aiguamorte* was brought to the Kings obedience by the reduction of *Monf. de Castillon* to his seruice.

*Lombes* in Albigeois, besieged by the Duke of Vendosme, abandoned by the Inhabitants, entred by the Duke, pillaged by the Souldiers, and the walls razed.

*Montpellier*, *Nismes*, *Vic*, *Cabret*, *Millaud*, *Puy Laurens*, *Briest*, by virtue of the peace, reduced vpon condition, to demolish all their new fortifications, in October 1622.

*Priues*, in Viuairetz, the first reuolted and last reduced towne, hearing that the Duke of Angoulême, and the Marshall of Bassompierre, were coming to besiege them, sent their keyes the 9 of November 1622.

*Montauban* and *Rochel* observing the Treaty of Peace, are to remaine as towne of Oltage for three yeares onely.

Reduced (beinge these two last) 97 Townes.



A  
CATALOGVE OF SVCH PRINCES,  
Lords, Captaines, Statefmen, and Gentlemen of Note  
as haue died in France, during the three last yeares  
of the Waire.

In Viuarotz.

**T**he Seigneur of Marezes vnder the command of Monfieur de Montmorency, was slaine with a Musket-shot, through both his Thighs at Viuarotz.  
Roche Colombe killed with a Musket-shot hard by his father at the same Siege.

At the Siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely.

The Cardinall of Guise died of a burning Fever with too much rayling himselfe.  
The Earle of Maureueri slaine with a Musket shot through the body.  
The Baron of Cry slaine in like manner Monfieur de Carbonier.  
The Seigneurs, of Beaumerdin, Captaine of the Regiment of Navarre, slaine at the Barricados: with other two Captaines and eight Gentlemen.  
Of Roze, Sergeant Major of Brouage.  
Of Brillemont.  
Of Fontaine.  
Of Fontaine, Rambures chiefe Ensigne.  
The Marshall of Brisac died since in his Castle of Brisac.

At the Siege of Clerac.

Monfieur le Baron de Thermes.  
The Seigneurs, de la Ruere, Captaine Bourdet his Lieutenant.  
Of Mazières, Lieutenant so a Captaine of the Guard.  
Of Mazières, a Baron of Normandie.  
Monfieur du Pair, died also during this Siege, who was Keeper of the Seales.

Before Margueritis in Languedoc, vnder Monfieur de Montmorency.

Monfieur de Cancy, Collonell to the Marquis of Forres.  
The Seigneurs, of Bartoumieu his Ensigne.  
Of Saint Giles the younger.  
Of Monman.  
Of Clausie.

Before Montauban.

The Seigneurs, of Lixigny, a Captaine of the Regiment of Piedmont, slaine in the barricades.  
Of Sarroques.  
Of Breuil.  
Of Castellar.  
The Earle of Fiesque.  
The Duke of Mayen shot into the left eye.  
The Baron of Perkin.  
The Marquis of Villars burnt with the powder.  
The Marquis of Themines killed at Ville Bourbon.  
Monfieur de la Frette, Gouverneur of Chartres, slaine treacherously in the place.  
The Viscounts of Bourbonne.  
Monfieur de Carbon.  
The Seigneur Fargon.  
Monfieur de Fourilles, a Captaine of the Regiment of the Guards.  
Two other Captaines of that Regiment.  
About fiftene Lieutenants; many other Gentlemen, and Le Seigneur de la Vallée, the Kings Cannonier.

At the defeat of the Marquis of Malauze succours.

The Seigneurs of Louppes and Larmondie.

Of sicknesse before Montauban.

The Cardinall du Perron, Archbishop of Sens.  
Monfieur de Pont Chartrain, Secretary of State.  
The Seigneur of Villedieu, slaine in Viuarotz.

During the Siege of Monheur.

The Seigneur of Camau an old Captaine.  
The Baron of Clermont.  
The Marquis of Themines called Louzieres.  
The Countesse of Luyres died at Longueville, in the yeare 1622.  
Father Henri de La Motte, killed in Clerac.

Before Montbranch.

The Seigneur of Madailan.

Monfieur

At the Siege of Saint Iohn, a Captaine of the Regiment of Flaix.

The Seigneur de Clayri, an Aide of the Campe.  
Monfieur de Seruise the younger.

At the taking of the lower Toneins.

The Seigneurs, of Miramont, sonnè to Monfieur de Chabasse.

Of Chabasse.  
Of Verway, a Captaine of the Regiment of Piedmont.

Of Belongnat, another Captaine of that Regiment.

Of Saucourt.

The Seigneur le Comte.

Of Pigeonfre, Nephew to Monfieur le Bourg.

Of Bertraudet, a cunning Engineer.

Of Clairbois, Master of the Horse to the Duke of Elbeuf.

During the Siege of high Toneins, at the defeat of the succours.

Monfieur D' Ambre, a Marshall of the Campe.

Monfieur D' Ambre his Nephew.

The Seigneurs, of Manteforte.

Of Bonneral.

Of Belhade.

Of Palmpoign.

Of Calsans.

At the enterprize of Caudade in Quercy.

The Baron of Saint Scire.

The Seigneur of Marquis a Captaine.

At the Siege of Pouffin by Monfieur D'Elzingeres.

The Earle of Tallard, and some Gentlemen slaine at the assaults.

At the taking of the Fort of Cadenac, by Monfieur de Pybrac.

The Seigneurs of Instaret, a Captaine of the Regiment of Pybrac.

In a combate neere Mareuil, with some Cheualiers of Roehel.

The Seigneurs of Fiesque and of Luyres.

A List of the chiefe Commanders, Gentlemen, and persons  
of Note of them of the Religion, which haue likewise dyed during  
these three yeares.

At the Siege of Saint Iohn.

The Seigneurs, de la Chaisnay, a Captaine of Saint Iohn.

At the Siege of Saint Antonin.

The Viscount of Betancours.

The Baron of Paluan, and some Captaines of the Guards, and other Gentlemen.

At the Siege of Rojan.

Monfieur de Humieres, first Gentleman of the Kings Chamber. The Seigneur of Matta, with ten or twelue Gentlemen.  
The Seigneur de la Garde the younger.

At the Siege of Lombes.

The Seigneurs of Bonniat, and of Gardin, Gentlemen of the Duke of Vendosmes household.  
Monfieur de Pigeolet, Captaine of his Guards.

At the Siege of Montpellier.

The Cardinall of Retz, Bishop of Paris, died of sicknesse.

Monfieur de Vicq, Keeper of the Seales of sicknesse also.

The Duke of Frohsac slaine.

The Marquis of Beueron

Monfieur de Canilla.

Monfieur de Lucey.

Monfieur de Combaler, Captaine of the Prince of Candés Company.

Tarrauld, Lieutenant to the Duke of Luxemburg.

Lago.

La Bene, Captaine of the Regiment of the Guards.

Two Campe-masters.

The Cheualiers of Fabregues and Manican, Castellan, Ferron, and Bordes, Captaine of a Regiment of Navarre.

The Seigneur Otho, a Gentleman of his household.

The Earle of Alcx, of sicknesse.

Monfieur Zamer, Marshall of the Campe.

Monfieur de Roquelaur, Generall of the Penitians.

Monfieur de Castellan, Captaine of the Guards.

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Monfieur de Castellan, Captaine of the Guards.

At Marguerite.  
The Seigneur Damin a Capitaine of Nismes  
saine.

At the Marquis of Malauzes defeat.  
The Seigneurs, Boyet, Master of the Campe.  
Saint Amand another Master of the Campe.  
Of Nogare.

At Montauban.  
The Seigneur de Alancieres saine upon the  
wall.  
Chamier Minister with the Cannon.  
Monsi de Boisse Pardailhan, murdered in  
Genjac.

The Seigneur de Maulemont, at the encounter  
of Monsi de Mirepoix, in the contrie of  
Foix.

The President du Croc massacred in Mont-  
pellier.

At the combat neere Marcuill in  
basse Poitou.

The Seigneur de la Cressoniere, Monsi de Sou-  
bist Lieutenant.

Yong Cressoniere his sonne.  
The Baron du Petit Chasteau.

The Seigneurs, of Chassaingues.  
Of Montaign.

Of Maison Neuve his sonne.  
Of Montournais.

Of Mermande.  
Tong Mermande his sonne.

Of Beaudry.  
Of Chasseleudiere.

In basse Guienne.

The Seigneur de la Motte Gachon Gouverneur  
of Mont-rauel, saine at the taking thereof.  
Monsi de Montpouillan, dyed of his hurt re-  
ceived at Tonneins.

The Viscount of Castets, after the reduction  
of Tonneins.

At the enterprise of Causade in  
Quercie, there died

The Seigneurs, of Berlhac.  
Of Canagnac.  
Of Galquerie.  
Of Londe.  
Of Londe his brother.  
Of Raymond, a Capitaine.  
Of Salagnac.  
Of L'Escun, a Concellor at Pau, executed at  
Bordeaux.

At a defeat of certaine troopes which  
went out of Briteste by the Earle  
of Vicule were saine.

The Seigneurs, of Chamyon.  
Of Busquet father and sonne.  
Of Mars.  
Of Dames.  
Of Salles.

In the Nauals fight against the Rochel-  
lers were lost on the Kings side.

The Seigneur of Vingeuerre.  
The Chenallier de Cues.  
Monsi de L'Isle, Lieutenant to Monsi de Va-  
lence.

The Seigneur of Beaulieu Perlec.

Of the Rochellers.

The Seigneurs, of Plomb.

Of Lethie.

Of Condray.

Of Alrande the elder.

Lannay of Cane.

Emanuel, a Norman.

Captaine La Perie of London.

The Seigneur of Quieris of S. Iohn D'Angely.

# ETATS.

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